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**Title** 'All are instructive if read in a right spirit': Reading, Religion and Instruction in a Victorian Reading Diary

## **Abstract**

This paper conducts a study of reading choices and practices through the reading diary of a middle-class reader in mid-nineteenth-century Glasgow within the context of her socio-cultural, intellectual and religious milieu. Anne Galloway (1802-1889) wrote her reading diary between 1850 and 1856, wherein she recorded one hundred and eighty-four books and three periodicals. This study combines an investigation in the availability of books and their circulation with a focus on Stirling's Library, a subscription library founded by Walter Stirling in 1791, from which Anne obtained her books. Anne's borrowing record is reconstructed using the library catalogues. These are used to assess the different classifications of the books she read and their respective numbers to determine the pattern of Anne's borrowing and reading practices. This investigation offers new insights into Glasgow's book culture through the reconstructed history of a 'lesser-known' Evangelical, non-professional, married woman reader in the mid-nineteenth century, demographics of which are currently all under-represented in individual case studies in the history of reading.

**Keywords** Glasgow, Victorian, the woman reader, subscription libraries, Stirling's Library, Evangelicalism, history of reading, individual case study, commonplacing, conduct literature

## **Introduction**

In 1983, women's historian Rosalind K. Marshall lamented that the study of Scottish women was inherently fraught with difficulties due to the lack of primary source materials.<sup>i</sup> Since Marshall's study, scholarship on women's history has not only expanded, but the materials on which these studies are based – particularly those on Scottish women – are continually being discovered. For example, Jacqueline Pearson's, and Kate Flint's work on women readers, Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair's study on the public lives of women in the latter half of the nineteenth century in Glasgow, along with the recent publication of Esther Breitenbach et al's collection of new and formerly unpublished materials have demonstrated that Marshall's statement about the dearth of materials has been superseded.<sup>ii</sup>

This paper also investigates previously unstudied archival evidence: the reading diary of Anne Galloway, a middle-class woman who lived in mid-nineteenth-century Glasgow. The diary offers a valuable first-hand account of one woman's reading experiences, but also of the dynamic socio-cultural period in which she lived. Anne and her family moved to Glasgow from Carsebridge during the period of Glasgow's greatest industrial expansion. This was concurrently a time of considerable growth in the city's intellectual environment in the number and diversity of libraries, bookbinders, booksellers, publishers, reading rooms and coffee houses, which was fuelled by an increase in the number of readers. It was also in the nineteenth century that Evangelicalism was at its height in Glasgow, and its influence was extensive: its impact was felt in the policies of its civic administration and seen most visibly through the growth and re-shaping of the city-scape through extensive church-building and public works projects.<sup>iii</sup> The city was '[a]rguably the most innovative centre for religious voluntary organisation in the English-speaking world [...] dubbed by one evangelical in the 1830s as 'Gospel City'.<sup>iv</sup>

In this study, I foreground one woman reader and the books she read and provide an overview of the book culture of the period in which she lived. The study of one subscription library in Glasgow is used as a means to contextualise her social, cultural, intellectual and religious environment. I argue that her choice of reading materials and particularly her responses together offer good evidence of the reading habits adopted by a ‘lesser-known’ Evangelical, a non-professional, married woman reader in mid-nineteenth century Scotland, demographics of which are currently all under-represented in individual case studies in the history of reading.<sup>v</sup>

In addition, it could be argued that this reading diary provides a good example of conduct literature written in the Victorian period: entries in Anne’s diary suggest that it might have been used as an educational tool for her children. Indeed, this case study has larger implications. The fact that it survived and was amongst the possessions of her daughter, Janet Anne Galloway – a rigorous and influential promoter of women’s higher education in Glasgow – and eventually donated to the University of Glasgow speaks to the legacy of promoted reading practices in potentially serving as an important cultural artefact for at least a generation.<sup>vi</sup> Her mother’s reading diary could be seen as a record of one individual’s private reading that became part of the public enterprise.

It is generally acknowledged that ‘the individual case study is at the heart of the history of reading, and is a distinctive feature of the discipline.’<sup>vii</sup> The importance of the individual case study is that it is historically-specific as well as historically-contingent. Influential case studies of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century readers include John Brewer’s of Anna Larpent, an eighteenth-century English professional reader, Arianne Baggerman’s of a ten-year-old Dutch boy in the late eighteenth century, Robert DeMaria’s of Samuel Johnson in the eighteenth century, James Secord’s of Thomas Hirst, an eighteen-year-old apprentice from Halifax in the nineteenth century, and Stephen Colclough’s of the fifteen-year-old Joseph Hunter, an apprentice in late eighteenth-century Sheffield.<sup>viii</sup> More recently, Allan F. Westphall conducted a study of Thomas Connary, an Irish American Catholic in the nineteenth century.<sup>ix</sup> Anne Galloway’s reading diary adds to this research by exploring one reader’s response to the burgeoning intellectual culture, rapid industrialisation and influence of Evangelicalism in mid-nineteenth-century Glasgow.

There are examples of readers interacting with books as an extension of their religious faith in the previous case studies. Brewer’s study of Anna Larpent offers a good case in point. Anna was an eighteenth-century English woman who kept a diary between 1773 and 1828 wherein she recorded her daily life, social activities, the schooling of her children, but also a record of her reading. Anna, like Anne, read a range of different genres, but they both constantly focused on reading pious works which were intended to strengthen their faith, and both women enjoyed re-reading the same sermons and religious works that they had read earlier in their lives. While Anna Larpent’s diaries ‘provid[e] a vivid account of her repeated efforts to establish her own taste, to create her own cultural identity’,<sup>x</sup> Anne Galloway wished to establish her conformity to a larger set of Christian, indeed Evangelical, beliefs.

Westphall’s study of Thomas Connary, a nineteenth-century American reader, also offers a useful comparison in the ways in which readers use their books to shape their religious faith, and, in the case of Connary, vice versa. Connary was a devout Catholic, who, like Anne, read a range of religious texts that evoked private, spiritual introspection. However, for Connary, the material book and its physical properties, helped to shape and illustrate his deep religious faith. He spent approximately forty years – from the late 1860s until 1899 – prodigiously annotating, amending, adding and particularly ‘interleaving’ his books.<sup>xi</sup> These enhanced books were sometimes given as gifts to family and members of his community, and ‘books are imagined as instruments of social interaction in both domestic and public spheres’.<sup>xii</sup> The material aspects of the books Anne read did not carry the same

import. Her books were (largely) obtained from a subscription library, so she was not free to enhance the books that she read, thus any social or public interactions with other readers of the books in this manner were discouraged. The diary was only intended for a domestic audience, being written for herself and her children, but in this way it acted similarly to Connary's books in being a tool for social interaction, albeit private. In this sense, Anne's diary was more similar to the commonplacing practices of other historic readers.

I begin with an overview of Anne's life, and consider the historic context of Glasgow and its book culture in the mid-nineteenth century. Anne states in her diary that she obtained her books from Stirling's Library.<sup>xiii</sup> The availability of books and their circulation within this one subscription library in the city is explored. Anne's borrowing history from the library is reconstructed using its catalogues. By studying her borrowing, reading preferences and practices, I attempt to re-construct the complex, multiple interpretive communities in which she existed, and place these within the larger historic milieu, in particular with respect to Evangelicalism.

### **From the Land of Fermentation to 'Fairyland': Carsebridge to Glasgow in the Nineteenth Century**

Anne Bald was born on 22 September 1802 in Carsebridge, a community east of Alloa in Clackmannanshire.<sup>xiv</sup> The population of Clackmannanshire in 1791 was 4,802.<sup>xv</sup> At the end of the eighteenth century, this community was small but thriving, with a wide range of industries that included distilling and brewing.<sup>xvi</sup> Anne's mother was Janet Bald, née Dick, and her father was John Bald,<sup>xvii</sup> who built the Carsebridge Distillery and the adjacent family home, Carsebridge House, in 1798.<sup>xviii</sup> The seven children of this successful distilling family probably attended the parish school. Although the records no longer exist prior to 1873, it is possible that Anne attended the same school as that of her younger brother, John Bald, who was reported in his obituary to have attended the parish school.<sup>xix</sup>

On 20 March 1839, Anne Bald married Alexander Galloway.<sup>xx</sup> The couple lived at Birdston Cottage, Campsie, where in 1840 they had the first of four children, William, who died less than two weeks later.<sup>xxi</sup> The following year, Janet Anne was born.<sup>xxii</sup> In 1844, the family moved to Glasgow where Alexander set up business as a land agent, accountant and property valuator.<sup>xxiii</sup> Between 1850 and 1856, the years covered by Anne's reading diary, the family moved from Buchanan Street, to Queen's Terrace, and finally to a single-family home on Bath Street with their two servants.<sup>xxiv</sup> In 1855, the Galloways relocated to a different house down the same street.<sup>xxv</sup> It is fair to presume that Alexander Galloway's income increased to support these moves, along with the household expenses involved with running larger homes, and the employment of two live-in servants and a growing family. During this time, two more children were born to the couple: Alexander William, born in 1845, who only lived for nineteen days, and Eliza Margaret, who was born in 1846.<sup>xxvi</sup>

Glasgow from the mid-1840s until the mid-1850s – the dates when Anne lived in the city with her husband and children – was a city steeply on the rise. Its population was growing quickly: in 1841, three years before Anne and her family arrived in the city, the population was 274,324, rising in 1851 to 329,097, and in 1861 to 395,503.<sup>xxvii</sup> The city was expanding in its production of textiles, clothing, chemicals, and iron, among other goods. Its port and shipbuilding industry also grew, and its trade was international in scope.<sup>xxviii</sup> As a result, the city's mood was buoyant and self-assured. An article in *The Glasgow Constitutional* described its growth as having 'no parallel [...] except in the regions of Fairyland'.<sup>xxix</sup>

Glasgow's growth to become the 'industrial powerhouse of Scotland' on the strength of its manufacturing base, not only brought large numbers of people into the city from other

parts of Scotland, but also from Ireland, England and Wales.<sup>xxx</sup> Anne and her family would also move to the city as part of this wave of immigrants to Glasgow. They were to become part of the rising middle class: Anne's husband, Alexander, was to profit professionally as a land agent, accountant and surveyor from the increase in building and construction that was taking place across the city.

It was not just the constructed environment that was changing: Glasgow's intellectual environment was also rapidly developing. Stirling's was one of a number of libraries operating in Glasgow at the time. Circulating libraries had been running in the city since 1753 and subscription libraries began to appear after 1800. From 1850, the year in which Anne began her reading diary, until 1855, the year she left the city, as Glasgow was expanding rapidly, so was the number of libraries, booksellers, bookbinders, publishers, reading rooms, coffee houses, and various other businesses associated with the print trade.<sup>xxxii</sup>

For a crude estimate of the growth in the book culture of Glasgow at mid-century, I examined the local post office directory. In 1849, the beginning of the period in which this study is primarily concerned, *The Post-Office Annual Directory for Glasgow, 1849-1850* (1849) lists twenty-six 'Librarians'.<sup>xxxiii</sup> These include four circulating libraries, thirteen circulating libraries – who, in addition to hiring out books, also operated a retail trade in them (the lending of books being 'a natural extension of the services offered by booksellers'), – as well as five subscription libraries.<sup>xxxiiii</sup> For the purposes of this study, I separate parochial, mechanics', and professional libraries from those previously listed as their aims were slightly different and/or more specialised compared to those more generally categorised as subscription. Thus, along with subscription libraries, the listing of 'libraries' in the directory includes the following: one parochial library, two mechanics' libraries, and one specialist law library (see *Figure 1*).<sup>xxxv</sup>

In addition to libraries, I calculated the number of bookbinders, booksellers, publishers and reading rooms. The same 1849-1850 directory is the source for the data shown in *Figure 2*, which includes coffee houses, as they were places in which reading materials were often available.<sup>xxxvi</sup> The numbers obtained from the *Glasgow Post-Office Annual Directory for 1855-1856* (1855) are included in *Figures 1* and *2*. These figures show that the largest growth occurred in the number of businesses operating as both circulating libraries and booksellers, while the remaining types stayed almost the same. The relatively stationary growth for the more established institutions – the (public) subscription libraries, mechanics' institutions, and specialist libraries – is understandable considering that these types of libraries involved the more time- and labour-consuming endeavour of collecting enough money through subscriptions in order to found them.

From the evidence in the Glasgow Post Office directories, we can see a definitive rise in the print and allied trades in the city during a very short period, specifically in the advertised number of businesses and institutions. Thus it might be said that people in Glasgow were writing, producing, publishing and buying books and that these numbers were growing quickly. However, what is interesting about Anne's reading diary is that it demonstrates that she engaged in the more traditional practice of borrowing from a library and that she rarely bought any books.<sup>xxxvii</sup> While print culture was becoming cheaper and its related industries in Glasgow were rising, Anne is an important example of one Victorian reader who chose *not* to engage with them.

### **Stirling's Library to Remain in 'Constant and Perpetual Existence': Walter Stirling's Legacy**

As a reader, Anne was also a consumer: her choice of reading materials reflected a decided preference in the means by which she obtained them over the other choices available. The

diversity and the range of options was a direct reflection of the growth of the print industry in Glasgow and across Scotland more generally during this period. As a consumer, it appears Anne chose to patronise (at least) one library.

It is possible to reconstruct a fairly accurate picture of Stirling's Library through its archival records. These date from the library's inception, with the enactment of Walter Stirling's will in 1791, until its amalgamation with Glasgow Public Libraries in 1871 and beyond.<sup>xxxvii</sup> The records include the original committee minute books, minutes from the meetings of the board of subscribers, lists of subscribers, expenditure and cash books, and various catalogues for the library. What it does not include, however, is a loans register for the books signed out by its subscribers until December 1850 at the earliest, therefore a study of the loans history and the borrowing habits of (most) readers up to this period is not possible.<sup>xxxviii</sup> However, from the extant materials, it is possible to reconstruct in some detail an account of the library's foundation and running.

Stirling's Library was founded in 1791 upon the death of Walter Stirling whose house, books and money were bequeathed to establish an institution for the public. The plans laid out in his will for the establishment, management and running of the library were made with great consideration given to its longevity and with an insistence that, from its inception to perpetuity, it would always fulfil the aims he intended: 'The constant and perpetual existence of a Public Library for the citizens or inhabitants of Glasgow.'<sup>xxxix</sup> The will established that the management of the library would fall under a board of directors that would be made up of from three members of the Town Council (with the addition of the Lord Provost as 'Director *ex officio*'), the Merchants' House, the Presbytery of Glasgow, and the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow.<sup>xl</sup> The directors would be responsible for choosing a librarian as well as the books to be purchased from any monies left over after paying the librarian and all the expenses.

The money, house, shares and books were found to be insufficient by the Directors for setting up a library such as Stirling prescribed, to the extent that one historian stated that 'the inadequacy of the bequest embarrassed the directors'.<sup>xli</sup> To this end, the constitution was amended: an alternative location for the library was found in St Enoch's Square, and the directors set out to make up the insufficiency of funds by charging three guineas for subscriptions, available at the time only to life subscribers.<sup>xlii</sup> The library moved from St. Enoch's Square, to a hall in the Hutcheson's Hospital, to a room that was added onto the back of Walter Stirling's house on Miller Street in 1844. This room included a 'comfortable Hall and Reading-Room' which Anne would have visited and where she would have signed out her books.<sup>xliii</sup>

The success of Stirling's Library in the first half of the nineteenth century was limited: indeed, it was on the point of falling into a state of neglect due to a lack of use, with only seventy-two of its subscribers using the library.<sup>xliv</sup> To remedy this, a meeting of the directors was called on 8 May 1848, at which it was decided to draw up a report on the current state of the affairs of the library, and to propose 'measures that should be adopted to render it more useful'.<sup>xlv</sup> Among the suggestions in the report, the following amendments to the existing regulations were deemed to make the library more useful: the commencement of annual subscriptions at reduced rates; the formation of a board of managers made up from and elected by the subscribers; the extension of the library's hours to include two hours in the evening; a reduction in the number and time allowed to each subscriber for the loan of a book; and the introduction of a book in which subscribers could write their suggestions for books to be purchased by the library.<sup>xlvi</sup> At a subsequent meeting in June 1848, these measures were 'unanimously approved'.<sup>xlvii</sup>

Under the new measures, the library was open from 11 until 4, and from 7 until 9 in the evening. Non-subscribers (as well as subscribers) were admitted to the Reading Hall, but

unlike the subscribers, non-subscribers were not permitted to sign out books. The terms of borrowing were as follows:

The Librarian shall not give out to any Subscriber more than one volume folio or quarto, or two volumes octavo or under, unless a work consists of only three volumes under quarto, when he shall be entitled to the entire work. Along with the above, each Subscriber shall be entitled to either a single number or an entire volume of a periodical. The time allowed for reading is, for a work in 8vo. or under two weeks; for a vol. in 4to. three weeks; and for a vol. in folio four week.<sup>xlvi</sup>

New books and periodicals were kept separately on a table 'for a period of one month'.

The Library Committee's plans were intended to encourage new readers to the library. To this end, in addition to the measures mentioned above, these included improvements in the reading materials themselves, guides for the facilitation of access to them, as well as the physical environment in which they were surrounded. New members did indeed respond to the changes. The minutes state that prior to its new opening on 25 December 1848, there were sixty-three new annual subscribers and five lifetime subscribers, who were all seen to be 'fit and proper persons for membership and [were] recommended accordingly'.<sup>xlix</sup>

According to a document produced by both the boards of directors and of subscribers, the changes brought about by the amendments to the regulations were successful, and that library users 'show[ed] their appreciation of the steps which the Directors ha[d] taken', by presumably frequenting the institution with greater alacrity, in their 'readiness with which they have come forward as readers in every way'.<sup>l</sup> Their (published) optimism was not long-lived: the fortunes of the library would suffer another slump during the librarianship of J. Bell Simpson (1851-1860). After the initial success of the library's 're-opening', that began with the Director's 'acknowledge[ment of] the value of Mr Simpson's service in increasing the prosperity of the Library', there was a downturn in its fortunes, which, it was felt, could only be rectified upon Simpson's (forced) resignation.<sup>li</sup> It was during this dramatic shake-up in the library's fortunes that Alexander Galloway subscribed to Stirling's Library, a subscription that under the regulations allowed his wife, Anne, and their children to borrow books to take home and read.

It may be argued that it was these changes to a more liberal administration in the regulations and management that caused Alexander Galloway (eventually)<sup>lii</sup> to purchase a life subscription on 8 January 1850 at Stirling's Library over the other choices of libraries available.<sup>liii</sup> However, this does not mean that the choice was from amongst all the libraries extant: for various reasons Alexander would most probably not have had all these options. For example some of the libraries had restrictive memberships that were exclusive to/intended for students and/or the working class, e.g. Mechanics' Institutions, and the Procurators library, which was a professional law library. The choice would probably have been from amongst the various circulating libraries and 'public' libraries. But this choice would be further restricted by the prevailing feeling in the nineteenth century that associated circulating libraries with 'villainous, profane and obscene books and plays'.<sup>liv</sup>

Alexander Galloway purchased a life subscription from Stirling's Library on 8 January 1850.<sup>lv</sup> He would have had to fill in an application form and agree to abide by the 'Laws and Regulations of the Institution'. He had to be approved by the board at a general or committee meeting. He had a choice of either an annual or life subscription, but chose the latter. His subscription allowed him to vote at subscribers' meetings, and this gave him a say in the running and administration of the library affairs. He had the option to suggest books to be purchased by the library, subject to approval by the board of directors. The evidence from Anne's reading diary strongly suggests that she obtained most of her books from Stirling's

Library. Although a loans register did not exist at the time, her borrowing history can nonetheless be reconstructed from the library's catalogues, and a picture of her reading preferences can be formed through an assessment of the type and the number of the books she read.

### **Anne Galloway's Borrowing History Reconstructed**

In a discussion of the 'raw materials' available to the historian of reading, Jonathan Rose lists library registers as one of the potential sources of information.<sup>lvi</sup> The earliest formal document closest to a loans register was a record book entitled *Monthly Abstract and Classification of Books Consulted by Visitors in Stirling's Library, Glasgow* that was started in September 1858.<sup>lvii</sup> This book recorded readers who consulted books in the reading room of Stirling's Library and lists the number of readers per day, number of volumes consulted, and the classification of the books they requested. Although the date range of these records is subsequent to the period of this study, which ends in 1856, the register does show the different classifications used by the library in the organisation of their stock, and thereby offers a useful tool. Starting with Anne's reading diary as a (generally) chronological, sequential record of her reading over the course of seven years, her entries can be tracked over time. Using this information together with the classifications from the *Monthly Abstract and Classification* book, the printed catalogues produced for the library between 1833 and 1870, and online specialist catalogues for the verification of the publication details, it is indeed possible to assess the trends in Anne's borrowing and reading practices (see *Appendix*).

Even though there is no extant evidence of Anne or her husband having subscriptions to other circulating and/or subscription libraries in Glasgow, the possibility nonetheless remains. Like most other readers, she would have obtained books via multiple channels, including receiving them as gifts, borrowing them from friends and family, or buying them. However, the strong correlation between the first appearance of the titles of new books in Stirling's catalogues and the date of the diary entry where she records reading those titles would strongly support the evidence of her continued and steady borrowing from Stirling's Library.

Anne's reading diary is a two hundred and thirty-six page manuscript notebook which is housed at the University of Glasgow Archives. The first entry is dated 25 February 1850 when she was 47, and the last was made on 26 August 1856 where the pages of the notebook end, and are organised (mostly) sequentially by date.<sup>lviii</sup> Over the seven years the diary covers, Anne records her reading for one hundred and eighty-four separate titles and three periodicals. There are four quotes from works that are unidentifiable, while one entry is presumably from a book which I have not been able to locate.<sup>lix</sup> The titles were classified using the *Monthly Abstract and Classification of Books Consulted by Visitors 1858-1869* from Stirling's Library as a guide, as after the 1833 catalogue, the printed catalogues consulted do not categorise the books listed therein by genre.<sup>lx</sup> The books Anne read can be broken down into the library's fifteen classifications as shown in *Figure 3* and the breakdown of her reading by percentages is shown in *Figure 4*.

These figures show that Anne had very decided preferences and pronounced disinclinations in the choice of reading materials that she decided to record. She had a penchant for biographies, which make up just over 30% of her reading. These include autobiographies, memoirs, journals, and correspondence, which were mostly about men, with a sizeable percentage about the clergy (see *Figure 5*). Part of this so-called preference had to do with the fact that there were simply more male authors of printed materials than there were by women up to and during the period under study.<sup>lxi</sup> Among the statistics compiled by



Richard Altick in his work on the sociology of authorship of over one thousand British authors were figures that demonstrated that between 1800 and 1870 (the period in which most of the books that Anne read were published), females authors comprise only approximately 20% between 1800 and 1835, and approximately 16% between 1835 and 1870.<sup>lxii</sup> Further, in the same study, clergymen made up the largest proportion of extra-literary professions (i.e. outwith professional writers) during the same period.<sup>lxiii</sup>

Just under a third of the biographies Anne read were about women. Most of these emphasized the women's devotion to philanthropic and/or charitable causes, their model behaviour as wives, mothers, and daughters, their piety, and, in the case of Barbour's book, the piety of their children – a book that was meant to act as 'a religious manual for the young' (*The Way Home* [1855]).<sup>lxiv</sup> Another quality emphasized in these books was the women's ability to act as leaders – of causes (Elizabeth Fry, Martha Sherman), conferences (Theodosia A., Viscountess Powerscourt), schools (Caroline Chisholm, Clementine Cuvier), social reform (Elizabeth Fry, Charlotte Elizabeth [Tonna]), and even of countries, as in the case of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the queens of England. Further, many of the women's biographies were about women writers, (Helen Plumptre, and the women included in the *Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England*, which was written by Anne Katharine Curteis Elwood, herself a writer), and emphasized their creative endeavours as authors, even if two of the women led scandalous lives (Mary Robinson and Anne-Marie-Louise, Duchesse de Montpensier).

It appears Anne was also looking for works that were 'instructive', a term she repeatedly uses. For example, she skipped over much of the biography of William Wilberforce in order to focus on 'his spiritual life':

Finished the 3d & 4th volumes of the Life of Wilberforce. Like the two former volumes these are truly instructive. I pass over much of his political life, as being to me unnecessary reading, but I carefully thread through his spiritual life, which none can do without feeling a desire to improve in their walk Zionwards.<sup>lxv</sup>

Similarly, Francis Bacon's biography carried import with Anne as it offered moral life lessons: 'This is a well written & instructive volume [...] Lord Bacon's career shews forcibly the vanity & unsatisfactory nature of worldly ambition & exaltation when the soul seeks no better inheritance.'<sup>lxvi</sup> Thus, she read the biographies of these clergymen and eminent women with a view to gleaning conduct models for herself and her family. Anne took particular notice of the conduct of mothers towards their children in these works. Of *The Ladies of the Covenant*, first published in 1850, Anne wrote:

The above is an instructive & interesting volume, shewing [sic] forth many a holy walk & heavenly conversation. Some of the Characters are full of dignity, usefulness, & faith. Those of the Countess of Balearras, Lady Baillie of Jerviswood, Lady Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, & Lady Anne Lindsay Duchess of Rothes, are particularly edifying.<sup>lxvii</sup>

Importantly, she included a long quote in her notebook from a work by Reverend James Anderson on the importance of the role of mothers in the Christian instruction of their children and their lifelong influence:

In the preceding notices of the Duchess of Rothes, of her predecessors & descendants, it is interesting & instructive to see piety passing downwards from parents to children for five successive generations. [...] From their offspring being in infancy constantly under their care, & afterwards in childhood & youth more frequently in their society

then in that of the other parent, Mothers have a more powerful influence than Fathers in forming their character; & how often, as must be known to all who are but slightly acquainted with christian biography, have those who have been distinguished in their day for piety & extensive usefulness in the church & in the world, had to trace their piety & their usefulness to the instructions, councils, & admonition they have received in their first & more tender years, from their God-fearing Mothers!<sup>lxviii</sup>

Her preference for biographies that offered instructive models of behaviour based upon Christian tenets is related to her second preferred type of books to read and write about, divinity and ecclesiastical history. These included expositions on the Bible, sermons, and books that offered spiritual instruction and consolation.

An important genre, not to be lost in Stirling's classifications, is the sub-genre of religious literature, which included religious fiction and novels. Works in this category have been subsumed above under the classifications of biography, divinity and ecclesiastical history, moral philosophy, and of fictions, novels, romances and tales, but should be separated out as a decidedly important element of Anne's choice of reading materials. Religious literature included 'psalters, testaments, commentaries, catechisms and sermons', along with 'religious fiction [...] a genre that could encompass a wide range of narrative from spiritual biography to converts' confessions and theological romances'.<sup>lxix</sup> If this was to constitute its own category, these works would make up 37% of Anne's reading list.

The preponderance of religious literature in Anne's reading list should be viewed in the light of the flourishing market for this genre at this time, which was the result of the increasing influence of Evangelicalism in the first half of the century. The publishing of these texts had developed rapidly up to the time of Anne's reading diary until abating at the end of the century. As Padmini Ray Murray points out, the rise was the result of several interrelated factors: the central doctrinal tenets of Evangelicalism – the focus on Bible reading and the spreading of God's word to non-believers – coincided with the growth of the printing industry, which were accompanied by an increasingly literate population, all of which helped to create a growing market for religious texts of all types.<sup>lxx</sup> Although Anne does not mention attending church or refer to herself as an Evangelical, the evidence from her diary strongly supports this view.<sup>lxxi</sup> Her faith guided not only the selection of her reading materials, but also her manner of evaluating the materials she read. For example, upon completing *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Samuel Romilly* (1840), she commented that:

He shone in the characters of Statesman, Husband, Father, Friend, & Benefactor with no common lustre – but as a follower of Jesus, where is the proof? Throughout the work there is only one prayer or rather thanksgiving introduced. In the eyes of a christian [sic] it is a melancholy production. With much humility & earnestness he gives thanks to God, for his fair reputation his ample fortune, his beloved relatives, the esteem of his friends, the good opinion of his countrymen; for his affectionate wife, his seven promising children, & his good health – but there is no mention of a single spiritual blessing, & the name of Jesus finds no place there.<sup>lxxii</sup>

That Romilly failed to acknowledge himself as a follower of Christ or to give thanks to him for all his good fortune was a major failing for both the man and the memoir, which Anne counted as a 'melancholy production'. Christian – more specifically, Evangelical beliefs – were not only central to living a useful, spiritual life, but were indeed the very foundation for Anne's responses to the works that she read. This point will be returned to below.

Fiction accounts for 13% of Anne's reading. The same underlying motivations for her choice of reading biographies could equally account for the choice in novels: she read novels

for the moral lessons and models of character they could provide. The novel's tendency to focus on the individual in his/her particular, albeit fictional, circumstances, in a 'realistic' way might well appeal to an enthusiast of biographies. For example Anne wrote that Dickens's *Hard Times* was 'an admirable little volume', its 'worth' being in part:

the strong lesson conveyed to the Parent's mind of the cruelty & worse than folly of keeping their children under constant restraint & working them like machines to the suppression of youthful feeling; & crushing down with iron heel the budding of fancy & hope.<sup>lxxiii</sup>

Generally, however, Anne disapproved of novels not necessarily for their questionable morality, but for their use of 'complicated machinery, improbable events, & far fetched [sic] agents',<sup>lxxiv</sup> making the exception for *Hard Times* as it was 'a good deal out of the common run of novels'.<sup>lxxv</sup> Anne's choice in novels was indeed a choice of the novel: her preference for books in this genre was for those that were relatively recently published. Where the edition of the book was able to be identified (64% of fiction),<sup>lxxvi</sup> she chose newly-published novels (see *Figure 6*). Across all classifications where editions could be identified (62%), her preference again appears to be for books that were first editions and presumably recently added to the stock of Stirling's Library (see *Appendix* and *Figure 7*).

Anne's preference for newly-published books is not surprising in the context of mid-nineteenth-century print culture in Scotland. A demand in the market that developed for the 'new', the latest in published materials, was motivated by various factors. These included the rise of a 'reading revolution' that developed over the course of the nineteenth century as a result of increased literacy rates – particularly in Scotland, where literacy rates were arguably higher than in the rest of the country.<sup>lxxvii</sup> This was accompanied by the development of new and cheaper methods of printing in the 1840s to the 1860s, alongside the introduction of the penny post and its concurrent development with improvements in communications routes, particularly railways from the 1840s. These improvements occurred first in cities in the central belt of Scotland before spreading to the more outlying areas of the country.<sup>lxxviii</sup> They would 'transform the Scottish book trade',<sup>lxxix</sup> extend the distribution of print to formerly peripheral regions, and transform a formerly agrarian society into not only an industrial nation, but one with an arguably more cohesive socio-cultural, economic and intellectual environment.

Anne was not alone in wanting to be among the first to read new books: she appears to have consulted a manuscript book of new titles that was kept at Stirling's Library for the purpose of broadcasting titles newly acquired by the library prior to the printing of a new catalogue.<sup>lxxx</sup> One hundred and thirty-two titles, or 72% of the books that she read, could be attributed to her borrowing from Stirling's Library during the period between 1850 and 1856, and one-fifth were books that she recorded in her journal just prior to their appearance in the printed catalogues (see *Figure 8*). Anne's preference is just one example in the larger trend that developed during the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century, which amounted to an appetite for more widely available, cheaper printed materials of all types, a trend that accelerated into the mid-Victorian period (and beyond).

The scope of this study does not allow for a detailed assessment of the twenty-five novels nor the sixty biographies that Anne read (needless to say the entire collection of one hundred and eight-four works recorded in her reading diary). Nonetheless, amongst the twenty-five novels that were recorded, Anne showed a preference for four authors in particular. She enjoyed Anne Manning, recording four of her novels (*Cherry & Violet*, *A Tale of the Great Plague* [1853]; *The Colloquies of Edward Osborne, Citizen and Cloth Worker of London* [1852]; *The Household of Sir Thomas More* [1851]; and *The Maiden and Married*

*Life of Mary Powell, Afterwards Mistress Milton* [1849]), as well as two by Charles Dickens (*Hard Times*[1854], and *Little Dorrit* [in serial form, 1855-7]), two by Harriet Beecher Stowe (*The Mayflower* [1849], and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*[1852]), and two by William Makepeace Thackeray (*Doctor Birch and His Young Friends* [1849], and *Vanity Fair* [1848]). Anne's preference for reading Manning's novels may indicate an interest in the (difficult) marital relations of both More and Milton.<sup>lxxxix</sup> In addition, she may have decided to read Dickens and Beecher Stowe as both these authors were quite famous and even visited Glasgow in 1847 and 1853 respectively. Anne read *Vanity Fair* as it was recommended to her by a 'deeply read Clergyman.'<sup>lxxxii</sup>

In regards to the rest of Anne's reading, her tastes were eclectic. Stirling's Library classification groups the arts and sciences category together with natural history, but this disguises the fact that Anne would appear to prefer books on natural history over books on arts and sciences (see *Figure 9*). The books classified as geography, voyages and travels indicate that she chose to read about foreign, exotic places like Spain, Portugal, India, Nepal, Tasmania, Pitcairn and Hawaii over those on places closer to home like England and Ireland. History books only comprise 3% of her reading, but again this figure is misleading, as most of Anne's reading of biographies comprise historic figures that were actively involved in shaping the socio-cultural and/or economic histories in which they lived. She only read a few books of poetry, and these were by authors that could be considered 'main-stream' and popular: Charles Lamb, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Alfred Tennyson.

The rate at which Anne must have consumed such a large number of books should also be taken into consideration. She would have had between two and four weeks to read them, depending upon their size, and given the large number of books recorded, she was reading at a prodigious rate. However, just what that rate was is difficult to adduce. Anne's reading diary cannot be viewed as a timely document which was regularly attended to, or which accurately recorded the thoughts and feelings of a reader immediately upon her completion of a work. Anne did not read every book in the same manner – some books were subject to more intensive reading which involved close study, and books that she enjoyed she would often re-read. At other times, she engaged in very superficial reading and skimmed texts that did not interest her while making a note of it, sometimes scathingly. For example, she wrote of *Madeira: Its Climate and Scenery* (1851) that:

The title of this book is its greatest attraction. It contains some information, conveyed in a dry uninteresting style without any mixture of incident or anecdote. One runs hastily over the pages as a taste, and gladly closes a volume which yields so little pleasure.<sup>lxxxiii</sup>

This contrasted with a more serious and prolonged study of John Foster's *Essays in a Series of Letters* (1805), on which she wrote:

These Essays I read in very early life, & I have now renewed my acquaintance with them. They are worthy of all the celebrity they have attained. They deserve not only to be read; but to be pondered. They exhibit great good sense, sound judgment, purity & force of style, rich & varied imagery, & piety at once elevated & practical. The volume is a valuable one, & deserves a place in the library of every christian [sic] of cultivated taste. One cannot read it without feeling themselves more thoughtful in consequence. Let the young study it attentively & it may save them from plunging into many frivolous or doubtful books.

Anne's response(s) to Foster's *Essays* contain the hallmarks of what she considered the 'best' works for 'christian[s] of cultivated taste': it was sound in judgement and style, thought-provoking yet practical, pious and particularly useful for young readers. She is also aware of contemporary criticism on the work, it being (rightly) popular.

Foster's *Essays* were one of several works that Anne approved of for 'young readers'. In fact, it is only after five years do we discover that Anne wrote her own diary with two specific young readers in mind. Although the first entry records that the diary would be for her own personal use – '[a]s a refresher to [her] memory in old age' – the entry after the tragic death of her daughter, Eliza, reveals Anne's alternative motivation: 'I often thought while noting my opinion of books, my children might take pleasure in reading these pages; perhaps when I was no more.'<sup>lxxxiv</sup> As she wrote with her children in mind, in one sense, Anne's reading diary is an example of one woman's constructed reading patterns which acted as a form of self-fashioning: as is the case with all diaries and journals, authors may not have disclosed everything in the wish to project a certain image of themselves.<sup>lxxxv</sup> In addition, the materials that Anne dis/approved of reading and her responses to them accordingly were meant to be emulated by her daughters. In this way, the diary could be seen as an example of private conduct literature that was intended as a learning tool.

In many ways, Anne's choice of reading materials reflects those advocated and approved of by commentators, educational writers and authors of published conduct literature. These, often conflicting, voices were part of the contemporary discourse surrounding 'the woman reader', and made up part of the socio-cultural milieu around Anne's reading. These commentators helped to define what girls and women should and should not read, as well as offering advice on how to read those materials. The genres that were generally approved – albeit not universally – for girls and women, included the Bible, religious literature, conduct literature, books on history, geography, and travels.<sup>lxxxvi</sup> Fictional works, particularly novels, however, were controversial reading for women throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both Pearson and Flint's work demonstrate the heterogeneous responses of women to stereotypes of women's novel reading and their challenging of authorial intention. Anne's own responses supports these premises.

This overview of the context of Anne's life, alongside the trends, patterns and preferences of the books she obtained from Stirling's Library (and presumably elsewhere) and wrote about in her reading diary, tells us what she read, and possibly how she might have selected her books. A closer examination of her comments can tell us more about what she thought about the works she read.

### **Evangelicalism and 'the Life of this devoted servant of God'**<sup>lxxxvii</sup>

The entries in Anne's reading diary generally follow a set formula. The title and author of a work are usually given and an evaluative judgement is made on its de/merits which are frequently based on her 'horizon of expectations' regarding its respective genre.<sup>lxxxviii</sup> The entry could include a synopsis of the plot but more often not. Finally, selections from the work are transcribed that illustrate her critical assessment, often ending with a note of the particular place and date she made the entry. Anne took an analytical, purposive approach to the texts she read. Her reading was central to her identity as a Christian and was part of her faith. The evidence of her reading diary strongly supports these as being closely allied to the central tenets of Evangelicalism which served to reinforce her religious beliefs.

Evangelicalism is a Protestant movement and as such is not limited to any particular denomination. Historically in Britain, it encompassed a 'breadth and diversity' of adherents, which included Calvinists and Arminians, as well as Anglicans and Dissenters.<sup>lxxxix</sup> However,

D. W. Bebbington identifies a ‘quadrilateral of priorities’ that serve as ‘special marks’ of Evangelical religion:

*conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *Biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.<sup>xc</sup>

Even given these central characteristics, historians acknowledge the difficulty of identifying who in fact was an Evangelical. Mark Knight and Emma Mason go so far as to say that ‘once we move beyond well-known persons such as William Wilberforce, Hannah More, and Lord Shaftsbury, it is virtually impossible to determine exactly who is and who is not an Evangelical.’<sup>xc<sup>i</sup></sup> Patricia Meldrum suggests that identification may be facilitated, particularly for ‘lesser-known people’, by studying a person’s writings.<sup>xc<sup>ii</sup></sup> Anne never refers to herself specifically as an Evangelical. However, I argue that her choice of reading materials and particularly her responses together offer good evidence of a ‘lesser-known’ Evangelical.

To return to Anne’s preference for biographies, I found that twenty percent of these were by the clergy (see *Figure 6*). Anne’s favourite authors and/or biographical subjects included: Edward Bickersteth; James Buchanan; James Harington Evans; Charles Simeon; James Hamilton; Octavius Winslow; William Wilberforce; Matthew Henry; John Foster; and John Fredric Oberlin. As her reading diary marked a preference for devotional reading that supported Anne’s faith, it is not a coincidence these men are all identified as being Evangelicals by *The Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, which uses Bebbington’s criteria foremost for their identification.<sup>xc<sup>iii</sup></sup>

If we return to Bebbington’s four ‘special marks’ of Evangelicalism, Anne’s responses to the works that she read offer further evidence of her Evangelical faith. She does not record if she herself was converted, although she notes with approbation those in her reading materials who were, or whose ‘usefulness’ is marked by their actively working for the conversion of others. On completing *The Missionary of Kilmany: Being A Memoir Of Alexander Paterson, With Notices Of Robert Edie* (1833), she wrote that ‘[t]he subject of it [...] was a hard working [sic] ploughman [...] His field of labour was amongst the very poor & it pleased God greatly to honor his exertions, by calling many wretched souls out of darkness into marvellous light.’<sup>xc<sup>iv</sup></sup> Similarly, one of the books that Anne re-read ‘from time to time from early youth’ was the *Imitation of Christ*. The transcriptions of ‘a few passages which impressed me’ covered almost four pages of the diary. Nevertheless, she wrote: ‘To me, the greatest want in this book is, that of the author not urging the reader to labour for the souls of others, that of his not pleading a wide spread benevolence as regards the kingdom of Christ’, but she concedes that ‘this Christian grace belonged less to the cloister days of Thomas A Kempis [sic], than to the enlarged mind & persevering activity of the present.’<sup>xc<sup>v</sup></sup>

The ‘persevering activity of the present’ refers to the prodigious activism that Evangelicals generally engaged in once they were converted. In addition to Paterson’s and à Kempis’s work, Anne noted her admiration and the ‘serious feeling’ – by which she meant pious, private introspection – elicited after reading *Memoirs of the Life of Rev. Charles Simeon* (1847):

The Life of this devoted servant of God cannot be read without leaving a trace of serious feeling on the mind of the reader, & striving him up to new resolutions of zeal for God’s cause. Charles Simeon became a convert to christianity at the age of nineteen. So soon as he was established in the paths of peace he looked around to see how he could serve his God & Saviour, & from that time to his dying day, a space of fifty eight years, this was the leading thought of his mind, the summit & scope of his

desire [...] His works must follow him through all generations for thousands have been brought under the influence of his godly exertions, who will send on the blessed impression to their posterity.<sup>x cvi</sup>

Anne does not record or allude to any similar ‘godly exertions’ that she may have engaged in, in which case she differed from a great number of other Evangelical women not only in Glasgow, but across Britain. Bebbington notes that ‘[i]n the nineteenth century [...] even if private philanthropy was common in all religious bodies and beyond, Evangelicals led the way’, being a ‘major channel for women’s energies’. Philanthropic work was a means for women to exert influence outside their own the homes, and they were involved in a variety of different charitable efforts that included home visitation in their communities to spread the gospel and encourage church attendance.<sup>x cvii</sup> Again, given the prodigious rate of reading (and writing) that she engaged in, it would be surprising if she had much spare time to devote to charitable works. Instead, she appears to have turned to private devotion and the cultivation of ‘serious feeling’ through her intense reading.

The third marker of Evangelicalism is Biblicism, and undoubtedly, Anne read her Bible. Her literary criticism is mixed with pertinent biblical references and quotes even if she did not record individual instances in her reading diary. A clue as to the intensity of her biblical study is given in a ‘good passage’ which she transcribed from Horatius Bonar’s *Man: His Religion and His World* (1851): ‘We must study the Bible on our knees; we must acquire theology in our closets’.<sup>x cviii</sup> Among other works thought ‘worthy’ to transcribe, from Archibald Alison’s third volume of *History of Europe* (1835-42), Anne recorded a passage on William Pitt’s ‘knowledge of Scripture [which] was extensive & accurate: insomuch that long after & when immersed in political life, he could distinguish at once a quotation from the Bible from one from the Apocrypha.’<sup>x cvix</sup> Anne considered a thorough knowledge of the Bible was essential, and the importance of its study was necessary to pass along to one’s children.

Anne’s criticisms of the ten volumes of the second edition of Lockhart’s *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* are illustrative of her adherence to the last characteristic of Evangelical faith – crucicentrism – and Christian ideals more broadly:

It is a pleasing work, written in a cheerful, manly & unaffected style, & full of natural & lively descriptions. Who can read it without loving & admiring the generous, laborious, & talented subjects, & at the same time sincerely pitying him. He is a melancholy instance of a happy prosperous, amiable, worldly man, living a rational, & in many respects a blameless life, without the fear of God, or in any way seeking his glory, although full of kindness to his fellow creatures. Had there been no future state in prospect, no judgement after death; no account to be given in, for misspent Sabbaths, or taking God’s holy name in vain – then would his circumstances & rural tastes & enjoyments, have been such as many might have desired. But when we bring his life & affliction of his time & talents to the standard of the cross of Christ, & there measure what bearing they have on the coming Eternity, how do they shrink into insignificance, & raise in the reflecting mind emotions of pain & regret [...] The few remaining vols will unfold his days of darkness & trial, & how he met these. My mind is much occupied with the subject as I sit plying the busy needle.<sup>c</sup>

Anne finished the tenth volume and observed that his death bed scene – this type of scene being described by Doreen Rosman as having an ‘almost sacramental function in evangelical experience’<sup>ci</sup> – was by no means laudatory: ‘No expression of sorrow for sins, or time, or talents misapplied is there to be found. No regret for God’s Holy name & word being so abused in his fictions.’<sup>cii</sup> Anne’s responses are unusual in that Scott was one of the most

popular Victorian authors in the nineteenth century. Locally, admirers in Glasgow erected the first statue in his memory in the centre of George Square in 1837, and the imposing monument in Edinburgh was finally inaugurated in 1846.<sup>ciii</sup> Anne disapproves of Scott for what she saw as his failings as a Christian.

By interpreting her reading through the lens of Evangelicalism, and using it as a means of reinforcing her religious beliefs, Anne's reading practices are similar to other historic Evangelical readers. For example, part of Rosman's study examines Evangelical responses to secular literature in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and includes a review of autobiographies, biographies and memories in addition to published literary criticism from some of the leading Evangelical periodicals of the period.<sup>civ</sup> In citing the published literary criticism, she concludes that '[w]hat was important, all were agreed, was that a work should uphold a Christian world view and writers who failed to do so were severely criticised.'<sup>cv</sup> Further, '[t]heir concern that literature should be useful led evangelicals to misread some non-evangelical works, the enjoyment of which they legitimised by discovering a moral.'<sup>cvi</sup>

## Conclusion

Anne Galloway lived in a rapidly growing industrial city with a booming book culture that, as a result, allowed easier access to a variety of different venues from which to procure reading materials, and which also offered her the potential to be part of several different reading communities.<sup>cvi</sup> Anne appears to have borrowed most of her books through Stirling's Library. The library's collection of books, its regulations and rules regarding the admission of their subscribers, the participation of subscribers in the library's management, and their involvement in the selection of books to the library's stock suggests that the subscribers might potentially have shared similar socio-cultural views if not religious beliefs. Thus it could be said that Stirling's Library was one reading community to which Anne belonged.<sup>cvi</sup>

Anne benefitted from the growing print culture in Glasgow, which offered her access to the variety of published materials available from Stirling's Library (at least). And while she read across a range of genres, she mainly used a single hermeneutic method: works of various genres were viewed through her Evangelistic faith by which she often challenged authorial intention. As Pearson and Flint have shown in their respective work, women read with, as well as against, the grain. Through her choice of moralistic, indeed Evangelistic works and accompanying interpretive method, Anne could be considered part of the Evangelistic interpretive community. However, this is not meant to suggest that subscribers to Stirling's Library and Evangelistic readers all read their books in the same manner, for almost certainly they didn't: interpretive communities are inherently complex due, in part, to various demographic differences.

Anne's choice of reading materials was not only a personal preference: the rapidly-expanding book culture of mid-nineteenth-century Glasgow and Anne's own choices as a reader and consumer of print materials were interdependent and facilitated each other. Being a consumer, Anne made choices in regards not only to what she read, but also the means by which to obtain them, which was largely through her husband's subscription to Stirling's Library. Alexander's subscription allowed him to have a say in the management and in the selection of books that the library bought. The need to keep subscription costs down meant that the library board sought out the best prices for those books, which they would buy either new or second-hand. This in turn acted on the market for books. With Glasgow's rapid growth in population that began soon after the start of the century, there were more readers in the city, and the demand was driving the market.



But alongside these advances and changes in the city's book culture, readers were continuing to employ more traditional means by which to procure their reading materials, which included library borrowing. Further, at least one reader continued what might be considered a more traditional reading practice of keeping a commonplace book to record her reading. Although David Allan and William St Clair mark the decline of commonplace books from the 1820s, Stephen Colclough's work on what he more generally terms 'manuscript books' demonstrates that this practice continued to be used by readers from the end of the eighteenth century until (at least) the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>cix</sup>

These manuscript books were a development of an eighteenth century form. From the 1820s onwards, even while the cost of new books started to fall, they continued to be beyond the means of many readers until mid-century, who continued to borrow their books from libraries.<sup>cx</sup> Anne's reading diary illustrates a development of an older tradition of commonplacing, particularly from the Georgian period. This practice had a symbiotic relationship with Enlightenment ideals of the improvement of the self – in this case of one mid-nineteenth century reader, the enlightened, converted self – and equally demonstrates that commonplace practices continued and developed in a variety of forms despite the increased availability of (more) affordable books in the first half of the nineteenth century.

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## Notes

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<sup>i</sup> R. K. Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos* (London: Collins, 1983), pp. 11-2.

<sup>ii</sup> 'The woman reader' is the subject of work by Jacqueline Pearson and by Kate Flint. See J. Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), and K. Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). See also E. Gordon and G. Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family, and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, Connecticut and London: Yale University Press, 2003), and E. Breitenbach et al., *Scottish Women: A Documentary History, 1780-1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013).

<sup>iii</sup> C. G. Brown, in *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707*, states that 'Victorian social policy rested heavily on evangelical foundations [...] Though not united on such 'political' matters, evangelical ministers and leading laity were frequently influential in promoting social reform and civic improvement' (C. G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), p. 98.

<sup>iv</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102, and the term is quoted in this source. Brown discusses the sweeping changes that occurred in cities across Scotland including Glasgow in Chapter 5, 'The Challenge of the Cities 1780-1890', pp. 95-123.

<sup>v</sup> Patricia Meldrum discusses the difficulty of identifying Evangelicals who were not famous, the majority of whom were 'lesser-known people'. I return to this point later (P. Meldrum, *Conscience and Compromise: Forgotten Evangelicals of Nineteenth-century Scotland* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2006), p. 6).

<sup>vi</sup> Janet Anne Galloway was heavily involved in the formation and running of the Glasgow Association for the Higher Education of Women, later Queen Margaret College, then the University of Glasgow (Women's Department). After Janet's death, her mother's reading diary passed to Marion Gilchrist – the first woman graduate of the University of Glasgow as well as the first woman across Scotland to earn a medical degree – and then to David Alec Wilson, being finally donated to the University of Glasgow. Biographical details of Janet's life are included in the following: *Janet A. Galloway, LL.D.: Some Memories & Appreciations*, ed. by Mrs. R.

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Jardine (Glasgow: Robert MacLehose and Co., Ltd., 1914); and D. Murray, *Miss Janet Ann [sic] Galloway and the Higher Education of Women in Glasgow* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1914). For a brief history of the life of Marion Gilchrist, see 'Marion Gilchrist', *The University of Glasgow Story* (<<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH0226&type=P>>, [accessed 06/06/16]). Details of how the reading diary was bequeathed is found in the front of Anne Galloway's reading diary (Glasgow, University of Glasgow Archive Services, Notebook of Anne Galloway, Mother of Janet Galloway, Records of Queen Margaret College, Glasgow, 1883-1935, GB 0248 GB 0248 DC 233/2/23/11).

vii S. Towheed, R. Crone and K. Halsey, 'Individual Readers: Introduction', in *The History of Reading: A Reader*, ed. by S. Towheed, R. Crone and K. Halsey (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 323-325, 323.

viii J. Brewer, 'Reconstructing the Reader: Prescriptions, Texts and Strategies in Anna Larpent's Reading' in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. by James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 226-45; A. Baggerman, 'The Cultural Universe of a Dutch Child: Otto van Eck and His Literature', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31 (1997), 129-34; R. DeMaria, *Samuel Johnson and the Life of Reading* (Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); J. A. Secord, 'Self-Development', in *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000); S. Colclough, 'Procuring Books and Consuming Texts: The Reading Experience of a Sheffield Apprentice, 1798', *Book History*, 3 (2000), 21-44.

ix I am indebted to one of the anonymous reviewers for suggesting this source. A. F. Westphall, *Books and Religious Devotion: The Redemptive Reading of an Irishman in Nineteenth-Century New England* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014).

x Brewer, 245.

xi 'Interleaving' is defined as 'clusters of densely written notebook pages inserted between the pages of print' (Westphall, p. 11); p. 8; p. 13.

xii *Ibid.*, p. 8.

xiii Entries in Anne Galloway's reading diary where she mentions Stirling's Library are on [no date] March 1851, and 31 May 1851 (Anne Galloway, ?/03/1851, p. 21; 31/05/1851, p. 28).

xiv O. P. R. Births, 08/10/1802, Ann Bald [Alloa, 465/00 00600]. Anne's name appears variously in the records as either Ann or Anne.

xv J. Frame and J. F. Erskine, 'Parish of Alloa (County of Clackmannan – Presbytery of Stirling – Synod of Perth and Stirling)', in *The Statistical Account of Scotland. Drawn up from the Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes*, ed. by John Sinclair, 21 vols, (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1793), VIII, pp. 635-637.

xvi *Ibid.*, pp. 596-624.

xvii O. P. R. Births, 22/09/1802, Ann Bald [Alloa, 465/00 00600].

xviii 'Carsebridge Grain Distillery', *The Scotch Malt Whisky Society* [http://www.smws.co.uk/our-unique-whisky/distillery-profile/Rest\\_of\\_the\\_World/Carsebridge\\_Grain\\_Distillery.html](http://www.smws.co.uk/our-unique-whisky/distillery-profile/Rest_of_the_World/Carsebridge_Grain_Distillery.html) [accessed 11 July 2014].

xix 'The Late Mr John Bald', *Alloa Advertiser*, 20 June 1883, p. 2.

xx O. P. R. Marriages, 20/03/1839, Alexander Galloway and Ann Bald [Alloa, 465/00 0070].

xxi O. P. R. Births, 11/07/1840, William Galloway [Campsie, 475/00 0040 0297].

xxii O. P. R. Births, 28/10/1841, Janet Anne Galloway [475/00 0040 0311].

xxiii Census 1881, Alexander Galloway [Glasgow, Blythswood, 644/07 046]. Statutory Deaths, 1883, Alexander Galloway [Glasgow, Blythswood, 644/07 0472]. The *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1883-1884* continues to list Alexander Galloway as a land agent until the year of his death (*Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1883-1884* [Glasgow: William Mackenzie, 1883], p. 843).

xxiv The first listing for Alexander Galloway as a 'land agent, valuator and accountant' appears in *The Post Office Annual Glasgow Directory for 1846-47*, and continues to be listed as such yearly thereafter until the 1883-4 directory. The directory also shows the family's changes of address over the years. The census data states that Alexander and Anne Galloway had one servant when they lived in Birdston, and two 'domestic' or 'house' servants until (at least) 1871 (Census 1841, Alexander Galloway [Campsie, 475/00 003]; Census 1851 [Glasgow, Blythswood, 644/01 0006]; Census 1861, Alexander Galloway [Glasgow, Blythswood, 644/06 029]; Census 1871, Alexander Galloway [Glasgow, Blythswood, 644/06 025].

xxv The Valuation Rolls list Alexander Galloway as proprietor, as well as a tenant and occupier for 59 Bath Street until his death (Valuation Rolls, 1865-1866, 59 Bath Street, Barony, Glasgow Burgh [VR102/137/110]; Valuation Rolls, 1875-1876, 59 Bath Street, Barony, Glasgow Burgh [VR102/229/56].

xxvi No birth record or death records appear in the Old Parish Records for Alexander William Galloway, but the date of his death is recorded on his headstone. His date of death is inscribed '18<sup>th</sup> March 1845, 19 days' (O. P. R. Births, 10/10/1846, Eliza Margaret Galloway [Glasgow, Blythswood, 644/01 0380 0006]).

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

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<sup>xxviii</sup> See 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.

<sup>xxix</sup> This quote comes from a newspaper clipping taken from *The Glasgow Constitutional*, dated August 1850, in John Strang, *The Progress of Glasgow, in Population, Wealth, Manufactures, &c...* (Glasgow: James Hedderwick & Son, 1850). Glasgow-born John Strang, who was a statistician, author and later City Chamberlain, echoes this sentiment in a report he gave to the Statistical Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (see J. Strang, *Economic and Social Statistics of Glasgow and the West of Scotland, for Various Years From 1851 to 1861* (Glasgow: James MacNab, 1862).

<sup>xxx</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96. From Table 4.6, *The Birthplace of Migrants to Glasgow 1851-1911* in C. 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, p. 149.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Newspapers were available from coffee-houses (or coffee-rooms) in Glasgow like the one associated with the Tontine Hotel since the end of the seventeenth century. The Tontine Coffee-House opened in May 1784, and one of its main attractions was the provision of newspapers. This establishment was extant until it was added to a local shop in 1868 (J. Fisher, 'Tontine', in *The Glasgow Encyclopedia* (Edinburgh and London: Mainstream Publishing, 1994), p. 379). For a history of the early period of coffee-houses in Glasgow, see W. J. Couper, 'Old Glasgow Coffee-Houses', in *Old Glasgow Club. Transactions*, Vol. II, Sessions 1908-12 (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, Ltd., 1913), pp. 187-200.

<sup>xxxii</sup> The heading 'librarians' is used in the Post Office Directory to list the institutions as well as (some of) the people working as such in them. This list is compiled only of the institutions run as various types of libraries in the city. The list in the Directory also includes William W. Niven, who was employed at the Glasgow [Public] Library, and is not counted in this list of libraries.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Circulating libraries listed include: Duncan Campbell; George M'Leod; Charles Rattay, and John Wark. Businesses that sold as well as hired out books were listed as both 'librarians' and 'booksellers & stationers' and include: William Campbell; William Hamilton; Robert Laurie; Robert Miller; John Morrison; John Murchie; Charles Rattay (Rattay has two listings under 'librarians' for the two different branches of his library, only one of which also sold books); James Rattay, Jr.; William Sime; William Strachan; John Urie; Francis W. Watson; and George Watson. See M. R. M. Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), p. 93. Subscription libraries include: Bridgeton Public Library; Glasgow Public Library; North Quarter Library; Royal Exchange Public Library; and Stirling's Library.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> The only parochial library listed is Gorbals Church and Parish Library. This, however, was not the only religious library in existence in Glasgow at this time, merely the only one listed in the *Post Office Directory*. John C. Crawford, citing the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, determined there were three religious libraries in Glasgow in the mid-nineteenth century, one of the Established Church and two dissenting (J. C. Crawford, 'Denominational Libraries in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Scotland', *Library History*, 7 [1985], 33-44 [Table III, 38]). This disproportion was typical for the rest of the country. Religious libraries were predominantly located in rural areas, however, the vast majority of these libraries across the country were run by the Established Church (*Ibid.*, 39-40). Whether or not the Gorbals Church and Parish Library was run on a commercial basis is currently unknown, but evidence from other libraries in Scotland suggests that it might not have been. There were other religious lending libraries that did charge fees, for example, in Aberdeen and Kippen, but these were in existence in the first part of the century, and, in general, their numbers appear to have diminished toward mid-century as the price of printed materials dropped (P. Ray Murray, 'Religion', in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, ed. by Bill Bell [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007], III, *Ambition and Industry, 1800-80*, 295). Mechanics libraries include: Calton Public Mechanics' Hall; Mechanics' Library. The Procurators' Library was a specialist law library.

<sup>xxxv</sup> *The Post-Office Annual Glasgow Directory For 1849-1850*, pp.433-435; p. 487; p. 517.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Anne Galloway only records buying two books in six years she kept her diary. These included *The Officer's Daughter: A Memoir of Miss Elizabeth Tatton* (1848), by Octavius Winslow, and *The Flower Faded; a Short Memoir of Clementine Cuvier, Daughter of Baron Cuvier; With Reflections* (1836), by John Angell James.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Stirling's Library later became part of Glasgow Corporation in 1912. Today, the library is located in the Royal Exchange building, and is now known as The Library at GOMA (Gallery of Modern Art), being one of the thirty-two branches of the city's libraries. For a more detailed history the library, see also T. Mason, *Public and Private Libraries of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1885), W. J. S. Paterson, *Stirling's and Glasgow Public Library, 1791-1907* (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, Ltd., 1907), and D. Lesec McCallum, *A History of Stirling's Library, 1791-1974* ([Glasgow], [1974]), along with an overview of the history of the library on the *The Glasgow Story* website (<<http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image.php?inum=TGSA00860>>, [accessed 13 July 2014]).

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<sup>xxxviii</sup> Instead of a loans register, the amendments to the rules and regulations of Stirling's will state that 'the librarian shall take a Receipt for all Books lent to a Subscriber' (Glasgow City Archives, Committee Minute Book of Stirling's Public Library, 1849, S.R. 237, 274630, D-LB Uncat; entry for 31 October 1791).

<sup>xxxix</sup> Walter Stirling, *Deed of Mortification by Walter Stirling of a Fund for Establishing a Public Library in Glasgow* (Glasgow: A. Duncan & R. Chapman, 1791), p. 10.

<sup>xl</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4-5.

<sup>xli</sup> Glasgow, Mitchell Library, Committee Minute Book, entries for 10 May 1791 and 5 July 1791, SR 237, 274629). The number of books in Stirling's possession when he died was 'about 760 volumes', which were valued at 'about £160' (Committee Minute Book, entry for 10 May 1791, SR 237, 274629). Mason reprints the first catalogue that was made up from these books (1885, pp. 46-61); Mason, 1885, p. 61.

<sup>xlii</sup> Committee Minute Books, entry for 31 October 1791, SR 237, 274629.

<sup>xliii</sup> 'To the Honourable The Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, inn Parliament Assembled, the Petition of the Directors of Stirling's Public Library in Glasgow ([Glasgow]: Hedderwick & Son, [1849]), p. 1.

<sup>xliv</sup> Mason, p. 70.

<sup>xlv</sup> *Report to the Directors of Stirling's Library on the Measures That Should be Adopted to Render it More Useful* (Glasgow: James Hedderwick & Son, 1848).

<sup>xlvi</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>xlvii</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>xlviii</sup> 'Bye-Laws' in *Report to the Directors of Stirling's Library, on the Measures That Should be Adopted to Render it More Useful to the Citizens of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Printed by James Hedderwick & Son, 1848), p. 18.

<sup>xlix</sup> Committee Minutes for the meeting held 11 December 1848 (SR 237, 274629).

<sup>1</sup> 'To the Honourable The Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament Assembled, the Petition of the Directors of Stirling's Public Library in Glasgow', [1849], p. 2.

<sup>ii</sup> Committee Minute Books, entry for 15 April 1852 (SR 237, 274629); McCallum, pp. 16-19.

<sup>iii</sup> Galloway was not the only one who was slow on the up-take. Notwithstanding the boards' published optimism and reporting of figures, it appears that new subscribers to Stirling's Library after it's revamp was less than they had hoped for: at the first meeting of the board of subscribers, the treasurer reports that the response to the circulars sent out to '1200 Citizens calling their attention to the ~~advantages of the~~ [crossed out] Library and requesting them to become Subscribers' met only a low response, with only 'a small portion' responding (Glasgow, Mitchell Library, Committee Minute Book. Stirling's Public Library, 1849-1882, entry for 9 December 1850, S.R. 237, 274630, p. 3).

<sup>liii</sup> The first entry for Alexander Galloway appears on this date. The entry lists his payment as £5.15s.9d. The membership was £5.5s, and the cat. 3s., and the supplement 6d, thus he purchased a subscription, and possibly a couple of catalogues and supplements (Glasgow, Mitchell Library, Librarians Cash Book, 1848-1860, SR237, 702653). Prior to Stirling's Library, Alexander Galloway was a subscriber to the Royal Exchange Reading Room, where the first entry of his name as a subscriber is for the year 1847 and is listed continually until 1857 (Glasgow, Mitchell Library, List of Subscribers 1832-1932, RBC1657, 643791).

<sup>liv</sup> R. Wodrow, *Analecta or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences* (Edinburgh, 1842); quoted by Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment* (2010), p. 98. Towsey discusses this, along with the history of circulating libraries in Scotland, in more detail in 'Chapter Three: "Vice and Obscenity Dreadfully Propagated": Circulating Libraries', in *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment* (2010), pp. 92-120.

<sup>lv</sup> The first entry for Alexander Galloway appears on this date. (Glasgow City Archives, Librarians Cash Book, 1848-1860, SR237, 702653, D-LB Uncat). Prior to Stirling's Library, Alexander Galloway was a subscriber to the Royal Exchange Reading Room, where the first entry of his name as a subscriber is for the year 1847 and is listed continually until 1857 (Glasgow City Archives, List of Subscribers 1832-1932, RBC1657, 643791, D-LB Uncat).

<sup>lvi</sup> J. Rose, 'Arriving at a History of Reading', *Historically Speaking*, 5 (2004), 36.

<sup>lvii</sup> Glasgow City Archives, Monthly Abstract and Classification of Books Consulted by Visitors, 1858-69, SR237, 702656, D-LB Uncat.

<sup>lviii</sup> There are three known errors in the recording of the dates in the journal (see entries 47, 63 and 85 [Appendix], wherein the order of the dates Anne records do not follow the sequence of the preceding and subsequent dates.

<sup>lix</sup> The four quotes are from J. C. Ryle, Philip Melancthon, 'Dale' and from 'Brightwell', while the unclassifiable book is entitled *Gleams of Sunshine in a Cottage or What a Woman May Do* by Mary Margaret Brewster. Anne made duplicate entries for the same book by Brewster.

<sup>lx</sup> Glasgow City Archives, Monthly Abstract and Classification of Books Consulted by Visitors, 1858-69, SR237, 702656, D-LB Uncat.

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- <sup>lxi</sup> R. Altick, 'The Sociology of Authorship: The Social Origins, Education, and Occupations of 1,100 British Writers, 1800-1935', in *Writers, Readers, and Occasions: Selected Essays on Victorian Literature and Life* (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1989), p. 97.
- <sup>lxii</sup> These figures are roughly equivalent to those given by Peter Garside for the authors of new novels between 1830 and 1836 (see Figure 1.2, 'Authorship of new novels, 1820-1836: Gender breakdown'), (P. Garside, 'The Early 19<sup>th</sup>-century English Novel, 1820-1836', in *The Oxford Handbook of The Victorian Novel*, ed. by L. Rodensky (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 21-40, p. 33.
- <sup>lxiii</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.
- <sup>lxiv</sup> These books include the following: *The Flower Faded; a Short Memoir of Clementine Cuvier* (1836); *Letters and Papers by the Late Theodosia A., Viscountess Powerscourt* (1838); *Personal Recollections* (Charlotte Elizabeth [Tonna] (1841); *Letters Selected from the Correspondence of Helen Plumptre* (1845); *Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry* (1847); *The Pastor's Wife* (1848); *The Ladies of the Covenant* (1850); *Memoirs of Mrs. Caroline Chisholm* (1852); *Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Coutts* (1854).
- <sup>lxv</sup> Anne Galloway, [no date, 1852], p. 44.
- <sup>lxvi</sup> Anne Galloway, [no date, 1853], p. 105.
- <sup>lxvii</sup> Anne Galloway, November 1852, p. 53.
- <sup>lxviii</sup> Anne Galloway, November 1852, pp. 55-7.
- <sup>lxix</sup> Ray Murray, pp. 287-8.
- <sup>lxx</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.
- <sup>lxxi</sup> I use the term 'Evangelical' here as it is defined by D. W. Bebbington in his influential study: 'the term 'Evangelical', with a capital letter, is applied to any aspect of the movement beginning in the 1730s' (D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1898), p. 1).
- <sup>lxxii</sup> Anne Galloway, 25/02/1850, pp. 1-2.
- <sup>lxxiii</sup> Anne Galloway, December 1854, p. 174.
- <sup>lxxiv</sup> Anne Galloway, [no date, 1853/4?], p. 115.
- <sup>lxxv</sup> Anne Galloway, November 1854, p. 174.
- <sup>lxxvi</sup> Editions for all the books that Anne Galloway recorded in her reading diary were verified using *Copac* (<<http://copac.ac.uk/>>) in the first instance, and *WorldCat* (<<http://www.worldcat.org/>>) in the second as well as to cross-check and verify.
- <sup>lxxvii</sup> B. Bell, 'Introduction' in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), III, pp. 1-14, p. 6-7. Bell discusses some of the recent challenges to 'the myth of Scottish literacy', the crux of which 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.
- <sup>lxxviii</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-14. The rest of this volume in the series offers a more in-depth discussion of these developments.
- <sup>lxxix</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- <sup>lxxx</sup> Although no longer extant, Robert Reid ('Senex') mentions in a letter to Andrew Liddell (Treasurer of the Board of Subscribers, Stirling's Library) the existence of a manuscript book that contained a list of books newly acquired by Stirling's Library (Glasgow City Archives, Committee Minute Book of Stirling's [and Glasgow Public] Library, 1791-1915, SR 237, 274629, D-LB Uncat, Letter from Robert Reid to Andrew Liddell, Esqr., 24 July 1848).
- <sup>lxxxi</sup> Here I am indebted to Kirstie Blair for pointing out that both characters in Manning's novels were 'notoriously unpleasant to their wives'.
- <sup>lxxxii</sup> Anne Galloway, 22/12/1854, p. 177.
- <sup>lxxxiii</sup> Anne Galloway, [no date, 1852], p. 47.
- <sup>lxxxiv</sup> According to the death certificate, Anne's daughter Eliza Margaret died from 'severe burns' (SDR, 18/02/1855, Eliza Margaret Galloway [Milton, 644/07/146]); Anne Galloway, [no date, 1850], p. 1; 9 May 1855, p. 184.
- <sup>lxxxv</sup> While there is the possibility that Anne chose to omit titles from her diary as she intended the diary to be read by her children, works that were omitted could also have been due to neglect. For example, the entry for 26 February 1852 begins 'I have for months past neglected to note down the books I have been reading', and similarly in 1854 she writes: 'While looking over some papers I found the following list of books lately read. I have recorded my opinion of very few of them, & have taken extracts of none, which I now regret' (Anne Galloway, 26 February 1852, p. 24; [no date, 1854], p. 137).
- <sup>lxxxvi</sup> See Pearson (1999), particularly pp. 42-86 and Flint (1993), *passim*.
- <sup>lxxxvii</sup> This quote comes from Anne's diary and refers to the biography of Edward Stanley entitled *Addresses and Charges of Edward Stanley, D.D. (late Bishop of Norwich): With a Memoir* (1851). She wrote: 'This Memoir is

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modestly & judiciously written, & depicts the walk & conversation of a truly active & devoted servant of God' (Anne Galloway, [no date, 1853], p. 74).

<sup>lxxxviii</sup> 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 (H. R. Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', trans. by E. Benzinger, *New Literary History*, 2 (1970), 7-37).

<sup>lxxxix</sup> M. Knight and E. Mason, *Nineteenth-Century Religion and Literature: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 122-3. Knight and Mason give a good overview of the history particularly in relation to the literature of the mid-nineteenth century. For a more complete history of the movement and its changes over the course of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, see Bebbington (op. cit.).

<sup>xc</sup> Bebbington, pp. 2-3.

<sup>xc</sup> Knight and Mason, p. 123.

<sup>xcii</sup> Meldrum, p. 6.

<sup>xciii</sup> *The Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, ed. by D. M. Lewis, 2 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 1995).

<sup>xciv</sup> Anne Galloway, [no date, 1853/4?], p. 120.

<sup>xcv</sup> Anne Galloway, [no date, 1856], p. 219.

<sup>xcvi</sup> Anne Galloway, [no date, 1853/4?], pp. 107-8.

<sup>xcvii</sup> Bebbington, pp. 118-129.

<sup>xcviii</sup> Anne Galloway, October 1852, p. 36.

<sup>xcix</sup> Anne Galloway, [no date, 1851], p. 19.

<sup>c</sup> Anne Galloway, [no date, 1850], pp. 8-9.

<sup>ci</sup> D. M. Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture* (London & Canberra: 1984), p. 103.

<sup>ciicii</sup> Anne Galloway, [no date, 1850], p. 10.

<sup>ciiii</sup> Fisher, p. 226; C. MacLeod, *Heroes of Invention: Technology, Liberalism and British Identity, 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 122.

<sup>civ</sup> See Rosman, Chapter 8: 'Faith and Fancy', pp. 166-202. Rosman uses 'evangelical' in the same manner in which 'Evangelical' is defined here.

<sup>cv</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>cvi</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>cvii</sup> Here I follow Stephen Colclough's use of 'reading community' which 'describe[s] the activities of a small group of readers who might be conceived of as constituting part of a much larger 'interpretive community' (S. Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695-1870* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 14.

<sup>cviii</sup> In his case study of Joseph Hunter, Stephan Colclough explains that by taking part in the discussions of the democratic meetings at the Surrey Street Library regarding the nomination and selection of books to be added to the library's collection, the library members had agency in the social and cultural community which effectively also made up a reading community. This community shared similar socio-cultural tastes that were reflected in their agreed selection/prohibition of books, which did not prevent readers from challenging these views by reading against the grain of the 'approved' books in the library's collection (*Ibid.*, 33). Although Anne Galloway did not take part in the meetings at Stirling's Library as she was not an elected member from among the subscribers (which was presumably, but not specifically restricted to men), she could nonetheless make suggestions for the library stock by writing them down in the book provided for the purpose (see above). Whether or not she did this is unknown.

<sup>cix</sup> D. Allan, *Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 256; W. St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 225-9. For a more comprehensive history of commonplacing, see D. Allan, *Making British Culture: English Readers and the Scottish Enlightenment, 1740-1830* (New York, London: Routledge, 2008), Ch.7, 134-153. See also M. Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment* (2010), especially 182-196; S. Colclough, *Consuming Texts* (2007), 31-35. For a history of early commonplace practices until the seventeenth century, see A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). Colclough uses the term 'manuscript book' as a kind of catch-all for: 'various forms of the non-commercial replication of texts in manuscript that existed in the early nineteenth century [...] [which included] a variety of different sorts of manuscript book, from commonplace books that followed (or ignored) Locke's instructions on organisation, through to albums compiled by groups of friends as part of a sociable reading process' (Colclough, p. 122).

<sup>cx</sup> R. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1957 [1998]), p. 263.