

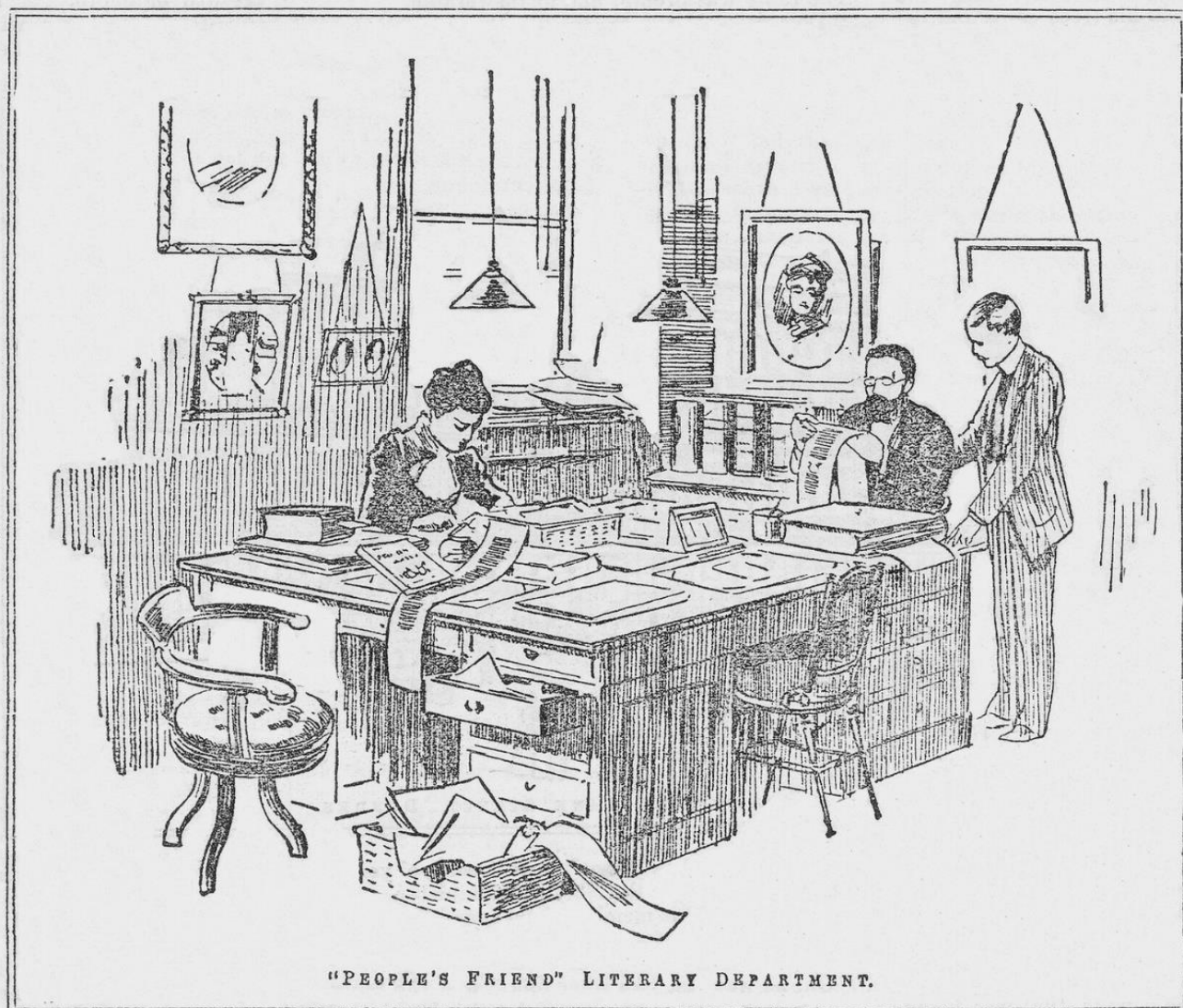
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POPULAR SCOTTISH MAGAZINE CULTURE, 1870-1920.

PRESS, PRINT, NATION



THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which had led to the award of a degree.

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Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'E. Anderson', is written on a light blue rectangular background.

Date:

30 June 2023

Abstract

In the study of modern Scottish literature, Scottish magazines published between 1870 and 1920 have been noticeably neglected. Despite this, they were one of the most popular forms of literary consumption in Scotland throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. They were primarily issued weekly, at the cost of one penny, contained a variety of verse, short fiction, and serial novels, and were staple sources of information, entertainment, and household reading. As such, they have had a considerable impact on modern Scottish literature. This thesis is the first examination of magazines produced in Scotland between 1870 and 1920. It considers what made magazines popular and assesses the role they played in shaping Scottish national identity. By relying on a variety of printed and manuscript magazines, as well as unseen archival material and private archival collections, this thesis focusses primarily on the literature that was published in Scottish magazines. It also plays close attention to the people behind the press, including the proprietors, editors, and contributors of mass-produced magazines, as well as literary enthusiasts who made amateur and manuscript magazines. The first chapters concentrate primarily on the *People's Friend*, which was by far the most popular and widely circulated Scottish magazine of the period. These chapters examine the wide-ranging influence of the *People's Friend* on Scottish literature, print culture, and national identity. The final chapters explore the wider culture of magazine production in Scotland, including magazines that acted as networks for *fin-de-siècle* cultural revivalists, and little magazines that predate the peak of little magazine production during the Scottish Renaissance of the 1920s. Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates that Scottish magazines were culturally and literarily engaged between 1870 and 1920, during which they constructed a distinct sense of Scottish national identity.

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Notes On Referencing

When referencing the titles and subtitles of magazines and newspapers, as well as their contents, I have retained the original use of capitalisation (in footnotes and Bibliography). For example, the first letter of each word in the title of a poem tended to be published in magazines in capitals. Due to the overwhelming number of anonymous contributions in magazines and newspapers, all anonymous prose and verse has been referenced by the title of the contribution (in footnotes and Bibliography), rather than being prefaced by 'anon'. Additionally, much of the content discussed in Chapter 5 is unpaginated or undated. Where page numbers and dates are extant, they have been cited, otherwise I have referenced them as 'np' and 'nd'.

Throughout this thesis, I have omitted including issue and volume number(s) for magazines, which is a divergence from most of the published scholarship on magazines and periodicals. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, the primary case study in this thesis – the *People's Friend* – launched a new series in January 1870 and another in January 1874. Thereafter, the magazine referred to subsequent issues as, for example, 'No. 1 (No. 13 Old Series)' and 'No. 357 (No. 575 Old Series)'. As this thesis covers the first fifty years of the magazine (inclusive of these changes), additional details such as the numbering system for the new series are rife for human error. Secondly, I readily reference newspapers alongside magazines which do not consistently include details about issue or volume number(s). Thirdly, several of the amateur and manuscript magazines discussed in Chapter 5 do not include issue and/or volume number(s), and when they do, there are not enough extant issues of each magazine to confidently reference the issue and/or volume numbers. Therefore, to provide clarity and consistency across the material used throughout in this thesis, I have chosen to use the date as the primary reference for magazines.

Abbreviations

Amateur Press Association	APA
British Amateur Press Association	BAPA
Independent Labour Party	ILP
International Correspondents Association	ICA
Lancashire Authors' Association	LAA
National Amateur Press Association	NAPA
National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights	NAVSR
National Party of Scotland	NPS
Scottish Amateur Literary Association	SALA
Scottish Home Rule Association	SHRA
Scots National League	SNL
Scottish National Movement	SNM
Scottish National Party	SNP
Scottish Patriotic Association	SPA
United Amateur Press Association	UAPA
Young Scots Society	YSS

Introduction – ‘The Blight of the Commonplace’

In 1901, the *Peterhead Sentinel*, an Aberdeenshire newspaper founded in 1897 by the Scottish socialist writer James Leatham, declared that ‘[t]he fact is, Scottish publications, considered as literature, are for the most part not worth mentioning’.¹ The newspaper specifically identified magazines as the perpetrating ‘publications’, stating that magazine publishers

are all so desperately concerned about issuing only “popular” works! We have a popular *People’s Friend*, a popular *Weekly Welcome*, and a *Chambers’s Journal* which aims at being popular. But none of the editors of these stodgy and commonplace prints has ever discovered a genius or even kept one when they had the chance of him at second-hand.²

The three magazines cited in this article – the *People’s Friend* (1869–present), the *Weekly Welcome* (1896–1938), and *Chambers’s Journal* (1832–1956) – were all established in the nineteenth century by large-scale publishing companies in industrialised Scotland: the John Leng Company and D. C. Thomson & Co. in Dundee, and W. & R. Chambers in Edinburgh. Although they continued to be published, bought, and read well into the twentieth century, only the *People’s Friend* has continued into the twenty-first century. For a country of modest size and population, Scotland has produced the longest-running magazine in the world which has dominated the periodical market in the UK and Ireland.³ In 1899, the *People’s Friend* sold an average of 240,000 copies a week which, by 1919, had risen to 260,000.⁴ By 1932, the magazine outsold all other women’s weekly magazines in Scotland and had an estimated readership of 1,520,000, or 24.1% of the Scottish population.⁵ In 1947, this readership had increased

¹ ‘The Blight of the Commonplace’, *Peterhead Sentinel and Buchan Journal*, 1 June 1901, p. 4 col c. Although not attributed to Leatham, it is possible that he wrote this article as he had significant influence over the newspaper’s editorials and contributed similarly worded articles on contemporary Scottish journalism between 1903 and 1905, see William Donaldson, *The Language of the People: Scots Prose from the Victorian Revival* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), pp. 190–214.

² ‘The Blight of the Commonplace’.

³ Longest Running Women’s Magazine (Publication), *Guinness World Records*, (13 January 2019), <[https://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/world-records/longest-running-womens-magazine-\(publication\)](https://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/world-records/longest-running-womens-magazine-(publication))> [accessed 21 March 2023].

⁴ Newspaper and Magazine Circulation Book (1896–1903), DCT/C1/1, D. C. Thomson & Co. Archives, Dundee.

⁵ Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain, 1914–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 175.

to 1.6 million and, in 1985, average sales were 655,593.⁶ As recently as 2010, the magazine is estimated to have a global circulation of 554,000.⁷

Since its launch in 1869, the *People's Friend* has set the precedent for magazines as one of the most popular forms of literary consumption in modern Scotland.⁸ They were usually issued weekly, costed one penny, and printed in a style and layout that was closely modelled on daily and weekly newspapers including features such as a masthead, subtitle, subheadings, and columns. They published a variety of content, including fiction, poetry, essays, household advice, correspondence pages, jokes, puzzles, and conundrums. In lieu of opportunities for cheap forms of mass-media like radio, film, and television which proliferated later in the twentieth century, magazines were the most accessible source of entertainment and amusement in Scotland between 1870 and 1920. In the context of Scottish literature, they carry a specific legacy. Magazines like the *People's Friend* published Scottish literature and popularised it, influencing the reading public to such an extent that they represented a 'blight of the commonplace' according to the *Peterhead Sentinel*. In concluding its rail against magazines and 'their namby-pamby stories, their second-hand anecdotes, their grand-motherly biographies of great men', the newspaper disparaged that magazines 'give the people, not what they need, but what they think they need'.⁹

Protestations like this one epitomise the critical attitude towards Scottish literature between 1870 and 1920.¹⁰ This much maligned period has been described as 'the least overtly "national"' era in Scottish literary history, as well as a 'literary wasteland', a period of 'attempted national infanticide', and a 'final surrender to cultural anglicisation'.¹¹ Likewise, nineteenth-century literature has been

⁶ Joseph McAleer, 'Popular Literature and Reading Habits, 1914–1950' (Doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1989), p. 252.

⁷ Andrew Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination and Modern Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 117.

⁸ See Appendix I.

⁹ 'The Blight of the Commonplace'.

¹⁰ Michael Shaw, 'Transculturation and Historicisation: New Directions for the Study of Scottish Literature, c.1840–1914', *Literature and Compass*, 13: 8, (2016), 501–510 (p. 502).

¹¹ Gerard Carruthers, *Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 111–112; Gillian Shepherd, 'The Kailyard', in *The History of Scottish Literature. Volume 4 Twentieth Century*, ed. by Cairns Craig

characterised as a ‘retreat to rural’, in which Scottish writers ‘immersed themselves in rural fantasy’.¹² This is exemplified by the Kailyard, a genre of fiction that was globally popular in the 1880s and 1890s and portrayed Scottish life as inherently rural, sentimental, and provincial.¹³ In many ways, the cultural legacy of the Kailyard in the popular periodical press is more obviously encapsulated by other D. C. Thomson publications, namely, *The Broons* (1936–present) and *Oor Wullie* (1936–present), two illustrated comics that promote ‘a mythical and cosy Kailyard culture’ and were ‘blind to the realities and subtleties of Scotland’ throughout the twentieth century.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the couthy identity of the *People’s Friend* (as is explored in Chapter 1), its popularisation of provincial literature (see Chapter 2), and its emphasis on domesticity and the household (see Chapter 3) has resulted in an association with its own brand of ‘cosiness’ that persists to this day.¹⁵ Indeed, the perseverance of the Kailyard in scholarship and the lack of research on other forms of Scottish literature in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries has resulted in a presumption that the Kailyard represents *all* literature published in Scotland in the same period. As Cairns Craig explains, ‘[b]y associating Scotland with its popular literary success [...] and ignoring its contributions to the development of modern consciousness [...] Scottish culture as a whole has been represented as retarded and parochial’.¹⁶ As such, scholars have diagnosed late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Scottish literature as ‘effectively dead’ and its vernacular tradition ‘in a coma’.¹⁷ This thesis challenges this accepted wisdom by exploring Scottish magazine culture between 1870 and 1920.

(Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 309–320 (p. 317); *Scotland and the 19th-Century World*, ed. by Gerard Carruthers, David Goldie and Alastair Renfrew (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), pp. 15–16. See also Cairns Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel: Narrative and the National Imagination* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), pp. 14–22.

¹² Carruthers, *Scottish Literature*, p. 111.

¹³ William Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland. Language, Fiction and the Press* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), p. xii; Andrew Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007).

¹⁴ Mike Catto, ‘Them & Them Us & Us: Regional and National Stereotypes in British Comics’, *Circa*, 44, (1989), 22–24 (p. 22). Also, see Joseph McAleer, ‘Magazines and Comics’, in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 368–384.

¹⁵ Kenneth Roy, ‘Rumours of Her Death’, in *The Best of 25 Years of the Scottish Review, Issue 5* (Prestwick: Institute of Contemporary Scotland, 2021), pp. 200–201 (p. 201).

¹⁶ Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel*, p. 34.

¹⁷ Cairns Craig, ‘The Case for Culture’, *Scottish Review of Books*, 10: 3, (2014), 19–20 (p. 19); *Scotland and the 19th-Century World*, p. 15.

The bleak critical analysis on late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Scottish literature has been informed by its rebirth in the 1920s during which the Scottish Renaissance, Scottish Literary Revival, and Scottish modernism gathered speed. Accounts of these movements continually emphasise their contradistinction to the literature that came before it, a process described by scholars as ‘a backwards projection of the over-determined impulse for Renaissance’.¹⁸ For the generation of Scottish writers, poets, and artists associated with the Renaissance, the popularity of Scottish literature in this period was a betrayal of any genuine representation of national identity. Magazines like the *People’s Friend* were a specific cause for concern. In the first outing of the pseudonym that made him a household name, Hugh MacDiarmid challenges the titular character in his play, ‘Nisbet, An Interlude in Post War Glasgow’, to ‘toddle off right home and do a love story the *People’s Friend* could accept’ in order to break his writer’s block.¹⁹ It is no coincidence then that magazines became an important vehicle through which the Renaissance generation reimagined Scotland’s literary tradition, most notably in MacDiarmid’s *Scottish Chapbook* (1922–1923) and *Northern Review* (1924). Yet, like their North American and European counterparts, these magazines had a limited reach. In 1927, writing under his journalistic pseudonym ‘Mountboy’, MacDiarmid laments the state of Scottish magazine culture: ‘No country in Europe of like size is nearly so destitute as Scotland of weekly and monthly, and other periodicals of a literary or learned kind devoted to specifically national artse [sic] and affairs’.²⁰ This dirge against the culturally unengaged magazines of Scotland is certainly a thinly-veiled nod to the *People’s Friend*.

Beyond MacDiarmid, the *People’s Friend* and D. C. Thomson have long been considered culturally antagonistic. For the late Scottish intellectual Tom Nairn, Thomson’s publications were part of a ‘vast tartan monster’, described as a ‘huge, virtually self-contained universe of kitsch’ that

¹⁸ *Scotland and the 19th-Century World*, p. 16.

¹⁹ Quoted in Scott Lyall, *Hugh MacDiarmid’s Poetry and Politics of Place: Imagining a Scottish Republic* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. 25.

²⁰ Mountboy, [C. M. Grieve, Hugh MacDiarmid], ‘Scottish Arts and Affairs’, *Leven Advertiser & East Wemyss Gazette*, 23 April 1927, p. 3 col a.

perpetuated a nostalgic narrative in Scotland ‘which the intelligentsia has always had to wrestle’.²¹ Similar critiques argue that the *People’s Friend* is a ‘couthy manifestation’ of Scottish national identity, portraying the country and its people as inherently domestic, religious, and socially conservative.²² Overall, the dominance of the *People’s Friend* in modern Scotland is seen as representative of the country’s ‘diluted national consciousness’.²³ Despite this, it has never been the subject of scholarly investigation.²⁴ Although it is briefly discussed in studies of British consumerist magazines, in histories of the Scottish press, and in sociological studies of modern Scotland, it is notably absent in leading analyses of modern Scottish history and literature.²⁵ For instance, Graeme Morton asserts that Scottish ‘[p]eriodicals were strongest in the first half of the century, regional newspapers in the second half’ – which insinuates that Scottish magazines and periodicals were weak after 1850 – and in one line summarises D. C. Thomson’s output as ‘provincial newspapers and weeklies for women’.²⁶ Similarly, in the most recent companions of Scottish literature, there is no discussion of the *People’s Friend* or popular magazines like it.²⁷ Assessment is, therefore, long overdue.

²¹ Tom Nairn, ‘Old and New Scottish Nationalism’, in *The Red Paper on Scotland*, ed. by Gordon Brown (Edinburgh: EUSPB, 1975), pp. 22–57 (p. 39); Tom Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain* (London: New Left Books, 1981), p. 163.

²² David McCrone, *The New Sociology of Scotland* (London: Sage Books, 2020), p. 21; Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination*, pp. 117–121.

²³ Quoted in Michael Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival. Romance, Decadence and Celtic Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), p. 4.

²⁴ The only sustained investigation on the *People’s Friend* is Alan M. Duncan, ‘A Study of Popular Literature in Scotland 1860–1900, with special reference to Dundee area periodicals’ (BPhil thesis, University of St Andrews, 1978).

²⁵ R. M. Healey, ‘The *People’s Friend*’, in *Consumer Magazines of the British Isles*, ed. by Sam G. Riley (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993), pp. 139–145; Howard Cox and Simon Mowatt, ‘Economics of Press Production’, in *The Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press, Volume 2. Expansion and Evolution, 1800–1900*, ed. by David Finkelstein (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), pp. 35–57 (pp. 52–53); Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain, 1914–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007); David Hutchison, ‘The History of the Press’, in *The Media in Scotland*, ed. by Neil Blain and David Hutchison (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), pp. 55–70 (p. 63); Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination*, pp. 117–121; McCrone, *The New Sociology of Scotland*, pp. 21–22.

²⁶ Graeme Morton, *Ourselves and Others: Scotland, 1832–1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p. 2.

²⁷ Alan Riach, *Scottish Literature: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2022); *The International Companion to Nineteenth-Century Scottish Literature*, ed. by Sheila M. Kidd, Caroline McCracken-Flesher and Kenneth McNeil (Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, 2022); Carruthers, *Scottish Literature; The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature*, ed. by Gerard Carruthers and Liam McIlvanney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

The field of Scottish magazine and periodical studies is by no means heavily subscribed. Late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century magazines have received attention, alongside the publishing houses that owned and produced them.²⁸ The most prominent period in the field is the Victorian era, although investigation on Scottish magazines in this era is still lacking.²⁹ Particularly noticeable is the gap on magazines published between 1870 and 1920, despite recent work that emphasises this era as a ‘period of paradigm shift’ in the production of magazines and periodicals.³⁰ The gap is exacerbated by several accounts of magazines associated with the Scottish Renaissance and Literary Revival of the 1920s and 1930s.³¹ A more flourishing area is on the post-1960 period, as demonstrated by the research collective Scottish Magazines Network.³² Related work by Eleanor Bell, Scott Hames, and Alistair McCleery has

²⁸ David Finkelstein, “‘Long and Intimate Connections’: Constructing a Scottish Identity for *Blackwood’s Magazine*”, in *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, ed. by Laurel Brake, Bill Bell and David Finkelstein (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 326–338, *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805–1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), and *The House of Blackwood: Author-Publisher Relations in the Victorian Era* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002); David Stewart, ‘The Death of Maggie Scott: *Blackwood’s*, the *Scots Magazine* and Periodical Eras’, in *Before Blackwood’s: Scottish Journalism in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. by Alex Benchimol, Rhona Brown and David Shuttleton (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 117–128; Aileen Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge: William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Rhona Brown, *Robert Fergusson and the Scottish Periodical Press* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2012).

²⁹ For a brief survey, see David Finkelstein, ‘Periodicals in Scotland’, in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, ed. by Andrew King, Alexis Easley and John Morton (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 185–193. Scottish magazines are woefully underrepresented in *The Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press, Volume 2. Expansion and Evolution, 1800–1900*, ed. by David Finkelstein (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), and *The Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press, Volume 3. Competition and Disruption, 1900–2017*, ed. by Adrian Bingham (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020).

³⁰ Patrick Collier, *Modern Print Artefacts: Textual Materiality and Literary Value in British Print Culture, 1890s–1930s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), p. 20. There are exceptions to this lack of research, see Charlotte Lauder, “‘The Conquering Feminine’: Women Journalists and the *People’s Friend Magazine*, 1869–1905’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 54: 3, (2021), 393–418, and Linda K. Hughes, ‘Periodical Poetry, Editorial Policy, and W. E. Henley’s “Scots” and “National Observer”’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 49: 2, (2016), 202–227.

³¹ Alistair McCleery, ‘Scottish Literary Magazines’, in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 226–228; Cairns Craig, ‘Modernism and National Identity in Scottish Magazines: *The Evergreen* (1895–7), *Scottish Art and Letters* (1944–50), *The Scottish Chapbook* (1922–3), *The Northern Review* (1924), *The Scots Magazine* (1924–), *The Modern Scot* (1930–6), *Outlook* (1936–7), and *The Voice of Scotland* (1938–9, 1945, 1955)’, in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines. Volume I: Britain and Ireland 1880–1950*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 759–784.

³² *Scottish Magazines Network*, <<https://campuspress.stir.ac.uk/scotmagsnet/about/>> [accessed 10 October 2022]. Also, see the forthcoming edited collection, *Scottish Magazines and Political Culture, 1968–99: From Scottish International to the Scottish Parliament*, ed. by Eleanor Bell, Scott Hames and Malcolm Petrie (Forthcoming with Edinburgh University Press).

argued that these magazines were essential to furthering debates about Scottish nationalism, devolution, feminism, and national identity between the 1960s and 1990s.³³ On the whole, Scottish newspapers have received far more examination than magazines, although this scholarship is limited.³⁴ Recently there has been renewed exploration of the press in the Victorian era, including the impact of newspapers on the development of politics, public opinion, poetry, and working-class literature. Indeed, W. Hamish Fraser's *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Newspapers since 1850* (2023) ends a seventy-seven-year gap since the last study of modern Scottish newspapers was published.³⁵ Much of this revisionism builds on William Donaldson's monograph *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland: Language, Fiction and the Press* (1986), and his subsequent book, *Language of the People: Scots Prose*

³³ Eleanor Bell, 'Rejecting the Knitted Claymore: The Challenge to Cultural Nationalism in Scottish Literary Magazines of the 1960s and 1970s', in *British Literature in Transition, 1960–1980: Flower Power*, ed. by Kate McLoughlin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 263–274, and "'Leaps and Bounds": Feminist Interventions in Scottish Literary Magazine Culture', in *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1940s–2000s. The Postwar and Contemporary Period*, ed. by Laurel Forster and Joanne Hollows (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 215–228; Scott Hames, *The Literary Politics of Scottish Devolution: Voice, Class, Nation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020); Alistair McCleery and Linda Gunn, 'Wasps in a Jam Jar: Scottish Literary Magazines and Political Culture, 1979–99', in *Further from the Frontiers: Crosscurrents in Irish and Scottish Studies*, ed. by Aimee McNair and Jacqueline Ryder (Aberdeen: Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies, 2009), pp. 41–52. For other scholarship, see Rachael Alexander, "'Alive, Practical and Different": Harpies & Quines and Scottish Feminist Print in the 1990s', in *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1940s–2000s. The Postwar and Contemporary Period*, ed. by Laurel Forster and Joanne Hollows (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 307–322, and Rory Scothorne, 'The Radical Left and the Scottish Nation. Print-Cultures of Left-Wing Nationalism, 1967–1983' (Doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2021).

³⁴ Several histories were produced at the request of newspaper offices for commemorative purposes and therefore present a narrow (and sometimes biased) view, see Edward Riley, *Life is Local: The History of Johnston Press PLC* (Edinburgh: Johnston Press, 2009); Alastair Philips, *Glasgow's Herald: Two Hundred Years of a Newspaper, 1783–1983* (Glasgow: S. Hunter & Co., 1983); Albert Morris, *Scotland's Paper: The 'Scotsman', 1817–1992* (Edinburgh: The Scotsman Publications, 1992). Others have misinterpreted the impact of the press, see Krisztina Fenyo, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance: Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances During the Famine Years, 1845–1855* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000).

³⁵ Neil Bruce, 'The Paupers, the Gallant Colonel and the Fourth Estate: Press Reporting of the Arrival of Barra Highlanders on the Scottish Mainland', *Northern Scotland*, 13: 1, (2022), pp. 18–44; Kirstie Blair, *Working Verse in Victorian Scotland. Poetry, Press, Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), "'A Very Poetical Town: Newspaper Poetry and the Working-Class Poet in Victorian Dundee', *Victorian Poetry*, 52: 1, (2014), 89–109, and "Let the Nightingales Alone": Correspondence Columns, the Scottish Press, and the Making of the Working-Class Poet', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 47: 2, (2014), 188–207; Erin Farley, 'The Place of Poetry in Victorian Dundee' (Doctoral thesis, University of Strathclyde, 2018); Linden Bicket and Raymond McCluskey, 'Two Neglected Poets of Late Victorian Scotland: John Luby and James Lynch', *Scottish Literary Review*, 9: 1, (2017), 59–81; Edward H. Cohen and Anne R. Fertig, 'Marion Bernstein and the "Glasgow Weekly Mail" in the 1870s', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 49: 1, (2016), 9–27; Ewen A. Cameron, 'Journalism in the Late Victorian Scottish Highlands: John Murdoch, Duncan Campbell, and the *Northern Chronicle*', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 40: 4, (2007), 281–306; W. Hamish Fraser, *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Newspapers, 1850–1950* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023). The most recent monographs on the Scottish press were R. M. W. Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland, a Study of its First Expansion, 1816–1850* (Glasgow: George Outram & Co. Ltd., 1946), and Duncan Ferguson, *The Scottish Newspaper Press* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1946).

from the Victorian Revival (1989), which led the way towards a reappraisal of the nineteenth century as a 'literary wasteland'.³⁶ Nevertheless, Scottish magazines are still absent from these enquiries.

Women's Magazines in Scotland

The lack of investigation into modern Scottish magazines is partly due to their association with women's magazine culture, which carries its own critical legacy. Margaret Beetham has noted that she was encouraged to look down on women's magazines 'as silly if not pernicious' during her childhood and, as a scholar of Victorian women's magazines, has described the attitude towards them as titles that were '[r]ead today and rubbish tomorrow'.³⁷ In Scotland, D. C. Thomson have a well-known reputation for the publication of women's magazines throughout the twentieth century, including the *People's Friend* and *My Weekly* (1910–present) which are both now over 100 years old.³⁸ According to journalist Kenneth Roy, the enduring characteristic of the *People's Friend* can be summarised as 'a weekly knitting pattern and improving stories of love among the over-90s'.³⁹ Although the stigma surrounding women's magazines has been tackled by Beetham and other scholars including Kay Boardman, Kathryn Ledbetter, and Alexis Easley, Scottish magazines since 1870 have received little attention in these accounts.⁴⁰ This is in contradistinction to sustained examination of women's magazines in the rest of

³⁶ Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, and *The Language of the People*.

³⁷ Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800–1914* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. vii; and 'Toward a Theory of Periodical as Publishing Genre', in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. by Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (London: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 19–32 (p. 19).

³⁸ These include *My Weekly* (1910–present), *Weekly Welcome* (1896–1938), *Red Letter* (1889–1988), *Blue Bird* (1922–1924), *Woman's Way* (1927–1939), *Red Star Weekly* (1929–1983), *Secrets* (1932–1991), *Flame* (1935–1940), *Family Star* (1934–1977), *Lucky Star* (1935–?), *Jackie* (1964–1993), *Mandy* (1967–1983), *Lucky Charm* (1979–1980), *Debbie* (1979–1983), *Tracy* (1979–1985), *Suzy* (1982–1987), and *Judy* (1987–1991). For more information, see McAleer, *Popular Reading*.

³⁹ Roy, 'Rumours of Her Death', p. 201.

⁴⁰ *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology*, ed. by Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Kathryn Ledbetter, *British Victorian Women's Periodicals: Beauty, Civilisation, and Poetry* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), and 'Periodicals for Women', in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, ed. by Andrew King, Alexis Easley and John Morton (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 260–275; *Women, Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1830s–1900s: The Victorian Period*, ed. by Alexis Easley, Clare Gill and Beth Rodgers (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019).

the UK and Ireland.⁴¹ In addition, the *People's Friend's* longstanding connection with Annie S. Swan, the author of at least 200 novels in the magazine between 1881 and 1943, has contributed to its women-centric identity. Swan's reputation is as a romance writer who 'presented a falsely sentimental image of Scotland' that largely affirmed late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century stereotypes of 'the woman in the home'.⁴² Her writing was, therefore, complementary to the ideals of the *People's Friend*. Considering that there is an overall lack of scholarship on Scottish women writers who were active between 1870 and 1920 – a period when the *People's Friend* published them without restraint – it is understandable, though paradoxical, that the magazine has been undervalued in these discussions.⁴³ Joy Hendry, who became the first woman editor of a Scottish literary magazine in 1979, has identified this stigma as 'a double knot on the peeny'.⁴⁴ Though referring to the dual prejudice of gender and nationality in explaining the underrepresentation of Scottish women writers in cultural life, Hendry's phrase also summarises critical oversight of the *People's Friend*, its enduring identity being that of a women's magazine and a Scottish one.⁴⁵

National identity is the primary lens of inquiry throughout this thesis. In an era defined by 'competing expressions of national traditions' rather than 'the unfolding of a single and unified identity' in Scotland, how did Scottish magazines construct a sense of national identity?⁴⁶ Hitherto, scholarship

⁴¹ Ellie Reed, *Woman's Weekly and Lower-Middle-Class Domestic Culture in Britain, 1918–1958: Making Homemakers* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2023); Ciara Meehan, *A Woman's Place? Challenging Values in 1960s Irish Women's Magazines* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023); *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1940s–2000s: the Postwar and Contemporary Period*, ed. by Laurel Forster and Joanne Hollows (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020); *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1918–1939: the Interwar Period*, ed. by Catherine Clay, Maria DiCenzo, Barbara Green and Fiona Hackney (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018); Caitríona Clear, *Women's Voices in Ireland: Women's Magazines in the 1950s and 60s* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

⁴² Beth Dickson, 'Annie S. Swan and O. Douglas: Legacies of the Kailyard', in *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, ed. by Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 329–346; Samantha Walton, 'Scottish Modernism, Kailyard Fiction and the Woman at Home', in *Transitions in Middlebrow Writing, 1880–1930*, ed. by Kate Macdonald and Christoph Singer (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015), pp. 141–162.

⁴³ Since this PhD began, Juliet Shields has published a much-needed evaluation of Scottish women's writing that includes a chapter on Annie S. Swan and the *People's Friend*, see *Scottish Women's Writing in the Long Nineteenth Century: The Romance of Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

⁴⁴ Joy Hendry, 'A Double Knot on the Peeny', in *In Other Words. Writing as a Feminist*, ed. by Gail Chester and Sigrid Nielsen (London: Hutchison, 1987), pp. 36–45. This literary magazine was *Chapman* (1970–2007).

⁴⁵ Whilst this thesis does not analyse the *People's Friend* as a women's magazine, its association as such is explored in more depth in Chapter 3.

⁴⁶ Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel*, p. 112.

on national identity has primarily rested on Graeme Morton and Colin Kidd's theories of 'Unionist-nationalism' and 'banal unionism' which account for Scotland's lack of political nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by arguing that its modern identity was constructed in collaboration with a British imperialist one and was protected by its largely autonomous civil institutions, such as its separate systems of law, education, and religion.⁴⁷ However, recent re-examinations of the period are challenging the hegemony of 'Unionist-nationalism', including work on the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival, the Scottish Home Rule movement, Scottish imperial literature, and Gaelic literature in Scotland.⁴⁸ As such, there is room for continued reconsiderations of the impact of Scottish literature on national identity, particularly its connections with Irish, European, and Celtic literature. Moreover, it is important to note that, like the majority of the historiography on Scottish national identity, this thesis does not include a discussion of Gaelic and Highland magazines that were published in Scotland throughout this period.⁴⁹ Therefore, this thesis presents an assessment of national identity as constructed in Lowland magazines that were primarily published in Dundee, Glasgow, Paisley, Fife, and Edinburgh.

⁴⁷ Colin Kidd, *Union and Unionisms: Political Thought in Scotland, 1500–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Graeme Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830–1860* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999). Also, see Lindsay Paterson, *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), Richard J. Finlay, *A Partnership for Good?: Scottish Politics and the Union since 1880* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997), Ewen A. Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle: Scotland Since 1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).

⁴⁸ Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*, and 'Transculturation and Historicisation'; Naomi Lloyd-Jones, 'Liberalism, Scottish Nationalism and the Home Rule Crisis, c.1886–93', *English Historical Review*, 129: 539, (2014), 862–887; Angela Smith, 'Scottish Literature and the British Empire', in *Scotland and the British Empire*, ed. by John M. Mackenzie and T. M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 255–279; Wilson McLeod, *Gaelic in Scotland: Policies, Movements, Ideologies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020); Petra Johana Poncarová, 'Snake Women and Hideous Sensations: The Strange Case of Gaelic Detective Short Stories by Ruairidh Erskine of Mar', *Scottish Literary Review*, 12: 1, (2020), 81–94. Also, see Naomi Lloyd-Jones, *Scotland and the First Home Rule Movement: National Identity, Political Culture and the Liberal Party, 1886–1914* (Forthcoming with Edinburgh University Press).

⁴⁹ These include the *Celtic Magazine* (1875–1888), *Scottish Celtic Review* (1881–1885), *Highland Magazine* (1885), *Highland Monthly* (1889–1893), *Guth Na Bliadha* (1904–1925), *An deo-gréine* (1905–1922), *An sgeulaiche* (1909–1911), *Active Gael* (1913–1934), *An Gaidheal* (1923–1967), *Pictish Review* (1927–1928), *Gaidheal Ghlaschu* (1933), *Alba nuadh* (1935–1936). For discussion of these magazines, see Sheila M. Kidd, 'Gaelic Periodicals in the Lowlands: Negotiating Change', in *Gael and Lowlander in Scottish Literature*, ed. by C. J. M. MacLachlan and Ronald W. Renton (Glasgow: ASLS, 2015), pp. 143–158, and 'The Scottish Gaelic Press', in *The Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press, Volume 2. Expansion and Evolution, 1800–1900*, ed. by David Finkelstein (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 337–356, and Ian B. Stewart, 'Of Crofters, Celts and Claymores: The *Celtic Magazine* and the Highland Cultural Nationalist Movement, 1875–1888', *Historical Research*, 89: 243, (2016), 88–113.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured chronologically and thematically. Its first three chapters focus primarily on the *People's Friend*, which acts as an overarching case study throughout the thesis. Chapter 1 presents a rehabilitation of the *People's Friend* by exploring its construction of Scottish national identity since 1869. Chapter 2 assesses the magazine's reputation for the Kailyard by recovering the contributions of lesser-known Kailyard authors in its pages. Chapter 3 examines the feminisation of the magazine that occurred in the 1880s and 1890s and explores the contributions of Scottish women to magazine culture between 1870 and 1920. The final two chapters move away from the *People's Friend* towards other dimensions of Scottish magazine culture in this period. Chapter 4 investigates magazines as networks for litterateurs associated with the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival by presenting three magazines that have hitherto been overlooked in related analyses. Chapter 5 examines the phenomenon of little magazines in Scotland since the 1850s, presenting a longer and broader national tradition of little magazine production prior to the publication of magazines associated with the Scottish Renaissance of the 1920s. Finally, the endnote gives a reflection on the thesis's findings by considering the legacy of the *People's Friend* as it reached a century and a half of continuous publication in January 2019.

Chapter 1 – The Friend of the People? Rehabilitating the *People's Friend* Magazine

In *Scottish Scene, or, The Intelligent Man's Guide to Albyn* (1934), Hugh MacDiarmid and Lewis Grassic Gibbon's controversial polemic on the state of Scottish culture, MacDiarmid describes Dundee as a 'great industrial cul-de-sac' encircled by the newspapers and magazines of the city's most prominent publishing company, D. C. Thomson & Co.¹ According to MacDiarmid, Thomson's titles 'stand in a category quite by themselves as the most incredible freaks in the history of Scottish journalism'.² For Scottish poet Kenneth White, the *People's Friend* is the quintessential source of this mediocre Scottish cultural scene:

We all know what Scottish culture is, don't we? That mixture of the common sense and sentimentality, of social realism and airy-fairy, of Gaelic piety and Lowland pawkiness [...] We all know about Scottish identity: porridge and the *People's Friend* and all the rest of it.³

As these comments suggest, the *People's Friend* has a substantial legacy in modern Scotland. It is the country's longest-running magazine, and its most widely circulated: as recently as 2022, the magazine reported a weekly circulation in the UK and Ireland of 112,500.⁴ Its reputation for cultural inertia is derived, in part, from the literature that the magazine has published. Annie S. Swan, the author of at least 200 novels in the *People's Friend* between 1881 and 1943, is the magazine's best-known conspirator in its sentimental ascendancy. Swan called the *People's Friend* 'the brightest jewel in my small earthly crown' and described the magazine's 'unpretentious' hold on Scottish readers as 'one of the romances of the newspaper world'.⁵ For Scottish critics, Swan and the *People's Friend* are symbiotic. According to Nairn, she provided 'no more than the relatively decent outer garb for the tartan

¹ Hugh MacDiarmid and Lewis Grassic Gibbon, *Scottish Scene, or The Intelligent Man's Guide to Albyn* (London: Hutchinson, 1934), p. 160.

² Ibid.

³ Kenneth White, *On Scottish Ground: Selected Essays* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), p. 40.

⁴ Aisha Majid, 'Magazine ABCs for 2022: Full Breakdown of Print and Digital Circulations', *Press Gazette*, (21 February 2023), <<https://pressgazette.co.uk/media-audience-and-business-data/media-metrics/magazine-circulations-2022-abc-print-digital/>> [accessed 27 February 2023]. D. C. Thomson's other long-running magazine is the *Scots Magazine* (1927–present), which the company claims is the oldest magazine in Scotland and, therefore, longer-running than the *People's Friend*. Whilst the *Scots Magazine* was established in Edinburgh in 1739, it has been out of print for much of its life, notably from 1826 to 1887 and 1900 to 1924. Thomson acquired the title in 1927 and the company has published it ever since.

⁵ Annie S. Swan, 'Address to David Pae on the Occasion of his Journalistic Jubilee', January 1938, Pae Family Archive; Annie S. Swan, *My Life: An Autobiography* (London: Ivor Nicholson, 1934), p. 283.

monster'.⁶ For MacDiarmid, she was representative of the generation of late-Victorian Scottish writers who 'know nothing of literature and life'.⁷ Despite this, Swan and the *People's Friend* have been persistent in the reading habits of Scots throughout the twentieth century. In interviews with people born in Scotland on or before 1945 in which they were asked about their experiences of reading, the research project Scottish Readers Remember found that 'almost without fail' the most commonly read genre amongst this demographic 'was popular fiction from the D. C. Thomson stable, such as the contents of the *People's Friend*'.⁸ Ultimately, the project found that 'the ubiquitous *People's Friend* offered the most consistent source of Scottish fiction' for modern readers, and especially so for 'those readers who read anything of Scottish provenance at all'.⁹ Therefore, for most Scots, the *People's Friend* and Scottish literature are one and the same.

Despite this, the magazine's contribution to Scottish literature, culture, and society has never been analysed. In part, this omission is because the *People's Friend* has had a less distinct influence compared to magazines associated with pronounced cultural movements like the *fin-de-siècle* Celtic Revival of the 1890s and the Scottish Renaissance of the 1920s. This chapter provides a rehabilitation of the *People's Friend* that goes beyond its association with the 'freaks' and 'tartan monster' of the Scottish press. It assesses how the magazine has come to epitomise Scottish national identity and investigates how this identity was constructed. Firstly, it sets out the origins of the *People's Friend* and examines its pre-D. C. Thomson era between 1869 and the 1910s. Next, it explores the magazine's contribution to Scottish national identity and the idea of Scottish exceptionalism. Finally, it reassesses the reputation of Swan as a *People's Friend* contributor. Ultimately, this chapter introduces scholarly analysis on the magazine by situating it in a wider context of Scottish literature since 1870.

⁶ Tom Nairn, 'Old and New Scottish Nationalism', in *The Red Paper on Scotland*, ed. by Gordon Brown (Edinburgh: EUSPB, 1975), pp. 22–57 (p. 39).

⁷ Quoted in David Goldie, 'Hugh MacDiarmid, Harry Lauder and Scottish Popular Culture', *International Journal of Scottish Literature*, 1, (2006), 1–26 (p. 1).

⁸ 'Jings! The Harry Potter of His Day', *Tales of One City – Edinburgh City Libraries Blog*, (1 September 2011), <<https://talesofonecity.wordpress.com/tag/oor-wullie/>> [accessed 10 February 2023].

⁹ Alistair McCleery, David Finkelstein and Linda Fleming, 'Woman Readers and the Scottish Imaginary', in *Women and Scotland. Literature, Culture, Politics*, ed. by Marie-Odile Pittin-Hédon (Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche Comté, 2020), pp. 229–242 (p. 239, p. 241).

Origins of the *People's Friend*

Following the abolition of the Stamp Act in 1855 and further reduction of taxes on paper, printing, and circulation in the 1860s, the periodical press in Scotland became a profitable venture.¹⁰ Initially, press expansion was concentrated on newspapers: between 1860 and 1914, the number of newspapers in Scotland 'rose from 60 to nearly 300'.¹¹ A significant number of these titles were managed and overseen by a new generation of monied professionals who invested in newspapers for profit, as opposed to printers who had previously dominated newspaper publishing in Scotland.¹² In Dundee, this process was particularly enthusiastic. In 1850, the *Dundee Advertiser* was bought at auction for £500 by two Dundee lawyers, James Pattullo and William Neish, who formed a syndicate proprietorship that continued into the 1950s.¹³ Later, in 1861, the Dundee Newspaper and Printing Company was established for 'the printing and publishing of Newspapers' – including the *Dundee Courier*, *Northern Warder*, and *Weekly News* – and the 'carrying on of the general business of printing by types or otherwise'.¹⁴ Its shareholders were local Dundee merchants, architects, and medical surgeons, as well as Charles Alexander, then editor of the *Dundee Courier*, and William Thomson (later proprietor of D. C. Thomson & Co.) who was then a clothier and shipping merchant. Although the Dundee Newspaper Company was in financial difficulties by 1867, Thomson had entered into a partnership with Alexander in 1870.¹⁵ Following Alexander's death in 1884, Thomson was the Dundee Newspaper Company's major creditor and sole shareholder and, thus, inherited the proprietorship of its newspapers, adding the

¹⁰ Bob Harris, 'The Press, Newspaper Fiction and Literary Journalism, 1707–1918', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature, Volume 2: Enlightenment, Britain and Empire (1707–1918)*, ed. by Susan Manning (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 308–316 (p. 308).

¹¹ Richard J. Finlay, 'The Scottish Press and Empire, 1850–1914', in *Newspapers and Empire in Britain and Ireland: Reporting from the British Empire, c.1857–1921*, ed. by Simon J. Potter (Dublin: Four Courts, 2007), pp. 62–75 (p. 64).

¹² Helen S. Williams, 'Production', in *The Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press, Volume 2, Expansion and Evolution, 1800–1900*, ed. by David Finkelstein (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 65–85.

¹³ Gordon Small, *The Lengs: Dundee's Other Publishing Empire* (Dundee: Tay Valley Family History Society, 2009), pp. 6–7.

¹⁴ 'Memorandum of Association of the Dundee Newspaper and Printing Company Limited', 17 April 1861, BT2/74/1, National Records of Scotland (hereafter NRS), Edinburgh.

¹⁵ W. Hamish Fraser, *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Newspapers, 1850–1950* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), p. 103.

press to his cloth and shipping businesses.¹⁶ In 1886, this venture became W. & D. C. Thomson & Co., named for William and his son, David Couper Thomson, who controlled the firm's publishing company until his death in 1954. As the establishment of these companies demonstrates, there was a significant diversification of the people involved in magazines and newspapers in Scotland in the post-1855 press landscape, primarily the inclusion of monied professionals and middle-class businessmen.

By far the most influential press company in late-Victorian Scotland was the John Leng Company. Established in 1855, the Company facilitated John Leng's rise from newspaper sub-editor in Hull to newspaper magnate in Dundee at the age of twenty-three. Following unsuccessful applications to the editorships of the *Inverness Courier* and the *Scotsman* in the 1840s, Leng was hired to the *Dundee Advertiser* as editor in 1851 and promoted to partner in the newspaper's proprietorship in 1852.¹⁷ From 1858, he created a stable of daily and weekly titles that dominated modern Scottish journalism. These include the *People's Journal* (1858–1994), *People's Friend* (1869–present), *Evening Telegraph* (1877–present), *People's Penny Stories* (1903–1906), *My Weekly* (1910–present), *Happy Home* (1913–1921), *Secrets* (1932–1991), and *Flame* (1935–1940). Leng's press empire continued through the directorships of his son, William C. Leng, his grandson, John Leng Sturrock, and their descendants who were major shareholders in the John Leng Company until the 1940s. The longstanding rivalry between John Leng and D. C. Thomson was apparent from as early as the 1860s. When Thomson assumed proprietorship of the *Dundee Courier*, Leng was unimpressed, writing that '[o]ur neighbours of the *Courier* and *Argus* and *Weekly News* have lately been in very troubled waters' and 'several of the proprietors have seceded from the concern leaving it in the hands of a Clothier named Thompson [sic]'.¹⁸ He was delighted that the Thomsons 'have been quarrelling one with another' and were engaged in 'a feud for months with

¹⁶ In 1867, Alexander wrote to the Registrar of Companies to indicate that the Dundee Newspaper and Printing Company was close to being defunct and intimated that Thomson should remain as sole shareholder, see letter of Charles Alexander to Registrar of Companies, 12 June 1867, BT2/74/9, NRS. Thomson had three sons, each of whom managed a different arm of the family's business empire: David Couper controlled publishing, William, shipping, and Frederick, cloth manufacturing, though he later joined the publishing business.

¹⁷ Dilwyn Porter, 'John Leng (1828–1906)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-34494?rskey=sxnA1B&result=2>> [accessed 15 March 2022].

¹⁸ Letter of John Leng to David Pae, 27 August 1866, Pae Family Archive, Dundee.

their work-people who have repeatedly threatened to strike'.¹⁹ Similarly, he was unconvinced about their plan to reduce the price of the *Dundee Courier* from one penny to a halfpenny, describing that 'to us it appears suicidal, Dundee not being large enough for a halfpenny paper', and was infuriated that the Thomsons 'wish to bribe a number of our [news]agents to give up the [*Dundee*] *Advertiser* and act solely for them'.²⁰ Despite this animosity, following Leng's failing health and unexpected death in California in 1906, Thomson acquired the Leng Company, with the Thomsons retaining two-thirds interest in the firm and the Lengs the remaining third.²¹ Although the publication and management of Leng's titles was kept separate from Thomson's, their competing daily newspapers, the *Dundee Advertiser* and *Dundee Courier*, were merged in 1926 and the firm began operating as Thomson-Leng on certain titles from the 1930s.²² Finally, in 1965, the Leng Company was officially incorporated into D. C. Thomson.²³ Prior to this merger, there had been a union between the two families that clearly facilitated a closer working relationship. In 1886 Leng's eldest daughter, Clara, married Thomson's middle son, William, the younger brother of D. C. Thomson. By 1900, Leng and Thomson – still rival newspaper tycoons – were grandfathers to the same grandchildren. Today, their descendants are still involved in D. C. Thomson.

Although the *People's Friend* is primarily identified today as a Thomson publication, it is important to stress that this is a twentieth-century association. The *People's Friend* originated in 1869 as a Leng magazine and did not come under Thomson's ownership until 1905, at which time, the magazine changed. William Donaldson argues that, in the nineteenth century, the magazine was one of the 'vital organs of Scottish democracy'.²⁴ Whereas, by the early twentieth century, Andrew Nash

¹⁹ Letter of John Leng to David Pae, 27 August 1866.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain, 1914–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 163.

²² 'Special Resolution of the John Leng Company Ltd.', 6 April 1905, BT2/1984/5455 f.14, NRS; McAleer, *Popular Reading*, p. 163. The Thomson-Leng legacy persists today in the guise of the Thomson-Leng Musical Society, established in Dundee in 1964 for employees, see *Thomson-Leng Musical Society*, <<https://www.tlms.net>> [accessed 19 December 2022].

²³ 'Memorandum of Association of John Leng & Company, Ltd.', 21 April 1965, BT2/1984/5455, f.109, NRS. Also, see BT2/1984/5455, f.118, f.145, NRS.

²⁴ William Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland: Language Fiction and the Press* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), p. 33.

notes it was considered one of ‘the worst excesses of a politically reactionary culture’.²⁵ As this chapter sets out, although the *People’s Friend* was losing some of its political edge during the latter years of the Leng era, it succumbed fully to a generic sentimentality under the Thomsons. As George Rosie surmises, the ‘Thomson family identified a rich seam of nostalgia, whimsy, inertia and sentimentality in the British public (and especially the Scottish end) which they have quarried ever since’.²⁶ It is therefore important to interrogate the origins of the *People’s Friend* under Leng. As Gordon Small sets out, Leng was enterprising and dynamic, and quickly shifted the limits of mass-printing, publishing, and readership in Scotland.²⁷ He established new offices for his publications on Bank Street in Dundee and installed three new triple-reel presses there which increased his printing output from 350 copies per hour to 20,000.²⁸ Similarly, he was proprietor of Donside Mills near Aberdeen from 1893, which reduced the cost and wastage of printing and increased his output to fifty tons of printed paper per week.²⁹ Importantly, this commercial expansion enabled him to capitalise on the growing appetite for literature in the periodical press and the ever-growing, educated, and literate mass-readership in Scotland.³⁰ His response was the establishment of the *People’s Journal* in 1855, a weekly Saturday newspaper that ‘aimed not to write down but to write up to the good sense of the working classes’.³¹ The paper conveyed Leng’s personal philosophy: as a young man, he explained that ‘the iron entered my soul and led me to resolve not to live an idle or a useless life, but to endeavour to raise the condition of the people’.³² Certainly, the establishment of the *People’s Journal* was part of this broader social mission and a response to the demand amongst the working classes for cheap and accessible literature; according to Kirstie Blair, the

²⁵ Andrew Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), p. 225.

²⁶ Quoted in Priscilla Doherty, ‘Dundee Standard’, *Msprint*, nd. [November 1980], p. 24.

²⁷ Small, *The Lengs*, pp. 38–54.

²⁸ Porter, ‘John Leng’.

²⁹ Small, *The Lengs*, pp. 38–54.

³⁰ Harris, ‘The Press, Newspaper Fiction’.

³¹ Quoted in Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, p. 11.

³² Quoted in Alan M. Duncan, ‘A Study of Popular Literature in Scotland 1860–1900, with special reference to Dundee area periodicals’ (BPhil thesis, University of St Andrews, 1978), p. 237. Archived biographical sources for John Leng are scarce. The most reliable source is an autobiographical essay that Leng contributed to *The Bookman*, see ‘Journalistic Autobiographies. I. Sir John Leng, MP, DL, etc.’, *The Bookman*, February 1901, pp. 157–158. For other archival sources, see ‘Paper, Printing and Publishing – Journalism and Comics – DC Thomson/John Leng’, GD/X1206, Dundee City Archives, Dundee.

newspaper's readers 'came for the fiction and poetry, and stayed for the news'.³³ From 1858, the *People's Journal* began organising literary competitions to which any prospective poet or writer could enter for the chance to win a cash prize and the publication of their entry. These competitions were particularly popular, as the prospectus of the *People's Friend* explains:

Eleven years ago, when the *People's Journal* was established, the number of literary working men was comparatively limited; but in consequence of the encouragement given by that paper and by other kindred publications, to literary aspirants among the industrial classes, we now find that amateur *litterateurs* have multiplied by the thousand. [...] Every successive prize in connection with the *People's Journal* has added immensely to the list of candidates for literary distinction. The last contest of this kind gave us no fewer than 659 competitors, consisting of 157 novelists, 419 poets, and 59 juvenile letter writers.³⁴

Out of the success of these competitions, the *People's Friend* was established in January 1869 as a monthly magazine dedicated solely to literature. Its prospectus outlined its aims and objectives:

Believing that the thirst for literary distinction amongst the labouring classes is a feeling which ought to be cultivated, as tending to promote self-improvement and studious, sober habits, we shall we pleasure in opening the columns of the FRIEND to the contributions of the people. One of the principal reasons, then, which induced us to project our miscellany was that it might prove instrumental in leading working men to devote attention in their leisure moments to the ennobling pursuits of literature and mental improvement.³⁵

As the magazine explains, it considered itself a necessary intervention in the lack of cheap and accessible literature for working-class people in Scotland. Moreover, this literary philanthropy and paternalistic view (although slightly patronising) was a genuine commitment. As Erin Farley has shown, political language was prominent in Dundee's periodical press, particularly in the 1840s and 1850s.³⁶ The title of the *People's Friend* demonstrates how commonplace this language was by the 1860s. For instance, its title shares an affinity with Jean-Paul Marat's republican newspaper, *L'ami du peuple* (1789–1792), which was published during the French Revolution, as well as the Chartist newspaper, *The Friend of the People* (1850–1851), edited by George Julian Harney and Ernest Jones during an era

³³ Kirstie Blair, *The Poets of the People's Journal: Newspaper Poetry in Victorian Scotland* (Glasgow: ASLS, 2016), pp. xii–xiii.

³⁴ 'To Our Readers', *People's Friend*, 13 January 1869, p. 8.

³⁵ 'To Our Readers'.

³⁶ Erin Farley, 'The Place of Poetry in Victorian Dundee' (Doctoral thesis, University of Strathclyde, 2018), and Before "Couthersisation": Poetry and Politics in the Dundee Press, *Scottish Critical Heritage*, (2 February 2018), <<https://scottishcriticalheritage.wordpress.com/tag/peoples-friend/>> [accessed 5 October 2022].

of political agitation and working-class uprising. Although both titles were more politically inflammatory than the *People's Friend*, the sentiment nonetheless persists. Indeed, the magazine's title recalls earlier newspapers and magazines that were established for 'the people', such as the *People's Hue and Cry* (1834), described as a 'radical political trades-union newspaper', the *People's College Journal* (1846–1847), a Sheffield magazine 'chiefly devoted to the cause of popular education', and the *People's Magazine* (1867–1873), 'an illustrated magazine for all classes'.³⁷ The *People's Friend's* dedication to 'the people' was also portrayed in an illustrated masthead that it used for a couple of weeks in 1870, which shows a beehive surrounded by a bed of roses and thistles beneath the magazine's title. This illustration evokes a London trades union newspaper, *The Bee-Hive* (1861–1878), as well as recalling George Cruikshank's 1840 pictorial representation of British society as a beehive, which became a recognisable symbol for the working classes in Victorian Britain, nicknamed 'the worker bees'.³⁸

An important predecessor for the *People's Friend* was John Cassell's *Working-Man's Friend and Family Instructor* (1850–1853), which was published in London and continued publishing as *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper* (1853–1867) and *Cassell's Magazine* (1867–1912). Like Leng, Cassell used his magazine and publishing business to encourage the civic and political education of the working classes.³⁹ Although Cassell's magazine included fiction, Graham Law notes that there was far more fiction in the *People's Journal*.⁴⁰ Therefore, the *People's Friend* was created in 1869 as the incarnation of the radical tone of Cassell's *Working-Man's Friend* and the literary content of Leng's *People's Journal*. In its own words, the magazine explained its aim was to 'prove "a friend indeed" to the hundreds of working men and women who pursue literature not professionally, but purely for the love of it'.⁴¹

³⁷ *The Waterloo Directory of Victorian Periodicals, 1842–1900. Volume 1*, ed. by John S. North, Dorothy Deering and Michael Wolff (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1976), pp. 831–832.

³⁸ Marion Thain, 'The Beehive', *Victorian Review*, 36: 2, (2010), 23–31 (p. 24).

³⁹ *The Story of the House of Cassell* (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1922), pp. 114–146.

⁴⁰ Graham Law, 'Before Tillotsons: Novels in British Provincial Newspapers, 1855–1873', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 32: 1, (1999), 43–79 (p. 54).

⁴¹ 'To Our Readers'.

Moreover, its dedication to ‘the people’ was celebrated in a poem that was published in its first issue by local poet ‘R., Dundee’ and includes the following stanza:

Resist the wrong, assist the right,
Neglected genius bring to light,
Save honest worth from party spite;
And aye contend
Against oppression’s iron might –
THE PEOPLE’S FRIEND.⁴²

The use of politicised language and multiple references to working-class uplift in this poem was further reflected in the public spaces where the *People’s Friend* was read. For instance, it was available in the Coldstream Mechanics’ Institute and Working Men’s Club in 1879 and the Pathhead Working Men’s Institute in 1882, as well as in public libraries whose reading rooms were particularly popular with working-class readers.⁴³ In 1891 the Aberdeen Public Library’s reading room had a total of sixty-five periodicals which were issued to readers a total of 51,084 times that year, of which the *People’s Friend* accounted for 2,917 requests alone.⁴⁴ The magazine’s availability in working-class spaces like these was echoed in Leng’s support for the Free Library movement. In Dundee, Leng was an early financial patron of the Dundee Free Library, along with many of his employees, such as Alexander Urquhart, the editor of the *Dundee Advertiser* in the 1910s, and Alexander H. Millar, the literary editor of the *Dundee Advertiser* from 1889 to 1908 who subsequently became the Free Library’s chief librarian.⁴⁵ By the early twentieth century, the *People’s Friend* continued to occupy a notable presence in the Dundee Free Library. From 1917, the Leng Company advertised the *People’s Friend* on bookmarks that were introduced to reduce theft and damage to the Dundee Free Library’s collection of books (see Fig. 1).⁴⁶

⁴² R., Dundee, ‘The Birth of the “PEOPLE’S FRIEND”’, *People’s Friend*, 13 January 1869, p. 8. For the full poem, see Appendix II.

⁴³ ‘Coldstream Mechanics’ Institute and Working Men’s Club’, *Berwickshire News*, 18 November 1879, p. 3 col a; ‘Pathhead’, *Fifeshire Advertiser*, 30 December 1882, p. 4 col f.

⁴⁴ ‘Here and There’, *Evening Telegraph*, 6 January 1891, p. 2 col f.

⁴⁵ A. H. Millar, *Jubilee of the Albert Institute and Free Public Library, Dundee, 1867–1917* (Dundee: John Durham & Son, 1917), p. 29.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of the introduction of these bookmarks, see ‘Dundee’s Demand for Reading’, *Dundee Courier*, 14 September 1917, p. 2 col f.

The democratisation of education and the representation of the working classes were key principles of the Liberal party in Britain which experienced unprecedented hegemony between 1832 and 1906, particularly in Scotland. Just as the title of the *People's Friend* resonated with its dedication to 'the people', it was also reminiscent of one of Liberal Party leader William Gladstone's many nicknames. Although more commonly known as the 'Grand Old Master' (also G.O.M) or 'the People's William', 'the People's Friend' was also used to refer to Gladstone, who served as Prime Minister in four non-consecutive terms from 1868 to 1894. References to Gladstone as 'the People's Friend' were particularly notable in newspaper reports during his tour of Scotland in advance of the royal assent of the Representation of the People Act 1884. At a franchise reform demonstration in Slamannan in September that year, a portrait of Gladstone was hung in the village beneath the mottoes 'Unity is strength', 'Unite the vote', and 'Gladstone, the People's Friend'.⁴⁷ Later that month, during Gladstone's visit to Brechin Castle in Angus, the workers at nearby Denburn Works and Inch Bleachfield presented him with a banner displaying the words 'Long life to Gladstone, the people's friend'.⁴⁸ Later, in May 1887, the connection between Gladstone and the *People's Friend* magazine was comically realised by the satirical Dundee magazine, the *Wizard of the North*:

When last Mr Gladstone was north, the train was stopped at a certain railway station for the customary speech. A newsboy, ever mindful of business, was shouting, "*People's Friend! People's Friend!*" The G.O.M. immediately put his head out of the window exclaiming "That's me! that's me! What is it you want, my boy?" The boy promptly replied, "Ay, bit you're an auld ane; this is a new ane jist oot".⁴⁹

Although a joke, this association demonstrates the magazine's influence as a vehicle for Liberal values during a period of significant Liberal Party domination in Scotland. Part of the continued success of the Leng Company was its staunch support for Liberalism, which suited Dundee, a city that consistently returned Liberal candidates between the formation of the constituency in 1832 and 1906. Indeed, Leng's election as Liberal MP for Dundee in 1889 was the last time that the city voted Liberal to represent both of its seats. Leng was aligned with Advanced Liberalism which emerged after 1886 and

⁴⁷ 'Great Franchise Demonstration', *Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser*, 13 September 1884, p. 5 col c.

⁴⁸ 'Mr Gladstone's Visit to Brechin Castle', *Dundee Courier*, 19 September 1884, p. 3 col d.

⁴⁹ 'The People's Friend', *Wizard of the North*, May 1887, p. 14.

supported Home Rule for Ireland, Home Rule All Round (including Scottish Home Rule), Free Trade, and Highland land reform.⁵⁰ Senior members of the Leng Company were also veterans of earlier Liberal movements, such as Chartism, Free Trade, and franchise reform in the 1830s and 1840s. These include Leng's son, William C. Leng, and his grandson, John Leng Sturrock, as well as Thomas Thornton, co-proprietor of the *Dundee Advertiser* after 1857, and the editors of Leng's publications, including William D. Latto, editor of the *People's Journal*, William Lindsay, editor of the *Aberdeen People's Journal* (1861–1988), and Alexander Westwood, editor of the *People's Journal for Fife* (1868–1927).⁵¹

The Liberalism of the Leng Company was a contrast to D. C. Thomson whose proprietors, managing directors, and editorial staff were supporters of the Scottish Unionist Party and members of various Unionist associations in Dundee, Newport-on-Tay, and Broughty Ferry.⁵² In a notably Liberal and working-class city like Dundee, this political alignment was often out of place. For instance, D. C. Thomson was referred to as 'the newspaper Mussolini of Dundee' and 'a kind of 1920s Rupert Murdoch'.⁵³ Indeed, Winston Churchill, Liberal MP for Dundee from 1908 to 1922, considered Thomson a 'secretive, paternalistic employer, used to getting his own way'.⁵⁴ Churchill's failure at the 1922 General Election was partly the result of Thomson's personal editorials which he published in his

⁵⁰ Although initially a member of the Scottish Home Rule Association (SHRA), Leng split from it in 1894 when Gladstone failed to define his commitment to Scottish Home Rule in the face of mounting parliamentary pressure to ensure Home Rule for Ireland, see Nathan Kane, 'A Study of the Debate on Scottish Home Rule, 1886–1914' (Doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2015), p. 118. Also, see John Leng, *Home Rule All Round. An Address* (Dundee: John Leng & Co., 1890). In Dundee, Leng was a prolific Liberal Party member and used his newspapers to support Liberal causes such as the Mechanics' Institute in Dundee, Giuseppe Garibaldi and the Italian Risorgimento, and Abraham Lincoln and the Union during in the American Civil War. On the latter, see John Leng, *Letters from the United States & Canada* (Dundee: John Leng & Co., 1905), pp. 58–59.

⁵¹ Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, pp. 18–19, p. 24. John Leng Sturrock served as Liberal MP for the Montrose Burghs from 1918 to 1924.

⁵² *Tayside Annual and Directory for Newport, Wormit and Tayport for 1908* (Dundee: John Leng & Co., 1908), p. 40.

⁵³ McAleer, *Popular Reading*, p. 162; Joseph McAleer, 'Popular Literature and Reading Habits in Britain, 1914–1950' (Doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1989), p. 253. McAleer quotes a memorandum to the Royal Commission on the Press in 1948 in which D. C. Thomson (the man) states, 'I do not agree with the proprietors of other papers who leave all policy to the editors, for I hold that the proprietor is ultimately responsible for every word published', see 'Popular Literature', p. 270.

⁵⁴ Norman Watson, 'Daughters of Dundee: Gender and Politics in Dundee: The Representation of Women, 1870–1997' (Doctoral thesis, The Open University, 2001), p. 97.

newspapers that advised readers to vote otherwise.⁵⁵ In comparison, members of the Leng Company actively campaigned for Churchill, including Leng Sturrock and George T. Watson, Leng's managing editor, who drove a campaign car together for Churchill in and around Dundee during the 1910 General Election (see Fig. 2).⁵⁶ Moreover, Thomson's reputation for 'Tartan Toryism' has courted controversy in Dundee.⁵⁷ In anticipation of the General Strike of 1926, the firm adopted an anti-trade union policy and mandated that all workers sign an anti-union pledge which led to a boycott of the firm's publications by the Trades Union Congress in 1953 following the dismissal of seventy-four printers for union membership.⁵⁸ In contrast, Leng's reputation as an employer who was more sympathetic to the demands of his employees was well-known in his lifetime, and his contrasting legacy with Thomson was even acknowledged by Thomson employees as recently as the 1980s.⁵⁹ For example, Leng supported female textile workers' efforts to organise through the Dundee and District Mill and Factory Operatives' Union in the 1890s, and in 1901 he gave his workers an extra holiday to celebrate the centenary of the *Dundee Advertiser* and paid for their transport to his house, Kinbrae, in Newport-on-Tay, where he hosted a garden party for them.⁶⁰ Additionally, Leng was a social reformer, advocate for education, and civic philanthropist. He was one of the original subscribers to the Albert Institute of Dundee (now the McManus Art Gallery and Museum), a director of Dundee High School, a life governor of University College (now the University of Dundee), and vice-president of the Dundee & District Free Trade Association, among many other roles in and around Dundee. For these, as well as his services to

⁵⁵ Watson, 'Daughters of Dundee', pp. 96–97. See also, William M. Walker, 'Dundee's Disenchantment with Churchill: A Comment upon the Downfall of the Liberal Party', *Scottish Historical Review*, 49: 147, (1970), 85–108. The animosity between Churchill and Thomson was public and personal. After an escalating exchange of correspondence in 1922, Thomson wrote to Churchill that '[a]ny fool of a politician can make a public personal attack on newspaper people at any time, but he can't make it a controversy. Nor can he scare newspaper people. He only amuses them', see D. C. Thomson to Winston Churchill, 23 May 1922, Chartwell Papers, CHAR 5/26, ff.93–94, Churchill Archives Centre, Churchill College, University of Cambridge.

⁵⁶ Photograph of John Leng Sturrock and George T. Watson, December 1910, GD/X1020, Dundee City Archives, Dundee.

⁵⁷ Alistair McCleery, 'Scottish Literary Magazines' in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), pp. 226–228 (p. 226).

⁵⁸ McAleer, *Popular Reading*, p. 170.

⁵⁹ In an interview with McAleer, D. C. Thomson employee Maurice Paterson described himself as 'a Leng man', see 'Popular Literature', p. 244 fn.6. Paterson was chief sub-editor of *Secrets* (1932–1991) and editor of *My Weekly* (1910–present) from 1961. In 1987, he retired as managing editor of Thomson's women's magazines.

⁶⁰ Farley, 'The Place of Poetry', p. 166 fn.65; 'Sir John Leng's Jubilee', *Evening Telegraph*, 14 July 1901, p. 3 col d.

journalism, he was knighted in 1893 and awarded the freedom of the city of Dundee in 1902.⁶¹ Ultimately, these differences had long-lasting ramifications for the *People's Friend*. As the next section explores, by the time of Thomson's ownership of the magazine in the 1910s, it had been fully embraced by the firm's conservative values that it has espoused ever since.

The Myth of Scottish Exceptionalism

In addition to providing accessible reading material for the working classes, the *People's Friend* was advertised as a remediation in the lack of popular magazines in late-nineteenth century Scotland. In 1869, the magazine claimed that its establishment filled a gap in the Scottish periodical press:

We doubt not that the reading public will also welcome the FRIEND as supplying a want which has long been felt in Scotland. Thirty years ago "Chambers's Journal" was the faithful exponent of Scotch Life and Manners, and "Tait's Magazine" also devoted considerable space to Scotch questions. [...] For many years, however, Scotland has possessed no serial publication devoted to the portrayal of Scotch Character. "Tait" has long been dead, and "Chambers's Journal" has gone to London, and become intensely "Englified". It seldom contains a Scottish story now, or a Scottish poem, or indeed anything related to Scotland. Now, we think that there is *room* for a periodical such as the PEOPLE'S FRIEND which will contain Scotch stories, poetry, and other articles, written by Scotchmen.⁶²

Here, the magazine emphasises that titles which were once founded and published in Scotland had lost their Scottishness, leaving Scots with no representative magazine culture by 1869.⁶³ The departure of established magazines like *Tait's Magazine* (1832–1861) and *Chambers's Journal* (1832–1956) from Edinburgh to London had indeed impacted their popularity by the 1860s. Although Aileen Fyfe stress the innovativeness and affordability of *Chambers's Journal*, its circulation had fallen to 20,000 copies per month in 1864 compared to its peak of 80,000 shortly after its launch.⁶⁴ Other monthly magazines that experienced a decline in sales after 1860 include *Blackwood's Magazine*. In 1832, the magazine's

⁶¹ 'Messrs John and W. C. Leng, of Dundee Advertiser', *McManus168*, <<https://mcmanus168.org.uk/mcmanus168entry/messrs-john-wc-leng-dundee-advertiser/>> [accessed 5 March 2023].

⁶² 'To Our Readers'.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Aileen Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge: William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); William Forbes Gray, 'A Hundred Years Old: *Chambers's Journal*, 1832–1932', *Chambers's Journal*, February 1932, p. 83.

circulation was 9,000 copies per month, and by the 1870s this had fallen to an average of 6,500.⁶⁵ In comparison, the *People's Friend's* circulation was 110,000 in 1878, which rose to 240,000 in 1899.⁶⁶ In addition, by December 1890, the four serial publications owned by Leng – the *Dundee Advertiser*, *People's Journal*, *People's Friend*, and *Evening Telegraph* – were selling a combined weekly total of one million copies.⁶⁷ Whilst David Finkelstein argues that the drop in circulation amongst these established Scottish magazines was the result of the expansion of the penny press – including penny magazines – and the targeting of new readership groups like the working classes, the decline in these magazines' circulation is also likely to have been impacted by their lack of national identity, as the *People's Friend's* prospectus insinuates.⁶⁸

National identity was at the heart of Leng's wider publishing empire. David Goldie has characterised Leng's success as his ability to 'create and captivate a self-identifying public for his product' and infuse it with a 'distinctly local and Scottish' identity as well as a 'recognizably national and British' one.⁶⁹ Indeed, although an Englishman, the Scottish press acknowledged that Leng's success was owed to his unique 'display of qualities which are considered peculiarly Scotch'.⁷⁰ These 'qualities' are those that scholars consider fundamental to national identity in late-Victorian Scotland, including

⁶⁵ David Finkelstein, 'Periodicals in Scotland', in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, ed. by Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 185–193 (p. 191).

⁶⁶ Duncan, 'A Study of Popular Literature', p. 131; Newspaper and Magazine Circulation Book (1896–1903), DCT/C1/1, D. C. Thomson & Co. Archives, Dundee. The earliest circulation numbers held by D. C. Thomson for the *People's Friend* begin in 1896 and I am unable to confirm where Duncan sourced his numbers for 1878.

⁶⁷ Small, *Lengs*, p. 21. These totals were also printed in 'Certification of the "People's Journal"', *People's Journal*, 10 January 1891, p. 4 col a. Small states that the best circulation years for the *People's Journal* were between 1890 and 1893, and that the average weekly sale was 187,000 in 1921 and 177,000 in 1935. W. Hamish Fraser gives an average of 220,000 copies per week, see '*People's Journal* (1858–1990)', in *The Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (London: British Library, 2009), p. 489. For an overview of the Leng Company up to 1891, see Alexander H. Millar, *How a Newspaper is Printed: Being a Complete Description of the Offices and Equipments of the Dundee Advertiser, People's Journal, Evening Telegraph, and People's Friend* (Dundee: John Leng Company, 1891). Sections of Millar's book were also reprinted to celebrate the expansion of the Leng Company's offices in Dundee and London, see 'The Dundee Advertiser Offices. Palatial Newspaper Establishment', *Dundee Advertiser*, 13 January 1891, pp. 4–5.

⁶⁸ Finkelstein, 'Periodicals in Scotland', pp. 191–192.

⁶⁹ David Goldie, 'Unspeakable Scots: Dialogues in Scottish-British Literary Culture Before the First World War', in *Literature and Union: Scottish Texts, British Contexts*, ed. by Gerard Carruthers and Colin Kidd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 259–276 (p. 274, p. 276).

⁷⁰ 'Politics and Society', *Portobello Advertiser*, 13 September 1889, p. 4 col e.

self-improvement, self-reliance, education, morality, and thrift, which were summarised by Scottish author Samuel Smiles in his influential polemic, *Self-Help* (1859).⁷¹ Indeed, Smiles' nephew, Samuel Smiles Jerdan, was a regular essayist in the *People's Friend* in the 1870s.⁷² Sociologist David McCrone has argued that these qualities contributed to a myth of Scottish exceptionalism, arguing that Scotland was not an especially working-class, educated, democratic, or egalitarian society as its national identity suggested.⁷³ In discussing the impact of popular publications like the *People's Friend* on this identity, McCrone states that these titles understood that '[i]t was not necessary to "prove" that such features were hard-wired into Scottish culture, simply that they defined the country a priori'.⁷⁴

Since its establishment in 1869, the *People's Friend* has embodied the qualities of Scottish national identity. One example is the 'lad o' pairts' motif, described by T. D. Knowles as 'the poor Scottish boy making good with the "democratic" Scottish system of education, and dying young as a graduated minister in his mother's arms'.⁷⁵ For Douglas Gifford, the 'lad o' pairts' is the 'scholar-poet dying melodramatically in the arms of widowed mothers', along with 'peasants with hearts of gold' and 'gruff church elders trying manfully to restrain their tears'.⁷⁶ As in these definitions, the 'lad o' pairts' has traditionally been discussed in analyses of the Kailyard movement in the 1880s and 1890s, a genre of fiction that created persistent stereotypes about Scottish life which are discussed in Chapter 2. However, the 'lad o' pairts' was a much more pervasive motif in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Scotland than its association with the Kailyard.⁷⁷ As others have shown, Robert Burns was the ultimate personification of the 'lad o' pairts'. As the national bard, this motif, therefore, became the

⁷¹ Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help; with Illustrations of Character and Conduct* (London: John Murray, 1859). Also, see Barbara Leckie, 'Reader-Help: How to Read Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help*', in *Media and Print Culture Consumption in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Paul R. Rooney and Anna Gasperini (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 15–31, Asa Briggs, *Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes, 1851–67* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1975), and T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700–2007: a Modern History* (Penguin: London, 2012), pp. 273–298.

⁷² D. H. Edwards, *Modern Scottish Poets*, 16 vols (Brechin: "Advertiser" Office, 1880), I, p. 19.

⁷³ David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

⁷⁴ David McCrone, *The New Sociology of Scotland* (London: Sage Books, 2017), p. 395.

⁷⁵ Thomas D. Knowles, *Ideology, Art and Commerce: Aspects of Literary Sociology in the Late Victorian Scottish Kailyard* (Gothenburg: s.n., 1983).

⁷⁶ Douglas Gifford, *Neil M. Gunn and Lewis Grassie Gibbon* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1983), pp. 5–6.

⁷⁷ Andrew Nash, 'Re-reading the "Lad o' Pairts": the Myth of the Kailyard Myth', *Scotlands*, 3: 2, (1996), 86–102.

personification of Scottish poetry and working-class verse from the late-eighteenth century onwards.⁷⁸ In appealing to the working classes of Scotland, the *People's Friend* continued this 'lad o' pairts' legacy by publishing the country's most notable minor poets and by including Burns's portrait on the frontispiece of its bound volumes from 1881. In addition, when the Sir John Leng Trust endowed the John Leng Scottish Song Competition to promote the legacy of Scottish balladry amongst the schoolchildren of Dundee, the competition's medals bore Burns's image (see Fig. 3).⁷⁹

As well as promoting the 'lad o' pairts' motif, the editors of the *People's Friend* personified it. Following the success of its first year, Scottish novelist David Pae was hired as the first full-time editor of the magazine in 1870. Prior to Pae, William D. Latto, the editor of the *People's Journal*, had overseen its twelve issues in 1869.⁸⁰ Pae was, like Burns, a classic 'lad o' pairts'. After the death of his father at the age of six weeks old, his mother moved him from Perthshire to Berwickshire where he was raised by his maternal farm-labouring family.⁸¹ He was then apprenticed as a warehouseman and a bookseller in Edinburgh, where he became influenced by Liberalism and evangelism and was a member of the Bristo Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association attached to the Scotch Baptist Church in Edinburgh.⁸² As a young bookseller, he published several pamphlets promoting Calvinism and against Catholicism and began publishing novels that were serialised in the press.⁸³ His most successful novel, *Lucy, the Factory Girl* (1860), conveys the moralising and aspirational values of late-Victorian Scotland. Told from the point of view of a young girl (Lucy), Pae reflects the factories, disease-ridden streets, and developing urban landscape of Glasgow at the hands of socio-economic changes from which Lucy emerges with her virtue and morals intact.⁸⁴ Initially *Lucy* was serialised in the *North Briton* and *Glasgow*

⁷⁸ Nigel Leask, *Robert Burns and Pastoral: Poetry and Improvement in Late Eighteen-Century Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Kirstie Blair, *Working Verse in Victorian Scotland. Poetry, Press, Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

⁷⁹ 'A History of the Trust', *The Sir John Leng Trust*, <<https://www.lengmedal.co.uk/history/>> [accessed 13 October 2022].

⁸⁰ Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, pp. 28–34.

⁸¹ *Lucy, the Factory Girl; or, The Secrets of Tontine Close*, ed. by Graham Law (Hastings: Sensation Press, 2001), pp. vii–x.

⁸² 'Bristo Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association Programme of Annual Soiree', 19 December 1856, Pae Family Archive, Dundee.

⁸³ *Lucy, the Factory Girl*, pp. vii–x.

⁸⁴ Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, pp. 88–95.

Times and later in five different newspapers in the north of England.⁸⁵ Such literary success did not go unnoticed by John Leng. In 1863, he was keen to know from Pae ‘whether this story has appeared in the *Family Herald*, *London Journal*, [...] or any other English publications of similar character’, before publishing it in the *People’s Journal* that year as ‘The Factory Girl; or, The Dark Places of Glasgow’.⁸⁶ As this letter suggests, Leng was determined that his titles could compete with other low-cost literary magazines that dominated the periodical market, primarily, those published in London.⁸⁷ By 1866, Leng was desperate to secure Pae as an exclusive author for the Leng Company. Describing his suspicions that the emerging D. C. Thomson would make approaches to Pae to do the same thing, he wrote to him that ‘[y]ou have had some experience of us and how we treat you’ and ‘[s]o long as you remain with us “your bread and butter is sure”’.⁸⁸ Ultimately, Leng’s hiring of Pae as editor of the *People’s Friend* in 1870 gives an indication of the type of fiction that he wanted to publish in the magazine; popular stories, but ones in which ‘evil overruled for good, iniquity punished, and virtue rewarded’, as *Lucy’s* subtitle in the *People’s Journal* described.⁸⁹

Like Pae, the *People’s Friend’s* sub-editor, Andrew Stewart, was also a ‘lad o’ pairts’. Born into poverty in Glasgow’s Gallowgate district, Stewart began working as a feeder to a paper-ruling machine in a paper factory and later became foreman paper-ruler at Herriot Hill Works.⁹⁰ He was also a self-improvement man and held membership to the Spoutmouth Bible Institution and Mutual Improvement Association that was attached to St James’s Free Church in Glasgow.⁹¹ His role as editor of this association’s manuscript magazine led to an interest in writing and a contribution to the *People’s Friend*

⁸⁵ Harris, ‘The Press, Newspaper Fiction’, pp. 314.

⁸⁶ Letter of John Leng to David Pae, 13 July 1863, Pae Family Archive, Dundee.

⁸⁷ Law, ‘Before Tillotsons’, pp. 46–50.

⁸⁸ Letter of John Leng to David Pae, 27 August 1866.

⁸⁹ David Pae, ‘The Factory Girl; or, The Dark Places of Glasgow’, *People’s Journal*, 5 September 1863, p. 2 cols c–e.

⁹⁰ Charlotte Lauder, ‘Andrew Stewart’, *Piston, Pen and Press: Database*, <<https://www.pistonpenandpress.org/database/person/stewart-andrew>> [accessed 2 February 2023]; David Walker Brown, *Clydeside Litterateurs* (Glasgow: Carter & Pratt, 1897), pp. 198–201.

⁹¹ Lauren Weiss, ‘Spoutmouth Bible Institution (St James’ Free Church) Mutual Improvement Association’, *Glasgow’s Literary Bonds*, (28 November 2017), <<https://www.glasgowsliterarybonds.org/societies/spoutmouth-bible-institution/>> [accessed 3 March 2023].

in 1869.⁹² After this, he was hired by Leng as its sub-editor in 1870, and, following the death of Pae, its editor from 1884 to 1900. Stewart's editorial impact was less concerned with fiction and more concentrated in supporting Scotland's vernacular literary tradition.⁹³ This took many forms, from selecting the magazine's poetry and responding to prospective poets in its correspondence column, to writing the foreword to D. H. Edwards' *Modern Scottish Poets* anthologies and publishing collections of prose and verse in Scots, including *Humorous Readings for Social Parties: Maistly Scotch* (1882).⁹⁴ Overall, Stewart galvanised the magazine as the leading representative of popular and entertaining literature in Scotland and, coupled with his background as a 'lad o' pairts' and his support for other working-class litterateurs, enhanced the *People's Friend's* identity as a Scottish magazine for working-class Scots.

Whilst the appointments of Pae and Stewart aided the magazine's Scottish identity, they also marked a focus in the magazine on literature that reaffirmed late-Victorian values of morality, integrity, self-improvement, and social evangelism. Therefore, the magazine appealed to a Scottish readership, as much as a wider British one. The choice for the first serial novel in the *People's Friend* emphasises this mission. 'The Barnbaugh Mystery; or, The Secret of the Grave' was written by Thomas Coutts Nelson, a law clerk and minor novelist in Fife who published fiction in the Scottish press under the pseudonyms 'Quintin Quiz' and 'Percy Baldinnie'.⁹⁵ The *People's Friend* described Nelson's novel as 'a thrillingly interesting Scottish story' and 'strongly interesting and attractive'.⁹⁶ It was later published (at Nelson's expense) as a three-volume novel, *What Old Father Thames Said*, in 1876. 'The Barnbaugh Mystery' is a typical iteration of the style and themes present in popular Victorian fiction. Set in inner-city London, Nelson's novel follows the journey of two capitalist lawyers towards their self-

⁹² Andrew Stewart, 'Travel and Adventure – Glasgow to the Lake of Menteith', *People's Friend*, 13 January 1869, p. 13.

⁹³ Stewart did write serial novels in the *People's Friend*, including 'James Harebell, or Righted at Last: a Tale of Love's Struggles and Triumphs' (1871) and 'Wandering Willie: a Romance of the Tay Bridge Disaster' (1883).

⁹⁴ Andrew Stewart, *Humorous Readings for Social Parties: Maistly Scotch* (Edinburgh: J. Menzies & Co., 1882).

⁹⁵ Nelson won £5 in the *People's Journal's* 1865 Christmas competition for a short story entitled 'The Lamplighter; or, The Foundling of Christmas Morn'. 'The Barnbaugh Mystery' was serialised in the Scottish press in the 1870s.

⁹⁶ 'Weekly Publication of the "People's Friend"', *People's Friend*, 1 December 1869, p. 192.

improvement through a series of morally-testing challenges. The novel is reminiscent of Charles Dickens's *A Christmas Carol* (1843), particularly the protagonists, Nathaniel Rook and Josiah Rocquet, who are resonant of businessman Ebenezer Scrooge and his clerk, Bob Cratchit:

Nathaniel Rook is a very precise individual. He dresses in a suit of glossy blacks, of a precise cut and fashion; he wears a precise amount of wristbands, front and collar – the latter starched to a stern stiffness [...] Josiah Rocquet, on the other hand, has no pretensions to neatness or exactness in his attire. His outfit presents a medley of style, hue, and quality [...] Unlike his partner, though, his principles are in the main good [...] he avoids taking any unfair advantage of his opponents.⁹⁷

As Duncan suggests, villainous characters who undergo redemption are especially prevalent in the *People's Friend* in the 1870s, particularly the 'factors of estates who do the work of their masters [...] or lawyers and businessmen who seek their own ends'.⁹⁸ As the first serial novel in the first weekly issue of the magazine, 'The Barnbaugh Mystery' suggests that Pae and Stewart were keen to publish fiction that emulated the 'rags to riches' premise that was popular with Victorian readers, especially readers of Charles Dickens, as well as those who bought his literary magazines, *Household Words* (1850–1851) and *All the Year Round* (1859–1895). Indeed, several of Dickens's contemporaries who published in these magazines were also serialised in the *People's Friend* in its first decade, including Wilkie Collins, M. E. Braddon, and Anthony Trollope. In 1875, Pae recognised that these contributors had improved the magazine's literary (and, therefore, moral) standard. In an address to readers, he wrote that:

[t]he fame of the *Friend* has penetrated into all circles, and has been so favourably spoken of, and, as we are not slow to accept superior productions when they come into our hands, the marked improvement so kindly recognised is easily accounted for.⁹⁹

Moreover, as Pae explains here, the publication of serial novelists that were popular throughout the late-Victorian periodical press suggests that the team behind the *People's Friend* were determined to emulate, if not succeed, the popularity of leading literary magazines like the *Family Herald* (1843–1940), *London Journal* (1845–1928), *Household Words*, and *All the Year Round*. In the context of national

⁹⁷ Thomas Coutts Nelson, *What Old Father Thames Said* (London: Samuel Tinsley, 1876), p. 9.

⁹⁸ Duncan, 'A Study of Popular Literature', pp. 185–186. Nelson's next serial in the *People's Friend* was also about lawyers, 'Nelly Preston; or, The Lawyer's Conspiracy' (1872).

⁹⁹ Quoted in Duncan, 'A Study of Popular Literature', p. 129.

identity, the *People's Friend* was undoubtedly claiming its place within the popular penny press in Britain and, at the same time, legitimising a Scottish perspective within this British identity, something that magazines like *Family Herald* and *Household Words* did not deem necessary to do.

Graham Law has suggested that the publication of Pae's novels in the *People's Journal* contributed to a dilution of the newspaper's radicalism and politicised language in the 1860s.¹⁰⁰ A similar dilution can be observed following Pae's appointment to the *People's Friend* by comparing the magazine's prospectuses in 1869 and 1870. On the one hand, the magazine recommitted itself to promoting working-class literature in 1870, or 'to foster and encourage the literary talent which we know exists among the people'.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, the prospectus is written in a less politically doctrinal and class-based framing, and uses more loosely radical and implicitly religious language than 1869:

Our one wish and purpose is to make it what its name declares – *the People's Friend* – the friend that shall come to all homes and all hearts, bringing pleasure and profit, cheering by its presence and communications the toilsome way of life, doing its best to produce true thoughts, good feelings, and pure aspirations, and so lending its aid to make life brighter and better and to lessen the trials and evils which surround our human lot.¹⁰²

Although reiterating the core principles of the previous year, the 1870 prospectus lacks the forceful promise to working-class education, instruction, and mutual improvement. Rather, the *People's Friend* advertised itself as an upright, wholesome, and morally sound magazine. In 1873, these values were reinstated when the magazine described that 'it is our earnest endeavour to make the *People's Friend* useful, instructive, and healthful in its influence wherever it may go', and to make 'every home the *Friend* enters be full of sunshine, and may that sunshine brighten more and more unto the perfect day'.¹⁰³ Considering Pae's background in social evangelism and his preference for 'the pure, blushing

¹⁰⁰ Graham Law, *Serialising Fiction in the Victorian Press* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp. 47–48.

¹⁰¹ 'Our Design and Purpose', *People's Friend*, 5 January 1870, p. 1.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ 'To Our Readers', *People's Friend*, 31 December 1873, p. 833.

heroine' and 'critique of the commercial spirit', it is clear that his influence as editor had a significant impact on the *People's Friend* after 1870.¹⁰⁴

Following the abolition of the Stamp Act in 1855, the popular press in Scotland was typified by contributors who were part of an aspirational and socially mobile working class for whom literature was a potential career and not just a pastime.¹⁰⁵ As a result, this contributed to the idea that late-Victorian Scotland was an exceptionally democratic, egalitarian, and literary society. In the *People's Friend*, social mobility was encouraged amongst contributors via the magazine's fixed rate for 'all manuscripts of Stories, Essays and other Literary Articles' which were accepted for publication, 'so that the writers may be remunerated for their trouble, as well as have the pleasure of seeing their manuscripts in type'.¹⁰⁶ Alexander Anderson is by far the most well-known Scottish industrial poet of the Victorian era and a typical example of an upwardly mobile working-class poet connected to the *People's Friend*. Originally a quarrier in Dumfriesshire, he became a surfaceman (or platelayer) for the Glasgow and South-Western Railway line, taught himself German, French, Spanish, and Italian, and began publishing poetry under the pseudonym 'Surfaceman'.¹⁰⁷ Amongst all the published work on Anderson, his connection with the *People's Friend* is vastly overlooked.¹⁰⁸ His first poem was published in 1869 – which he signed 'A. A., (Kirkconnel)' – after which he contributed over fifty poems to the magazine, and continued to support it throughout his lifetime, including co-organising a dinner to celebrate the magazine's first twenty-five years during which Stewart was gifted an oil painting of himself at the suggestion of Anderson (see Fig. 4).¹⁰⁹ Although the *People's Friend* was not the only magazine to publish his poetry, Anderson was especially aided by the magazine's literary networks which enabled him to leave

¹⁰⁴ Lucy, *the Factory Girl*, pp. xi–xii.

¹⁰⁵ Blair, *Working Verse in Victorian Scotland*.

¹⁰⁶ 'Our Design and Purpose'.

¹⁰⁷ Catherine Reilly, *Mid-Victorian Poetry, 1860–1879: An Annotated Bibliography* (London: Mansell, 2000), p. 12. Alexander Anderson, *A Song of Labour, and Other Poems* (Dundee: "Dundee Advertiser" Office, 1873) and *Songs of the Rail* (Edinburgh: John Menzies, 1878). Also, see *Later Poems of Alexander Anderson "Surfaceman"*, ed. by Alexander Brown (Glasgow: Fraser, Asher & Co., 1912).

¹⁰⁸ Although most accounts of Anderson's career mention his contributions to the *People's Friend*, his reliance on the magazine (and vice versa) is yet to be fully explored.

¹⁰⁹ Alexander Anderson, 'The Thrush', *People's Friend*, 3 November 1869, p. 167; "'Dundee Advertiser" Festival', *Evening Telegraph*, 1 June 1903, p. 4 col f.

industrial work and enter middle-class employment. Stewart reviewed his poetry volume *Ballads and Sonnets* (1879) in the *People's Friend*, setting out the reasons why Anderson deserved to find a job that allowed him to continue his poetry career:

The question has often been asked us by many of his friends, why does not Mr Anderson write more poetry to the *Friend*? As an answer to this let anyone imagine him coming home at night, perhaps about six o' clock, from the further end of his two mile beat. Wearied with work, by the time supper is over and himself washed, and perhaps a couple of letters written, he is in very bad condition for mental work. [...] The possibilities of the poet are seen in almost every line of the new matter this volume contains, and it makes one fret to think that his golden prime is being spent in the drudgery of an occupation that exacts his time and so exhausts his energies. [...] For our own part, we will never rest satisfied till we see him in a more congenial sphere of labour, such as librarian in some of our public libraries, a post he is eminently qualified to fill.¹¹⁰

As Stewart suggests, the *People's Friend* was a particularly important vehicle for the promotion and popularisation of working-class poets, but also in the democratisation of opportunities to further their careers beyond industry and labour. Indeed, a year later, Anderson was hired as sub-librarian of Edinburgh University's library, followed by a period as secretary to the Philosophical Institution's library, and a return to the University of Edinburgh as chief librarian from 1886 to 1905.¹¹¹ For other contributors to the magazine, literary success was also a means through which their employment prospects were bettered. Nelson, the first serial novelist in the *People's Friend* in 1870, was desperate to find a full-time library position following his successful publication in the magazine. When the Advocates Library in Edinburgh advertised for a principal assistant in 1880, he emphasised his suitability for the role because of his literary experience:

Finding literature, however, to be rather precarious, I am now desirous of having some settled employment. I am the author of a novel which should be in your Library – "What Old Father Thames Said". Books have been my hobby since ever I could read, and I flatter myself that I have a good knowledge of them.¹¹²

Similarly, Glasgow poet and engineer Alexander G. Murdoch was able to leave industrial employment off the back of his literary career. Murdoch was one of the most prolific contributors to the *People's*

¹¹⁰ "'Ballads and Sonnets' by Alexander Anderson", *People's Friend*, 25 June 1879, p. 407.

¹¹¹ David Cuthbertson, *The Life-History of Alexander Anderson ("Surfaceman")* (Edinburgh: J. and J. Gray, 1929).

¹¹² This is included in the copy of his novel, *What Old Father Thames Said*, in the National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS).

Friend between 1869 and his death in 1891, which facilitated his departure from the shipyards of Clydeside and the Singer Sewing Machine Company in Clydebank.¹¹³ Thereafter, he worked for two Glasgow newspapers, the *North British Daily Mail* and *Glasgow Weekly Mail*, and edited the *Scottish Reader* (1883–1885), a penny literary magazine published in Glasgow that closely modelled itself on the *People's Friend*.¹¹⁴ Although other *People's Friend* contributors were not as exceptionally mobile as Anderson and Murdoch, they still typified the magazine's aim to encourage those 'who are inspired with the desire to give their thoughts to the world'.¹¹⁵ Ultimately, these examples demonstrate the *People's Friend's* influence in advancing the idea of Scotland as an especially democratic and egalitarian society, and these qualities inherent to Scottish national identity.

Beyond the contributors who exemplified this idea of Scottish egalitarianism, the *People's Friend* actively encouraged its readers to aspire to be socially mobile, specifically, via its weekly column 'Stepping-Stones for Civil Service Candidates', which appeared in the immediate aftermath of the establishment of the Scottish Office in 1885. As Graeme Morton and Lindsay Paterson have argued, Scotland remained largely self-governing and its civil institutions autonomous throughout the Victorian era.¹¹⁶ This autonomy was embedded following the establishment of the Scottish Office and the revival of the ministerial role of Secretary of Scotland which entrenched Scottish governance over health, sanitation, education and schools, prisons, Poor Law, and local government. Indeed, Scots' involvement in the civil service has contributed to an idea of Scottish mercantile and imperialist exceptionalism. Tom Devine notes that the contribution of Scots to the British civil service at home and in the Empire far outweighed its population size proportionate to Britain as a whole.¹¹⁷ Although this can be regarded as

¹¹³ Alexander G. Murdoch, 'On the Bridge – By Night. A Glasgow Poem', *People's Friend*, 7 July 1869, p. 111; Alexander G. Murdoch, *Lilts on the Doric Lyre* (Glasgow: A. F. Sharp & Co., 1873), *The Laird's Lykewake and Other Poems* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1877), and *Rhymes and Lyrics* (Kilmarnock: James McKie, 1879).

¹¹⁴ Kirstie Blair, 'Alexander G. Murdoch', *Piston, Pen and Press: Database*, <<https://www.pistonpenandpress.org/database/person/murdoch-alexander-g>> [accessed 6 October 2022].

¹¹⁵ 'Our Design and Purpose'.

¹¹⁶ Lindsay Paterson, *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994); Graeme Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830–1860* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999).

¹¹⁷ T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600–1815* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 251; Cairns Craig, 'Empire of Intellect: The Scottish Enlightenment and Scotland's Intellectual Migrants', in *Scotland and the British Empire*, ed. by John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 84–117.

part of Scotland's successful assimilation within the British state throughout the nineteenth century, considering Morton and Paterson's argument that the Scottish Office played a key role in maintaining Scotland's autonomous civil institutions, the launch of the magazine's column in the same year therefore maintained a sense of Scottish autonomy and exceptionalism. The 'Stepping-Stones for Civil Service Candidates' column was edited by Rev. William Stewart Thomson, a graduate of Aberdeen University, a Church of Scotland minister, and principal of the Aberdeen Civil Service and Business College. Although a licenced clergyman, Thomson was more interested in a career in business and economics. He published several textbooks on how to prepare for civil service exams, such as *Civil Service Arithmetic for Preliminary and Competitive Examinations* (1893) and *A Guide for Customs' Candidates with Specimens of Examination* (1903).¹¹⁸ In the *People's Friend*, his weekly column explained the process of applying to the civil service and passing its exams. By 1890, he was running a competition for readers under the age of eighteen interested in employment as a telegraphist with an offer of five shillings for the most correct marks. The winners for that year included readers in Blairgowrie, Kirkcaldy, Edinburgh, and Glasgow.¹¹⁹ By the 1890s, magazines and periodicals that provided information and guidance on entering the civil service were common, such as *The Civil Service Examiner: a Weekly Publication for the Information of Civil Service Students* (1890–1891) and *Clark's Civil Service Annual and Calendar for Candidates and Officials* (1894–1895). On the one hand, the inclusion of this information in the *People's Friend* was an effort to maximise its appeal amongst magazine readers. On the other hand, the column perpetuated the idea that Scots were particularly adept for the civil service, and that employability in late-Victorian era was founded on the core principles of meritocracy, self-improvement, education, and hard work which, as this chapter sets out, were inherent to Scottish national identity in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

¹¹⁸ William Stewart Thomson, *Civil Service Arithmetic for Preliminary and Competitive Examinations* (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1893); William Stewart Thomson, ed, *A Guide for Customs' Candidates with Specimens of Examination Papers*, rev ed. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903).

¹¹⁹ 'Results of the Prize Competition', *People's Friend*, 6 October 1890, p. 639.

The egalitarian and democratic mission of the *People's Friend* was further supported by its open literary competitions. As the *People's Journal* demonstrated, competitions that offered cash or material prizes emphasised the openness and accessibility of the periodical press and enabled aspiring writers to see their productions in print. Indeed, the newspaper printed a special collection of such verse in 1869 – *Poems By the People* – that was made up of 130 of the best entries to its Christmas poetry competition which was judged by Rev. George Gilfillan, well-known patron of working-class poets and a radical reformist preacher in Dundee.¹²⁰ Likewise, the *People's Friend* had significant success with open competitions, literary and otherwise. In 1880, the magazine ran an open competition to find its next serial novelist and offered a prize of £100 (approximately £7,000 in today's money). The winner was Adeline Sergeant who became an exclusive author for the *People's Friend* from 1882. Although Sergeant was English and not Scottish, interviews that she gave following her win stress that the *People's Friend* effectively launched her career:

"I was not at all successful at first," says Miss Sergeant in a cheerful tone of voice. "My first novel has never seen the light to this day. My second was also refused, [...] I wrote little stories for magazines, and a child's book or two. But I had no success for many years. In 1880 I competed for a prize of £100 offered by the Dundee *People's Friend* for a story, and am always grateful to the editor for the help he gave me at a critical time." [...] Miss Sergeant's next step was to write and consult the kindly Dundee editor on the subject [of a full-time job], and in return she received a proposition from the proprietors that she should go to live in Dundee and do certain specified literary work for them.¹²¹

Again, Stewart emerges in this description as a key player in securing the talents of aspiring and up-and-coming contributors to the *People's Friend*, reiterating his role as a fair and supportive editor. Between 1882 and her death in 1904, Sergeant published more than twenty-five novels in the magazine and, as she explains in her interview, became a member of the Leng Company's literary staff, which most likely involved selecting and editing fiction for the *Dundee Advertiser*, *People's Journal* and *People's Friend*. In 1906, the magazine re-ran its serial competition under the same terms as 1880. Out

¹²⁰ *Poems by the People: Being One Hundred and Thirty Pieces Selected from Four Hundred and Twenty Entered in Competition for Twelve Prizes Offered by the Publishers of "The People's Journal"* (Edinburgh: John Menzies & Co., 1869).

¹²¹ Helen C. Black, *Notable Women Authors of the Day* (London: MacLaren & Company, 1906), pp. 168–169.

of a total of 130 entrants, the winner was Agnes C. Mitchell, a Dundee office secretary and former mill worker. In a promotional interview with the *Evening Telegraph*, Mitchell emphasised the importance of the magazine in encouraging her literary aspirations:

The *People's Friend* was almost my first love. I had always been accustomed to seeing it in my father's house, and I read it long before I was old enough to understand stories or to have the vaguest comprehension of what 'articles' meant. To try a serial story was a cherished ambition, but until the £100 prize was offered I saw no likelihood of that ambition culminating in anything solid. The offer of the prize, however, afforded me my opportunity.¹²²

Mitchell's description here emphasises the magazine as the leading destination for working-class readers *and* the premier source for aspirational writers in Scotland, most of whom were working in factories like Mitchell in Dundee. Similarly, romance novelist Jean Marsh (the pseudonym of Evelyn Marshall) won £25 in the *People's Friend* Christmas short-story competition after her husband's life-changing injuries in the First World War forced her to find work to support their family.¹²³ She was then contacted by the editor of the *People's Friend* to write serial novels for the magazine and later signed a contract with the Amalgamated Press in London as an exclusive author in the 1920s.¹²⁴

Although the serial competition more commonly attracted aspiring and minor novelists, especially women, the *People's Friend* also appealed to established writers, such as *fin-de-siècle* author and Celtic Revivalist William Sharp. In 1885, Sharp entered his then-titled novel 'False Lights' to the £100 competition. At the time, Sharp was London art critic for the *Glasgow Herald*, on the literary staff of *The Academy*, and soon to assume the literary editorship of *The Young Folk's Paper* (1879–1891), a widely circulating weekly paper for children.¹²⁵ Although he did not win the serial competition, the *People's Friend* still accepted his novel, re-titled it 'A Deathless Hate', and serialised it in 1887.¹²⁶ In a letter to a friend, Sharp described the magazine as 'an influential weekly paper published in Dundee and having a large circulation in Scotland and the north of England and Ireland', and explained the terms

¹²² 'A Bond of Blood', *Evening Telegraph*, 14 January 1907, p. 5 col b.

¹²³ Norah Lewis, 'When the Circus Left Town...Evelyn Went Too', *Sandwell Evening Mail*, 19 April 1979, p. 5 cols a–g.

¹²⁴ McAleer, *Popular Reading*, p. 203 fn.42.

¹²⁵ *The Life and Letters of William Sharp and "Fiona Macleod" Volume 1, 1855–1894*, ed. by William F. Halloran (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2018), p. 134.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 625 fn. 36.

of the serialisation: 'I retain all rights save that of permitting any other journal to print the story in advance of "The People's Friend"'.¹²⁷ Like Sergeant and Mitchell, the *People's Friend* had a significant impact on Sharp's career. 'A Deathless Hate' was republished in 1888 as *The Sport of Chance* and was his first published novel.¹²⁸ Sharp's publication in the *People's Friend* is surprising, partly because a writer of his calibre and reputation in Scottish literature is not often associated with the magazine. Sharp clearly considered the magazine appropriate – and with a large enough circulation – for his writing. Moreover, these examples demonstrate that the *People's Friend* was particularly egalitarian in its approach to the writers whom it published, from former mill workers like Mitchell to cosmopolitan Celtic revivalists like Sharp.

As scholars of the press have noted, reader-generated content that was facilitated via open literary competitions reached a height of popularity in the popular press in the 1880s and 1890s.¹²⁹ One of the frontrunners of this phenomenon was George Newnes' penny magazine *Tit-Bits* (1881–1894), which was used as a circulation-boosting scheme, particularly during Newnes' proprietorship between 1880 and 1910.¹³⁰ In Scotland, competitions in the penny press were similarly used to attract readers and increase circulation. For example, in 1938, Leng's son, William C. Leng, reflected on the usefulness of competitions in the 1880s when he was then a recently made director of the Leng Company. He described that 'the *People's Journal* was our weakest link and every resource was mobilised in the endeavour to strengthen its position. I personally took charge of a silver watch competition which proved embarrassingly popular'.¹³¹ Nevertheless, prize competitions emphasised the egalitarian approach of those organised by the *People's Journal* and *People's Friend* by emphasising

¹²⁷ *The Life and Letters of William Sharp*, p. 158.

¹²⁸ William Sharp, *The Sport of Chance* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1888).

¹²⁹ Laurel Brake, *Subjugated Knowledges. Journalism, Gender and Literature, in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994) pp. 83–103. Prize competitions were especially popular in children's magazine culture, see Beth Rodgers, 'Competing Girlhoods: Competition, Community, and Reader Contribution in "The Girl's Own Paper" and "The Girl's Realm"', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 45: 3, (2012), 277–300, and Elizabeth Penner, "'The Squire of Boyhood': G. A. Hutchison and the "Boy's Own Paper"', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 47: 4, (2014), 631–647.

¹³⁰ Kate Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880–1910. Culture and Profit* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 56–85.

¹³¹ Letter of William C. Leng to W. Harold Thomson, 29 January 1938, Pae Family Archive, Dundee.

a connection between egalitarianism and Scottish literature. For example, the *Scottish Reader* (1883–1885) launched a series of monthly prizes, which included:

For the Best (original) Scottish story, character sketch or reading, £1 5s 0d

For the Second Best (original) Scottish story, character sketch or reading, £0 15s 0d

For the best selected Scottish story, character sketch or reading, the book or periodical from which it is extracted to be stated, and the author's name, if possible, given, £1 0s 0d

For the best anecdote, or rare paragraph, preference to be given to such as relate to Scotland, or Scottish life, £0 10s 0.¹³²

In its first issue in 1883, *Scottish Nights* (1883–1901) also announced a prize competition, advertising a higher rate of two pounds for the 'best Scottish Entertainment'.¹³³ Similarly, D. C. Thomson's the *Weekly Welcome* (1896–1938) announced a 'big prize scheme, offering for competition subjects so varied that every reader is given a chance of striving for a prize', of which the combined total was £30 in 1896.¹³⁴ The short-lived *Perthshire Magazine* (1888–1891) also offered a prize of 'one guinea will be awarded for the best story, having for its foundation some incident, legendary or history, connected with Strathearn'.¹³⁵ Whilst the terms of each magazine's competitions were different, fundamentally, they furthered the idea that Scotland was an exceptionally egalitarian and literary society. By 1896, this phenomenon was so popular in Scottish magazine culture that prize competitions were considered a cheap attempt at replicating the success of the *People's Friend* according to its editor. At a dinner that celebrated the magazine's first twenty-five years, Stewart stated in his speech that the *People's Friend*

[i]s a periodical which has all along the line of its existence been on the side of goodness and purity and truth, and I hold that it stands to-day – not quite alone, happily – as a wholesome protest against that pernicious class of penny periodical which, under the disguise of a literary miscellany, was little else than a lottery ticket. With such periodicals it was not, "Where shall we find the best writer or the finest literature?" but "Where shall we find the most ingenious competition?" and "How shall we create the largest amount of feverish excitement in the minds of the general public?". That is what present-day periodicals are drifting to, and the *Friend* is a standing protest against this unhealthy drift.¹³⁶

¹³² 'To Our Readers and Contributors', *Scottish Reader*, 4 October 1884, p. 280.

¹³³ 'Best Entertainment', *Scottish Nights*, 10 February 1883, p. 16.

¹³⁴ 'Prize Competitions', *Weekly Welcome*, 9 March 1896, p. 9.

¹³⁵ 'Prize Competition', *Strathearn Magazine* [*Perthshire Magazine*], January 1888, p. 12.

¹³⁶ "'People's Friend' Semi-Jubilee", *Dundee Advertiser*, 20 January 1896, p. 2 col g.

Here, Stewart's onslaught against prize competitions is aimed at the quality of their productions, rather than their quantity. Moreover, this about-turn from a positive position towards competitions in 1880 to a negative one by 1896 demonstrates the impact and influence that the *People's Friend* had on Scottish magazine culture more broadly, although, in Stewart's words, these other magazines could never replicate its literary standard.

As well as its literary competitions, the *People's Friend's* domestic competitions encouraged the myth of Scottish work ethic. Building on Max Weber's seminal work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930), several scholars have observed that Scotland's 'strong Calvinist work ethic' and 'sense of worldly vocation (or work ethic)' shaped its national character.¹³⁷ Discourse around Scotland's belief in its industrial exceptionalism was aided by its reputation in the Victorian era as 'the workshop of the world' and the synonymy of its cities with industrial prowess, such as shipbuilding in Glasgow, – 'the second city of Empire' – jute manufacturing in Dundee, and textiles in Paisley. Again, this industrial exceptionalism has been explained by its largely self-autonomous constitutional status.¹³⁸ The *People's Friend's* competitions contributed to this idea and promoted domestic industrialism as an inherently Scottish characteristic. In 1885, the magazine launched an annual competition and charitable appeal called 'The Love Darg' – a name derived from the Scots phrase meaning 'work done out of love' – which encouraged its readers to make knitted and crocheted items as part of a nationwide household competition. These items were then judged and sold at a bazaar in Dundee, the proceeds of which sponsored a cot in the children's ward of the Dundee Royal Infirmary in 1886.¹³⁹ In 1890, the Love Darg had expanded to support children's hospitals in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Dundee and

¹³⁷ Jenny Wormald, *Scotland: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 151; *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, ed. by T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 84. Also, see Cairns Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel: Narrative and the National Imagination* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), pp. 37–38.

¹³⁸ Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707–1977* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1977), p. 67.

¹³⁹ 'People's Friend Children's Cot Industrial Exhibition and Fancy Bazaar', 9 April 1886, A. C. Lamb Collection, L149(6), Dundee Central Library, Dundee. D. C. Thomson's archival collections hold material relating to the Love Darg, including statements and accounts from the first Children's Cot Bazaar in 1886, a scrapbook on the Love Darg (1887–1910), and Love Darg donations from readers (1970–1995).

involved over 1,000 enterprising and resourceful readers who made knitted and crocheted stockings, petticoats, and semmets, the best of which received a silver watch as first prize.¹⁴⁰ By 1907, the competition had become a notable society event known as the 'Love Darg Exhibition'. That year it was opened by Lady Dunedin and its proceedings were orchestrated by Leng Sturrock who also distributed the prizes.¹⁴¹ The Love Darg has galvanised industrious working-class and philanthropic middle-class women readers ever since, including last year when it supported the charity Knit for Peace.¹⁴² On the one hand, as a magazine's well-known for its knitting patterns, cooking recipes, and household advice, the Love Darg can be seen as part of the *People's Friend's* identity as a women's magazine as Chapter 3 sets out.¹⁴³ This includes prizes that the magazine awarded to the winners of its domestic competitions, such as a China tea set in 1903, a pewter tea caddy in 1905, and a cast-iron jelly pan in 1920 which cemented its identity as a women's magazine. On the other hand, its derivation from a Scots phrase and its association as a national magazine continued the belief in a strong Scottish work ethic and, therefore, had a significant influence in perpetuating hard work as a key cultural marker of Scottish identity in the nineteenth century. The Love Darg has prompted generations of women to devote their free time to voluntary work and free labour in the name of charity and benevolence ever since, further contributing to the idea of Scotland as a particularly hardworking, thrifty, and economical nation.

By the early 1900s, the magazine's national identity had reached a crossroads. Between 1903 and c.1911 the magazine's editor, David Pae, sent a series of letters to some of the leading litterateurs in Scotland asking if the country's literary tradition had become obsolete.¹⁴⁴ Although Pae's outgoing letters are not extant (and therefore neither is his exact wording or phrasing), some of the replies he

¹⁴⁰ 'Knitting and Crocheting Competitions – The Love Darg', *People's Friend*, 22 December 1890, p. 811.

¹⁴¹ "'People's Friend' Love Darg', *Aberdeen People's Journal*, 14 December 1907, p. 11 col e.

¹⁴² 'Love Darg', *People's Friend*, <<https://www.thepeoplesfriend.co.uk/love-darg/>> [accessed 19 April 2023].

¹⁴³ Andrew Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination and Modern Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 119. For a discussion of the *People's Friend* in the context of British women's magazines, see Ellie Reed, *Woman's Weekly and Lower-Middle-Class Domestic Culture in Britain, 1918–1958: Making Homemakers* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2023).

¹⁴⁴ This is novelist David Pae's son, also David Pae, who, like his father, also became editor of the *People's Friend*.

received are held in the private collection of his granddaughter. The 7th Earl of Aberdeen replied that ‘I am afraid it must be admitted that the process referred to has been going on for some time, especially in the matter of old Scottish words and phrases’, but protested that ‘the consciousness and recognition of Scottish nationality is by no means dying out’.¹⁴⁵ In suggesting that Robert Burns’ poetry was challenging for some non-Scots, Andrew Lang wrote to Pae that ‘the accents of Scotland, at least, are very unEnglish’.¹⁴⁶ Further to this correspondence, Edmund Gosse replied that ‘I agree with “my friend” Mr. Andrew Lang if he modifies his statement by saying that portions of Burns are “bound by the dialect”’, and suggested that ‘[a]n English reader has great difficulty in appreciating the whole of Burns, but a large part of him, and that the part most instinct with beauty, is as loveable at Penzance as it is at Thurso’.¹⁴⁷ Pae’s questioning of the relevance of Scotland’s vernacular tradition in the periodical press over the course of several years gives some indication that national identity in the *People’s Friend* was a source of editorial debate. Notably, Pae’s correspondence coincides with the first coming-together of the Leng Company and D. C. Thomson in 1905, after which there was a noticeable dilution of opinions in Leng’s radical, political, and pithy titles. According to Goldie, by 1914 the *People’s Journal* had become ‘a rather typical product of the new journalism, feeding stories of crime, sport, and human interest to its largely urban population across Scotland’, and, by 1918, the *People’s Friend* belonged ‘wholly to the world of British magazine romantic fiction’.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, London-based journalist William Robertson Nicoll noted in correspondence with Pae that the *Dundee Advertiser’s* attitude was sometimes ‘Liberal and sometimes the reverse. It is never, so far as I can see, Radical as it used to be’.¹⁴⁹ Ultimately, if the *People’s Journal* was established as the ‘mouthpiece of Scottish Radicalism’ and consistently advertised as the ‘organ of Scottish democracy’ throughout the late-nineteenth and early-

¹⁴⁵ Letter of John Campbell Hamilton-Gordon, 7th Earl of Aberdeen to David Pae, 18 November 1903, Pae Family Archive.

¹⁴⁶ Letter of Andrew Lang to David Pae, 29 September [c.1910], Pae Family Archive.

¹⁴⁷ Letter of Edmund Gosse to David Pae, 26 December 1910, Pae Family Archive.

¹⁴⁸ David Goldie, ‘Robert Burns and the First World War’, *International Journal of Scottish Literature*, 6, (2010), 1–20 (p. 3), and ‘Romance by Other Means: Scottish Popular Newspapers and the First World War’, in *World War I. Media, Entertainments and Popular Culture*, ed. by Chris Hart (Manchester: Midrash Publications, 2018), pp. 230–257 (p. 240).

¹⁴⁹ Letter of William Robertson Nicoll to David Pae, 8 January 1919, Pae Family Archive.

twentieth centuries, then the *People's Friend* was its couthy cousin in this socio-cultural and moralistic mission.¹⁵⁰

Literary (Un)Exceptionalism

Since its establishment in 1869, the *People's Friend* has marketed itself as the leading destination for Scottish literature. In its prospectus it stated that 'we think there is *room* for a periodical such as the PEOPLE'S FRIEND which will contain Scotch stories, poetry, and other articles, written by Scotchmen'.¹⁵¹ Subsequent scholarship has considered this literature to be bad Scottish literature. This analysis overwhelmingly centres around the argument that the magazine has perpetuated stereotypes about Scotland and Scottish people, primarily through the publication of Kailyard literature, a genre of fiction that was popular in the UK and North America in the 1880s and 1890s which conveyed a nostalgic narrative about Scottish life.¹⁵² Overall, the *People's Friend's* reputation is paradoxical: it is exceptional for its unexceptional literature. For example, in *The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature* (2012), Liam McIlvanney argues that 'the prospects of a Glaswegian *Germinal* [a novel by Émile Zola] or Clydeside *Bleak House* [a novel by Charles Dickens] being redeemed from the archives of the *People's Friend*, are, one must suppose, regrettably remote'.¹⁵³ Similarly, aesthetics philosopher Matthew Kieran states that the 'short stories in the *People's Friend* [...] certainly fulfil a purpose, but we do not consider them art'.¹⁵⁴ Despite this critical reputation, the *People's Friend* is an exceptional magazine, not only for its longevity – it is the longest running women's magazine in the world – but for the publication of supposedly unexceptional literature. What has not been explored before now is what underpins this literary (un)exceptionalism.

¹⁵⁰ Millar, *How a Newspaper is Printed*, pp. 18–19; Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, p. 33. This phrase specifically refers to William D. Latto's editorial influence on the *People's Journal*.

¹⁵¹ 'To Our Readers'.

¹⁵² Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination*, pp. 117–123. Chapter 2 of this thesis examines the *People's Friend's* reputation with the Kailyard in detail.

¹⁵³ Liam McIlvanney, 'The Glasgow Novel', in *The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature*, ed. by Gerard Carruthers and Liam McIlvanney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 217–232 (p. 222).

¹⁵⁴ Matthew Kieran, 'The Nature and Value of Art' (Doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1994), p. 24.

The magazine's (un)exceptional reputation derives from its original promise that 'nothing will be admitted to its columns having the slightest tendency to corrupt the morals of either old or young'.¹⁵⁵ As such, it has published literature that is characteristically non-threatening, wholesome, and family-friendly. In Victorian Scotland, this was often characterised as Whistlebinkie, an 'overarching title for a series of extremely popular Scottish poetry anthologies' published between 1832 and 1890.¹⁵⁶ According to critics, these anthologies typified Scottish's literature's 'unimaginative, unadventurous literary and artistic sterility' throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.¹⁵⁷ Many of the proponents of Whistlebinkie were the same working-class poets who contributed verse about motherhood, children, and domesticity to the pages of the *People's Friend*. Indeed, although the magazine published those whose verse extolled the realities of working life, the *People's Friend* was far more likely to publish poetry that was in keeping with its identity as a family-oriented magazine.¹⁵⁸ For example, the poetry of 'Surfaceman' (Alexander Anderson) in the *People's Friend* more obviously adheres to a Whistlebinkie tradition than a working verse tradition. His most famous poem, 'Cuddle Doon', which describes the process of encouraging young children to fall asleep at bedtime, was written specially for the *People's Friend* in 1874, and another well-known verse, 'Jenny Wi' the Airn Teeth' (an eerie nursery rhyme often recited by children at Halloween) was published in the magazine in November 1873.¹⁵⁹ This is not to say that Anderson and other working-class poets did not publish industrial verse in the *People's Friend* – his poem 'Killed on the Line' appeared in June 1889 – but poetry that was less radical and less political was more likely to appear in the *People's Friend*.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, nursery verse was popular in the magazine because it upheld its intention to provide fireside reading

¹⁵⁵ 'To Our Readers'.

¹⁵⁶ Blair, *Working Verse in Victorian Scotland*, p. 63. For example, see John D. Carrick, *Whistle-Binkie: a Collection of Comic & Sentimental Songs, Chiefly Original, Adapted Either for "Bachelor's Hall" or "The Family Circle"* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1832).

¹⁵⁷ Quoted in Blair, *Working Verse in Victorian Scotland*, p. 63.

¹⁵⁸ For examples of industrial poetry in the *People's Friend*, see Blair, *Poets of the People's Journal*, pp. 189–217.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹⁶⁰ Surfaceman [Alexander Anderson], 'Killed on the Line', *People's Friend*, 10 June 1889, p. 353. For more information on Anderson, see Blair, *Working Verse in Victorian Scotland*, and Ethan T. Stephenson, 'Locomotive Breath: The Living Machines and Railway Dreams of Alexander Anderson's Working-Class Verse', *Victorian Poetry*, 60: 3, (2022), 277–297.

for the whole family – ‘The FRIEND being intended for fireside reading’.¹⁶¹ The emphasis on the fireside was, above all, a recreation of intergenerational working-class familial reading in Scotland, most famously depicted in Burns’ poem ‘The Cotter’s Saturday Night’ (1786) in which a farming family sits by the fireside and listens to the male head of the household read from the Bible. By inserting itself into a well-established tradition of fireside reading and populist literature, the *People’s Friend* was therefore seen as a complementary source of moralising and pious literature. Indeed, this populist literature is what has generated the magazine’s reputation for unexceptional and popular Scottish literature, or what the *Peterhead Sentinel* termed a ‘blight of the commonplace’.¹⁶²

The magazine’s populist literary reputation is typified by its most famous contributor, Annie S. Swan, who was one of the most popular Scottish women writers of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. As the author of at least 200 novels in the magazine between 1881 to 1943, Swan’s identity is deeply imbedded in the *People’s Friend*’s (un)exceptionalism. She has long received criticism in scholarship for her predominantly woman-centred, romantic, and sentimental fiction. For example, Beth Dickson considers her novels ‘unremarkable fiction’, and John Sutherland describes her work as ‘slushy women’s romances’.¹⁶³ Both of these charges can also be levelled at the *People’s Friend*. Despite this, her literary impact has received reappraisal from Amy Burge, Juliet Shields, and Gillian Neale to such an extent that, according to Burge, ‘[r]eclaiming Swan as a prolific and experienced popular romance author might open the possibility for new critical perspectives’ in Scottish literature.¹⁶⁴ Although these reassessments explore Swan’s publishing career, analysis of why she became popular is lacking; as Shields suggests, ‘aesthetic or literary value alone is unlikely to account for the extent of

¹⁶¹ ‘To Our Readers’.

¹⁶² ‘The Blight of the Commonplace’, *Peterhead Sentinel and Buchan Journal*, 1 June 1901, p. 4 col b.

¹⁶³ Quoted in Amy Burge, ‘Beyond Outlander: Annie S. Swan and the Scottish Popular Romance Novel’, *Scottish Literary Review*, 14: 2, (2022), 1–19 (p. 3).

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 16; Juliet Shields, *Scottish Women’s Writing in the Long Nineteenth Century: The Romance of Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 67–92; Gillian Neale, ‘Annie S. Swan, Publishing Phenomenon: a Book Historical Perspective’, *Scottish Literary Review*, 12: 2, (2020), 91–109.

Swan's celebrity'.¹⁶⁵ This section argues that examining Swan's popularity can be aided by assessing the popularity of the *People's Friend* at the same time.

Swan's celebrity status was not limited to Scotland. In Northern Ireland, a *Belfast News* journalist reported overhearing a reader in the Belfast Public Library state 'I'm bringin' three back an' I want three out, [...] Love for ma ma, murder for ma da, an' Annie S. Swan for ma granny'.¹⁶⁶ Here, Swan is considered a literary genre all of her own, alongside romantic and detective fiction. Likewise, the *People's Friend* was popular throughout Britain. For example, its 3rd January 1920 issue sold a total of 242,953 copies in Scotland, 18,044 in England, 5,301 in Ireland, and 254 in Wales.¹⁶⁷ In England – which the magazine's circulation ledger divided into five regions, including Old English (presumably the counties in south-east England and the greater London area, otherwise known as the Home Counties), Yorkshire, Lancashire, Birmingham, and London – the highest average circulation totals outside of London were in Lancashire and Yorkshire.¹⁶⁸ Swan's appeal was also international. In the Osage Public Library in Iowa, USA, she was 'the number 7 boys' favourite author and number 11 girls' favourite author', and amongst her manuscript and archival collections in the National Library of Scotland there are fan letters addressed to Swan from readers in Canada, Australia, and South Africa.¹⁶⁹ Likewise, as a magazine for Scottish readers, the *People's Friend* followed thousands of Scots who settled in overseas British dominions in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.¹⁷⁰ For example, a bookseller's notice in the *South Canterbury Times* (a New Zealand newspaper) advertised newspapers and magazines 'for Irishmen, Englishmen, Scotchmen' including the *People's Journal* and *People's Friend* both of which were categorised as 'Scotch', thus indicating that the magazine was particularly relevant

¹⁶⁵ Shields, *Scottish Women's Writing*, p. 75.

¹⁶⁶ 'Love, Murder, Swan', *Belfast News-Letter*, 18 January 1949, p. 4 col g.

¹⁶⁷ Newspaper and Magazine Circulation Book (1918–1922), DCT/C/5/1/3, D. C. Thomson & Co. Archives, Dundee.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Burge, 'Beyond Outlander', p. 16.

¹⁷⁰ T. M. Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora, 1750–2010* (London: Penguin, 2012); *Death in the Diaspora. British and Irish Gravestones*, ed. by Nicholas Evans and Angela McCarthy (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022); Tanya Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together: Ethnicity, Civility and Formal Sociability in the Scottish Diaspora to 1930* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015).

for Scottish readers in New Zealand.¹⁷¹ Moreover, diasporic interactions with the *People's Friend* were a regular occurrence in Australasia. In a recent interview with Australian citizens who have Scottish heritage, one recalled that his Scottish mother would always buy the 'famous cheap Scots magazine, the *People's Friend*'.¹⁷² Ultimately, the magazine has consistently featured in the reading habits of the Scottish diaspora throughout the twentieth century.¹⁷³

Why was Swan – like the *People's Friend* – so popular in Scotland, Britain, and beyond? Firstly, her novels adhered to the literary culture of late-Victorian Liberalism that was discussed earlier in this chapter. Her second novel, *Aldersyde* (1883), was read and enjoyed by Prime Minister Gladstone, to whom she sent a complimentary copy after meeting him at her family home in Gorebridge under the auspices of her father's involvement in Liberal Party campaigning in Midlothian. In April 1883, Gladstone replied in a letter that was published in the *Scotsman* in which he praised *Aldersyde* as 'a beautiful work of art' due to its 'truly living sketches of Scottish character'.¹⁷⁴ Further, as Chapter 2 discusses, Swan appealed to the growing interest in dissenting Presbyterianism and Nonconformism in popular literature in the 1890s. A bound copy of *Annie S. Swan's Penny Weekly Stories* (1898) – a literary magazine of Swan's fiction that lasted for eight months – in the National Library of Scotland was awarded to Elizabeth Townsend for regular attendance at Summerfield Park Baptist Church Sunday School in Birmingham.¹⁷⁵ Therefore, her stories were deemed appropriate for young Christian readers throughout Britain. Finally, Swan's political and public activities mirrored the rise of the public-facing Scottish women writer discussed in Chapter 3. For instance, in January 1912 she met with leading members of the campaign for women's suffrage (see Fig. 5), and in 1922 stood as a Liberal candidate for Maryhill in Glasgow in the General Election. Again, the rise in popularity of Swan and the *People's Friend* in an increasingly literate, consumerist, late-Victorian, Liberal, and evangelical society mirror one

¹⁷¹ 'Good News, Good News!', *South Canterbury Times*, 6 November 1883, p. 3 col d.

¹⁷² Angela McCarthy, 'Scottish National Identities Among Inter-War Migrants in North America and Australasia', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 34: 2, (2006), 201–222 (p. 218).

¹⁷³ McCleery, Finkelstein and Fleming, 'Woman Readers and the Scottish Imaginary'.

¹⁷⁴ Neale, 'Annie S. Swan', p. 93.

¹⁷⁵ This copy is held in the NLS.

another. Even though her political activities widened her appeal beyond literature, such was the brand loyalty of the magazine's readers that they were delighted when she did not win the Maryhill seat. Indeed, when addressing a political meeting of 2,000 women in Paisley, a note was passed from the audience to the chairman that asked about the outcome of Swan's latest serial in the *People's Friend*. It read, 'Will Mrs Burnet Smith [Annie S. Swan] tell us whether Captain Hannay is going to marry Jean Adair?'.¹⁷⁶ As this incident suggests, although Swan's reputation as a public figure grew throughout the early 1900s, it was her association with the *People's Friend* that solidified her celebrity. Similarly, although the magazine's global reputation extends beyond its literary content, literature is still what denotes its value and significance in the scholarship.

Despite the mawkishness of her statement that the impact of the *People's Friend* on Scottish people was 'one of the romances of the newspaper world', Swan's understanding of the magazine and its legacy is, in many ways, perceptive.¹⁷⁷ Two years later, in 1936, she wrote that 'the people who matter in Scotland, the workers by hand and brain, can't afford seven-and-sixpenny books'.¹⁷⁸ Undoubtedly, the *People's Friend's* offer of sixteen pages of literature for the price of a penny was far better value for money for Scottish readers.¹⁷⁹ These comments were published shortly after MacDiarmid's polemic *Scottish Eccentrics* that was quoted at the outset of this chapter. In this book, he describes Dundee as 'the great home and fostering centre of the cheapest popular literature in Scotland' and the site of an 'inverted snobbery of a false cult of proletarian writers'.¹⁸⁰ MacDiarmid's importance to modern Scottish literature is not without doubt. So too, as these quotations reveal, is his own 'inverted snobbery' against working-class writers, readers, and, as this chapter has discussed, their magazines. As Dundee Makar W. N. Herbert notes, MacDiarmid's version of Scotland 'isn't enormously

¹⁷⁶ Annie S. Swan, *My Life: An Autobiography* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1934), pp. 294–295.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

¹⁷⁸ Annie S. Swan, *The Land I Love* (London: Ivor Nicholson, 1936), p. 9.

¹⁷⁹ The *People's Friend* increased its cost by a halfpenny in 1918.

¹⁸⁰ MacDiarmid and Gibbon, *Scottish Eccentrics*, p. 64.

interested in the Scottish people'.¹⁸¹ Instead, it is 'one that would rather contemplate the bog-myrtle, and number the streaks on the harebells'.¹⁸² Here, Herbert suggests that MacDiarmid's dismissal of popular literature and his penchant for nationalist navel-gazing equates to a dismissal of a working-class literary tradition which, in the context of this chapter, includes the *People's Friend*. Like popular magazines, MacDiarmid considered Swan of low literary quality, and yet alternative opinions of her legacy were made by his contemporaries both during and after her lifetime. Writing to Swan in 1938, novelist Neil M. Gunn describes that 'I do not think the name of any Scottish writer is so well known to the folk of our country as your own'.¹⁸³ Likewise, author Naomi Mitchison conceded that Swan 'as literature may be pretty poor stuff but she does supply form for [the] romantic movement – the same as the surrealist highbrows are after!'.¹⁸⁴ Even MacDiarmid's biographer Alan Bold who declared that 'when discussing the quality of Scottish culture [...] Annie Swan is the last name that comes to mind' found a commonality between his and Swan's desire to write about Scotland's 'culture of character and characters'.¹⁸⁵ Ultimately, Swan is the personification of the *People's Friend's* legacy: exceptional for being unexceptional. If, as these recent reassessments and suggest, she can be rehabilitated beyond her prevailing reputation, then so can the *People's Friend*.

In conclusion, like Swan, the *People's Friend* holds an enduring critical legacy in modern Scotland. This chapter has demonstrated that this legacy is based on a narrow-minded perception of the magazine that ignores its history and wider literary impact. Moreover, the magazine should be reconsidered as a working-class title established by a paternalistic publishing firm which emphasised equality, education, self-improvement, and moral uprightness. Whilst current ideations of the *People's*

¹⁸¹ W. N. Herbert, 'The Great Slowing Down versus Poet MacDiarmid (3)', *Gairnet Provides: Press of Bill*, (10 April 2022), <<https://wnherbert.wordpress.com/2022/04/10/the-great-slown-down-versus-poet-macdiarmid-3/>> [accessed 21 March 2023].

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Quoted in Glenda Norquay, 'Annie S. Swan: Making People Cry', in *Dangerous Women. Fifty Revelations on Women, Power and Identity*, ed. by Jo Shaw, Ben Fletcher-Watson and Abrisham Ahmadzadeh (London: Unbound Publishing, 2022), pp. 119–125, (p. 123).

¹⁸⁴ Naomi Mitchison, 'A Self-Interview', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 14: 1, (1979), 37–51 (p. 48).

¹⁸⁵ Alan Bold, 'Not Yet Out of the Woods', *The Herald and Times Archive*, (30 April 1994), <<https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/12672903.not-yet-out-of-the-woods/>> [accessed 23 March 2023]. Bold did not include Swan in his *Modern Scottish Literature* (Harrow: Longman, 1983).

Friend centre around the magazine's identity as a 'couthy manifestation' of Scottish national identity, its origins as a penny magazine that was rooted in working-class uplift, and its legacy as an intervention in the lack of cheap and accessible literature Scottish readers, should not be overshadowed by its twentieth-century reputation as a popular (and populist) publication.

Chapter 2 – Popularising the Provincial: Scottish Magazines and the Kailyard

In 1896, the *Scotsman* reviewed minor Scottish author William Gardner Tarbet's novel *In Oor Kailyard*.

In the newspaper's typically austere reviewing style, Tarbet was criticised for his loose imitation of Kailyard novelists and was considered an example of the negative impact of the Kailyard on popular literature in late-nineteenth-century Scotland. It stated that:

[w]hile the reading public owes something to the leaders of the kailyard school, it would still be more grateful to them if they could only manage somehow to blight, cut down, or otherwise obliterate the numerous inferior kailrunts by which their field is rapidly becoming overgrown.¹

For this reviewer, the popularisation of the Kailyard had birthed a succession of impersonators (referred to as 'kailrunts') whose work was continuing the genre's popularity amongst Scottish readers. The *Scotsman's* review was published just a year after literary scholar J. H. Millar coined the term 'Kailyard' – literally, a cabbage patch or kale yard – to refer to the trend in Scottish literature for fiction in the 1880s and 1890s that portrayed Scottish life as parochial, rural, and religiously observant.² Since then, scholars are largely in consensus that the Kailyard 'was seen to misrepresent Scotland, exploit dialect for novelty, appeal only to a popular audience and present life that is "bounded by the parish"'.³ Subsequent analyses of the Kailyard have traditionally focussed on its most well-known authors – J. M. Barrie, S. R. Crockett, and Ian Maclaren (the pseudonym of Rev. John Watson) – who achieved international success in the UK and North American book markets.⁴ Moreover, due to the oversaturation of these authors, the mass-production of their work, and their association with Scotland, the Kailyard has been 'attacked on grounds of both bad art and bad patriotism'.⁵ As such, the Kailyard has come to represent *all* popular Scottish literature published between 1870 and 1920.⁶

¹ 'Fiction', *The Scotsman*, 10 December 1896, p. 7 col f.

² Andrew Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 19–20.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴ George Blake, *Barrie and the Kailyard School* (London: Arthur Baker Ltd., 1951); Ian Campbell, *Kailyard* (Edinburgh: Ramsay Head Press, 1981); William Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland. Language, Fiction and the Press* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), pp. 145–147; Gerard Carruthers, *Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 111–113.

⁵ Gillian Shepherd, 'The Kailyard', in *The History of Scottish Literature. Volume 3: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Douglas Gifford (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 309–320 (p. 317, p. 311).

⁶ Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*, pp. 32–33.

This reputation for bad literature was particularly emphasised by C. M. Grieve (better known as Hugh MacDiarmid) and the Scottish Renaissance generation. In his collection of essays *Contemporary Scottish Studies* (1926), MacDiarmid explained that ‘what is conventionally regarded as Scottish literature’ is ‘the mindless vulgarities of parochial poetasters and the cold-haggis-and-gingerbeer atrocities of prose Kailyardism’.⁷ Similarly, Neil Gunn described in a 1927 letter that ‘[t]he Renascent Scot is – must be – intolerant of the Kailyarder, that is of the parochial, sentimental, local-associative way of treating Scotland and the Scots’.⁸ Recently, there has been reconsideration of the Kailyard. Andrew Nash has reassessed the insularity of the term and exposed the need for further reappraisal, both as a cultural phenomenon and a literary concept.⁹ Further rehabilitation of the bibliographies of Kailyard novelists, particularly Barrie, but also Crockett and Maclaren, has revealed that the categorisation of these authors as merely ‘Kailyarders’ is no longer a viable critical position.¹⁰ What has not been considered in these reassessments is the impact of magazines in the popularisation of the Kailyard in the reading public’s consciousness. For example, although he discusses Tarbet’s novel *In Oor Kailyard*, Nash overlooks the fact that it had previously appeared in the *People’s Friend* between 1895 and 1896.¹¹ The magazine has had a particularly close association with the Kailyard. Commenting in the 1950s, George Blake argued that the magazine ‘flourishes largely by the careful consideration of the Kailyard strain’ and was intended ‘to please those who still sit about the fireside and regard its clime as the most agreeable within human reach’.¹² Whilst Blake’s comments are not unfounded, he does not

⁷ C. M. Grieve [Hugh MacDiarmid], *Contemporary Scottish Studies* (London: L. Parsons, 1926), p. 42.

⁸ Quoted in Andrew Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination and Modern Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 107.

⁹ Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*.

¹⁰ Michael Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival: Romance, Decadence and Celtic Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), pp. 76–78; Andrew Nash, ‘Better Dead: J. M. Barrie’s First Book and the Shilling Fiction Market’, *Scottish Literary Review*, 7: 1, (2015), 19–41, and ‘William Robertson Nicol, the Kailyard Novel, and the Question of Popular Culture’, *Scottish Studies Review*, 5: 1, (2004), 57–73; Islay Murray Donaldson, *The Life and Work of Samuel Rutherford Crockett* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989); Charlotte Lauder, ‘Samuel Rutherford Crockett (1859–1914)’, *Yellow Nineties 2.0*, (2021), <https://1890s.ca/crockett_bio/> [accessed 12 February 2023]; Andrew Nash, ‘A. P. Watt and the Marketing of “Ian Maclaren”’, *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 4, (2009), 49–59. See also, Ayton Publishing Ltd., <<https://www.aytonpublishing.co.uk/books.html>> [accessed 1 March 2023].

¹¹ Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*, pp. 36–39.

¹² Blake, *Barrie and the Kailyard*, pp. 85–86.

fully examine the reasons for this close association between the Kailyard and the *People's Friend* beyond their shared appeal 'to the simple human heart'.¹³ Indeed, Alan Duncan – one of the only scholars to have discussed Kailyard literature in the magazine – suggests that a more pressing question 'is the extent to which kailyard writers like Barrie and Maclaren were influenced by the *People's Friend*'.¹⁴

Whilst the Kailyard has undoubtedly played into perceptions of a 'couthy' and 'twee' national literature since the 1880s, it deserves continued re-examination. This chapter offers such reassessment by way of those who imitated the Kailyard in the pages of the *People's Friend*. It focusses primarily on the instances in which the Kailyard and religion meet, which Andrew Blaikie's has argued contributed to a 'myth of moral community'. Blaikie defines this concept as 'the coalescence of social values and relationships within the setting of the parish community [which] has been central to the development and maintenance of an idea of nationhood' throughout modern Scotland.¹⁵ Here, the emphasis on parochialism in Kailyard literature is seen as a microcosm for the Scottish nation. This chapter engages with the idea of the 'myth of moral community' by examining the influence of Presbyterianism, Evangelicalism and Nonconformism in Kailyard literature that was written by pseudonymous Scottish ministers in the *People's Friend*. This is continued in an exploration of the 'Vicar of Deepdale', the literary alter-ego of a Glaswegian schoolmaster, whose Anglican-inspired series of Kailyard fiction was also published in the *People's Friend*. Finally, the chapter examines the magazine's publication of serialised short fiction, also known as 'sketches', which emphasised the *People's Friend* as an imagined community of provincial readers. Ultimately, this chapter argues that the *People's Friend* played an important role in popularising the Kailyard in the 1880s and 1890s.

¹³ Blake, *Barrie and the Kailyard*, p. 86.

¹⁴ Alan M. Duncan, 'A Study of Popular Literature in Scotland 1860–1900, with special reference to Dundee area Periodicals' (BPhil thesis, University of St Andrews, 1978), p. i.

¹⁵ Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination*, p. 100.

Religion and the Kailyard in the *People's Friend*

Since the 1880s, the Kailyard movement has had a particularly close relationship with religion in Scotland. Both Crockett and Maclaren were Scottish clergymen when they published their Kailyard novels in which they often conveyed the local minister as the most prominent character. Criticism of the Kailyard's religiousness is evident from the earliest assessments of the genre. In 1896, one critic was concerned with the 'assumption that everybody in Scotland came from the same religious stock and held the same religious inclinations as characters in Kailyard fiction'.¹⁶ Writing in his modernist magazine *Scottish Chapbook* (1922–1923), MacDiarmid noted that 'unlike most other literatures', Scottish literature 'has been written almost exclusively by ministers'.¹⁷ Moreover, Blake argues that 'as with everything of the Kailyard School, they are about life as seen through the manse window'.¹⁸ Recent revision has put some distance between religion and the Kailyard. Nash argues that 'although Crockett's ministerial background has often been invoked' in critical commentaries of his work, the religiousness of the Kailyard as a genre was about 'tone rather than explicit content'.¹⁹ Similarly, Ewen Cameron notes that 'there was more to the kailyard than the lucrative output of a small group of Presbyterian ministers'.²⁰

Despite this, religion was still one of the most prominent guiding ideologies in the fiction that was published in the *People's Friend*. For instance, following her argument that the Kailyard was primarily popular with educated middle-class readers, Gillian Shepherd goes on to say that authors like Crockett 'were not writing for the lower-class market, whose needs were served by the popular press'.²¹ What Shepherd fails to observe is that the popular press in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Scotland *was* religious, and that the religious press in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Scotland *was* popular. In their examination of nineteenth-century Nonconformist Scottish literature,

¹⁶ Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*, p. 45.

¹⁷ C. M. Grieve [Hugh MacDiarmid], 'Causerie', *Scottish Chapbook*, August 1922, p. 5.

¹⁸ Blake, *Barrie and the Kailyard*, p. 45.

¹⁹ Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*, p. 92.

²⁰ Ewen A. Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle. Scotland Since 1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 10.

²¹ Shepherd, 'The Kailyard', p. 313.

Valerie Wallace and Colin Kidd argue that ‘religion, rather than nationhood’ was the dominant feature.²² Likewise, the proliferation of religious magazines in Scotland was widespread throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Between 1800 and 1950, at least 157 magazines were serially produced by various Presbyterian groups, churches, and communities in Scotland.²³ In addition, there were various magazines produced in manuscript form by Presbyterian literary societies, mutual improvement associations, and parishes in Scotland between the 1840s and 1920s.²⁴ Although the latter were not necessarily popular in a mass-circulated or mass-produced sense, the religious press in Scotland could also be populist. Magazines such as the Church of Scotland’s *Life and Work* (1879–present), the *Christian Treasury* (1845–1896), and *The Scottish Church* (1885–1886) (later renamed the *Scots’ Magazine* (1887–1900)), as well as literary magazines like *The Sun* (1889–1891) (which was subtitled ‘Heaven’s Light Our Guide’) presented religion in an accessible format to the reading masses of Scotland through the publication of literature by writers with a penchant for Christian overtones. One of the most successful and long-running Scottish magazines to combine religion and popular fiction was *Good Words* (1860–1907), a monthly title that published serial novels, poetry, short fiction, and sermons. The magazine was established by Scottish Evangelical publisher Alexander Strahan and edited by influential Church of Scotland minister and Moderator of the General Assembly, Rev. Norman Macleod. *Good Words* targeted an Evangelical and Nonconformist working-class and lower-middle-class readership in Scotland by appropriating the wider trend for sensation fiction in the late-Victorian era to serve its moral tone.²⁵ Another popular title was the *Christian Leader* (1882–1908), a weekly

²² Valerie Wallace and Colin Kidd, ‘Between Nationhood and Nonconformity. The Scottish Whig-Presbyterian Novel and the Denominational Press’, in *Literature & Union. Scottish Texts, British Contexts*, ed. by Gerard Carruthers and Colin Kidd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 193–219 (p. 194, p. 197).

²³ This number is based on the collection of periodicals, magazines, and serials from 1800 to 1950 in the National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS) which were evaluated in 2020. They exclude Sabbath School magazines, Home and Foreign Mission magazines, Young Men’s Christian Association magazines and periodicals, as well as religious tract society magazines. Therefore, the total number of religious magazines produced between 1870 and 1920 in Scotland is likely to be much higher.

²⁴ Lauren Weiss, ‘The Literary Clubs and Societies of Glasgow during the Long Nineteenth Century: a City’s History of Reading through its Communal Reading Practices and Productions’ (Doctoral thesis, University of Stirling, 2017).

²⁵ Lisa Surridge and Mary Elizabeth Leighton, ‘“Cross Purposes”: Sensation Fiction, Focalization, and Repentance in *Good Words*’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 53: 1, (2020), 34–56; Julie Bizzotto, ‘Sensational Sermonizing: Ellen Wood, *Good Words*, and the Conversion of the Popular’, *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 41: 2, (2013), 297–310; Catherine Delafield, ‘Marketing Celebrity: Norman Macleod, Dinah Mulock Craik, and John Everett Millais in

newspaper founded in Glasgow and edited by Scottish journalist and Baptist minister William Howe Wylie.²⁶ The *Christian Leader* was particularly influential in launching the careers of several popular Scottish writers, including Crockett, Annie S. Swan, Robina F. Hardy, Isabella Fyvie Mayo, and Agnes Marchbank, as well as minor poets like Jessie Annie Anderson, who contributed to the *People's Friend* and are discussed in subsequent chapters.²⁷ Marchbank, the wife of Rev. George A. Marshall, minister of Mount Park Free Church in Greenock, credited the start of her career to 'Mr Stewart, editor of the *People's Friend*, and the late Mr Wylie, of the *Christian Leader*, [who] said "go on" when I would have laid down the pen'.²⁸ The lines, therefore, between the religious and popular press, and between religious and popular fiction, were significantly blurred in Scotland in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Although established as a non-denominational magazine, the tone of the *People's Friend* was overwhelmingly pietistic. According to Duncan, the magazine's general philosophy was 'distinctly Christian without any particular emphasis on any one denomination'.²⁹ For instance, the magazine stated in its first issue that 'nothing will be admitted into its columns having the slightest tendency to corrupt the morals either of old or young'.³⁰ In addition, this prospectus reveals a hint of temperance advocacy, a longstanding crusade amongst Scottish Presbyterians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when it stated that 'as tending to promote self-improvement and studious, sober habits, we shall have pleasure in opening the columns of the FRIEND to the contributions of the people'.³¹ Despite its non-denominational affiliation, the editors, proprietors, and contributors of the *People's Friend* were

Alexander Strahan's *Good Words*', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 46: 2, (2013), 255–278. See also, Mark Knight, *Good Words. Evangelicalism and the Victorian Novel* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2019).

²⁶ Between 1902 and 1904, the *Christian Leader* was issued as the *Weekly Leader*. In 1905, it was incorporated into the *Sunday Review* (c.1900–1905) and issued as the *Scottish Review and Christian Leader* until 1908.

²⁷ Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*, p. 92, and 'William Robertson Nicoll, the Kailyard Novel', p. 59; Beth Dickson, 'Annie S. Swan and O. Douglas: Legacies of the Kailyard', in *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, ed. by Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 329–346 (pp. 330–331).

²⁸ D. H. Edwards, *Modern Scottish Poets*, 16 vols (Brechin: "Brechin Advertiser" Office, 1893), XV, p. 500. Marchbank's career was also likely aided by the fact that she was married to a Free Church minister in Greenock.

²⁹ Duncan, 'A Study of Popular Literature', p. 175.

³⁰ 'To Our Readers', *People's Friend*, 13 January 1869, p. 8.

³¹ Ibid.

members of various dissenting Presbyterian sects. Its proprietor, John Leng, was raised in a Methodist family in Hull and attended the Congregational Church in Newport-on-Tay.³² William D. Latto, who edited the *People's Friend* in 1869, was one of the first members of the Free Church in Ceres, Fife, and a schoolteacher at the Free Church School in Benholm, Johnshaven.³³ David Pae, the magazine's first full-time editor from 1870 to 1884, was heavily influenced by the social vision of evangelism and, as a young man, was a member of the Bristo Place Mutual Improvement Society attached to the Scotch Baptist Church in Edinburgh.³⁴ Likewise, Andrew Stewart, the magazine's editor from 1884 to 1900, was a committed Free Church member and held a myriad of lay positions at St John's Free Church in Dundee and St Luke's Free Church in Broughty Ferry.³⁵ Similarly, one of the magazine's earliest contributors was Rev. George Gilfillan who was a controversial preacher and prolific patron of working-class literature, the arts, and education in Dundee.³⁶ Therefore, although the magazine's religiousness was far less pronounced than magazines like *Good Words*, religion was ultimately one of its guiding philosophies.

At the same time, the magazine's ability to capture a religious audience was less evident than those that specifically catered to post-church and Sunday afternoon readers. This became an increasing concern in the 1880s and 1890s when Scottish ministers began exercising significant creative control within Scottish magazine culture. For example, Macleod, the first editor of *Good Words*, was also the founder-editor of several Gaelic language periodicals in Scotland in the 1870s.³⁷ Similarly, Rev. William W. Tulloch of Maxwell Parish Church in Glasgow edited the column 'Tangled Talk' in the Glasgow penny magazine *Quiz* (1881–1898) under the pseudonym 'Orion' and was editor of another Scottish penny

³² 'Funeral of Sir John Leng', *Dundee Courier*, 7 January 1907, p. 4 col c.

³³ Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, pp. 28–29.

³⁴ 'Bristo Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association. Programme of Annual Soiree', 19 December 1856, Pae Family Archive; Christine Lumsden, 'Bristo Place Mutual Improvement Society', *Baptist Quarterly*, 45: 6, (2014), 356–368.

³⁵ 'The Editor of the People's Friend', *Evening Telegraph*, 6 July 1891, p. 4 col a.

³⁶ George Gilfillan, 'Autumnal Ramblings in Various Lands – Part I, Norway', *People's Friend*, (Dundee), (11 May 1870), pp. 293–295; Aileen Black, *Gilfillan of Dundee, 1813–1878: Interpreting Religion and Culture in Mid-Victorian Scotland* (Dundee: Dundee University Press, 2006).

³⁷ Sheila M. Kidd, 'The Scottish Gaelic Press', in *The Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press, Volume 2. Expansion and Evolution, 1800–1900*, ed. by David Finkelstein (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 337–356.

magazine, *Sunday Talk* (1883–1888). Similarly, the *Perthshire Magazine* (1888–1891) was notable for its minister-contributors, including Rev. Robert W. Dobbie, who also contributed to D. C. Thomson’s penny magazine, the *Weekly Welcome* (1896–1938). To show his support for the magazine *Scottish Nights* (1883–1892), Rev. Archibald B. Scott, minister of Kildonan Parish Church in Helmsdale, contributed a poem to celebrate its launch in 1883.³⁸ In it, he depicts the magazine as an essential item of entertainment and amusement in the average Scottish living room:

More dazzling than the opera’s light,
Than all the carnivals of earth;
Is some old log which, blazing bright,
Lights cheerily some “Scottish Night”
Around a friendly hearth.³⁹

As Mark Knight states, there was widespread inclusion of ‘material that might be deemed “secular” yet continued to signal a theological orientation’ in the late-Victorian periodical press, such as the above poem by Rev. Scott.⁴⁰ Considering that several Scottish ministers were editorially involved in Scottish magazine culture, the non-denominational *People’s Friend* was therefore missing out on large swathes of the reading population. This was a commercial concern as much as a spiritual one for the John Leng Company; for every post-church reader who passed by the *People’s Friend* in the newsagent in favour of a copy of *Good Words*, a prospective sale was lost. Attempts to circumvent this pattern were made in 1900 when the *People’s Friend* announced to its readers that Leng had acquired sole rights in Scotland to sell six issues of the *Topeka Daily Capital*, a newspaper published in South Dakota that was owned and edited by American Congregationalist minister Rev. Charles M. Sheldon. These issues were advertised to the magazine’s readers as ‘what a Christian newspaper should be’ and were available for

³⁸ ‘Scottish Nights’, *Scottish Nights*, 10 March 1883, p. 10.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Mark Knight, ‘Periodicals and Religion’, in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, ed. by Andrew King, Alexis Easley and John Morton (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 355–364 (p. 356).

purchase at twopence per issue via the Leng Company and its newsagents.⁴¹ As this venture suggests, there was significant potential to attract a church-going readership in Dundee.

The Kailyard was the perfect vehicle through which the *People's Friend* could appeal to a religiously-minded readership whilst also fulfilling its prospectus for uplifting fiction (as was discussed in Chapter 1). Between 1891 and 1902, the magazine published various series of short Kailyard fiction by lesser-known Scottish literary ministers. Like Rev. Waston's *nom de plume* Ian Maclaren, they wrote under pseudonyms – Rev. James Anderson was 'Fergus Mackenzie', Rev. Hugh Mackenzie Campbell was 'Catter Thun' and Rev. Robert H. Calder was 'Camlach' – and, like many other of the magazine's most successful authors, eventually published their work as printed volumes.⁴² Of these ministers, the series of short fiction by Anderson, a Free Church minister in Dyce, Aberdeenshire, was the most popular. As 'Fergus Mackenzie', he published 'Cruisic Sketches' in the *People's Friend* from 1892 to 1896 which were later published as *Cruisic Sketches: Studies of Life in a Forfarshire Village* (1894), *The Humours of Glenbruar* (1895), and *Sprays of Northern Pine* (1897). Significantly, of the twenty sketches published in *The Humours of Glenbruar*, eighteen were originally serialised in the *People's Friend* and two were previously published in *The Independent and Nonconformist* (1880–1890), a Nonconformist and temperance newspaper published in London.⁴³ Anderson emulated the popular characteristics of Kailyard literature as discussed by Nash.⁴⁴ His stories were located in fictionalised Scottish villages, set in the recent past, featured Scots and dialect-speaking characters, and contained overtly sentimental plots that are usually resolved with a Christian message emphasising the values of morality, honesty, and virtue. As a result, reviews of his fiction echo the critical reception of the Kailyard in the 1890s. His identity as a "little minister" of the Free Kirk of Scotland' was well-known, thus he was regularly discussed in the same context as Crockett and Maclaren.⁴⁵ In addition, reviewers found similarities

⁴¹ 'Important Announcement to Readers of the People's Friend', *People's Friend*, 2 April 1900, p. 247.

⁴² 'Another Historian of the Hamlet', *The Sketch*, 19 September 1894, p. 55; 'Here and There', *Evening Telegraph*, 27 March 1891, p. 2 col f; 'Minister's Death at Stonehaven', *Dundee Courier*, 8 May 1930, p. 4 col e.

⁴³ Megan D. Burke, 'Nonconformist (1841–1900)', in *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (London: British Library, 2009), pp. 456–457.

⁴⁴ Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*.

⁴⁵ 'Another Historian of the Hamlet'.

between these writers' portrayal of Scottish life and Anderson's, namely, 'its seriousness, its sombreness, its thrift, its unconscious pawky humour, its innate piety, with photographic fidelity, yet with artistic touch of imagination and delicate tenderness'.⁴⁶ Similarly, in a review of Swan's Kailyard novel *Homespun: a Study of Simple Folk* (1893), the *Buchan Observer* judged that the novel 'will not rank with such books as "A Window in Thrums" or "Cruisie Sketches"'.⁴⁷ Therefore, when compared to Swan, one of the most popular authors amongst Scottish readers in the late-nineteenth century, Anderson's Kailyard series was as valued as Barrie's *A Window in Thrums* (1889).

Like Barrie's fictionalisation of his hometown, Kirriemuir, in *Thrums*, the pattern of locating Kailyard literature in a recognisable yet unspecified Scottish village is prominent amongst the *People's Friend's* Kailyard imitators. Anderson, Campbell, and Calder each used the villages of their youth and the parishes in which they served as the geographic inspiration for their short fiction. Anderson's 'Cruisie Sketches' is set in a town in Forfarshire and closely modelled on his hometown, Friockheim, in Angus. Campbell's *Tartanvale* depicts the area surrounding Brechin and is likely modelled on the parishes that he served in Forfarshire. Likewise, Calder's work was set in Banffshire and partly inspired by his upbringing in the village of Durrus in Aberdeenshire, and his time as minister of Glenlivet parish in Morayshire. Notably, these writers were depicting areas of Scotland that other fiction in the *People's Friend* otherwise did not serve. As is explored in Chapter 3, a significant number of the locations and settings in the magazine's fiction were the industrial cities of Lowland Scotland, such as Dundee and Glasgow, as well as seaside towns like Troon, Lamlash, and Rothesay and manufacturing centres such as Manchester, Bolton, and London. Although perpetuating the Kailyard's association with rural locations and countryside settings, in the context of the *People's Friend* and the commercial interests of the Leng Company, diversifying the magazine's geographic appeal was a necessity for its continued circulation. This was all the more pressing considering that the magazine was consistently marketed as a national magazine and not a regional one. This was in contrast to its sister publication, the *People's*

⁴⁶ 'Sprays of Northern Pine', *Dundee Advertiser*, 22 April 1897, p. 2 col a.

⁴⁷ 'Books and Magazines', *Buchan Observer and East Aberdeenshire Advertiser*, 14 November 1893, p. 7 col e.

Journal, which did produce regional editions to increase its circulation, such as the *People's Journal for Aberdeen, Banff, Kincardine and the Northern Counties* (1861–1988) (later, the *Aberdeen People's Journal*), the *People's Journal for Fife and Kinross* (1868–1927), and the *People's Journal for Stirling and Clackmannan* (1898–1910). Therefore, by creating imagined rural communities spread across Scotland, Kailyard imitators like Anderson were expanding the magazine's geographical reach without being geographically specific. As such, a *People's Friend* reader in Forfarshire could imagine that Cruisie was based on their own village or town, in the same way that a reader in Caithness, Banffshire, and Berwickshire could do the same thing. Here, Blaikie's concept of the 'myth of moral community' is at play, as the *People's Friend* was able to create an imagined community of readers across the length and breadth of Scotland.

Throughout Anderson's sketches, the church looms large over the characters and most instances of conflict are resolved by the intervention of the minister. In 'Cruisie Sketches', Rev. Thomson (the fictional minister of Cruisie) pursues the disappearance from his congregation of David Dunbar, a 'careless sinner', by visiting the man's home and questioning his faith.⁴⁸ Unpersuaded, Dunbar is physically marched to church the following Sunday by two friends who are embarrassed by the need for clerical intervention which leads Rev. Thomson to be 'more than ever convinced that his power lay not so much in his preaching as in his personal influence'.⁴⁹ In the sketch 'How Peter Reid Became E.U.', the Established Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland are pitted against each other through the personification of husband and wife, Peter and Meggie Reid. For readers of the *People's Friend*, the schism between the Established Church and the Free Church in 1843 (known as the Disruption) was a familiar subject and one that was frequently discussed throughout nineteenth-century Scottish fiction.⁵⁰ In 'How Peter Reid Became E.U.', Peter is a member of the 'Auld Kirk' (Church of Scotland) and a 'respectable heathen' who is 'lazy and godless', whereas Meggie, a member of the

⁴⁸ Fergus Mackenzie [James Anderson], *Sprays of Northern Pine* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1897), pp. 269–319.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁵⁰ Wallace and Kidd, 'Between Nationhood and Nonconformity'.

Evangelical Union, was brought up by 'God-fearing, hard-working folk, who had spared no effort to educate their children and to bring them up to serve the Lord'.⁵¹ There is significant conflict between the pair over their disagreeing denominations: Peter states that '[y]e are sae mighty self-righteous you Free's an E.U.'s'.⁵² Anderson's story details Peter's eventual conversion to the Evangelical Union, partly motivated by his wife's embarrassment within the village, but mainly because the preacher of the Evangelical Union delivers sermons that are significantly shorter than the Church of Scotland. Here, Anderson leaves very little to the imagination. The Established Church is portrayed as old-fashioned and tedious and, through the influence of an invigorating preacher and peer pressure, dissenting denominations are seen as the respectable, moderate, and modern faith to follow.

In *The Humours of Glenbruar*, which explores the happenings of the nearby village of Glenbruar, further tensions between the Established and Free Churches are explored through the personal rivalry of Rev. Adam Gibb, minister of the Glenbruar Chapel of Ease, and Rev. David Sillar, the Dominie (headmaster or principal schoolteacher) of the Free Church School. When Sillar is invited to give the first lecture of the Glenbriar Debating Society's new season, Rev. Gibb chairs the session:

The applause which greeted the motion to place the Rev. Adam Gibb in the chair did not warm the Dominie; and the awkward, formal words of praise of the Dominie's abilities, which the minister acknowledged were "undoubtedly great", repressed rather than encouraged enthusiasm. They were words wrung from him by his position as chairman, and everybody knew how much had been left unsaid which was not to the Dominie's credit.⁵³

The tension between the two spills over during Rev. Sillar's lecture, in which he incoherently rambles about the stupidity of man, or 'duffers' as he refers to them, who are found among 'our councils, convocations, assemblies, synods, our regiments of ministers of the gospel – Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregational, Baptist, Wesleyan, Irvingite' and who are 'supplied by the reservoir of dufferdom'.⁵⁴ He continues to stress the inadequacies of ministers by stating that '[o]nce a week your

⁵¹ Fergus Mackenzie [James Anderson], *The Humours of Glenbruar* (Aberdeen: D. Wyllie & Son, 1894), pp. 143–144.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 148. The Evangelical Union was a denomination established in the wake of the Disruption in 1843 and was officially incorporated with the Congregational Union of Scotland in 1896.

⁵³ Mackenzie, *Sprays of Northern Pine*, pp. 185–186.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

minister of the gospel, plunging headlong into fate and free will, makes his own and the other empty heads resound with endless reverberation', and his lecture is promptly shut down by Rev. Gibb.⁵⁵ Sillars' fate is sealed in the following story when, revealed to be suffering from pneumonia, he has an emotional breakdown in the home of local weavers Tammis and Jean Weems who encourage him to return to his hometown, reconcile with his mother, and rekindle his relationship with the scripture. The final stories follow Sillars' re-introduction to Glenbruar and his repayment to the Weems by nursing them in their old age. Anderson's moral to his readers, in the most basic and simplest terms, is to respect clergyman and never take the loyalty of parish people for granted. As a serving Free Church minister, this was a less-than-coded message to his own parishioners in Dyce.

A notable characteristic in Kailyard literature in the *People's Friend* is the allegiance to dissenting Presbyterianism. Most, though not all, of the literary ministers discussed in this chapter served Free Church or United Free Church parishes and other dissenting Presbyterian groups and congregations. Indeed, the *People's Friend* was particularly receptive to literature that emphasised the values of the Free Church. This includes Free Church minister Rev. Thomas Ratcliffe Barnett's series of short fiction, 'Gossips in the Gloaming', which was serialised in in the *People's Friend* in 1898.⁵⁶ Earlier, in the 1870s and 1880s, Scottish biographer Jean Logan Watson, described as a 'most intelligent and enthusiastic adherent of the Free Church of Scotland', published a series of biographies of Scottish clerical reformers in the *People's Friend*, and, at the time of her death, was writing more 'sketches of Reformation and Disruption times'.⁵⁷ Literature that promoted the Free Church was prominent throughout Scottish magazine culture. This includes Scottish poet and serial novelist James Smith's novel 'Dominie Dudgeon's Legacy' in the *Scottish Reader* from 1884 to 1885, and minor Scottish writer

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 193.

⁵⁶ 'The People's Friend Programme for 1898', *Dundee Advertiser*, 5 January 1898, p. 8 col h.

⁵⁷ 'The Late Miss Jean L. Watson', *Peeblesshire Advertiser*, 24 October 1885, p. 4 col c; 'Death of Miss Jean L. Watson', *Tamworth Herald*, 31 October 1885, p. 3 col d. Examples of these biographies include, Jean L. Watson, *Lives and Times of the Two Guthries, or, Sketches of the Covenants* (Glasgow: Dunn & Wright, 1877), *Life of Thomas Guthrie, D.D.* (Edinburgh: James Gemmel, 1881), *Life of Andrew Thomson, D.D.* (Edinburgh: James Gemmel, 1882), *The Heiress of Ravensby. A Tale of Reformation Times* (Edinburgh: James Gemmel, 1882), *The Pastor of Ettrick: Thomas Boston* (Edinburgh: James Gemmel, 1883), and *Knox and the Reformation Times in Scotland* (Glasgow: Dunn & Wright, 1890).

John Anderson's novel 'The Minister's Wooing' in the *Perthshire Magazine* in 1888. Representations of the Free Church were likewise reflected in the wider Scottish book trade, in particular, in novels by Scottish women writers between 1880 and 1920. Examples include *James Hepburn, Free Church Minister* (1887) by Sophie F. F. Veitch (the daughter of Lord Eliock of Dumfries), *The Country Minister's Love Story* (1895) by Maria Bell (the daughter of an Edinburgh surgeon), *Richard Kennoway and His Friends* (1908) by Katherine Steuart (the pseudonym of Agnes MacIver Logan, a daughter of the Sheriff of Forfarshire), *Under the Burning Sun; or, The Two Ministers* (1910) by Flora Maitland MacRae (an aristocratic woman and wife of a Writer to the Signet), and *Dominie's Hope* (1924) by Amy McLaren (the pseudonym of Emily Louisa McLaren, also of aristocratic heritage). As Juliet Shields notes in her study of Scottish women's writing in the long nineteenth century, dissenting Presbyterianism was a notable theme in this period, and all of the women discussed in her account 'were raised in the Presbyterian Free Church or other evangelical varieties of Presbyterianism that emerged from the Disruption'.⁵⁸ Therefore, just as there is a prominent phenomenon of Free Church beliefs in Kailyard fiction by Scottish ministers, there is an equally prominent phenomenon of dissenting Presbyterianism in popular Scottish literature more broadly. This is certainly the case for Swan and O. Douglas (the pseudonym of Anna Buchan), whose novels often engaged with Presbyterianism and who have traditionally been analysed in a Kailyard context but who are becoming disentangled from this association.⁵⁹ It can be argued, therefore, that their association with the Kailyard was derived from their evangelical and Free Church upbringings and that their tendency to write about 'religious piety as a

⁵⁸ Juliet Shields, *Scottish Women's Writing in the Long Nineteenth Century: The Romance of the Everyday* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 14.

⁵⁹ For example, see Annie S. Swan, *Adam Hepburn's Vow: A Tale of Kirk and Covenant* (London: Cassell, 1885), and O. Douglas [Anna Buchan], *Pink Sugar* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1929). Interestingly, the minister's wife in *Pink Sugar*, Mrs M'Candlish, is an avid but secretive reader of the *People's Friend*: 'Mrs. M'Candlish looked at her watch – a quarter to seven. There would just be time to finish a story she was reading in the *People's Friend*. She took the paper from a satin-lined work-basket (she did not care to leave it lying about in case any one thought the *Friend*, as she called it familiarly to herself, frivolous reading for a minister's wife), and in a second she was absorbed', see Douglas, *Pink Sugar*, p. 60. For scholarship on Swan and Douglas, see Beth Dickson, 'Annie S. Swan and O. Douglas: Legacies of the Kailyard', in *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, ed. by Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 329–346. For a discussion on ways to disassociate Swan and Douglas from the Kailyard, see Samantha Walton, 'Scottish Modernism, Kailyard Fiction and the Woman at Home', in *Transitions in Middlebrow Writing, 1880–1930*, ed. by Kate Macdonald and Christoph Singer (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 141–160, and Shields, *Scottish Women's Writing*, pp. 150–179.

marker of social respectability' was not necessarily indicative of the Kailyard itself, but of a wider trend for evangelical fiction in Scottish literature at the time.⁶⁰ As such, the Kailyard fiction in the *People's Friend* can be situated in a broader literary context.

This trend was partly the result of the Free Church's appropriation of Scottish national identity following the Disruption in 1843. Although Wallace and Kidd have stated that denominational allegiances took precedence over nationhood during this period, this nationhood was often appropriated by the Free Church which, in the aftermath of the Disruption, aimed to portray itself as *the* national church of Scotland.⁶¹ The assertion of this religious identity has been explored by historians, such as the Free Church's influence over Scottish historiography, in which it claimed Scotland's dissenting religious past as its own.⁶² In the *People's Friend*, this is demonstrated by the proliferation of literature that the Free Church in relation to the Scottish Reformation and Covenanting period, such as a series of short fiction entitled 'Cameos of Covenanting Times' in 1897, as well as essays that described Walter Scott's Covenanting novels as 'types of religious patriotism'.⁶³ Although the scope of literature that explored Scotland's religious past in magazine culture is beyond the scope of this chapter, from the examples encountered thus far, portrayals of dissenting Presbyterianism reiterate the civil and religious liberty of the Free Church, and thus, the civil and religious liberty of Scotland.⁶⁴

As Valentine Cunningham argues, Victorian dissenters were often working-class autodidacts who, through their church literary societies, mutual improvement associations, and reading groups, campaigned for social reform movements such as Chartism, the Anti-Corn Law League, temperance,

⁶⁰ Shields, *Scottish Women's Writing*, p. 15.

⁶¹ Wallace and Kidd, 'Between Nationhood and Nonconformity', p. 193; Ryan Mallon, 'A Church for Scotland? The Free Church and Scottish Nationalism after the Disruption', *Scottish Church History*, 49: 1, (2020), 1–24.

⁶² James J. Coleman, *Remembering the Past in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Commemoration, Nationality and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Neil Forsyth, 'Presbyterian Historians and the Scottish Invention of British Liberty', *Scottish Church History*, 34: 1, (2004), 91–110; John Wolfe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); Mallon, 'A Church for Scotland?', p. 111.

⁶³ David Walker Brown, *Clydeside Litterateurs* (Glasgow: Carter & Pratt, 1897), p. 113; 'A Birthday Honour to Sir Walter Scott', *People's Friend*, 10 August 1918, p. 64.

⁶⁴ Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, pp. 130–133.

and universal suffrage.⁶⁵ In the *People's Friend*, the connections between working-class education and dissenting Presbyterianism were considerable. In addition to the religious backgrounds of the magazine's first three editors, Latto, Pae, and Stewart all moved through working-class educational networks, literary societies, and mutual improvement associations in Fife, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, respectively, prior to their literary careers and employment with the Leng Company. Similarly, Lauren Weiss' study of working-class literary culture in nineteenth-century Glasgow demonstrates that Free Church congregations were particularly enthusiastic supporters of educational networks, literary societies, and mutual improvement associations.⁶⁶ For example, there were eleven local branches of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union in 1854 alone.⁶⁷ Moreover, the Free Church's values of education, self-improvement, political reform, and social justice were shared by Nonconformism which was particularly prominent in Britain throughout the nineteenth century. For instance, it is no coincidence that the man without whom the Kailyard 'could not have existed', was a Scottish Free Church minister turned evangelical journalist, William Robertson Nicoll.⁶⁸ The Nonconformist press empire in London to which Nicoll was affiliated expanded in London throughout the late-nineteenth century via his role as editor of the *British Weekly* (1886–1961), *The Expositor* (1875–1925), and *The Bookman* (1891–1934).⁶⁹ Although centred in London, there was a particularly Scottish vein to Nicoll's Nonconformist press, not least through the publication and promotion of Scottish Kailyard authors in the 1890s, but also in the *Woman At Home: Annie S. Swan's Magazine* (1894–1917), a magazine that Nicoll created especially for Swan.⁷⁰ Indeed, in his own words, Nicoll stated in 1888 that the *British Weekly's* 'English readers on whom of course we mainly depend, are apt to complain already that the

⁶⁵ Valentine Cunningham, *Everywhere Spoken Against: Dissent in the Victorian Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

⁶⁶ Weiss, 'The Literary Clubs and Societies of Glasgow', pp. 248–269.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 41.

⁶⁸ Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, p. 146; Nash, 'William Robertson Nicoll'; David Goldie, 'Unspeakable Scots: Dialogues in Scottish-British Literary Culture Before the First World War', in *Literature and Union: Scottish Texts, British Contexts*, ed. by Gerard Carruthers and Colin Kidd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 259–276 (pp. 273–274).

⁶⁹ Keith A. Ives, *Voice of Nonconformity. William Robertson Nicoll and the British Weekly* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2011).

⁷⁰ Gillian Neale, 'Annie S. Swan, Publishing Phenomenon: a Book Historical Perspective', *Scottish Literary Review*, 12: 2, (2020), 91–109.

paper is too Scotch'.⁷¹ The close alignment between Scottishness, the Kailyard, and Nonconformism in Nicoll's magazines posed a clear challenge to the *People's Friend* and was, therefore, commercial competition for the Leng Company. Thus, not only was the association between the Free Church and the *People's Friend* a mutually beneficial opportunity to appeal to the working classes and a moralistic church-going readership, the publication of Kailyard fiction in the *People's Friend* was also an attempt to challenge the dominance of the Nonconformist press in London. Indeed, it was not until 1913 that the Leng Company (having been incorporated into D. C. Thomson in 1905) attempted to establish its own version of the *British Weekly*. Originally titled *Sunday Hours: the Happy Home Paper* in 1913 and continued as *Happy Home* (1914–1921), the magazine was described as 'a superficially evangelical penny paper' which aimed to provide 'a little light reading' on a Sunday afternoon.⁷² Therefore, in the context of the Leng Company, it was the *People's Friend* that catered to this religiously minded, working-class, post-church readership in Scotland in the intervening years.

Scottish ministers who contributed Kailyard fiction in the *People's Friend* consistently emphasise the powerful and influential role of the minister in Scottish society. This elevation of rank is considered archetypal of the Kailyard genre. In Thomas Knowles' definition, the minister is often characterised as 'the "lad o' pairs"', the poor Scottish boy making good within the "democratic" Scottish system of education, and dying as a graduated minister in his mother's arms' which was discussed in Chapter 1.⁷³ Whilst Nash has debunked the universality of the 'lad o' pairs' motif in the works of Barrie, Maclaren, and Crockett, its use by clerical Kailyard authors in the *People's Friend* is nonetheless pervasive.⁷⁴ Indeed, it can be argued that the popularity of the 'lad o' pairs' in popular literature is partly owed to the deluge of Scottish ministers in whose fiction this trope often appears. For example, the *Manchester Courier* remarked in its review of the Kailyard novel *Redburn* (1895) by 'Henry Ochiltree'

⁷¹ Letter of William Robertson Nicoll to James Logie Robertson, 28 June 1888, Papers of James Logie Robertson, Dep.246, Box I, Vol. I, NLS.

⁷² Julia Jones, *Fifty Years in the Fiction Factory* (Pleshely: Golden Duck Ltd., 2012), p. 233.

⁷³ Thomas D. Knowles, *Ideology, Art and Commerce: Aspects of Literary Sociology in the Late Victorian Scottish Kailyard* (Gothenburg: s.n., 1983), p. 13.

⁷⁴ Andrew Nash, 'Re-reading the "Lad o' Pairs": the Myth of the Kailyard Myth', *Scotlands*, 3: 2, (1996), 86–102.

that the protagonist Adam Scott's entrance into the ministry 'is common with the heroes of Scotch novelists, perhaps to balance the fact that some Scotch ministers have become novelists'.⁷⁵ 'Henry Ochiltree' was in fact the pseudonym of Rev. William Dempster, a Church of Scotland minister who served the parishes of Linlithgow, Haddington, and Stronsay between his licensing in 1890 and his death in 1919.⁷⁶ Dempster's novel *Redburn* was considered 'a rather close imitation of the work of Barrie and Crockett' (indeed, one chapter is unashamedly titled 'Beside the Bonnie Brier Buss').⁷⁷ Nor was the phenomenon of Scottish ministers writing Kailyard fiction something that slowed down in the twentieth century, even after the initial stirrings of the anti-kailyard movement following the publication of George Douglas Brown's *The House with the Green Shutters* (1901). For example, the novel *Jock* by 'Quintin M'Crindle' was published in 1916 following its serialisation in the Church of Scotland's magazine *Life and Work* and was highly praised as 'a remarkable addition to our "Kailyard" literature'.⁷⁸ 'Quintin MacCrindle' was the pseudonym of Rev. David C. Stewart, minister of Currie Parish Church in Midlothian.⁷⁹ Likewise, Rev. James Miller of Castle Street Congregational Church in Dundee published *A Chiel Amang Them* in 1917, which was 'composed of a series of sketches in the kailyard dialect' and which 'bear on the Kirk, the ways of ministers, elders, and lesser people in the parish'.⁸⁰ Although Anderson's contributions to the *People's Friend* ceased following his death in 1910, the magazine's association with Scottish ministers did not. From 1958 to 1970, local Dundee minister Rev. T. R. S. Campbell published a weekly column in the magazine entitled 'On Reflection: From the Manse Window' in which he offered an inspirational lessons for readers. Here, Campbell was given an opportunity to

⁷⁵ 'Literary Notices', *Manchester Courier*, 18 September 1895, p. 7 col e.

⁷⁶ Samuel Halkett, *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature. Volume I* (New York: Haskell House Publications, 1971), p. 282; 'Notable Novels', *Huntly Express*, 8 March 1897, p. 6 col a. Although Nash discusses *Redburn*, he does not cite 'Henry Ochiltree' as the pseudonym of a Scottish minister, see *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*, p. 38.

⁷⁷ 'Literature', *Inverness Courier*, 10 September 1895, p. 3 col b.

⁷⁸ 'Among the Churches', *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 27 March 1916, p. 6 col b.

⁷⁹ Halkett, *Dictionary of Anonymous*, p. 191; 'Annuals and Magazines', *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 15 May 1916, p. 2 col b.

⁸⁰ 'Dundee Minister's Interesting Book', *Dundee Courier*, 8 January 1917, p. 6 col b; James Miller, *A Chiel Amang Them: Loaning Idylls* (Dundee: John Leng & Co., 1917).

directly address the magazine's readership, a tradition that the *People's Friend* still adheres to.⁸¹ Moreover, Blaikie's 'myth of moral community' is epitomised by the writings of pseudonymous Scottish ministers who generated the idea that readers of the *People's Friend* were an imagined community of moralistic and pietistic people.

Anglicanism, Alexander Lamont, and the 'Vicar of Deepdale'

Another example of Kailyard literature in the *People's Friend* was the series entitled 'Thoughts from Deepdale' by the 'Vicar of Deepdale' which was serialised between 1873 and 1902 and published as *Wayside Wells; or, Thoughts from Deepdale* (1874).⁸² The sketches in this series detail life in the fictional vicarage of Deepdale and were written by the 'Vicar of Deepdale', the pseudonym of Alexander Lamont, a Scottish poet and schoolmaster in Glasgow (see Fig. 6).⁸³ Lamont was an early contributor to the *People's Friend* and maintained a close association with the magazine throughout his lifetime. In Glasgow, he was a member of several literary societies and associations, including the Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Literary Society, the Glasgow Ballad Club, and the Sir Walter Scott Club, and was well-acquainted with the network of working-class newspaper poets in the city. For example, he shared a flat in Dennistoun with Robert Ford, another *People's Friend* contributor and anthologist of Scottish poetry and ballads.⁸⁴ Lamont was a frequent contributor to literary magazines, such as *The Argosy* (1866–1901), *The Quiver* (1861–1956), and *Chambers's Journal* (1832–1956), as well as religious magazines like *Good Words*. In addition to this published work, his alter-ego, the 'Vicar of Deepdale', appears to have been a full-time commitment. For instance, he was a frequent reader at the Mitchell

⁸¹ Judey Struth, 'On Reflection: From the Manse Window', *People's Friend*, (15 March 2018), <<https://www.thepeoplesfriend.co.uk/2018/03/15/on-reflection-from-the-manse-window/>> [accessed 17 April 2023].

⁸² Alexander Lamont, *Wayside Wells; or, Thoughts from Deepdale* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1874).

⁸³ D. H. Edwards, *Modern Scottish Poets*, 16 vols (Brechin: "Brechin Advertiser" Office, 1881), III, pp. 292–295.

⁸⁴ 'Poetry', *Dundee Advertiser*, 23 June 1898, p. 7 col c; James Baird, *Dennistoun – Past and Present* (Glasgow: The Dennistoun Press, 1922), p. 34.

Library in Glasgow where he was frequently sighted 'dressed in semi-clerical garb'.⁸⁵ In a review of *Wayside Wells*, Rev. Gilfillan posits that his alter-ego was quite convincing:

When we read some of these beautiful papers in the *People's Friend*, we took the author at his word, and supposed him to be an elderly English vicar, living in a romantic dale somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Lake Country, and were quite astonished to learn on enquiry that he was a young man in the West of Scotland.⁸⁶

Lamont's 'Thoughts From Deepdale' engages with a familiar trope in religious fiction in the Victorian era. As Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766) and John Galt's *Annals of the Parish* (1821) set out, religious novels that explored parish life were popular throughout the nineteenth century by focussing on the humanity of clerical figures, rather than their doctrinal ideology.⁸⁷ Several novels followed this tradition, such as Anthony Trollope's *The Vicar of Bullhampton* (1870), George Eliot's *Scenes of Clerical Life* (1856), Margaret Oliphant's *Chronicles of Carlingford* (1860s–1870s), and George MacDonald's *Annals of a Quiet Neighbourhood* (1867) and *Thomas Wingfold, Curate* (1876). To these, we can add Barrie's *The Little Minister* (1891), Crockett's *The Stickit Minister* (1893), and Maclaren's *Kate Carnegie and Those Ministers* (1896) and, therefore, a Kailyard perspective. Magazine culture was important to this phenomenon. Both Rev. Edward Bradley's *The Adventures of Mr Verdant Green* (1857) (which were published under his pseudonym 'Cuthbert Bede') and Rev. George Rose's *Mrs Brown* novels (1868–1886) (who used the pseudonym 'Arthur Sketchley') were first serialised in magazines – *Mrs Brown* in the weekly penny magazine *Fun* (1861–1901) – before their publication as books.⁸⁸ More recently, the clerical tradition extends to G. K. Chesterton's *Father Brown* series (1910–1936) and James Runcie's *The Grantchester Mysteries* (2012–2017), which depict the part-time detective careers of a

⁸⁵ William McGill, 'Notes on Some Readers in a Reference Library', *New Library World*, 53: 10, (1951), 258–259 (p. 258). The 'Vicar of Deepdale' pseudonym was also used by fellow working-class newspaper and magazine poet John Fullerton, see Kirstie Blair, 'The Newspaper Poet and the Victorian Working Class Poet' in *A History of British Working Class Literature*, ed. by John Goodridge and Bridget Keegan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 264–280, and 'Death of "Wild Rose", the Late John Fullerton', *Ross-shire Journal*, 5 August 1904, p. 7 col e. There is poetry by the 'Vicar of Deepdale' in the *People's Friend* between the 1870s and 1890s.

⁸⁶ Edwards, *Modern Scottish Poets*, 16 vols (Brechin: "Brechin Advertiser" Office, 1881), III, p. 293.

⁸⁷ *The Vicar of Wakefield* was awarded to a correspondent of the *People's Journal* as a prize in one of the newspaper's literary competitions, see 'Success of the Journal', *People's Journal*, 3 April 1858, p. 2 col a.

⁸⁸ Cuthbert Bede [Edward Bradley], *The Adventures of Mr Verdant Green* (London: James Blackwood, 1857); Arthur Sketchley [George Rose], *The Brown Papers. Reprinted from "Fun"* (London: Routledge and Sons, 1866).

countryside Catholic priest and an Anglican vicar, respectively. Lamont's 'Vicar of Deepdale' is most certainly part of this long-running literary interest in the social lives of clergymen.

In the *People's Friend*, 'Thoughts From Deepdale' engages with the characteristics of the clerical novel through the depiction of a rural location, an attitude of nostalgia, a concern with national representation, and the juxtaposition of traditionalism and modernity. Many of the sketches are particularly indicative of Mary Russell Mitford's 'Village Stories' which were serialised in *Lady's Magazine* (1770–1832) and later published as *Our Village: Sketches of Rural Character and Scenery* at two-year intervals between 1822 and 1832.⁸⁹ In particular, Lamont mimics Mitford's 'walks in the country' motif which is used to document the seasonal changes in the rural landscape in which her protagonists inhabit. In addition, time is a constant rumination in 'Thoughts from Deepdale'. Sketches like 'The Night Side of Nature' and 'On the Wings of the Morning' emphasise key temporal moments, such as twilight and dawn. In both, the focus is on the natural order of time and the benefit of observing natural time to the human condition. The 'Vicar of Deepdale' states that

I have often thought that the man who has never been afoot at the early dawn of a spring or autumn day [...] is ignorant of some of the finest aspects of Nature, and has missed many of the most exquisite pleasures which intellectual and imaginative souls can receive.⁹⁰

Like the above example, the importance of living by the pace and order of the natural world are especially emphasised, for instance, the 'Vicar of Deepdale' often describes local sites and landmarks as part of a figurative invitation to the reader to accompany him on a tour through the countryside of Deepdale. He describes prominent structures such as Deepdale Castle and Bishop's Wood, and regular sites such as the vicarage, the churchyard, and the dale. In these, Lamont frequently makes references to previous 'journeys together' which act as call-backs to help enlarge the literary experience of Deepdale.⁹¹ Further, these countryside walks allow the reader 'to roam freely in time, bringing past,

⁸⁹ Josephine McDonagh, 'Rethinking Provincialism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Fiction: *Our Village* to *Villette*', *Victorian Studies*, 5: 3, (2013), 399–424 (pp. 403–406).

⁹⁰ The Vicar of Deepdale [Alexander Lamont], 'On the Wings of the Morning', *People's Friend*, 12 May 1890, p. 294.

⁹¹ The Vicar of Deepdale [Alexander Lamont], 'The Night Side of Nature', *People's Friend*, 23 June 1890, p. 394.

present and future into the same frame'.⁹² Like the *People's Friend's* imagined community of pietistic parishioners evoked by Anderson's 'Cruisie Sketches', the 'Vicar' creates a sense of shared place amongst reader and narrator and, thus, an imagined community within Deepdale.

Throughout 'Thoughts From Deepdale' it is never explicitly stated where exactly Deepdale is located, though, by nature of it being populated by a vicar, it is inferred to be in England. In addition, the imagery presents a typical rural nineteenth-century English setting, for example, 'there is a green lane leading up to the outhouses and the kitchen-garden and to the sheltering fir-wood on the hill [...] Mossy dyke, beechen hedge, and protruding thatch'.⁹³ Here, Deepdale is conveyed as a simultaneously fixed location and a fictionalised place in an imagined, yet familiar, landscape: it is both specific and nondescript. By focussing on the typical characteristics of a rural landscape, the 'Vicar' presents a location that transcends national boundaries and concurrently represents a shared sense of place for readers of the *People's Friend*.⁹⁴ Notably, Deepdale was not exclusive to Lamont's writings or to the *People's Friend*. Indeed, Victorian writers frequently returned to Deepdale, making it one of the most frequently used yet geographically unspecific locations in nineteenth-century fiction. For example, Scottish novelist and poet Isa Craig-Knox's novel *Deepdale Vicarage* was serialised in *The Quiver* magazine in 1866 and then published in various English newspapers as 'The Vicar of Deepdale and the Widow Melrose', before its printed edition in 1880.⁹⁵ *Deepdale Vicarage* recounts the story of the newly inducted Vicar of Deepdale, Rev. Dionysius Curling, and his search for a suitable wife among a class-conscious society. In it, Deepdale is described as 'a retired village in the dead country, surrounded by muddy lanes, scarcely accessible, except in summer'.⁹⁶ It is likely that this novel was the most significant inspiration for Lamont's 'Vicar of Deepdale' persona. At the same time, Deepdale's reputation as a pious

⁹² McDonagh, 'Rethinking Provincialism', pp. 406–407.

⁹³ The Vicar of Deepdale, 'On the Wings of the Morning'.

⁹⁴ Paul Readman, *Storied Ground. Landscape and the Shaping of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 52–89.

⁹⁵ Isa Craig-Knox, 'Deepdale Vicarage', *The Quiver*, September 1866, pp. 11–14. Although this novel is attributed to Knox, its authorship is also claimed by sister-writers Mary and Elizabeth Kirkby, see Mary Gregg, *Leaflets From My Life: A Narrative Autobiography* (Leicester: J. & T. Spencer, 1888), p. 197.

⁹⁶ Craig-Knox, 'Deepdale Vicarage', p. 11.

place was furthered by Mary Ann Massey's temperance novels which were published by the Religious Tract Society and the Sunday School Union in the 1870s.⁹⁷ These novels are set in the village of New Melton in the valley of Deepdale which is located 'in one of the northern counties of England'.⁹⁸ By the 1880s, more authors had added to the geographical flexibility of Deepdale. In Scottish writer Robert Buchanan's novel, 'Rachel Dene. A Story of Deepdale Mill', he locates the valley of Deepdale in Yorkshire.⁹⁹ Whereas, in another of his serial novels, he describes it as 'a village two miles from Kelmington', which may refer to Kilminster, a village and civil parish in Devonshire.¹⁰⁰ Above all, Deepdale is portrayed as the epitome of a typical English countryside community, where the 'inhabitants of Deepdale Valley cling fast to their former habits of thought and life'.¹⁰¹ The village is further described by Massey as follows:

At its eastern end the hills open to a smooth plain, and there, along the banks of the river, are many mills and factories, surrounded by cottages in long straight rows, the homes of the workers in the mills. There are shops, too, of all kinds; and a church, a school-house, and two small chapels have arisen among the crowded clustering of houses of the busy town.¹⁰²

The connections between Deepdale and Yorkshire were strengthened by the publication of Lamont's 'Thoughts From Deepdale' in a Yorkshire newspaper, the *Craven Herald*.¹⁰³ This series, titled 'Papers From Deepdale', was part of an injection of fiction in the paper which included other short stories such as 'Sketches in Craven' and 'Tales from the Diary of a Doctor' by Dr W. Fennover.¹⁰⁴ In the latter, Fennover makes reference to the 'Vicar of Deepdale' and 'his son, Dr Harris', thus developing the *Craven Herald's* association with the 'Vicar' and hinting at his possible surname, 'Harris'.¹⁰⁵ In 'Papers from

⁹⁷ Mary A. Massey, *Deepdale End: Its Joys and Sorrows* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1872) and *Deepdale: A Story of the Floods* (London: Sunday School Union, 1875).

⁹⁸ Massey, *Deepdale End*, p. 5.

⁹⁹ Robert Buchanan, 'Rachel Dene. A Story of Deepdale Mill', *Bow Bells*, 5 October 1888, pp. 210–213.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Buchanan, 'Cousin Tom', *London Reader*, 2 June 1888, pp. 1–5. Deepdale continues to be a source of inspiration for authors, see Dorothy Pardoe, *Summer in Deepdale* (London: Dobson, 1980) and Millie Vigor, *Catherine of Deepdale* (London: Robert Hale, 2012).

¹⁰¹ Massey, *Deepdale End*, p. 7.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁰³ The Vicar of Deepdale [Alexander Lamont], 'Papers From Deepdale, by the Vicar – Paper I, The Book-World', *Craven Herald*, 11 March 1876, p. 6 col d.

¹⁰⁴ 'Alterations and Improvements', *Craven Herald*, 26 February 1876, p. 7 col d.

¹⁰⁵ William Fennover, 'Tales from the Diary of a Doctor – No. 1, The Prevented Crime; or, The Prodigal Reformed', *Craven Herald*, 25 March 1876, pp. 6–7 cols d–b.

Deepdale', Lamont (again) situates Deepdale in England – 'a little paradise embosomed in one of our sweetest English seaboard counties' – and names Deepdale Tower as another landmark found amid the area's 'soft green hills and quiet vales'.¹⁰⁶ The sketch also outlines his relationship with literature and references the poetry of William Wordsworth and Geoffrey Chaucer – two figures that are intrinsic to the construction of English national identity – whilst reminiscing about the 'Vicar's' school and college days. For the 'Vicar', these writers 'seem to beckon one tenderly from the dim dreamland far over the lapse of years. Each dear old volume has its own circle of memories hanging around it like a halo'.¹⁰⁷ The emphasis on canonical English literature portrays Lamont's clerical alter-ego as the mouthpiece of its literary identity and further adds to the 'Vicar's' representation of Englishness. Here, the *Craven Herald* constructs its own 'moral community' for its readers in Yorkshire.

Although a characteristically well-read English countryside vicar, in the *People's Friend*, Lamont's 'Vicar of Deepdale' has to address a primarily Scottish readership. He regularly venerates typical markers of Scottish national identity, such as the roaming glens of the Cheviots, 'the melodious measures of Burns, Allan Ramsay, Tannahill and Hogg', and Scots words like 'gloamin'', 'swankles', and 'lassies'.¹⁰⁸ In the sketch 'When Comes the Gloaming Gray', he specifically discusses the use of the Scots word 'gloaming' as opposed to the English 'twilight'. He explicitly addresses the magazine's readership as Scottish in this sketch – 'I infinitely prefer your Scottish "gloaming"' – and refers to well-known Scottish litterateurs, such as '[y]our own "Ettrick Shepherd"'.¹⁰⁹ For Lamont, 'gloaming' has specific connotations with the identity of the Scottish Lowlands and Border regions. He describes the origin of the word in 'your dales of Ettrick and Yarrow' (a series of hills in Selkirkshire) and in the land of the 'Border riever's gray peel-tower' (the Scottish Borders).¹¹⁰ The association between literature and place

¹⁰⁶ The Vicar of Deepdale, 'Papers From Deepdale'.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ The Vicar of Deepdale [Alexander Lamont], 'When Comes the Gloaming Gray', *People's Friend*, 1 December 1890, p. 762.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

is significant in the representation of national identity throughout the Deepdale sketches.¹¹¹ On the one hand, the 'Vicar' provides a literary fascination for Scottish readers and a familiar figure for English readers. On the other hand, in the context of the idea of the 'moral community', the 'Vicar' is a universal source of morality and reason for readers of the *People's Friend* throughout Britain.

Although the 'Vicar of Deepdale' persona is not obviously associated with the Kailyard, he shares many of the same characteristics as the literary ministers discussed so far. Indeed, 'Thoughts From Deepdale' can be seen as the predecessor to Rev. Campbell's 'From the Manse Window' series in the *People's Friend*. For example, in concluding many of his sketches, the 'Vicar' typically ends with a Christian message. His descriptions of scenery and landscape are used to convey this, for instance, when he states that '[t]he gloaming of an autumnal day is peculiarly fitted for quiet contemplation as to the final gloaming to which we are all travelling'.¹¹² At the end of 'On the Wings of the Morning', the topography of Deepdale is portrayed as the summit where the mortal world and the afterlife meet:

We are newly down, as it were, from the Mount of Vision, and see clearly, in the light of our duty to God and man, that that was a selfish wish of Peter's when he desired always to dwell on the Mount of Transfiguration. Our blessed Master [...] saw all this, and hence He willingly came down from the Mount of Beatific Vision¹¹³

Here, the 'Vicar' deploys a 'beguiling mixture of ubiquitous nostalgia and satisfaction in the present tense' that characterised much of the Kailyard sketches by pseudonymous Scottish ministers in the *People's Friend*, such as a rural setting, a focus on parish communities, sentimental nostalgia, and an emphasis on Christian teachings.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, these similarities only go so far. Lamont's choice of location (England) and religious denomination (Anglicanism) are in complete contradistinction to the Presbyterian, evangelical, and Nonconformist leanings of the Kailyard. On the one hand, the fact that Anglicanism found a place in the *People's Friend* demonstrates the ubiquity of religious fiction in the Scottish popular press throughout the late-nineteenth century. On the other hand, the duality of

¹¹¹ For analysis of the relationship between landscape, literature, and national identity, see Readman, *Storied Ground*.

¹¹² The Vicar of Deepdale, 'When Comes the Gloaming Gray'.

¹¹³ The Vicar of Deepdale, 'On the Wings of the Morning'.

¹¹⁴ McDonagh, 'Rethinking Provincialism', p. 407.

Lamont's life as a Scottish Dominie (schoolmaster) and an English vicar epitomises the Anglo-Scottish hybridity that was central to the development of popular literature in Scotland between 1870 and 1920.¹¹⁵ Indeed, as with the short fiction by pseudonymous Scottish ministers, the emphasis throughout 'Thoughts From Deepdale' is on the values of morality, honesty, and goodness, which are also what made the Kailyard such a globally successful literary movement in the 1880s and 1890s. Ultimately, the Kailyard was a genre that portrayed a version of a 'moral community' that was, at its most basic level, intimately familiar to Scots and yet universal to most readers in the Anglophone world. Likewise, for the *People's Friend*, 'Cruisie Sketches' and 'Thoughts From Deepdale' was part of its wider mission to appeal to as many denominations as possible and, thus, create a 'moral community' that included as many potential readers of the magazine as possible too.

A 'Retreat to Rural'? Provincial Short Fiction in the *People's Friend*

As scholars of nineteenth-century Scottish literature have noted, serialised short stories that emphasised Scotland as a country of rural communities were immensely popular with readers throughout the century and contributed to its definition as 'a retreat to rural'.¹¹⁶ Kailyard literature, which was often published as serialised short fiction, also referred to as 'sketches', is seen to characterise this 'retreat to rural'.¹¹⁷ In commenting on the sketches of Crockett and Maclaren, Nicoll explained in the *British Weekly* that '[t]o write such sketches appears to a Scotchman the easiest thing in the world', and described the 'immense circulation and fame' that these sketches had achieved was due to their depiction of 'a life with which one is perfectly familiar'.¹¹⁸ Scottish magazines were important vehicles for the popularisation of provincial sketches, from John Galt's 'Tales of the West' in *Blackwood's Magazine* in the 1820s to William Alexander's 'Sketches of Rural Life in Aberdeenshire' in

¹¹⁵ Goldie, 'Unspeakable Scots', pp. 259–276.

¹¹⁶ Carruthers, *Scottish Literature*, p. 111.

¹¹⁷ Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*, pp. 27–28.

¹¹⁸ Quoted in Andrew Nash, 'Kailyard, Scottish Literary Criticism, and the Fiction of J. M. Barrie' (Doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1998), p. 237.

the *Aberdeen Free Press* in the 1850s. Sketches that centralised the parish or village were also a key part of Leng's publishing company. In the *People's Journal*, William D. Latto's alter-egos 'Jock Clodpole' and 'Tammass Bodkin' first appeared as 'vernacular correspondents' in the late 1850s and contributed accounts of 'ideas and ideals existing in real communities'.¹¹⁹ Latto's contributions explored a variety of issues including franchise reform and farming rights and were, essentially, a 'serialised history of nineteenth century agriculture'.¹²⁰ 'Tammass Bodkin' was an extension of the fictionalised Dundonian tailor in David Macbeth Moir's *Mansie Wauch, Tailor* (1828) in which 'Bodkin' is Wauch's tailoring apprentice.¹²¹ 'Tammass Bodkin' became popular with *People's Journal* readers and was crucial to the success of two other fictional characters associated with the Leng Company, 'Bob Johnston', the creation of *People's Friend* editor Andrew Stewart, and 'Hugh Airlie', the creation of Jessie Kerr Lawson, a serial novelist in the *People's Friend*. Like 'Bodkin', 'Johnston' and 'Airlie' were Scottish tailors. The 'Adventures of Bob Johnston' – as Stewart's series became known – seems to have first appeared in 1882 in the Dundee penny magazine the *Wizard of the North* (1879–1901) before transferring to the *People's Friend* briefly in 1885.¹²² Subsequently, it was included in his edited collections *Comic Scotch Readings, Comprising the Laughable Adventures of Bob Johnston* (1886) and *Readings Humorous and Pathetic* (1889). These books featured a variety of comic sketches, including contributions from 'Fergus Mackenzie' (Rev. Anderson) and 'Tammass Bodkin'.¹²³ In *Comic Scotch Readings*, Stewart explained the origins of his character:

Bob Johnston, the hero of comical adventure about to be related, is a Dundee master-tailor, well known for his whimsical oddities of character, and his large development of the bump of self-esteem. He has, however, a compensating balance in his wife, to prevent him going too

¹¹⁹ Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, p. 39; William D. Latto, *Tammass Bodkin; or, The Humours of a Scottish Tailor* (Edinburgh: s.n., 1864).

¹²⁰ Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, pp. 28–34.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 46–7.

¹²² 'The Wizard of the North', *Dundee Courier*, 29 September 1882, p. 4 col g. Stewart explains in the preface to *Comic Scotch Readings* that 'three of the pieced have already appeared among the "Standard Readings" in the *People's Friend*, and two of them in *Humorous Readings – Maistly Scotch*' which was another of his edited collections, *Humorous Readings for Scotch Parties: Maistly Scotch* (Edinburgh: John Menzies & Co., 1882).

¹²³ Andrew Stewart, *Readings, Humorous and Pathetic* (Edinburgh: John Menzies & Co., 1889).

fast, or riding his pet hobbies too far. Good at telling a funny story, he likes nothing better than to secure a good audience¹²⁴

The 'Adventures of Bob Johnston' was written in Scots, revolved around everyday characters including weavers, mill workers, and fishwives, and typically involved 'Johnston' getting into scuffs and scrapes at work and amongst his neighbours in Dundee. Similarly, Lawson's 'Airlie' sketches were published in the satirical Canadian magazine *Grip* (1873–1894), to which Lawson was a regular contributor as an emigrant Scottish writer living in Toronto. Written in Scots and presented as a series of letters from a recently a emigrated 'Airlie' to his brother back in Scotland, they illuminate his everyday experiences adjusting to life in Canada, his difficulties understanding the language and customs, and document the political and social environment of Scottish immigrants in Toronto.¹²⁵

As William Donaldson demonstrates, serialised short fiction like the 'Johnston' and 'Airlie' sketches continued a tradition in the Scottish periodical press for 'the sayings and doings of a small-town tradesmen', and were 'intensely anti-Imperialistic, routinely anti-clerical, thoroughly secular in spirit, fundamentally egalitarian in its hatred of hypocrisy, sham and artificially maintained class privilege'.¹²⁶ He argues that this fiction was 'utterly removed from the douce and kirk-gaun, meek, mim-mou'd, brainless yokelry of Barrie, Maclaren, and similar middle-class novelists'.¹²⁷ Indeed, where pithy and opinionated sketches like 'Tammis Bodkin' appeared regularly in the *People's Journal*, they are notably absent from the *People's Friend*. For instance, 'Bob Johnston' originated in the *Wizard of the North* and made only a brief cameo in the magazine in 1885. Similarly, although well-known as a *People's Friend* serial novelist, Lawson's 'Hugh Airlie' was never published in the magazine. When the magazine did make attempts to replicate these vernacular correspondents, it did so in a far more

¹²⁴ Andrew Stewart, *Comic Scotch Readings, Comprising the Laughable Adventures of Bob Johnston* (Edinburgh: John Menzies & Co., 1886), p. i.

¹²⁵ Jessie K. Lawson, *The Epistles o' Hugh Airlie (Formerly o' Scotland, Presently Conneckit wi' Tam Tamson's Warehouse in Toronto)* (Toronto: Grip Print and Publishing Company, 1888); Loretta F. Balisch, 'Scrub Growth: Canadian Humour to 1912 – an Exploration' (Doctoral thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1994), pp. 336–8.

¹²⁶ Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, p. 46; William Donaldson, *The Language of the People: Scots Prose from the Victorian Revival* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), p. 10.

¹²⁷ Donaldson, *The Language of the People*, p. 10.

recognisably Kailyard context. For example, in 1889, one of the only comparable examples in the magazine is an epistolary sketch contributed by ‘Merjorie Fleemin’’. Like ‘Bodkin’, ‘Fleemin’ begins her letter to the magazine’s editor with ‘Maister Iditur’ and goes on to describe her mishaps experienced during a recent trip to London with her husband, ‘Jeems Fleemin’’.¹²⁸ In the sketch, ‘Fleemin’ is concerned with emphasising the differences between provincialism and metropolitanism, such as her difficulties navigating the underground system in London. In concluding, she urges the magazine’s editor (Stewart) to ‘doo wi’ it [the *People’s Friend*] as oor minister does wi’ his sermon sometimes – gie us an auld ane ower again’ and boasted to readers that, if he did, she could ‘aye read the *Friend* twice ower’.¹²⁹ The comparison between editor and minister is significant here because the ‘Merjorie Fleemin’ sketch was actually written by ‘Fergus Mackenzie’ (Rev. Anderson), author of ‘Cruisie Sketches’.¹³⁰ Here, the connections between the epistolary prose of ‘Tammas Bodkin’, the comic sketches of ‘Bob Johnston’ and ‘Hugh Airlie’, and the serialised Kailyard fiction by literary Scottish ministers in the *People’s Friend* are unassailable. Moreover, although ‘Cruisie Sketches’ are not radical or political in tone, Anderson does emulate the basic characteristics of the vernacular correspondents, including stereotypical Scottish characters who recount didactic lessons and morals in Scots in a humorous, pietistic, and amusing tone. Similarly, despite Donaldson’s argument that vernacular correspondents were far removed from the ‘brainless yokelery of Barrie, Maclaren, and similar middle-class novelists’ and, therefore, the *People’s Friend*, they share overwhelmingly similar characteristics. Indeed, in the very newspaper that was the mouthpiece of socially-just, politically reformist working-class literature in Scotland, the *Dundee Advertiser’s* obituary for Latto described him as ‘one of the pioneers of what was recently called “the kailyard school”’.¹³¹ Therefore, if Donaldson’s examples of discursive vernacular prose from the 1850s are the radical and political faction of provincial sketches in

¹²⁸ Fergus Mackenzie [James Anderson], ‘Merjorie Fleemin’ Mak’s the Tour o’ London’, *People’s Friend*, 17 June 1889, pp. 380–381. Most, if not all, of the epistolary sketches in the Scottish popular press begin with a variation of ‘Maister Editur’ or ‘Meestur Editur’ (Mr Editor), see Donaldson, *Language of the People*.

¹²⁹ Mackenzie, ‘Merjorie Fleemin’ Mak’s the Tour o’ London’.

¹³⁰ Anderson is confirmed as the author in Stewart’s *Readings, Humorous and Pathetic*.

¹³¹ ‘Death of Mr W. D. Latto’, *Dundee Advertiser*, 17 July 1899, p. 4 col h.

the popular press, then fiction by 'Fergus Mackenzie' and other Scottish ministers in the *People's Friend* is the pietistic, couthy, and socially conservative detachment.

Indeed, it was the emphasis on community in this vernacular literary tradition that the *People's Friend* aimed to reproduce, identified by Blaikie as the 'myth of moral community'.¹³² Beyond Anderson and his 'Cruisie Sketches', William Gardner Tarbet (the 'inferior kailrunt' identified by the *Scotsman* at the outset of this chapter) first published his volume *In Oor Kailyard* as a series of sketches in the *People's Friend* in 1895. According to the *Scotsman*, his sketches had few redeeming factors: 'if only he can get a reader to weep over the lowly people he endeavours to pourtray'.¹³³ Indeed, there was a wide consensus about Tarbet's heavy-handed evocation of 'Drumtochty and Thrums' and his attempts to follow the themes and structures of Maclaren and Barrie. According to the *Western Daily Press* (a Bristol newspaper),

the reader again finds himself in a Scotch weaving village, renewing his acquaintances with the dominie, the minister, the U.P.'s, the auld kirk, &c., and, almost, before he is aware of it, he is taking a lively interest in an agreeable blend of Scottish piety and worldly philosophy.¹³⁴

In Oor Kailyard was a clear imitation of the literary tastes and reading habits of those who regularly sat down with the *People's Friend* to enjoy provincial fiction. Set in the town of Cessnock, Tarbet's characters are familiar, such as Hughie Findlay, the weaver, Snod Drake, the reformed alcoholic, and Hugh Knox, the faithful fisherman. Indeed, the sketches reveal an exaggerated self-awareness of the Kailyard. For example, Cessnock was described as being 'so far advanced in civilisation that it boasted of a drain'.¹³⁵ Similarly, the rivalries between the Established Church and Free Church are, once again, present: 'When work began to grow brisk again he [Hughie Findlay] was a Free Kirk man [...] But when work was plentiful he turned back "to the Auld Kirk"'.¹³⁶ In the story 'How Jean Ford Made her Son a Minister', the evocation of the 'lad o' pairts' motif is somewhat overbearing. As Jean lies on her

¹³² Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination*, p. 119.

¹³³ 'Fiction', *The Scotsman*.

¹³⁴ 'The Publishing Season', *Western Daily Press*, 24 December 1896, p. 3 col c.

¹³⁵ William G. Tarbert, *In Oor Kailyard* (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1896), p. 6.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

deathbed she manages to sigh, '[i]t's something to hae made a minister after a', before promptly passing away.¹³⁷ That *In Oor Kailyard* and 'Cruisie Sketches' were published concurrently reiterates just how committed the *People's Friend* was to the idea of 'moral community'.

From a wider assessment of Tarbet and his literary career, it is clear that he held no significant attachment to the Kailyard beyond his series of sketches in 1895. For instance, he was not a member of the Scottish clergy and thus did not use it to induce morality or faithfulness amongst his parishioners, nor did he follow up with a similar series of sketches. He was, very simply, a minor writer with genuine aspirations to enter the world of popular Scottish literature. Born in Darvel, Ayrshire, in 1871 to the local Dominie, Tarbet was apprenticed to a chemist after which he became an analytical chemist at Nobel Works in Polmont. After the publication of *In Oor Kailyard*, he wrote military and historical fiction in the *People's Friend*, such as 'In the Hands of the Boers' (1900), a serialised novel about the South African War, and 'A Loyal Maid' (1908), another serial set during the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. Unlike other Kailyard imitators who kept up their commitment to the genre, Tarbet's addition was ultimately a one-off. Nevertheless, he was a welcome contributor to the magazine. For instance, he was present at a gathering of the magazine's staff in Edinburgh in January 1896 to celebrate the magazine's first twenty-five years. Also present was Jane Todd Ord, a fellow contributor, whom Tarbet married in Glasgow a year later.¹³⁸ Tarbet made further ground in popular literature by acquiring proprietorship of the penny magazine *Scottish Nights* in 1900, though this was brief as the magazine folded the following year. His later life was spent in Hampshire where he worked as a director of various rubber manufacturing companies and as an organisational agriculturalist for the Co-Operative Wholesale Society.¹³⁹ Ultimately, Tarbet's contribution to the Kailyard was part of his efforts to launch a writing career and, understandably, an attempt to associate himself with the most financially rewarding literary

¹³⁷ Tarbert, *In Oor Kailyard*, p. 151.

¹³⁸ 1897 Tarbet, William Gardner, (Statutory registers Marriages 644/9/184), National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh. It is very likely that the couple met at this function in 1896.

¹³⁹ 'Rubber and Tea Investors' Trust, Limited', *Westminster Gazette*, 28 April 1920, p. 12 col d; 'Calmore', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 7 February 1920, p. 8 col f.

movement in late-nineteenth-century Scotland. Therefore, though the *Scotsman* considered him part of the oversaturation of the Kailyard in Scottish literature, it was writers like Anderson who constitute a more pervasive and insidious contribution to the movement in the 1890s.

A far more successful series of Kailyard sketches was 'Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae' in the *People's Friend* in 1895.¹⁴⁰ Written by 'Halliday Rogers' (the pseudonym of Harriet Reid, a governess and school mistress at the Edinburgh Ladies' College), 'Meggotsbrae' was described as full of 'quiet humour, touching pathos, and masterly descriptions of character'.¹⁴¹ Unlike Tarbet, Reid benefitted professionally from her writing. She was embraced into Nicoll's Nonconformist-Kailyard magazine empire and was praised by him as 'one of the very best contributions made to what I call the Scottish school, and everybody else calls the literature of Kailyard'.¹⁴² Reid was able to leave teaching after he hired her as assistant editor of the *British Weekly* from 1896 to 1900.¹⁴³ Like other Kailyard imitators, she was committed to her dissenting Presbyterian faith and, after returning to Scotland in 1900, contributed to *The Union Magazine* (1901–1904), a monthly magazine published under the auspices of the United Free Church.¹⁴⁴ She continued to contribute to the *People's Friend*, including another 'Meggotsbrae' sketch in 1904, and a short story, 'Love in a Lift: An Idyll of the Tube', in 1908. Again, 'Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae' drew upon stereotypical Kailyard characteristics which were likely inspired by her involvement with the United Free Church. For example, when Rev. Douglas, minister of Meggotsbrae Free Kirk, is elected to a Presbyterian Church in 'some pagan place ca'd Florence', the parishioners are up in arms at the thought of their beloved minister 'gaun awa' amang the Cath'lics' in Italy.¹⁴⁵ As Reid demonstrates the Kailyard was a format that was widely replicated throughout the *People's Friend* in the 1890s, and one that contributed to the genre's popularisation in Scotland.

¹⁴⁰ Halliday Rogers [Harriet Reid], *Meggotsbrae: Portraits and Memories* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898).

¹⁴¹ 'Two "People's Friend" Writers', *Evening Telegraph*, 29 August 1900, p. 3 col d.

¹⁴² 'Literature and Art', *Dundee Advertiser*, 9 December 1898, p. 2 col f.

¹⁴³ "'Leal to the Border" Our Edinburgh Letter', *Southern Reporter*, 11 October 1900, p. 3 col g.

¹⁴⁴ 'Church Gossip', *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 26 December 1900, p. 6 col f.

¹⁴⁵ Reid, *Meggotsbrae*, p. 69, p. 82.

In conclusion, the Kailyard's reputation for ruralism, provincialism, and parochialism has been consistently exploited by Scottish writers since the 1880s and 1890s.¹⁴⁶ The *People's Friend* has played a key role in this and has, as a result, contributed to the idea of the 'myth of moral community' in modern Scotland.¹⁴⁷ Indeed, the very existence of the *People's Friend* relies on its imaginary community at home and around the world. Although recent scholarship is keen to disassociate the Kailyard from 'the accuracy of national representation', in the view of the *People's Friend*, the imagined communities conveyed in its short fiction sketches was a reiteration of its aim to engender a moral and pious readership.¹⁴⁸ Just as the parish was undoubtedly a microcosm for the nation in nineteenth-century literature, so were the fictionalised parishes in the *People's Friend* a microcosm for the communities of people who bought and read it. Ultimately, the literary and cultural stereotypes that have dogged the Kailyard and characterised much of popular Scottish literature since the 1890s were popularised by the *People's Friend*. As revisionist analyses of the Kailyard continue, the *People's Friend* offers a helpful separation between the work of leading Kailyard authors such as Barrie, Crockett, and Maclaren from the contributions of lesser-known Kailyard imitators, or 'kailruns'. Moreover, this delineation is important to dismantling preconceptions about Kailyard literature. For its writers like Anderson, Lamont, Tarbet, and Reid, the Kailyard – as they understood and perceived it – was something to be harnessed and replicated. For clerical Kailyard imitators, it was a chance to reach their parishioners beyond the pulpit and, for Free Church ministers especially, presented a medium through which their denomination was legitimised as Scotland's national church. For Reid and Tarbet the Kailyard offered an opportunity to live out a literary career. For the *People's Friend*, the Kailyard enabled its appeal to post-church Sunday afternoon readers, as well as challenge the hegemony of Nicoll's Nonconformist magazine empire in London. Beneath these commercial incentives, the wider impact of the Kailyard in the *People's Friend* was its contribution to 'myth of moral community'.

¹⁴⁶ Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*.

¹⁴⁷ Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination*, pp. 122–123.

¹⁴⁸ Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*, p. 20.

Chapter 3 – Feminising the Press: Women’s Magazine Culture in Scotland

When discussing the *People’s Friend* with members of the public, the following responses will typically be received: ‘My granny used to read that’, or ‘My mother used to have the *People’s Friend*’, as was recalled by eighty-year-old Gracie in an interview commissioned by the BookTrust in 2014.¹ Women’s reminiscences, such as those given in oral history interviews, demonstrate the important place that the *People’s Friend* holds in public memory about reading in the twentieth century. These often recall grandmothers reading the *People’s Friend*. For example, the Moray Heritage Memory Project, a research collective that gathers memories from older members of the Moray community, heard from Marian in 2013 about the reading set-up in her grandparents’ living room in the 1940s:

Then came Granda’s big chair. It was comfy and deep with a high back and sides and it faced the fire. A paper rack and small table stood beside it for his newspapers. He was a staunch Labour supporter so he got *The Daily Herald* every day. There was the *Northern Scot* on Saturdays and on Sundays much to my Granny’s horror *The News of the World*. She loved the *Sunday Post* and the *People’s Friend*.²

Alongside memories about grandmothers reading the *People’s Friend*, the magazine also figures in women’s reminiscences about their reading habits as younger women. In an interview with the Reading Sheffield Project, an oral history network that recovers the reading habits of the city’s senior citizens, ninety-two-year-old Wynne recounted that she read the *People’s Friend* at the kitchen table during the early years of her marriage and quickly became her favourite source of reading because it published ‘short stories, not a full story or book’, which meant that she could incorporate reading into her daily routine of housekeeping and child rearing.³ In addition to these, the magazine is equally vivid in memories about girlhood reading. Seventy-eight-year-old Mavis, another Sheffield reader, remembered visiting her Auntie Vera’s house as a child where she would ‘pick up her magazines’ and

¹ Rachael Levy and others, *Attitudes to Reading and Writing and their Links with Social Mobility, 1914–2014. An Evidence Review. Commissioned by Booktrust*, (February 2014), <<https://westminsterresearch.westminster.ac.uk/download/03610c2be460e07b335f8017ddc312a924fcf5055ebf932a00f01fc714a2974d/918230/booktrust100-final-report-17-march-2014.pdf>> [accessed 1 July 2022].

² Marian Evans, ‘Memories from my Childhood, circa 1943–1948’, *Moray Heritage Memory Project*, (4 March 2013), <<https://wrvsmorayheritagememories.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/memories-from-my-childhood-1943-1948.pdf>> [accessed 28 November 2022].

³ Val Hewson, ‘Wynne’s Reading Journey’, *Reading Sheffield Project*, (25 February 2015), <<https://www.readingsheffield.co.uk/wynne-wilsons-reading-journey-2/>> [accessed 24 January 2023].

become ‘engrossed in the *People’s Friend*’.⁴ Similarly, in response to the question ‘What do you remember reading as a child?’, Maureen recalled to the Scotland’s Early Literature for Children Initiative that she began reading the children’s page in the *People’s Friend* at her grandmother’s house, and, as she got older, progressed to reading ‘everything in it’.⁵ These recollections perpetuate the magazine’s current identity as a magazine that is consumed in a domestic environment, like a living room or kitchen, by ‘older working-class women’ and avid child readers.⁶ In 2010, 88% of *People’s Friend* readers were women and 79% were aged over sixty.⁷ Indeed, its reputation as a women’s magazine was confirmed by the Guinness World Records in January 2019 when it was named the ‘longest running women’s magazine in the world’.⁸

Colloquially known as ‘she town’ due to its high percentage of working married women (43% of the total labour force by 1900), Dundee has produced a throng of magazines for women and girls that have dominated the British periodical market throughout the twentieth century.⁹ Of these, the longest running is the *People’s Friend*. As is discussed in Chapter 1, the *People’s Friend* was not established as a women’s magazine but as a penny magazine for the working classes, albeit one that published literature intended for readers of all ages. How, then, did the magazine transition from ‘A Weekly Miscellany of Popular and Instructive Literature’ in 1870 to ‘The Home Journal for Every Member of the Household’ by 1910? How did it become synonymous as the destination for women

⁴ Mary Grover, ‘Mavis’s Reading Journey’, *Reading Sheffield Project*, (7 October 2015), <<https://www.readingsheffield.co.uk/maviss-reading-journey/>> [accessed 24 January 2023].

⁵ Sarah Dunnigan, ‘The Books of Our Lives: a Reading Memories Project. Interview 3 – Maureen Whiteman’, *Scotland’s Early Literature for Children Initiative*, (16 August 2019), <<https://www.blogs.hss.ed.ac.uk/selcie/>> [accessed 31 January 2023].

⁶ Andrew Blaikie, *Scots Imagination and Modern Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 121, 118; Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain, 1914–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

⁷ Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination*, p. 117.

⁸ ‘Longest Running Women’s Magazine (Publication)’, *Guinness World Records*, (13 January 2019), <[https://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/world-records/longest-running-womens-magazine-\(publication\)](https://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/world-records/longest-running-womens-magazine-(publication))> [accessed 31 January 2023].

⁹ Eleanor Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement in Scotland, 1850–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 137. These include D. C. Thomson & Co.’s the *Weekly Welcome* (1896–1938), *Red Letter* (1889–1988), *Blue Bird* (1922–1924), *Woman’s Way* (1927–1939), *Red Star Weekly* (1929–1983), *Family Star* (1934–1977), *Lucky Star* (1935–?), *Jackie* (1964–1993), *Mandy* (1967–1983), *Lucky Charm* (1979–1980), *Debbie* (1979–1983), *Tracy* (1979–1985), *Suzy* (1982–1987), and *Judy* (1987–1991). Magazines for women and girls published by the Leng Company include the *People’s Friend* (1869–present), *My Weekly* (1910–present), *Secrets* (1932–1991), and *Flame* (1935–1940). For more information, see McAleer, *Popular Reading*, pp. 53–54.

and young girl readers alike? This chapter answers these questions by examining the feminisation of the *People's Friend* that was spearheaded by its women writers, journalists, and household editors in the 1880s and 1890s. Next, it addresses the gap in the scholarship on Scottish women as magazine editors through an examination of three magazines that were edited by Scottish women, *The Holyrood Annual* (1885–1886), *The Bellman* (1893–1896), and *Aurora: a Magazine of Fellowship* (1903). Ultimately, by contextualising Scottish women's writing in the *People's Friend*, this chapter argues that magazines present a largely untapped resource for the continued recovery of Scottish women's writing between 1870 and 1920 and, thus, provide a further incentive to address the lack of research on popular Scottish literature of the same period.

Scottish Women Writers: 'the Annie Swan school of Scotch writers of fiction'

Popular Scottish women's writing from 1870 to 1920 has, like the period itself, been underserved by scholarship. Recently, Juliet Shields has made a crucial intervention, arguing that Scottish women writers have been overlooked due to the perceived ordinariness of their writing, which she terms 'the romance of everyday life'.¹⁰ The fiction in the *People's Friend* is indicative of the novels identified by Shields that 'describe the pleasures of reading – escape, solace, entertainment, cheer – and provide those pleasures'.¹¹ Of these, the novels of Annie S. Swan were among the most popular in the magazine. Swan contributed over 200 novels to the *People's Friend* between 1881 and 1943 under an exclusive contract in which she earned £400 to £650 per serial with additional payments for book rights.¹² Such was Swan's notoriety with the *People's Friend* that

the mill girls of Dundee vied with their employers' daughters in looking forward to the delivery of the *People's Friend*, so that they could determine whether the authoress or they themselves had the best solution to the difficulties of the previous week'.¹³

¹⁰ Juliet Shields, *Scottish Women's Writing in the Long Nineteenth Century. The Romance of Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹² Juliet Shields, 'Preaching Without Practising: Middle-Class Domesticity in Annie S. Swan's Serial Fiction', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 52: 3, (2019), 556–587.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 568.

Swan's emergence in the *People's Friend* in 1881 set a standard in the magazine for the publication of fiction 'for the ordinary people, written about ordinary people'.¹⁴ Her novel, *A Vexed Inheritance*, which was serialised in the *People's Friend* in 1887 and published in book form as *The Inheritance* in 1908, is typical of this 'ordinary' fiction.¹⁵ In it, Swan presents familiar tropes in popular Victorian literature in a recognisable setting for the magazine's mostly Scottish working-class readers. *A Vexed Inheritance* centres on Mary Durie, a worker in George Speed's jute mill in Dundee, who becomes the source of affection for Speed's grandson, Tom. On his deathbed, Speed changes his will, insisting that Tom marries Katherine Lundie (the daughter of Speed's former business partner) to inherit his palatial home, Ravenscraig, in Newport-on-Tay. The novel engages with recurring themes found in Elizabeth Gaskell's industrial novels *North and South* (1850) and *Mary Barton* (1848), as well as the inheritance plot that was used throughout Victorian fiction, notably in popular works such as Charles Dickens's *Great Expectations* (1860) and George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871–1872). Swan transposes these themes to Dundee, a heavily industrialised city known in the Victorian era as 'juteopolis', and its neighbouring settlement, Newport-on-Tay, a wealthy Fife town located across the River Tay where the owners and proprietors of jute mills, factories, and shipping companies built large residential villas. Considering that the proprietor of the *People's Friend* (John Leng), its executive directors (William C. Leng and John Leng Sturrock), and editors (William D. Latto and David Pae) lived in these large villas in Newport-on-Tay, the novel must have provided a considerable source of amusement for author and editor alike. More specifically, for the thousands of Scottish readers of the *People's Friend*, especially the 'mill girls' and 'their employers' daughters' in Dundee, the places and characters in *A Vexed Inheritance* were both instantly recognisable and typical of the magazine's inclination for uplifting stories featuring ordinary characters.¹⁶

¹⁴ 'Scottish Novelist – A Public Tribute to "Annie S. Swan"', *The Scotsman*, 10 January 1935, p. 10 col c.

¹⁵ *The Inheritance* was reissued by D. C. Thomson in 2020 as part of the People's Friend Classics Collection.

¹⁶ Annie S. Swan, *The Inheritance* (Dundee: D. C. Thomson & Co., 2020), pp. 371–380. For other novels by Swan set in industrialised Scotland, see Shields, *Scottish Women's Writing*, p. 75.

The success of Swan's fiction in the *People's Friend* influenced a generation of lesser-known Scottish women writers whose contributions to the *People's Friend* and other Scottish magazines have been overlooked. They include Annie E. Holdsworth, Agnes C. Mitchell, Jessie Kerr Lawson, Isabella Fyvie Mayo, Ethel F. Heddle, Robina F. Hardy, Mary Cross Lynch, and Jessie Patrick Findlay.¹⁷ Taken as a whole, these women writers were considered by William Wallace, editor of the *Glasgow Herald*, as representatives of 'the Annie Swan school of Scotch writers of fiction'.¹⁸ Wallace defined the characteristics of this 'school' as an excessive portrayal of religiousness, 'moral earnestness', and 'the serious nature of the issues at stake'.¹⁹ Criticism of the 'Annie Swan school' was widespread in the 1890s, both at a national and local level. During a meeting of the Stromness Church United Presbyterian Guild in 1897, Rev. Andrew Aitken of Shapinsay argued that their novels displayed 'no more than faith in the power of simple goodness'.²⁰ Moreover, Scottish serial novelist Margaret Oliphant condemned such novels as 'cheap books and perfectly well adapted, with their mild love-stories and abundant marriages' that were read by 'the simpler classes, especially of women'.²¹ This critical commentary was reignited by the advent of the Scottish Renaissance in the 1920s. Writing in the *Scottish Educational Journal* in July 1926, C. M. Grieve (Hugh MacDiarmid) decried Scottish women writers 'who all derive from Annie Swan', noting that they were 'without her "uplift" and genius for banal narrative'.²² These observations were largely true: Scottish women writers in the 1880s and 1890s did publish novels that were 'of a pure and healthy tone, pervaded by a bracing Christian morality, and settling forth lessons in life and character fitted to guide and strengthen the young about to enter the battle of life'.²³

¹⁷ For more women writers in the *People's Friend*, see Appendix III.

¹⁸ William Wallace, 'New Novels', *The Academy*, 8 November 1890, p. 417.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ 'The Gospel of Some Novelists', *Orkney Herald*, 31 March 1897, p. 7 col c.

²¹ Quoted in Glenda Norquay, 'Geographies of Self: Scottish Women Writing Scotland', in *The History of British Women's Writing, 1880–1920. Volume Seven*, ed. by Holly A. Laird (London: Palgrave, 2016), pp. 150–161 (p. 152).

²² Quoted in Glenda Norquay, 'Annie S. Swan: Making People Cry', in *Dangerous Women. Fifty Revelations on Women, Power and Identity*, ed. by Jo Shaw, Ben Fletcher-Watson and Abrisham Ahmadzadeh (London: Unbound Publishing, 2022), pp. 119–125, (p. 120).

²³ 'Three New Novels', *People's Friend*, 6 May 1885, p. 288.

Therefore, the 'Annie Swan school' was a very real categorisation in late-nineteenth century popular Scottish literature.

Magazines were considered the source of blame for the popularisation of these novels. In 1892, the *Glasgow Herald* attributed the 'pecuniary success of writers of the Annie Swan school' on magazines that wanted 'a simple story simply told'.²⁴ Lindy Moore has applied this description to her examination of Isabella Fyvie Mayo, a novelist, suffragist, and social reformer in Aberdeen who also published fiction in the *People's Friend*. According to Moore, she found a niche 'writing simple, seemingly conventional, works of fiction based around domestic life, the training and education of children and domestic service, most aimed at "young people"'.²⁵ Similarly, Lois Burke's recent analysis of Mayo and Ethel F. Heddle's contributions to *The Young Woman* (1892–1915) has shown that Scottish women writers were particularly adept at writing fiction that was 'moralising about good and pious behaviour' for girl and young women readers.²⁶ Moreover, Kay Boardman and Margaret Beetham have argued that the demand for this 'cheap, light literature' in the 1880s and 1890s was influenced by the concurrent rise of New Journalism, a movement that swept the periodical press in Britain and saw the creation of magazines that catered to 'the expanding middle class; a commuting, educated, urban, increasingly enfranchised and consumerist public, with access to leisure time'.²⁷ New Journalism had a particular impact on magazines that published women's fiction, entrenching the idea that 'women continued to see themselves as feminine and domestic', and encouraging a significant overlap between fiction for girls and women.²⁸ The publication of the 'Annie Swan school' in the *People's Friend* in the 1880s was very much a part of this feminisation of the popular press.

²⁴ 'Present Day Literary Portents', *Glasgow Herald*, 27 August 1892, p. 4 col e.

²⁵ Lindy Moore, "'A Notable Personality": Isabella Fyvie Mayo in the Public and Private Spheres of Aberdeen', *Women's History Review*, 22: 2, (2013), 239–252 (p. 241).

²⁶ Lois Burke, 'The Young Woman and Scotland: The Late-Victorian Writings of Ethel Forster Heddle and Isabella Fyvie Mayo in Girls' Print Culture', *Scottish Literary Review*, 14: 1, (2022), 43–64 (p. 45).

²⁷ Kate Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880–1910. Culture and Profit* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), p. 41.

²⁸ Kathryn Ledbetter, 'Periodicals for Women', in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, ed. by Andrew King, Alexis Easley and John Morton (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp.

As much as the 'Annie Swan school' enabled the *People's Friend* to re-position itself towards women readers, it was also part of the recovery of its Scottish readership. Despite proclaiming that preference would be 'given to Scotch stories' in its first issue in 1869, the *People's Friend* was dominated by English writers in its first decade, particularly those whose work was published across the British periodical press, including Eliza Lynn Linton, Florence Marryat, Mary Elizabeth Braddon, Blanchard Jerrold, Anthony Trollope, and Wilkie Collins.²⁹ The predominance of these writers – English, middle-class, and readily accessible elsewhere in the press – was therefore a failure by the magazine to uphold its key objective. To rectify this, the magazine made a concerted effort to publish original material that the magazine owned the rights to or which was published in the magazine first. In 1880, it ran an open competition to find its next serial novelist which, ideally, would be won by a Scottish woman. The winner was Adeline Sergeant who, although born in Derbyshire and a resident of London, published at least twenty-two novels in the magazine between 1882 and 1904 and was a member of its literary staff from 1885 to 1887.³⁰ Like Swan, romance and morality dominate Sergeant's fiction in the *People's Friend*, however, as Shields suggests, her reliance on 'sensational plot moves, such as bigamous marriages, shipwrecks, and the swapping of babies at birth' was a stark contrast to her 'ordinariness'.³¹ Further, whilst Scottish settings make an appearance in Sergeant's fiction, they are not always central. In 'Under False Pretences', a baby-swapping story that was serialised in 1885, the novel is principally located between the Appenine region of northern Italy and a landed estate in the Scottish Highlands. Although these were places that readers of the *People's Friend* were invited to escape to whilst reading, they were a significant divergence for the majority of the magazine's working-class women readers living in

260–275 (p. 274); Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of her Own?: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800–1914* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 134.

²⁹ Bob Harris, 'The Press, Newspaper Fiction and Literary Journalism, 1707–1918', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature, Volume 2: Enlightenment, Britain and Empire (1707–1918)*, ed. by Susan Manning (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 308–316 (p. 315). For an overview of serial novels in the *People's Friend*, see Troy J. Bassett, 'Periodical: People's Friend', *At the Circulating Library: A Database of Victorian Fiction, 1837–1901*, (15 May 2023), <http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/show_periodical.php?iid=121> [accessed 3 March 2023].

³⁰ Charlotte Fell Smith, 'Adeline Sergeant (1851–1904)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36020?rskey=DYir6Y&result=1>> [accessed 11 July 2022].

³¹ Shields, *Scottish Women's Writing*, p. 75.

cities like Dundee, Glasgow, and Paisley. Further, when Scottish locations did feature in Sergeant's fiction, they were not always portrayed in a kindly view. For instance, in *Esther Denison*, her semi-autobiographical novel, the protagonist, Esther, has a less than pleasing experience in Dunross, a fictionalised version of Dundee, where she has become connected as a writer for the *Dunross Chronicle*, described as 'the mouthpiece of northern Radicalism'.³² Esther is unhappy with the 'treacherous sunshine' and 'the vicious east winds' of Dunross, and clashes with the people of the town who are proud 'northerners' with suspicions about 'southerners':

She found herself quite *désorientée* in the North. The thoughts, the opinions of London people and London critics were not here current coin. Here there was a great, healthy, irrational scorn for anything that came from the South: a scorn mixed, of course, with reluctant veneration, but by no means mitigated in severity on that account. London? why quote London to a Dunross merchant? Calcutta, where his jute came from, was more important to him.³³

In comparison, Annie E. Holdsworth relished the 'vicious east winds' of Tayside. Born in Jamaica to an English Wesleyan minister father and a Scottish mother, Holdsworth's family moved from Yorkshire to Arbroath, a coastal town north-east of Dundee, in the late 1880s, during which time she 'came to know and love the Forfarshire fishing folk'.³⁴ Her first novel was serialised in the *People's Friend* in 1889 as 'Alison's Hero. A Romance of Factory Life' under the pseudonym 'Keith Christie' and was released later in two volumes as *Bonnie Dundee* under the pseudonym 'Max Beresford'.³⁵ 'Alison's Hero' shares many of the same characteristics as Swan's *A Vexed Inheritance*. The protagonist, Alison Dean, is a modest mill girl with intellectual aspirations who attracts the attention of the respected Dr Murdoch much to the chagrin of well-to-do May Lindsay, the daughter of Murdoch's medical partner, who conspires against their romance. Like Swan's Mary Durie, Alison is an unlikely match for Dr Murdoch. His prospective wife is characterised as 'the orthodox feminine inanity, with blue eyes and golden hair; a nose "tip-tilted like a flower petal" before marriage', whereas Alison is described as 'pretty enough to

³² Adeline Sergeant, *Esther Denison* (London: Richard Bentley & Sons, 1889), p. 290. This is most likely Sergeant's interpretation of the *People's Journal* which was referred to as the 'mouthpiece of Scottish Radicalism'.

³³ Sergeant, *Esther Denison*, p. 291.

³⁴ 'Notes – Mainly Personal', *Evening Telegraph*, 6 September 1894, p. 2 col a.

³⁵ Keith Christie [Annie E. Holdsworth], 'Alison's Hero. A Romance of Factory Life', *People's Friend*, 15 April 1889, pp. 223–227.

attract him [...] though she is only a mill-girl'.³⁶ Another similarity with *A Vexed Inheritance* is the fictionalisation of a real Scottish location. 'Alison's Hero' is set in Arbroath and features characters that are closely modelled on real-life residents of the town whom Holdsworth presumably came to know. Andrew Rayne, a poet and mill worker, is a fictionalised version of Arbroath poet James Greig, and Alec, the kindly keeper of Arbroath Abbey, is George W. Donald, a local poet who worked in this role.³⁷ Like Sergeant's *Esther Denison*, there is even a reference to the local press in the guise of the *Arbroath Argus*, likely Holdsworth's version of the *Arbroath Herald*.³⁸ The importance of place is further emphasised in the change in title from 'Alison's Hero' to *Bonnie Dundee*. This was likely an effort to attract a wider Scottish audience, particularly readers in Dundee who may have had preconceptions that the novel was about the city, especially considering its emphasis on working women, the textile industry, local poetry, and the press.³⁹ After a dramatic turn that involves an accident at Alison's workplace, a strike of mill workers, and Murdoch's acquittal of murder, the couple's wedding provides the novel's resolution. Moreover, just like Swan, Holdsworth's humble mill girl comes out on top.

Jessie Kerr Lawson, a Scottish novelist living in Canada, also engaged with the mill girl narrative in the *People's Friend*. Although 'Amy's Revenge. The Story of a Lancashire Mill Girl' (1907) is principally set between Bolton and Manchester, like Swan and Holdsworth, Lawson's mill girls are working-class heroines.⁴⁰ After Amy Fenwick's hastily arranged marriage to her ironworker-sweetheart Tom Cheadle, he is injured in a fall and permanently loses his memory, including knowledge of his recent wedding and new wife. Tom emigrates to America where he remarries and becomes a leading member of New

³⁶ Max Beresford [Annie E. Holdsworth], *Bonnie Dundee* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1890), p. 3.

³⁷ In 'Alison's Hero', Rayne is a mill worker and poet who is offered a position as the librarian of a public library in Nottingham. Greig was a poet and hackler in a linen factory in Arbroath. He then worked as an illustrator for the *Arbroath Herald* and went to London to become librarian of Marylebone Library in 1889, see Lauren Weiss, 'Andrew Greig', *Piston, Pen and Press: Database*, <<https://www.pistonpenandpress.org/database/person/greig-james>> [accessed 15 February 2023]. For more information on Donald, see D. H. Edwards, *Modern Scottish Poets*, 16 vols (Brechin: "Brechin Advertiser" Office, 1880), I, p. 21.

³⁸ Beresford, *Bonnie Dundee*, p. 210. The *Arbroath Herald* was particularly supportive of working-class poets and writers in the nineteenth century.

³⁹ The title's change from 'Alison's Hero' to *Bonnie Dundee* is only explained by an added description of Dr Murdoch in the latter in which he wears a bonnet reminiscent of the style associated with the followers of 'Bonnie Dundee', the nickname of seventeenth-century Jacobite leader John Graham, 1st Viscount Dundee.

⁴⁰ Jessie Kerr Lawson, 'Amy's Revenge. The Story of a Lancashire Mill Girl', *People's Friend*, 28 January 1907, pp. 73–74.

York City society. During a return visit to Bolton, Tom and his son, Tom Junior, meet Lilly Hope, an attractive mill girl, whose appearance reignites Tom Sr's memory about Amy, his first wife.⁴¹ After a complicated set of events, including the novel's temporary relocation to California, Amy gets her 'revenge' in the form of an overdue apology from Tom and half of his self-made American fortune. Lilly also reaches new financial heights; she marries Tom Junior, is gifted a substantial inheritance from her aging aunt's former beau in Argentina, and emigrates to Canada where Tom matriculates at McGill University to complete his engineering training. Throughout Lawson's novel, the overriding message is female humility and the rewards that such modesty (in this case exercised by mill girls and factory workers) can accrue. This message can be summarised in Lilly's aunt's inquiry of Tom Junior, 'would you really marry a poor mill girl – marry her for love of herself only?'.⁴²

As Michael Sanders has shown, industrial fiction that combined romance, adventure, and a 'realistic depiction of the living and working conditions of the working-classes' was immensely popular in the nineteenth-century penny press.⁴³ For one of its leading proponents, the serial novelist John Monk Foster, he considered it a separate genre in popular fiction, describing it as 'romances of industry, wherein are set forth the conditions under which the toilers exist, the hardness of the common lot, the success and power the chosen few may win, the hope, despair, and elemental passions which colour all our lives'.⁴⁴ This fiction is a common thread running through the *People's Friend*. David Pae, the magazine's editor between 1900 and 1938, wrote several industrial fiction novels, such as 'Nell. A Story of a Lancashire Mill Strike' and 'Meg Marston; or, The Queen of the Factory'.⁴⁵ The magazine also published articles by John H. Crabtree, a factory inspector in Oldham, which explore the hardworking

⁴¹ Lawson's novel shares a remarkably similar setting, plot, and characters as the BBC television series *Clocking Off* (2000–2003) which is set in Manchester in the late-1990s and explores the domestic and romantic lives of factory workers in an anthological structure. In the first episode, family man Stuart Leach returns to his estranged wife's address after an absence of 13 months, claiming that he has no memory of the events of his disappearance. It is revealed that he was suffering from amnesia and has remarried and raised another family during this time.

⁴² Lawson, 'Amy's Revenge', p. 237.

⁴³ Michael Sanders, 'Producing the Popular: John Monk Foster and the "Industrial Romance"', *Cahiers victoriens et édouardiens*, 95, (2022), [online] <<http://journals.openedition.org/cve/10937>> [accessed 25 November 2022].

⁴⁴ Sanders, 'Producing the Popular'.

⁴⁵ David Pae, 'Nell. A Story of a Lancashire Mill Strike', *People's Friend*, 21 January 1907, pp. 57–58, and 'Meg Marston; or, The Queen of the Factory. A Story of Mill Life', *People's Friend*, 15 July 1907, pp. 52–53. This is novelist David Pae's son, also David Pae, who, like his father, became editor of the *People's Friend* (from 1900 to 1938).

attributes of women workers in Lancashire, as well as essays by journalist and former mill girl Priscilla E. Moulder which underline the important legacy of women to the textile industry in Britain.⁴⁶ Articles written by women workers that defended mill girls were also published in the wake of Dr Elizabeth Sloan Chesser's editorial in the *National Review*, in which she questioned the morality and appropriateness of women workers on family life in Britain. The *People's Friend* received one such article from Agnes Haworth, a cotton weaver in Lancashire, which argued vociferously against Dr Chesser's statements.⁴⁷ Moreover, this literature was part of the original promise of the *People's Friend* in 1869 to be "'a friend indeed" to the hundreds of working men and women'.⁴⁸ It was also part of the magazine's intervention in the growing discourse in the early decades of the twentieth century that questioned the necessity of women's work in factories and mills and advocated for their protection, such as the Factory Act of 1901 which raised minimum working age to 12 and introduced mandatory education for child workers, designated meal times, and fire escapes in workplaces. Ultimately, by grounding much of this fiction in Scotland à la Swan and Holdsworth, the *People's Friend* justified the working lives of thousands of Scottish women workers and engaged with the central concern of Scottish women novelists at the time, identified by Glenda Norquay as 'the manipulation of national feeling and delineation of their country'.⁴⁹ In this context, the *People's Friend* was conveying Scottish women as inherently honest, hardworking, and humble.

Following Holdsworth's move to London in 1894 and Sergeant's death in 1904, a new woman novelist was required in the *People's Friend* who could succeed them without eclipsing Swan and Lawson. Enter, Agnes C. Mitchell who came first out of a total of 130 entrants in the magazine's £100 serial competition in 1906 and went on to publish sixty-one novels in the magazine.⁵⁰ In Mitchell, the *People's Friend* could not have found a more ideal candidate for their new novelist: she was an

⁴⁶ John H. Crabtree, 'Lancashire Mother-Workers', *People's Friend*, 18 February 1907, p. 137; Priscilla E. Moulder, 'The Women Weavers of Yorkshire and Their Work', *People's Friend*, 18 May 1908, p. 396.

⁴⁷ Agnes Haworth, 'Lancashire Factory Girls. By One of Them', *People's Friend*, 28 February 1910, p. 187.

⁴⁸ 'To Our Readers', *People's Friend*, 13 January 1869, p. 8.

⁴⁹ Norquay, 'Geographies of Self', p. 152.

⁵⁰ 'The Late Miss Agnes C. Mitchell', *The Scotsman*, 15 December 1937, p. 11 col a.

unmarried Dundee native, the daughter of a boiler coverer, and a former jute weaver who had trained in shorthand before becoming an office secretary.⁵¹ As an upwardly mobile working-class woman who had entered middle-class society late in life powered by the merit of her literary efforts, she was the quintessential aspirational heroine for the working-class women readers of the *People's Friend* and, as a former mill girl who used to read the *People's Friend*, reminiscent of the protagonists who occupied the magazine's pages. In a promotional interview, Mitchell emphasised the importance of the magazine to her literary aspirations, thus bringing the mill girl narrative full circle:

The *People's Friend* was almost my first love. I had always been accustomed to seeing it in my father's house, and I read it long before I was old enough to understand stories or to have the vaguest comprehension of what 'articles' meant. To try a serial story was a cherished ambition, but until the £100 prize was offered I saw no likelihood of that ambition culminating in anything solid. The offer of the prize, however, afforded me my opportunity.⁵²

Beyond her reputation as a beloved novelist, Mitchell's success appears to have motivated Pae to seek more working-class writers for the magazine's pages. In 1910, he published a lengthy editorial highlighting Bart Kennedy, a former mill worker in Leeds who published several novels between 1897 and 1926, as an example for aspiring working-class readers of the magazine. He stated that:

What this working man could do, other working men and women can do. Of course, I know that Bart Kennedys are not to be found in every mill, or mine, or workshop, but short of being a genius like Mr Kennedy it is possible to attain a very fair amount of success. Depend upon it, there are many working men and working women who could write, and write well [...] I am simply deluged every day with stories and articles from people living in what are called the middle and lower middle classes. These people write well, of course they do, and their contributions appear continually in the *People's Friend*. But now I want to see what my friends of the working classes can do.⁵³

This led to an open competition in the magazine that sought contributions from working-class authors, either a short story 'dealing with working class life', an article 'on some phase of working-class life', or a character sketch on working-class life. It is not clear if the *People's Friend* succeeded in finding its next

⁵¹ Mitchell, Agnes, 1891 (Census 282/35/36), National Records of Scotland (hereafter NRS), Edinburgh; Mitchell, Agnes, 1901 (Census 282/14/5), NRS; 'Popular Scots Authoress Dead', *Dundee Courier*, 15 December 1937, p. 5 col c.

⁵² 'A Bond of Blood', *Evening Telegraph*, 14 January 1907, p. 5 col b. The Leng Company had a sizeable control over Mitchell's novels. For example, only her first novel 'The Spinning of Fate' (1906) was released as a printed volume in 1907 (as *A Bond of Blood*). It was not until the 1920s that Leng began publishing her back catalogue from the *Friend*; between 1920 and 1941, sixty-one of Mitchell's novels were published by Leng.

⁵³ David Pae, 'From the Editor's Room', *People's Friend*, 24 October 1910, p. 349.

working-class writer as there was no grand announcement akin to Mitchell's publicity in 1907. Nevertheless, there was a new name amongst the regular contributors to the magazine in 1911, who was likely the short story winner: Mary H. Jessiman, a bootmaker's shop assistant in Crieff, who was originally from a farming family in Huntly, Aberdeenshire, and emigrated to Canada sometime in the 1920s where she died in 1961.⁵⁴ Jessiman published two short stories in the *People's Friend* in 1911, as well as a poem in Scots in the *Evening Telegraph* and translations of the French poet Anatole France in the American edition of *Pearson's Magazine* in 1924.⁵⁵ Although her literary career appears to have been short, there are many more working-class women writers like Jessiman whose lives and careers can be recovered through further examination of the *People's Friend*.⁵⁶

The magazine's appeal to working-class writers in 1910 suggests that there was a desire to (re)entrench its working-class identity. In the context of the ever-expanding Leng Company, this was a pressing issue. In 1910 the company launched another women's magazine, *My Weekly* (1910–present), which also published serial novels, short fiction, household advice, cooking recipes, and knitting patterns.⁵⁷ The difference between the two was their intended audiences: *My Weekly* targeted a more middle-class readership, predominantly housewives with a regular income that supported domestic staff and a disposable income that enabled them access to the latest fashion, cosmetics, clothing, and kitchen gadgets.⁵⁸ This is visualised by an illustration that was printed on a menu card for a Leng Company dinner held in January 1911 (see Fig. 7).⁵⁹ In this illustration, each of the company's four titles is personified by their intended readership. The *People's Friend* is represented by a domestic servant who wears a high-necked starched collar and cloth mob cap, whereas *My Weekly* takes the form of a

⁵⁴ Jessiman, Mary Helen, 1901 (Census 202/1/8), NRS.

⁵⁵ Mary H. Jessiman, 'A Holiday', *Evening Telegraph*, 14 April 1915, p. 6 col c, 'The Savant and Miss Morgan', *Pearson's Magazine*, 1 January 1924, p. 27, and 'Misprized Genius', *Pearson's Magazine*, 2 March 1924, p. 33.

⁵⁶ For more women writers in the *People's Friend*, see Appendix III.

⁵⁷ *My Weekly* (1910–present) originated out of the *People's Penny Stories* (1903–1910), another weekly fiction magazine published by the Leng Company.

⁵⁸ Initially, the *My Weekly* was advertised as 'the Ideal Journal for Matron and Maid'.

⁵⁹ 'Dinner of "Friend" Literary Staff', *People's Friend*, 20 February 1911, p. 169.

young woman with a sophisticated hairdo who is described beneath her image as a 'debutante'.⁶⁰ Therefore, *People's Friend's* identity was very much personified by working-class women.

As well as the mill girl and woman textile worker, domestic servants were a key cornerstone of the magazine's readership. In 1908, it ran a 'Domestic Servants' Competition' in which women who had been in domestic service for a significant amount of time were invited to send their total number of working years to the magazine to receive recognition. The woman with the most years of service was seventy-eight-year-old Christina Park who claimed to have worked in service for seventy years in the household of William McIntosh, a retired grocer in Dennistoun, Glasgow.⁶¹ Park received one guinea (the equivalent of £82.50 today) from the magazine as recognition of her service, and each woman who had entered the competition with a service record of over thirty years received a free *People's Friend* needle case.⁶² Similarly, domestic servants were a regular topic of discussion in the magazine. In 1881, an anonymous article entitled 'Our Working Women' stated that 'domestic servants may hold their own against many other grades of working women' and described domestic service as 'healthful employment'.⁶³ Likewise, when articles raised contentious issues such as expensive wages or a servant's misconduct, the magazine made a concerted effort to publish the point of view of domestic servants. Such an interaction played out in 1890, when a contributor named 'Philippine' posed the following questions:

Why is it then that the price which is paid for the hiring of domestics is so much higher than it used to be? Are we better served? Are servants scarcer than they used to be, or their duties more disagreeable?⁶⁴

One month later, a reply was published from a table maid in Broughty Ferry:

Having just read 'Philippine's' letter on "Domestic Servants' Wages," I am anxious to answer a few of her queries on service (a thing she evidently knows very little about, or she would not have written as she has done). She asks, Are servants better nowadays, or is their work more disagreeable, that they command so high wages? Well, some years ago masters and mistresses

⁶⁰ Menu card for John Leng Company staff dinner, January 1911, Pae Family Archive. See Fig. 7.

⁶¹ 'Domestic Servants' Competition', *People's Friend*, 10 February 1908, p. 121. The second-place prize was a half-guinea which was won by Mary Fullick who had been a domestic servant for fifty-nine years.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ 'Our Working Women', *People's Friend*, 12 October 1881, p. 643.

⁶⁴ 'Etiquette for Servants. The Question of Wages', *People's Friend*, 5 May 1890, p. 285.

did not require so much service; there were not so many late dinners, &c. Seven o' clock is considered quite an early dinner hour for a fashionable family. Now, where is the servant's time for keeping her own things tidy, knitting stockings, &c.? In many cases that has to be paid for, simply because she cannot find time to do it herself. I hope to see the day that domestics will be much more appreciated than they are now.⁶⁵

In recent scholarship on women's labour in Victorian magazines which emphasises how domestic servants were regulated and managed by the periodical press, this exchange between 'Philippine' and the table maid demonstrates that the *People's Friend* was a unique space in which the views and opinions of domestic servants – rather than their employers – were heard and prioritised.⁶⁶ Moreover, the magazine's representation of working-class women was crucial to cementing its identity in the aftermath of the launch of *My Weekly*. Whilst the differences between the *People's Friend* and *My Weekly* are beyond the scope of this chapter, Ellie Reed notes that *My Weekly* was more engaged with sensationalist and fantasy fiction and less interested in emphasising domestic labour compared to the *People's Friend* which embodied a more respectable literary taste.⁶⁷ To this we can add the argument that the magazine consistently underlined the integrity of women's work and women workers. Thus, the desire to attract working-class writers was a reinforcement of the magazine's identity in the face of competition from *My Weekly*, a magazine with a potentially similar readership.

The working-class competition also speaks to the magazine's anxieties about its lack of Scottishness. Although Scottish settings, locations, and characters were still prominent, much of the fiction was located in England. This is most prevalent in the magazine's annual summer issues, which were stand-alone editions published in July that contained only short fiction. In 1909, the summer issue included stories such as 'A Romance of the Isle of Wight' by Ethel F. Heddle, 'The Sybil of the Sands. A Romance of Blackpool' by J. Murray Feathers, and 'No Children or Dogs. A Story of Broadstairs' by Minnie Cecile Paterson, as well as stories that were set in Lamlash and Wemyss Bay. In this instance,

⁶⁵ 'The Domestic Servant Question', *People's Friend*, 2 June 1890, p. 350.

⁶⁶ Kathryn Ledbetter, 'Regulating Servants in Victorian Women's Print Media', in *Women, Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1830s–1900s: The Victorian Period*, ed. by Alexis Easley, Claire Gill and Beth Rodgers (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), pp. 32–45.

⁶⁷ Ellie Reed, 'Domestic Culture in Woman's Weekly, 1918–1958' (Doctoral thesis, University of Roehampton, 2018), pp. 48–51.

the magazine aimed to appeal to readers across Britain heading to seaside locations for their summer holidays and encouraged them to imagine that similarly romantic scenarios could take place in their chosen coastal destinations. According to David Goldie, this literature characterised the *People's Friend* within 'the world of British magazine romantic fiction' by 1918, in which 'love blossomed with mysterious strangers, romances and fortunes were broken and mended, and in which tender hearts ever found their just reward'.⁶⁸ Whilst the magazine was popular across Britain throughout the twentieth century, it was still most popular in Scotland. For example, D. C. Thomson's circulation records from 1919–1920 show that the *People's Friend* averaged 244,000 copies a week in Scotland, compared to 16,300 in England, 5,300 in Ireland, and 200 in Wales.⁶⁹ These records also reflect a higher circulation in more densely populated areas of Scotland. For example, the highest average weekly totals for the same year were in 'Glasgow and West' (most likely inclusive of the counties around Lanarkshire, such as Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire, Ayrshire, and Argyllshire) at 107,000, followed by Edinburgh at 40,900, Fife at 18,300, Dundee at 13,650, and Aberdeen at 11,800.⁷⁰ Similarly, the regions in England in which the magazine was most popular outside of London was Lancashire and Yorkshire, both heavily industrialised areas with cities that were dominated by the textile industry and large populations of working women in mills and factories.⁷¹ Whilst these geographical breakdowns were not recorded prior to 1919, it is very likely that the weekly totals in these years were still higher in urban areas compared to rural areas, especially considering that the magazine was selling one million copies per week in 1899.⁷² Indeed, as was discussed in Chapter 1, the desire to target working readers living in cities that were populated by the working classes was a specific aim of John Leng. According to Joseph McAleer,

⁶⁸ David Goldie, 'Romance by Other Means: Scottish Popular Newspapers and the First World War', in *World War I. Media, Entertainments and Popular Culture*, ed. by Chris Hart (Manchester: Midrash Publications, 2018), pp. 230–257 (p. 240).

⁶⁹ Newspaper and Magazine Circulation Book (1918–1922), DCT/C/5/1/3, D. C. Thomson & Co. Archives, Dundee.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ The *People's Friend* sold an average of 5,500 copies in Lancashire, 1,160 in Yorkshire, and 1,300 in London between 1919 and 1920. Michael Savage, 'Women and Work in the Lancashire Cotton Industry, 1890–1939', in *Employers and Labour in the English Textile Industries, 1850–1939*, ed. by J. A. Howitt and Arthur McIvor (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 203–223.

⁷² Newspaper and Magazine Circulation Book (1918–1922).

Secrets (1932–1991) and *Flame* (1935–1940) (two magazines established by the Leng Company but which came under the Leng-Thomson partnership by the 1930s) were ‘founded for mill workers in Scotland and in the industrial towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire’ and contained ‘stories supposedly sought-after by working-class women’.⁷³ Moreover, as the circulation ledgers demonstrate, there is a direct correlation between areas with large numbers of working women, such as Dundee, Glasgow, Bolton, and Manchester, and those where the *People’s Friend* recorded its highest circulation.

Although Shields argues that Swan’s fiction (and, by extension, the ‘Annie Swan school’) provided readers with an ‘escape from daily toil’, the broader context of women’s writing in the *People’s Friend* suggests that this fiction was grounded in the reality of women’s labour and, therefore, not as escapist as has been suggested.⁷⁴ Throughout the 1870 to 1920 period, the magazine consistently legitimised women’s work by recognising that women’s lives were dominated by factory life, domestic duties, household labour, and ‘daily toil’. As much as women readers were being encouraged to imagine a scenario in which they, like Mary Durie, Alison Dean, Amy Fenwick, and Lilly Hope might ascend the ‘social ladder through marriage, inheritance, or sheer hard work’, their lives as mill girls, factory workers, domestic servants, housewives, and office secretaries were validated and justified by the magazine’s contributors, and deemed important and worthy enough to feature in the pages of Scotland’s leading women’s magazine.⁷⁵ By the mid-twentieth century, this had not changed. According to Margaret Lees, a Halifax-based contributor to the *People’s Friend* in the 1950s, ‘editors did not like heroines to be writers, or artists, or successful business women, as they consider these types to be too unsympathetic’.⁷⁶

Furthermore, although ‘the romance of everyday life’ was a reliable source of income for Scottish women writers in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, the need romanticise

⁷³ McAleer, *Popular Reading*, p. 166.

⁷⁴ Shields, *Scottish Women’s Writing*, p. 69.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Christopher Hilliard, *To Exercise Our Talents: The Democratization of Writing in Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 55.

women's lives was not always fulfilling.⁷⁷ In 1924, Jessie Patrick Findlay, the widow of a schoolteacher in Fife and a writer of short fiction in the *People's Friend*, described in a letter that she 'nearly killed her creative impulse by writing pot-boiling trash for various periodicals, and typing for Annie Swan'.⁷⁸ On the one hand, Findlay's revelation is not unusual. Many women writers who published in the *People's Friend* were conscious of the thematic and stylistic limitations imposed on their writing by the magazine.⁷⁹ Swan stated that 'there must be no discursive meditations in a serial – the story is the thing, and if the author does not get on with it, he will have no vogue'.⁸⁰ Mitchell explained that 'I dislike sensationalism, but one must have romance in one form or other, and so I must suit myself and my story to the requirements of the public'.⁸¹ Similarly, Sergeant implored readers of the *People's Friend* to prioritise reading 'good novels, like those of Thackeray and Scott', and discouraged them from reading 'ordinary childish story books' which 'vitiates the taste of the modern schoolgirl'.⁸² On the other hand, Findlay's admission that she did Swan's typing is particularly revealing as it implies that Swan relied on other women writers to help publish her novels and, essentially, keep the 'Annie Swan school' up and running.⁸³ Similarly, this revelation emphasises the importance of recovering the work of Scottish women writers in order to gain a fuller picture of the scale of their production in this period.

Ultimately, the proliferation of fiction that emphasised the 'ordinariness' of women's lives created the *People's Friend's* reputation as a women's magazine and cemented the magazine as the foremost destination for women and girl readers throughout the twentieth century. It is what kept

⁷⁷ D. C. Thomson's archival collections include a ledger of payments made to Swan that show she received between £400 and £650 per serial novel. Whilst payment information for other *People's Friend* women writers in this chapter was not made available, to provide comparison, Sergeant was contracted to write a total of 160,000 words per year that earned her £162 annually between 1888 and 1893 with Tillotson's Fiction Bureau, see Graham Law, *Serializing Fiction in the Victorian Press* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 85.

⁷⁸ Letter of Jessie Patrick Findlay to James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, 7 May 1924, Works and Correspondence of James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, Acc.3501/11, National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Edinburgh.

⁷⁹ Sally Mitchell discusses the concept of 'writing trash' in magazine culture, see 'Careers for Girls: Writing Trash', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 25: 3, (1992), 109–113.

⁸⁰ Quoted in Shields, *Scottish Women's Writing*, p. 69.

⁸¹ 'A Favourite Dundee Novelist', *Evening Telegraph*, 7 June 1909, p. 6 col d.

⁸² 'How to Write Novels. An Interview with Miss Adeline Sergeant', *People's Friend*, 27 January 1908, pp. 52–53.

⁸³ This is a notable revelation by Findlay especially considering that Swan was publicly adamant that her writing career did not interfere with her role as a wife and mother. She stated that her writing (and presumably her typing) was 'mostly done in the early morning, while others were asleep', see Shields, 'Preaching Without Practising', p. 567.

women like ninety-year-old Isabella Reid, a grandmother of twenty-one and a great-grandmother of thirty-two children, buying a copy of the *People's Friend* every week in 1933: "I read all the newspapers," she said in an interview, "and I've always read the *People's Friend* [...] That was a real good story that Agnes C. Mitchell had just finished".⁸⁴

In conclusion, the 'romance of everyday life' in the *People's Friend* has been unfairly linked with the 'literatures of domesticity' that saturated late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Scottish literature and is considered by scholars to have 'thwart a national consciousness that might have been'.⁸⁵ This is a narrow interpretation of the magazine's impact on Scottish literature and its significance in the construction of women's identity in Scotland. As Shields' rehabilitation of Scottish women's writing in the long nineteenth century has demonstrated, there are significant parallels between literature that 'otherwise occupy different ends of the spectrum between popular fiction and high art'.⁸⁶ The *People's Friend* embodies this paradox. For instance, whilst Swan was still dominating the pages of the magazine in the 1930s and 1940s, the *People's Friend* was simultaneously publishing fiction by Nancy Brysson Morrison (under her pseudonym Christine Strathearn), Christine Orr, and Jessie Kesson, all of whom have been evaluated in analyses of Scottish modernism and the Scottish Literary Revival.⁸⁷ There is, therefore, more work to do on disassociating late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Scottish women's writing from its historic interpretations as 'slushy women's romances', 'pink

⁸⁴ 'Grand Old Lady of Lochee', *Evening Telegraph*, 18 October 1933, p. 6 col d.

⁸⁵ George Blake, *Barrie and the Kailyard School* (London: Arthur Barker, 1951), p. 16; Gillian Shepherd, 'The Kailyard', in *The History of Scottish Literature. Volume 3: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Douglas Gifford (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 309–320 (p. 317). For discussion of Scottish women writers and the Kailyard, see Beth Dickson, 'Annie S. Swan and O. Douglas: Legacies of the Kailyard', in Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan *A History of Scottish Women's Writing* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 329–346, and Samantha Walton, 'Scottish Modernism, Kailyard Fiction and the Woman at Home', in *Transitions in Middlebrow Writing, 1880–1930*, ed. by Kate Macdonald and Christoph Singer (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 141–160.

⁸⁶ Shields, *Scottish Women's Writing*, pp. 180–181; Burke, 'The Young Woman', p. 44.

⁸⁷ Douglas Gifford, 'Caught Between Worlds: The Fiction of Jane and Mary Findlater', in *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, ed. by Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 291–308; Shields, *Scottish Women's Writing*, pp. 93–119; *Scottish Women's Fiction, 1920s to 1960s: Journeys Into Being*, ed. by Carol Anderson and Aileen Christianson (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000); Isobel Murray, 'Jessie Kesson', in *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, ed. by Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 481–493; Margery Palmer McCulloch, *Scottish Modernism and Its Contexts, 1918–1959: Literature, National Identity and Cultural Exchange* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 68–88.

sugary pleasures’, and a ‘mass of sludge’.⁸⁸ The *People’s Friend* is the ideal source through which to trace the commonalities present in this literature.

Scottish Woman Journalists: the ‘Lady Correspondent’

Dundee’s reputation as the city of ‘jute, jam, and journalism’ is really the story of jute, jam and women’s journalism.⁸⁹ In the 1880s and 1890s, just as women writers proliferated the pages of magazines and newspapers, publishing companies across Scotland hired several women to their staff which transformed these titles into publications for women.⁹⁰ This process was particularly popular in Dundee. Between 1885 and 1887, Sergeant was employed as a member of the Leng Company, a role that involved editing and selecting fiction that was published across its newspapers and magazines including the *People’s Friend*. In *Esther Denison*, she paints a jovial picture of her time in the company’s offices when describing Esther’s return to Dunross (Dundee) following the publication of her first novel:

At the office her fellow-workers gave her a warm welcome, after their own fashion. The great men – editors and proprietors – stopped and shook hands with her in the passages and congratulated her on the success of her book: the smaller fry – assistant-editors, dramatic critic, sporting correspondent, fiction-editor, and “our own artist” – looked into her room at intervals in a friendly way, stood with their backs against the door, and gossiped. Esther was grateful to them for their friendliness.⁹¹

A substantial and long-lasting appointment for Leng was Jessie M. King who was hired as a journalist for the *Dundee Advertiser* and *Evening Telegraph* in 1881 and as household editor of the *People’s Friend* in 1895.⁹² King moved from Perthshire to Dundee following her appointment and began studying for a degree in English composition and rhetoric in evening classes at University College (now the University

⁸⁸ Amy Burge, ‘Beyond Outlander: Annie S. Swan and the Scottish Popular Romance Novel’, *Scottish Literary Review*, 14: 2, (2022), 1–19 (p. 3); Debbie Sly, ‘Pink Sugary Pleasures: Reading the Novels of O. Douglas’, *Journal of Popular Culture*, 35: 1, (2001), 5–19; Walton, ‘Scottish Modernism, Kailyard Fiction’, p. 146.

⁸⁹ This reference is used in multiple sources, for example, see David Haldane Lawrence and Cheryl Law, ‘David Couper Thomson (1861–1954)’, in *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (London: British Library, 2009), p. 624.

⁹⁰ Matthew Hampton, ‘Defining Journalists in Late-Nineteenth Century Britain’, *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 22: 2, (2005), 138–155 (p. 149).

⁹¹ Sergeant, *Esther Denison*, pp. 380–381.

⁹² Robert Ford, *The Harp of Perthshire: a Collection of Songs, Ballads and Other Poetical Pieces Chiefly by Local Authors, with Notes Explanatory, Critical, and Biographical* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1893), p. 469.

of Dundee). In 1884 she was one of the first women to graduate and did so at the top of her class, beating David Pae, future editor of the *People's Friend* who placed third.⁹³ In the *Dundee Advertiser* and *Evening Telegraph*, King was known as a 'lady correspondent' and operated the 'Ladies' Column' under the pseudonym 'Marguerite'. Women journalists in this role specifically covered events deemed appropriate for women, such as society weddings, fashion trends, and information about clothing manufacturers, as well as items of local interest including council elections, meetings of literary societies, and speeches and sermons given by notable people. From 1895, King also became the household editor for the *People's Friend* under the pseudonym 'Janette'. Like the 'lady correspondent', this was a position usually occupied by women. The 'household editor' assembled cooking recipes and cleaning tips, replied to letters received by women seeking advice in their domestic duties, and was, in many ways, an early form of an 'Agony Aunt'.⁹⁴ In both of these roles, women led the way in transforming Dundee's press into an essential product for its sizeable population of married, working, and working-class women.⁹⁵

Although the Leng Company was a notable frontrunner in the employment of women journalists, their rivals, D. C. Thomson, were not far behind.⁹⁶ In 1888, Thomson hired Dundee native Marie F. Imandt as a journalist for the *Dundee Courier*, followed by Dundee sisters Bessie Maxwell in 1889 and Annie S. Maxwell in 1896.⁹⁷ Both of the Maxwells later became magazine editors; Bessie was editor of the London magazine *Home Circle* (1901–1906), and Annie was 'editor of the weekly papers

⁹³ D. H. Edwards, *Modern Scottish Poets*, 16 vols (Brechtin: Advertiser Office, 1888), XI, pp. 270–271; 'Bankfoot', *People's Journal*, 4 June 1881, p. 4 col e; 'Fifty Years of UCD. No. 2', *Evening Telegraph*, 29 January 1939, p. 9 col d.

⁹⁴ Margaret Beetham, 'The Agony Aunt, the Romancing Uncle and the Family of Empires: Defining the Sixpenny Reading Public in the 1890s', in *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, ed. by Laurel Brake, Bill Bell and David Finkelstein (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 253–270.

⁹⁵ Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement*, p. 137.

⁹⁶ There is some discussion of women journalists in W. Hamish Fraser, *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Newspapers, 1850–1950* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023). For more women journalists in Dundee between 1880 and c.1950, see Appendix IV.

⁹⁷ Susan Keracher, *Dundee's Two Intrepid Ladies: A Tour Round the World by D. C Thomson's Female Journalists in 1894* (Dundee: Abertay Historical Society, 2012); 'Noted Scottish Journalist Dead', *Dundee Courier*, 6 February 1952, p. 2 col g.

published for the home circle' Thomson in the 1930s and 1940s.⁹⁸ Bessie Maxwell and Imandt were known in Dundee for their Thomson-sponsored global tour in 1894, during which they were to 'mix with its peoples and to ascertain for themselves how it fares with womankind in every important nation of the earth'.⁹⁹ The tour provided good copy for Thomson's papers: the women contributed a weekly travel column during their trip which was serialised in the *Dundee Courier and Weekly News* in 1894 and 1895.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, whilst highlighting to the world that their papers had a distinct women's presence, their journalistic tour was also good financial investment.

A notable phenomenon in the proliferation of women journalists in Dundee was their adoption of women's pseudonyms which became aliases and personas under which a distinct feminised space was created for women in newspapers and magazines. Sometimes these pseudonyms were adapted from real life. For example, 'Helen' was the pseudonym of Helen Greig Souter, a 'lady correspondent' for Leng's *Dundee Advertiser* between the 1880s and 1910s. King's pseudonyms – 'Marguerite' in the *Evening Telegraph* and 'Janette' in the *People's Friend* – were adaptations of her middle name, Margaret, and first name, Janet. In other instances, women used pseudonyms that were inspired by literature and the arts. In the satirical weekly newspaper the *Piper o' Dundee* (1886–1906), Elsie Maynard operated the magazine's 'Women Workers' column, and in 1892 Maggie Lauder was in charge of the column which had been renamed the 'Line for the Ladies'.¹⁰¹ Considering that 'Elsie Maynard' is a character in the Savoy Opera 'The Yeoman of the Guard' that premiered in 1888, and 'Maggie Lauder' is the protagonist of the eponymous seventeenth-century Scottish ballad, it is likely that these names were not real, although there may have been actual women journalists working behind them. Other literary-inspired pseudonymous women include 'Deborah' who joined King and Souter as a 'lady correspondent' in the 1880s. 'Deborah' was the pseudonym of Jean Kyd, a twice-widowed Dundee

⁹⁸ Keracher, *Dundee's Two Intrepid Ladies*, p. 4; 'Woman Journalist Honoured', *Dundee Courier*, 5 October 1936, p. 4 col f. The papers that Maxwell edited were likely to *Red Letter* (1889–1988) and *My Weekly* (1910–present).

⁹⁹ Keracher, *Dundee's Two Intrepid Ladies*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ 'A Journey Round the World', A. C. Lamb Collection, L232(24), Dundee Central Library, Dundee.

¹⁰¹ Matthew Jarron, "'Placed Under No Disqualification": Women Artists in She-Town', *Scottish Society for Art Historians*, 21, (2016), 47–54 (p. 48).

native, who was hired to the staff of the *Dundee Advertiser* and *Evening Telegraph* after her return to the city in 1886.¹⁰² Kyd's choice of pseudonym originated from her poetic *nom-de-plume*. Her first poem as 'Deborah' appeared in the *Evening Telegraph* in 1881, followed by several others between 1884 and 1896, and she also published two volumes of poetry, *Poems of the Hearth* (1889) and *Staff and Scrip* (1912).¹⁰³ The use of pseudonyms by women journalists was common throughout the Victorian era.¹⁰⁴ They provided 'new sources of capital' for women in an increasingly commercialised press, and enabled women to 'trade as never before on their names'.¹⁰⁵ For women entering a male-dominated and increasingly public press workplace, pseudonyms were an effective method of constructing a private yet professional identity and countered the presentation of journalism as a distinctly masculine community.¹⁰⁶ Pseudonymity also allowed women journalists to 'develop wide-ranging intellectual interests' across literary and journalistic media, such as Kyd whose poetic pseudonym became her journalistic one.¹⁰⁷ In the Dundee press, female pseudonyms like 'Marguerite', 'Janette', 'Helen', and 'Deborah' signalled to women readers that there was a dedicated space for women within newspapers and magazines and, eventually, that these newspapers and magazines *were* the dedicated spaces for women in the popular press. At the same time, the women journalists behind these pseudonyms were more likely to receive little acknowledgement or recognition for their work. Instead, the 'male editor,

¹⁰² 'Presentation to a Dundee Lady Journalist', *Evening Telegraph*, 24 September 1897, p. 3 col g. Kyd was also the first woman to operate the 'Aunt Kate' pseudonym in the *People's Journal* from 1888 to 1897, see letter of Alexander Banks to James Logie Robertson, 1 November 1889, Dep.246, Box I, Vol. I, Papers of James Logie Robertson, NLS.

¹⁰³ Jean Allan, *Poems of the Hearth* (Dundee: s.n., 1889); 'Deborah and Her "Poems of the Hearth"', *Evening Telegraph*, 4 November 1889, p. 4 cols a–b.

¹⁰⁴ Sarah Lonsdale, "'We Agreed that Women Were a Nuisance in the Office, Anyway': The Portrayal of Women Journalists in Early Twentieth-Century British Fiction", *Journalism Studies*, 14: 4, (2013), 461–475; Barbara Onslow, *Women of the Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).

¹⁰⁵ F. Elizabeth Gray, 'Introduction', in *Women in Journalism at the Fin de Siècle. Making a Name for Herself*, ed. by F. Elizabeth Gray (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), pp. 1–20 (p. 8).

¹⁰⁶ Hampton, 'Defining Journalists', p. 150.

¹⁰⁷ Alexis Easley, *First-Person Anonymous. Women Writers and Victorian Print Media, 1830–70* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), p. 1.

named, gained the cultural capital'.¹⁰⁸ This is certainly the case for the women journalists under analysis here, most of whom were only publicly recognised at the time of retirement or in their obituaries.¹⁰⁹

The inclusion of women in journalism in the 1880s and 1890s enriched magazines and newspapers by creating a presence for women readers.¹¹⁰ Sarah Pedersen has found that the number of women who published letters in the *Aberdeen Free Press* and *Aberdeen Daily Journal* increased steadily between 1900 and 1918, which suggests that the feminisation of the press encouraged women to engage with newspapers more often.¹¹¹ As a 'lady correspondent', King's early career was dominated by reports on social and philanthropic events in Dundee and its environs. Her reports were varied, including society weddings, charity concerts, and notable lectures, but were primarily focused on details that were appealing to women, such as documenting the attendees and their fashionable considered outfits and descriptions of the weather and the catering. According to Matthew Hampton, this relegation to 'non-political journalism' extended the 'male/female divide' in journalism 'beyond readership to authorship'.¹¹² For the women journalists under examination here, there was a certain level of hesitancy amongst their employers as to the appropriate level of editorial responsibility to give them. Imandt, the Maxwells, Kyd, Souter, and King were only given additional duties after a couple of years. For instance, Kyd took on more responsibility as editor of the children's column in the *People's Journal*, known as the 'Sunbeam Club', under the pseudonym 'Dainty Davie'.¹¹³ In an editorial for the *Evening Telegraph* in 1937, King reflected on the restrictions of being a young woman journalist: 'In the very beginning of my career the lady correspondent dealt with fashions and passing topics, concerts, bazaars, and the like, but very soon I became what I call a general practitioner'.¹¹⁴ King's evolution to

¹⁰⁸ Gray, 'Introduction', p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ King, Souter, Imandt, and Maxwell all received lengthy obituaries in the Dundee press in the 1930s and 1940s.

¹¹⁰ Susan Henry, 'Changing Media History Through Women's History', in *Women in Mass Communication. Challenging Gender Values*, ed. by Pamela J. Creehan and Judith Cramer (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1989), pp. 34–57.

¹¹¹ Sarah Pedersen, 'What's in a Name? The Revealing Use of Noms de Plume in Women's Correspondence to Daily Newspapers in Edwardian Scotland', *Media History*, 10: 3, (2004), 175–185.

¹¹² Hampton, 'Defining Journalists', p. 150.

¹¹³ 'Presentation to a Dundee Lady Journalist'. Also, see 'The Sunbeam Club – For Girls and Boys', *People's Journal*, 1 January 1887, p. 4 cols f–g.

¹¹⁴ 'A Woman Pioneer Looks Back', *Evening Telegraph*, 15 March 1937, p. 19 col c.

‘general practitioner’ was aided by her political interests. She co-founded the Dundee Women’s Liberal Association in 1896, was a leading member of the Scottish Women’s Liberal Federation and the International Congress of Women, held high office in the British Women’s Temperance Association, and was ‘the first woman to “sit on the floor” of the House’ at General Assemblies of the Free and United Free Churches’.¹¹⁵ These interests were in alignment with the Liberalism of the Leng Company and its publications. As is discussed in Chapter 1, Leng was elected Liberal MP for Dundee between 1889 and 1905 and his managing directors, senior staff, and family were active members of various Liberal associations in Dundee and Fife.¹¹⁶ Therefore, King’s activities complemented the political alignment of Leng’s papers. By the 1890s, her reports reflect her involvement in politics. She reported on Lady Dilke’s visit to a trade union meeting of mill and factory workers in Dundee, and interviewed women candidates for the 1897 Dundee School Board election, paying particular attention to their positions on home lessons, free books, and teaching of sewing and cookery for schoolchildren.¹¹⁷ Her political activities also took her to Europe: she attended the International Women’s Congress in Berlin in 1897, the Eiffel Tower Exhibition in Paris in 1889, and travelled to Antwerp in 1894 and again to Paris in 1890.¹¹⁸ Her trip to Berlin produced a lengthy report that was spread across two issues of the *Dundee Advertiser*, and her return visit to the Paris Exhibition in 1890 was published in the *Evening Telegraph* and *People’s Friend*.¹¹⁹ Reflecting on the connection between her interests and her reporting, King explained that:

All through my career I worked on the assumption that, as a writer influencing public opinion, I had a mission – to educate as well as to entertain my readers. So I was ever hostile to abuses,

¹¹⁵ ‘Death of a Lady Journalist’, *Dundee Courier*, 21 May 1947, p. 2 col c; ‘A Woman Pioneer Looks Back’; Jessie Batey [Jessie M. King], *The National British Women’s Temperance Association. Its Origins and Processes* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: M. Christie, 1926).

¹¹⁶ William Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland. Language, Fiction and the Press* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), pp. 18–24; Gordon Small, *The Lengs: Dundee’s Other Publishing Dynasty* (Tay Valley Family History Society: Dundee, 2009). Leng was a vocal supporter of women in the workplace, see *Leng’s Careers for Girls: How to Train and Where to Train: as Hospital and Children’s Nurses, Journalists, Civil Servants, Factory Inspectors, Teachers, Photographers, Doctors, Dressmakers, Domestic Servants, &c. &c. &c.* (Dundee: John Leng & Co., 1909).

¹¹⁷ ‘Lady School Board Candidates’, *Dundee Advertiser*, 2 April 1897, p. 6 col c.

¹¹⁸ ‘The Paris Exhibition’, *People’s Friend*, 16 April 1890, p. 277; ‘A Woman Pioneer Looks Back’.

¹¹⁹ ‘The International Women’s Congress at Berlin’, *Dundee Advertiser*, 29 September 1897, p. 5 cols f–g; ‘The Paris Exhibition. Hints to Visitors’, *People’s Friend*, 16 April 1890, p. 277.

and helpful to all useful and uplifting movements, were it food-reform, rational dress, women's rights, and the widening of the field of women's interests generally. Equal pay for equal work was urged, so was the teaching of cookery in Board schools and the opening of day nurseries in connection with factories.¹²⁰

Therefore, although Hampton states that women were largely relegated to 'non-political journalism', the reports and editorials that women journalists produced were often informed by their politics.¹²¹ Indeed, whilst their reports on associational activities such as temperance lectures, women's suffrage meetings, and political debates might appear as the unremarkable accounts of local happenings, women journalists were ensuring that these issues were brought to the attention of women readers and portrayed as relevant and important to their lives as indicated by the columns that they operated and the pseudonyms that they used.

Women Journalists as Household Editors: from 'the Housewife' to 'Janette'

The feminisation of journalism in Dundee encouraged women to become readers *and* consumers of the press. Following on from her success as 'Marguerite' in the *Dundee Advertiser* and *Evening Telegraph*, King's next promotion was to 'household editor' of the *People's Friend* in the 1890s which involved editing recipes, cleaning tips, and domestic advice, and corresponding with women readers on household management. As Beetham and Boardman have shown, domestic advice was a staple feature of women's magazines throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹²² Although these household pages largely restricted women to a domesticated identity, they were a significant vehicle in legitimising household duties as work and constructing the home as a site of women's labour.¹²³ There was a precedence for this in the *People's Friend*. In the magazine's first issue in 1869, it announced the inclusion of a column entitled 'the Housewife' – which included 'discoursing from time to time on matters related to domestic economy' – as part of a number of instructive columnists including 'the

¹²⁰ 'A Woman Pioneer Looks Back'.

¹²¹ Hampton, 'Defining Journalists', p. 150.

¹²² Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman, *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

¹²³ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*, pp. 59–72.

Gardener', 'the Essayist', and 'the Traveller and Excursionist'.¹²⁴ 'The Housewife' aimed to 'make the housewife a "People's Friend" – one who is looked up to and loved "for her work's sake"'.¹²⁵ Overall, she instructed women readers to be a dutiful housewife who balanced her reading and leisure time alongside her household management, domestic duties, and working life. For many working-class women who had entered factories, workshops, and mills with limited education and domestic training, 'the Housewife' was a crucial intervention in mid-Victorian discourse that lamented the lack of household instruction amongst working women and insisted that women remain at the centre of the household in order to provide a 'good moral life'.¹²⁶ This discourse was explicitly referenced when the column stated that 'attempts will be made to throw out a few plain hints which, if acted upon, may assist mothers whose own domestic training may have been defective in imparting useful introduction to their daughters'.¹²⁷ Again, this was further reiterated in the column's motto, 'Keep thy household, and thy household will keep thee'.¹²⁸ In an era when women's magazines predominantly published information on fashion, dress, and clothing, the *People's Friend* was therefore an essential site for working-class women by providing instructive and educational reading material and legitimising domestic labour.¹²⁹

The intervention in the domestic instruction of working women in 'the Housewife' was part of the Leng Company's broader mission to educate and improve working-class Scottish women in household management. In 1878, Andrew Stewart, then sub-editor of the *People's Friend*, published a collection of recipes that were contributed by readers of the magazine entitled *The Scottish Cookery Book, Suitable for Sma' Purses, Big Families, and Scotch Stamachs*.¹³⁰ This was followed by *The Thrifty Housewife; or, Plain Fare for Plain Folk. A Collection of Scottish Cookery Recipes Supplied by the*

¹²⁴ 'To Our Readers', *People's Friend*, 13 January 1869, p. 8.

¹²⁵ 'The Housewife', *People's Friend*, 13 January 1869, p. 10; Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*, pp. 59–72.

¹²⁶ Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), p. 220.

¹²⁷ 'The Housewife', *People's Friend*, 3 March 1869, p. 47.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Marie Van Remoortel, 'Women Editors and the Rise of the Illustrated Fashion Press in the Nineteenth Century', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 39: 4, (2017), 269–295 (p. 269).

¹³⁰ Andrew Stewart, *The Scottish Cookery Book* (Edinburgh: John Menzies & Co., 1878).

Guidwives of Scotland (1882), which had previously appeared as a ‘series of homely papers upon the common dietary of the working classes of Scotland’ in the *People’s Journal* in 1881.¹³¹ Both of Stewart’s books emphasise the differences between Scottish and English cooking and the superiority of the Scottish diet, such as the beneficial qualities of porridge.¹³² The theme of Scottish cooking was a popular concern in Dundee. In 1905, Leng reissued the *Reform Cookery Book: Up-to-Date Health Cookery for the Twentieth Century* by Jean Oliver Mill, the wife of a jute merchant in Dundee.¹³³ Mill’s cookery book was inspired by vegetarianism and healthy eating, a subject on which she contributed articles in the *Dundee Courier* and lectured under the auspices of the Scottish Vegetarian Society.¹³⁴ Mill was particularly keen to provide Scottish women with a Scottish recipe book. She stated that ‘when English words are used, they may convey quite different ideas to Scottish and English minds’, and used the example that ‘we could hardly expect that every London stone-ware merchant would be able to suit the Scotch lass, who came in asking for a “muckle broon pig tae haud butter”’.¹³⁵ Mill’s book was followed up by the *Leng Cookery Book* (1908) which costed sixpence and featured recipes for ‘dinner and support parties’ and ‘breakfasts and dinners for a month’, as well as specific sections on ‘Vegetarian Cookery’, ‘Jewish Cookery’, and ‘Invalid Cookery’.¹³⁶ These recipes were described as being ‘culled, to some extent, from the “Gossips with Goodwives” columns in the *People’s Journal*’.¹³⁷ It is very likely that the book was edited one of the women journalists discussed in this chapter. By the twentieth century, Scottish women’s culinary education was organised by Elizabeth Josephine Craig who was hired as a recipe contributor to the *People’s Friend* in the 1910s – her *Springtime Cookery Book* (1923)

¹³¹ Andrew Stewart, *The Thrifty Housewife* (Dundee: “People’s Friend” Office, 1882); ‘The Thrifty Housewife’, *Dundee Advertiser*, 5 September 1881, p. 1 col f.

¹³² Lauren Goldstein, ‘Cooking Up a Nation: Perceptions of English Cookery, 1830–1930’ (Doctoral thesis, McMaster University, 2015), pp. 158–160.

¹³³ Jean Oliver Mill, *Reform Cookery Book: Up-to-Date Health Cookery for the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Dundee: John Leng Company, 1905).

¹³⁴ Jean Oliver Mill, ‘Are You A Vegetarian? Some Sensible Advice From One Who Has Tried It’, *Dundee Courier*, 22 June 1903, p. 7 cols a–b. See also, James Gregory, *Of Victorians and Vegetarians: The Vegetarian Movement in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), p. 127–132.

¹³⁵ Jean Oliver Mill, *Reform Cookery Book: Up-to-Date Health Cookery for the Twentieth Century*, 4th ed. (Dundee: John Leng Company, 1909), p. 16.

¹³⁶ *Leng’s Cookery Book. A Clear Guide to Household Cookery, High-Class Cookery, Invalid Cookery, Vegetarian Cookery, Jewish Cookery* (Dundee: John Leng Company, 1908).

¹³⁷ ‘Literary Notes’, *Kilmarnock Herald*, 17 January 1908, p. 6 col a.

was also released as a supplement to the magazine.¹³⁸ During the First World War, Craig left Dundee to become household editor of the London magazine *Woman's Life* (1895–1934) and thereafter went on to achieve significant international success as the author of fifty cookbooks, including the influential *Scottish Cookery Book* (1956).¹³⁹

In 1870, when the *People's Friend* became a weekly magazine, 'the Housewife' column was adapted to a full page devoted to household affairs. Although this section still published recipes, cleaning advice, and household hints and tips, the first-person narrative had been lost. In November 1885, a *People's Friend* reader known as 'Aunt Betty' called attention to its absence. In a letter to the editor, she asked:

Do you not think a weekly or monthly letter from a mother to working men's wives, with some hints as to suitable clothing, making up of everything domestic, would be a help to poor, hard-worked mothers? It strikes me every time I read a letter to the ladies in the various papers, what a mockery to the poor is the lavish and dazzling description of dress in them.¹⁴⁰

Here, 'Aunt Betty' specifically targets reports by 'lady correspondents' in newspapers and magazines that published content for women readers with free time to devote to fashion and a disposable income to spend money on clothing, therefore, not the working- or lower-middle-class women readers with little time or money for such activities. Ten years later, King reinstated the narratorial household pages under the pseudonym 'Janette'. Like the 'lady correspondent', the 'household editor' usually appeared under a pseudonym and was a regular feature of the Dundee press. For example, the *Dundee Courier* had 'Anette', the *Weekly News* had 'Mysie Maitland', the *Weekly Welcome* had 'Marjory', and the *People's Journal* had 'Aunt Kate'.¹⁴¹ In addition, the London-based *British Weekly* had 'Winifred'. These pseudonyms were well-known and well-respected. In 1906, a widely-ran advert for Paterson's 'Clensel' (laundry detergent) was 'recommended by "Winifred" in the *British Weekly* and "Janette" in the

¹³⁸ Elizabeth Evans, 'Elizabeth Josephine Craig, (1883–1980)', in *The New Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, ed. by Elizabeth Ewan, Rose Pipes, Jane Rendall and Siân Reynolds (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), p. 97.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ 'A Practical Suggestion', *People's Friend*, 11 November 1885, p. 743.

¹⁴¹ 'Gossips With Goodwives', *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 6 October 1888, p. 2 col h; 'Charity Begins at Home', *Dundee Courier*, 1 March 1900, p. 4 col d.

People's Friend'.¹⁴² King's pseudonym 'Janette' was immensely popular with readers of the *People's Friend*. She edited supplementary publications for the magazine, such as *Janette's Catalogue of Fashions* (1900), a collection of over 500 clothing patterns for men, women and children, and *Janette's Mottoes* (1907), a book of uplifting mottoes contributed by readers of the magazine.¹⁴³ Readers' interest in 'Janette' was so high that in May 1905 the magazine announced that a photograph postcard of her could be purchased, along with her signature.¹⁴⁴ Some of these postcards were sent to readers as far afield as Belgium (see Fig. 8).¹⁴⁵ These postcards heightened the interest and mystery about the woman behind the pseudonym and emphasise the attention and recognition that women journalists and their pseudonyms generated in the press. 'Janette' renamed the magazine's household pages 'Wives and Daughters' and restored the magazine's correspondence with women readers in a section entitled the 'Helper's Club'. Each week she published letters from correspondents that responded to a topic or problem that was identified in a previous issue. These ranged from 'Hints on Cycling Dress' to 'Household Cleaning', and 'Housewives, Save Your Backs!' to 'Wrinkles About Clothing'. Much of this correspondence came from mothers, wives, and domestic servants. In 1900, 'Janette' received the following letter from 'A Worried Mother' who wrote that

Many, like myself, cannot afford to get the help they need in their household work, as help means money. I have to do all the washing, baking, sewing, and knitting for five, and as I am anything but strong, and as I fain to be a "model housewife", I feel I am nothing else but a "housekeeping machine" many a time.¹⁴⁶

To this letter, 'Janette' responds with:

¹⁴² 'Paterson's "Clensel"', *Kirkintilloch Herald*, 7 November 1906, p. 1 col c. 'Aunt Kate' enjoyed a particularly long-term association in Scottish journalism and was operated by the women journalists whom we have encountered thus far, including Kyd from 1888 to 1897, Souter from 1897 to c.1910, and Flora Scrymgeour from the 1920s to 1970s. For more information, see Appendix IV. Several 'Aunt Kate' penny handbooks were issued by the Leng Company including *Aunt Kate's Book of Etiquette* (c.1899) and *Aunt Kate's Letter Writer*, (c.1899), see A. C. Lamb Collection, Dundee Central Library and Local History Centre, Dundee.

¹⁴³ 'Janette's Catalogue of Fashions', *Evening Telegraph*, 12 March 1900, p. 4 col a; *Janette's Mottoes* (Dundee: John Leng & Co., 1907).

¹⁴⁴ 'A Souvenir of "Janette" – Picture Post Cards for Sale', *People's Friend*, 1 May 1905, p. 380.

¹⁴⁵ I am grateful to Ian Lindsay for permission to reproduce his copy of the 'Janette' postcard.

¹⁴⁶ 'A Worried Mother', *People's Friend*, 8 January 1900, p. 30.

I would be inclined to get them [the children] to help you in your household tasks. It seems absurd for them to have leisure for music practice while their poor mother slaves, doing all the work, and even the washing.¹⁴⁷

Here, although acknowledging that most of her readers are overburdened with domestic duties, 'Janette' stresses that women should have leisure time and appears affronted that 'A Worried Mother' does 'even the washing'.¹⁴⁸ Her suggestion that mothers should receive help to lessen their daily tasks drew considerable response from readers (both positive and negative) which was published in the following month's household pages King dedicated to other 'worried mothers'.¹⁴⁹ A minority of readers described that 'A Worried Mother's' situation was universal to all women and that 'she should be thankful for the presence of helpers in her children'.¹⁵⁰ Overall, the response from women readers was one of sympathy, with most letters describing useful ways to complete household tasks. In April, the original 'A Worried Mother' sent another letter to 'Janette' thanking her and her fellow magazine readers for their advice. She stated that 'it is wearing, toiling work; but I have no doubt there is a reward for every mother who tries to do her duty'.¹⁵¹ By regularly publishing this kind of advice and support, the *People's Friend* was therefore an ardent representative of working and working-class women in the late-Victorian press and the creator of an imagined community of domesticated women readers.

Whilst the household pages ultimately upheld women's roles as mothers, domestic servants, and housekeepers, 'Janette's' responses, like the one addressed to 'A Worried Mother', hint towards a more complicated discourse on the role of women that was associated with the New Woman identity at the turn of the twentieth century. References to the New Woman in the press proliferated in the 1880s and came to represent 'a community of women readers' who had 'proof of their psychological, social and ideological difference from men'.¹⁵² For magazines like the *People's Friend*, the editorial response was to assert the values of the "'True Woman'" against the various deviant femininities

¹⁴⁷ 'A Worried Mother'.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ 'For the Help of Worried Mothers', *People's Friend*, 19 February 1900, p. 138.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ 'Worried Mother Responds', *People's Friend*, 2 April 1900, p. 146.

¹⁵² Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 305.

subsumed under the labels “new” or “modern”.”¹⁵³ Like her earlier incarnation ‘the Housewife’, ‘Janette’ walked a precarious path within this discourse. On the one hand, she maintained that a woman’s identity was bound to the domestic sphere. On the other hand, her emphasis on food budgets for working-class families, easy-to-follow recipes, and advice that reduced time spent in kitchens emphasised the ways that women might achieve autonomy, control, and empowerment in their household tasks and, ultimately, the domestic sphere. She advocated that domesticity could also be shared between men and women. In ‘Should Husbands Brush Their Own Boots?’, King stated that men who worked as clerks, tradesmen and shopkeepers ‘all have leisure enough to relieve their wives by small menial duties where physical strength is required, and should not think their self-respect impaired by doing so’.¹⁵⁴ This is not to suggest that ‘Janette’ was a supporter of the New Woman identity. For example, she published the following letter from one of her readers – Marie Stewart – who wrote on the topic of New Year’s resolutions:

My resolution is to be a New Woman. Not the New Woman that wears men’s clothes and smokes, but the New Woman who educates herself by reading new books and by keeping herself in touch with the times. I’m not going to take a back seat as my children grow up, but being able to move on with them, and having my share of all the good things of this life, I will not grow old before my time.¹⁵⁵

For this reader, there was a possibility to incorporate aspects of the New Woman identity – empowerment, self-improvement, and equality – within a domesticated sphere, whilst avoiding the New Woman’s radical and divergent tendencies like smoking and masculine attire.

The tension between the legitimisation of women’s labour offered by ‘Janette’ and the emancipated New Woman identity at the turn of the century was personified by King. As studies into class and feminism in the late-Victorian era have demonstrated, King’s role as the ‘lady correspondent’ and ‘household editor’ was paradoxical.¹⁵⁶ On the one hand, she was an independent, university

¹⁵³ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*, p. 119.

¹⁵⁴ ‘Should Husbands Brush Their Own Boots?’, *People’s Friend*, 26 March 1900, p. 228.

¹⁵⁵ Marie Stewart, ‘Dear Janette’, *People’s Friend*, 1 January 1900, p. 12.

¹⁵⁶ Laura Schwartz, *Feminism and the Servant Problem: Class and Domestic Labour in the British Women’s Suffrage Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 120–146.

educated, property-owning journalist with no husband or children and an income that supported a domestic servant.¹⁵⁷ Her job as a journalist enabled her to move freely within civic and associational society at home and abroad and allowed her to engage in political causes that affected her life, such as suffragism, women's education, and temperance. On the other hand, as 'Janette', she was a consistent advocate for the continuation of a domesticated identity for women that was predilected on the restrictive roles of mother, wife, domestic servant, and housekeeper. Indeed, King's persona as 'Janette' was further compromised by the revelation in 1907 that she relied on 'a small band of Helpers' whose advice and information she used to respond to the many inquiries that she received for the 'Helper's Club' column.¹⁵⁸ King referred to these women as her 'inner circle' and published their identities and portraits so that readers could see 'the faces of most of those who write the [Helper's Club] page'.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, King's moderate attitude towards a liberated but domesticated identity for women is encapsulated in her later life. When she got married in 1907 at the age of 45, she moved to her husband's hometown and retired from her journalistic career altogether.¹⁶⁰

The *People's Friend* and the 'Romance of Everyday Life'

The tension surrounding the New Woman identity in the *People's Friend* was also embodied by the magazine's women writers who were discussed earlier in this chapter. Although these writers portrayed women in traditional roles as wives, mothers, fiancées, and virtuous heroines, most, if not all, of them were active in some aspect of public and civic life in their respective towns and cities that countered a traditional role for women. For example, Swan stood as a Liberal candidate for the Maryhill division of Glasgow in the 1922 General Election, and was one of two women elected vice-president of the newly formed Scottish National Party in 1934.¹⁶¹ Sergeant was a member of the Fabian Society and the

¹⁵⁷ 1915 Batey, Jessie M., Valuation Rolls (VR010100061), NRS.

¹⁵⁸ 'Inner Circle', *People's Friend*, 21 January 1907, p. 62.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ 'Marguerite Married', *Evening Telegraph*, 24 April 1908, p. 2 col b; 'Death of Lady Journalist'.

¹⁶¹ Shields, 'Preaching without Practising', pp. 566–587.

Holborn Branch of the Liberal Women's Suffrage Society in London, and was 'deeply interested in the position of women, the education of children, and the condition of the labouring classes'.¹⁶² Findlay was 'the only Fife representative of Suffragists and Suffragettes who processed along Princes Street' in a women's suffrage march in Edinburgh in October 1909.¹⁶³ Similarly, Holdsworth went on to edit the women's suffrage newspaper, *Woman's Signal* (1894–1899).¹⁶⁴ As Megan Smitley has demonstrated, Scottish women created a public identity in the 1880s and 1890s through membership to religious, temperance, and political associations.¹⁶⁵ The women of the *People's Friend* who exercised membership to this 'feminine public sphere' demonstrate that literature was an extension of their associational activities and just as important in the rise of public women in late-Victorian Scotland as religion, temperance, and politics. Indeed, the press was intimately bound to these associational activities through the publication of magazines and periodicals produced by various religious, temperance, and political groups, to which Scottish women writers often contributed.¹⁶⁶ The importance of literary associationalism in women's lives was acknowledged by Sergeant in 1890 who articulated that 'clever women often take to novel-writing because they are debarred from the active interests of public life'.¹⁶⁷ Magazines were therefore significant in the development of women's public roles in late-Victorian Scotland as demonstrated by the women writers, journalists, and household editors in the *People's Friend*. Ultimately, these women drove the feminisation of the popular press in Scotland.

¹⁶² 'How to Write Novels', p. 52; Helen C. Black, *Notable Women Authors of the Day* (London: MacLaren & Company, 1906), p. 319.

¹⁶³ Letter of Jessie Patrick Findlay to James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, 22 November 1932, Acc.3501/11, Works and Correspondence of James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, NLS.

¹⁶⁴ *New Woman Fiction, 1881–1899. Volume 5, Annie E. Holdsworth*, ed. by SueAnn Schatz (London: Routledge, 2016), p. ix.

¹⁶⁵ Megan Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-Class Women in Civic Life in Scotland, c.1870–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 2–3.

¹⁶⁶ There is potential for a study on the women who contributed to these periodicals and magazines in furthering the development of a feminine public sphere in Scotland. For more information on this magazine culture, see Mark Knight, 'Periodicals and Religion', in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, ed. by Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 355–364; Annemarie McAllister, *Writing for Social Change in Temperance Periodicals* (London: Routledge, 2022); *Women, Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1890s to 1920s: The Modernist Period*, ed. by Faith Binckes, and J. Carey Snyder (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019); *Feminist Media History: Suffrage, Periodicals and the Public Sphere*, ed. by Maria DiCenzo, Leila Ryan and Lucy Delap (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010).

¹⁶⁷ 'How to Write Novels', pp. 52–53.

Case Studies – Scottish Women as Magazine Editors and Publishers

Although Scottish women like King were editorially involved in the *People's Friend*, the principal roles in the production of magazines were predominantly occupied by men throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In Beetham's words, women's magazines were 'constantly entered and appropriated by men'.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Marianne Van Remoortel's research project on women magazine editors in Europe between 1710 and 1920 has demonstrated that women used magazines as 'transnational networks of intellectual exchange'.¹⁶⁹ Scottish women have figured in accounts of nineteenth-century magazine editing, such as Christian Isobel Johnstone who edited a number of publications between 1817 and 1845, including *Tait's Magazine* (1832–1861). However, these accounts primarily focus on the early-nineteenth century and not the expansion of the press in Scotland after 1860.¹⁷⁰ Research that does discuss Scottish women as magazine editors in this period has primarily centred on Swan's involvement in *The Woman At Home: Annie S. Swan's Magazine* (1893–1917), a London literary magazine that was created for her by William Robertson Nicoll.¹⁷¹ Despite her association with the magazine, it is widely accepted that she was not its editor but its 'principal contributor'.¹⁷² Indeed, it was another Scottish woman journalist, Jane T. Stoddart, who was editor of the *Woman At Home* from 1900 and also editor of Nicoll's *British Weekly* from 1912 to 1937.¹⁷³ There

¹⁶⁸ Beetham, *A Magazine of One's Own?*, p. 3.

¹⁶⁹ Marianne Van Remoortel and others, 'Women Editors in Europe', *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 6: 1, (2021), 1–6. See also, *Agents of Change. Women Editors and Socio-Cultural Transformation in Europe, 1710–1920*, <<https://www.wechanged.ugent.be>> [accessed 3 March 2020].

¹⁷⁰ Easley, *First-Person Anonymous*, pp. 61–80. See also, Ralph Jessop, 'Viragos of the Periodical Press: Constance Gordon-Cumming, Charlotte Dempster, Margaret Oliphant, Christian Isobel Johnstone', in *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, ed. by Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 216–231.

¹⁷¹ Shields, 'Preaching Without Practising', pp. 566–587; Elke D'hoker, 'The Short Story Series of Annie S. Swan for The Woman At Home', in *The Modern Short Story and Magazine Culture, 1880–1950*, ed. by Elke D'hoker and Chris Mourant (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021), pp. 44–60; Gillian Neale, 'Annie S. Swan, Publishing Phenomenon: a Book Historical Perspective', *Scottish Literary Review*, 12: 2, (2020), 91–109; Kate Krueger, 'The Woman at Home in the World: Annie Swan's Lady Doctor and the Problem of the Fin de Siècle Working Woman', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 50: 3, (2017), 517–533.

¹⁷² Shields, *Scottish Women's Writing*, pp. 69.

¹⁷³ 'Miss Jane T. Stoddart', *The Scotsman*, 28 November 1938, p. 13 col c. Harriet Reid, who is discussed in Chapter 2, was assistant editor of the *British Weekly* between 1896 and 1900.

is, therefore, a gap in the scholarship on Scottish women who edited magazines between 1870 and 1920. The following case studies examine three magazines that were edited and published by Scottish women, but which have received no scholarly analysis thus far: *The Holyrood Annual* (1885–1886), *The Bellman* (1893–1896), and *Aurora: a Magazine of Fellowship* (1903). These magazines have been chosen for analysis because they are the only examples of magazines that were solely edited or published by Scottish women between 1870 and 1920, and thus constitute an important intervention in the scholarly gap on Scottish women's participation in magazine production. Ultimately, these case studies reveal that Scottish women were more involved in the editorial and publishing process of magazines after 1870 than has previously been assumed.

1. *The Holyrood Annual* (1885–1886)

The Holyrood Annual (1885–1886) was a short-lived annual magazine that was edited by Sophie Frances Fane Veitch, an English novelist with Scottish ancestry. *The Holyrood Annual* is known to have published twice, in 1885 and 1886, and consisted of 300 to 310 pages of literature and was priced at 1s 6d. It was published by Alexander Gardner, whose father, Alexander Gardner, established a successful printing and publishing firm in Paisley in 1828. As is discussed in Chapter 4, Gardner published several magazines between 1870 and 1920, most notably, the *Scottish Review* (1882–1900). He was also enthusiastic about publishing magazines that were polemical in tone. These include *The Notion* (1903), a monthly magazine that was edited by Scottish journalist Henry James Reade who was also its sole contributor. As the *Aberdeen Press and Journal* surmised, *The Notion* was 'so unique in style that it is impossible to classify'.¹⁷⁴ Ostensibly, the magazine was Reade's platform from which to pontificate about his opinions on contemporary life or, in his own words, to provide 'stimulating thought and providing wholesome and suggestive reading in the shape of pointed and pithy paragraphs'.¹⁷⁵ Other polemic magazines

¹⁷⁴ 'Magazines', *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 27 April 1903, p. 3 col e.

¹⁷⁵ Henry James Reade, 'The Notion', *The Notion*, May 1903, p. 3. *The Notion* published only four issues in 1903.

published by Gardner include *The Scribble* (1915–1916), an illustrated magazine that was the production of fifteen-year-old Donald Gibson, an apprentice bank clerk in Paisley, and his band of friends and former classmates at Paisley Grammar School.¹⁷⁶ Like *The Notion*, *The Scribble* had a sole purpose – to encourage the patriotism of Scottish children during the First World War.

In this eclectic stable of individualistic magazines, *The Holyrood Annual* was an early frontrunner. It was most likely instigated following Veitch's contributions to Gardner's *Scottish Review* which were principally book reviews and translations of excerpts from German literature.¹⁷⁷ Veitch was born in Sopley, Hampshire in 1839, the daughter of Rev. William Douglas Veitch who was vicar of St Saviour's Parish in Paddington. In 1875, Rev. Veitch inherited his brother's title and estate, Eliock in Dumfriesshire, and moved his family to Scotland. Veitch began her literary career in the early 1870s writing fiction in the *Churchman's Shilling Magazine* (1867–1883) and *Temple Bar* (1861–1906). She was also a successful German translator and wrote the accompanying text to a series of illustrations by a German missionary entitled *Views in Central Abyssinia* (1868) and translated Ludwig Dahn's *Saga of Halfred the Sigskald* (1886). Between 1869 and 1893 she published a dozen novels, the first of which were written under the pseudonym 'J. A. St John Blythe', and the remainder under her own name. Five of her novels were published by Gardner and she was a well-connected person in Gardner's network of cultural revivalists in the 1880s and 1890s.

The contents of *The Holyrood Annual's* two extant issues are diverse and varied. On the one hand, short fiction and poetry is the most dominant form of literature. Most of the short fiction is by women writers, whilst most of the poetry is by men. The magazine's fiction, whilst devoid of the sentimentalism and romanticism found in popular magazines like the *People's Friend*, nevertheless adheres to the broad characteristics of the 'Annie Swan school of writers of Scotch fiction' discussed

¹⁷⁶ Lois Burke and Charlotte Lauder, 'Charity, Cultural Exchange, and Generational Difference in Scottish Children's Writings about the First World War', in *The Edinburgh History of Children's Periodicals*, ed. by Kristine Moruzi, Beth Rodgers, and Michelle J. Smith (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp. 194–211.

¹⁷⁷ See Chapter 4.

earlier, namely, ruralism, religion, temperance, and domesticity.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, Walter E. Houghton notes that Veitch's reviews in the *Scottish Review* were all novels that were 'approached from a religious, ethical point of view', and that her appraisals 'insist on the necessity of a moral tone'.¹⁷⁹ Other women writers whose fiction exemplifies these characteristics in *The Holyrood Annual* are Annie Armit, a poet and novelist in Cumbria who published as Annie M. Harris, Mary J. D. Sanders, a novelist and Scottish minister's wife who published under 'A.O.L.S.' and contributed to the Church of Scotland's magazine *Life and Work* (1879–1998), and Agnes Fraser Robertson, a Glasgow-born author who contributed to the *People's Friend*. The religiousness of these writers' fiction was complemented by the clerical contributions in *The Holyrood Annual* of Rev. David R. Williamson, minister of Kirkmaiden Parish Church in Dumfries, and Rev. Henry G. Veitch, vicar of Kilmerdson, Somerset and Veitch's brother.

Overall, there is a prominent women's presence in the two extant issues of *The Holyrood Annual*. Of the ten identifiable contributors (some articles were contributed anonymously), seven were women, including Veitch. Further, these women shared an interest in social justice, which was a broader concern for middle- and upper-class women in the late-Victorian period. Matilda M. Greatheed, who contributed poetry to the magazine, volunteered as a visitor in Paddington Workhouse and published awareness of the maltreatment of residents in workhouses across London.¹⁸⁰ Armit opened a school with her sisters near Hawkshead, Cumbria, that educated local girls from poor families and became a subscription reference library for the local community in 1912.¹⁸¹ Veitch's sister, Zepherina P. Smith, was president of the Midwives' Institute and founder of the Royal College of Midwives and contributed medical articles to the magazine including 'Waiting for the Doctor' and 'How to do Without the Doctor'.¹⁸² Like the other women writers discussed in this chapter, it is only through

¹⁷⁸ Wallace, 'New Novels', p. 417.

¹⁷⁹ *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824–1900*, ed. by Walter E. Houghton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 1155.

¹⁸⁰ *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions, 1889*, ed. by Janet Horowitz Murray and Myra Stark (London: Routledge, 2016).

¹⁸¹ 'The Armit Sisters', *The Armit Museum*, <<https://www.armitt.com>> [accessed 17 February 2022].

¹⁸² Zepherina Veitch, 'Waiting for the Doctor', *The Holyrood Annual*, 1885, pp. 135–149; Zepherina Veitch, 'How to do Without the Doctor', *The Holyrood Annual*, 1886, pp. 80–87.

an exploration of magazines like *The Holyrood Annual* that a fuller picture of the contributions of women writers between 1870 and 1920 is recovered.

The Holyrood Annual also shared significant overlap with the *Scottish Review*. Along with Veitch and Armit, Scottish historical writers Urquhart Forbes and James Balfour Paul were both published in the *Scottish Review* and *Holyrood Annual*. Likewise, the *Holyrood Annual* mirrors the *Scottish Review*'s interest in eighteenth-century Scottish history, such as the short stories 'The Smuggler's Bay. A Story of the Eighteenth Century' and 'Ian Roy. An Eighteenth Century Romance'. Both of these reflect Jacobite romanticism, colonialism, and adventure fiction that was part of the romance revival in Scottish literature at the *fin-de-siècle*.¹⁸³ As is explored in Chapter 4, Gardner was associated with the Scottish cultural revival and its network of writers, editors, and magazine producers in the 1880s and 1890s. Therefore, the *Holyrood Annual* (as a Gardner magazine) can be placed into this wider network of revivalist publications. Indeed, an excerpt from a manuscript describing an eyewitness account of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots that was found amongst the papers of her grandfather, Lord Eliock, was published in the first issue of the magazine.¹⁸⁴

Whilst *The Holyrood Annual* may have aimed to mirror literary magazines of the era – perhaps even echo the *Scottish Review* – the magazine's influence was on a smaller scale in comparison to these magazines. For example, *The Holyrood Annual*'s contributors were predominantly middle- and upper-class and almost all were the children of landed gentry, from wealthy backgrounds, or who worked in the professions. This class distinction is unique in Scottish magazine culture which largely published working-class contributors and catered to a working-class readership. Therefore, it is likely that the readership of *The Holyrood Annual* was well-educated and well-read with more purchasing power than the majority of readers who could afford only one penny a week for magazines. Ultimately, *The*

¹⁸³ Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*.

¹⁸⁴ 'Execution of Mary Queen of Scots', *The Holyrood Annual*, 1885, pp. 300–306.

Holyrood Annual is a unique example of an intellectual and, thus, short-lived Scottish magazine that was solely edited by a woman.

2. *The Bellman* (1893–1896)

The Bellman (1893–1896) was an illustrated sixteen-page weekly magazine priced at one penny that was published in Dundee by Elizabeth Littlejohn. Littlejohn was born in Perth in 1825 to John MacFarlane, a weaver, and his wife Janet MacFarlane (née Campbell).¹⁸⁵ Her early life is difficult to trace, but at some point in her childhood she sustained an accident which caused ‘permanent lameness’.¹⁸⁶ In 1860 she married fellow Perth native James Littlejohn, then managing clerk at the New Gas Company in Dundee, who became the commercial manager for the Leng Company and a close friend of John Leng.¹⁸⁷ In 1862, Elizabeth established E. Littlejohn & Company, a newsagent, stationer, and bookseller, and announced in the local press that ‘by giving strict attention to orders, and by punctuality, she will merit a share of public patronage’.¹⁸⁸ Her shop became the official Dundee branch office of Leng’s *Dundee Advertiser* and *People’s Journal*, meaning that subscriptions and communications for these titles could be made via her shop.¹⁸⁹ Between 1893 and 1896, Littlejohn was proprietor and publisher of *The Bellman* which was edited by Dundee journalist John Rennie Carrie.¹⁹⁰ The magazine was chiefly a local one ‘devoted to current life as seen from its humorous as well as its serious side’ that included satirical articles on the political, business, religious, and philanthropic society in Dundee.¹⁹¹ It also published literature such as poetry, short stories, serial novels, a ladies’ column, a correspondence column, and reports on football, theatre, and musical concerts.

¹⁸⁵ 1867, Campbell, Janet, (Statutory registers Deaths 282/1/28), NRS.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Notable Dundee Woman Dies’, *Dundee Courier*, 7 February 1922, p. 4 col d.

¹⁸⁷ 1860, Littlejohn, James, (Statutory registers Marriages 282/2/199), NRS. For more information on Littlejohn, see Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, p. 24.

¹⁸⁸ ‘Business Intimations’, *Dundee Advertiser*, 5 November 1862, p. 1 col c.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ ‘Deaths’, *Arbroath Herald*, 25 July 1907, p. 8 col f.

¹⁹¹ ‘The Bellman’s Proclamation’, *The Bellman*, 15 December 1893, p. 3 col a.

The Bellman was a magazine for Dundee residents, from whom Carrie sought to publish 'the doings of their various associations, from the Ancient Order of Freemasons down to the latest inaugurated benevolent society'.¹⁹² Its title refers to the bellman (or town crier), a job given to a man who publicly reported on news and current affairs in town centres. The character of the bellman was familiar figure along the east coast of Scotland and made frequent appearances in the popular literature of the Dundee press. A poem in the *People's Journal* in 1858 described the 'Bellman o' Dundee' who 'comes oot into oor streets, hale croods aroun' him flee,/To hear the news there's current wi' the Bellman o' Dundee!'.¹⁹³ Similarly, in 1888, the newspaper began a weekly column entitled 'The Bellman's Budget' which included gossip about local council officers.¹⁹⁴ *The Bellman* may have been inspired by other recognisable characters who were satirised by the popular press in Dundee, such as the piper, 'a well-known official for centuries, his duty being to warn the inhabitants to keep within doors at night, and to rouse them at early morn', who was personified in George Scrymgeour's magazine, *The Piper O' Dundee* (1886–1906).

Much of the content of *The Bellman* evokes aspects of the popular press encountered thus far, such as letters to the editor which were addressed to 'Maister Editur' and written in vernacular Scots by correspondents including 'Patsy Mollygrant', 'Kail Kirsty', and 'Susie Bobbinson'. These letters closely resemble the vernacular correspondents of the *People's Journal* such as 'Tammis Bodkin' and 'Jock Clodpole' which were discussed in Chapter 2.¹⁹⁵ Like these characters, *The Bellman* published its own group of vernacular contributors, namely 'Rogue Reilly', 'Ray Garrick', and 'Putty Knife'. Again, the importance of Dundee's popular literary culture is evidenced throughout the magazine. One of its most recognisable contributors was Lowden Macartney, the editor of infamous 'bad' Dundee poet William McGonagall's verse and proprietor of the Poet's Box in Dundee from 1906.¹⁹⁶ Macartney published two

¹⁹² 'The Bellman's Proclamation'.

¹⁹³ I.O.U., 'The Bellman o' Dundee', *People's Journal*, 16 January 1858, p. 3 col a.

¹⁹⁴ For example, 'The Bellman's Budget', *People's Journal*, 29 December 1888, p. 10 col a.

¹⁹⁵ Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, p. 39.

¹⁹⁶ Wm. M'Gonagall, *Poet: A Choice Selection of his Best Pieces, with a Sketch of his Life and Work, Critical and Biographical*, ed. by Lowden Macartney (Glasgow: J. & D. R. Burnside, 1910).

serials in *The Bellman*, ‘The Secret of a Lady’s Work-Box. A Story of the Dundee Millworkers’ and ‘Sketches of Modern Gotham’, and may have contributed other articles that discussed the life and legacy of McGonagall in 1896. As scholarly interest in the popular literature of nineteenth-century Dundee continues, *The Bellman* provides an interesting example of the kind of satirical magazine culture that dominated the city throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, it presents an opportunity for future study of its contemporaries that have so far escaped scholarly research, including *The Piper o’ Dundee*, *The Wizard of the North* (1879–1901), and *The Wasp: the Dundee Flagellator* (1897–1900), all of which satirised and caricatured life in the city.

Although primarily a local magazine, Littlejohn’s women-orientated company clearly had an influence on *The Bellman*. Between 1862 and (at least) 1955, E. Littlejohn & Company employed only women assistants. This feminine identity can be seen in *The Bellman*’s proclamation to ‘devote weekly to the ladies’ a column that discussed how ‘ladies live, move, and have their being’.¹⁹⁸ In addition, all three of the magazine’s vernacular contributors portrayed female personas and the magazine’s ‘Ladies’ Column’ was conducted by women pseudonyms such as ‘Lavender’, ‘Margaret’, and ‘Pauline’.¹⁹⁹ These closely resemble the pseudonymous ‘lady correspondents’ and ‘household editors’ discussed earlier. Further, much of the fiction in the magazine was concerned with women protagonists, including ‘A Story of the Dundee Millworkers’, ‘A Mother’s Trouble’, and ‘The Lassies in the Mill’.²⁰⁰ In her will, Littlejohn continued her legacy by leaving her business to the shop’s manager, Isabella Sharp, and explicitly stated that women be prioritised as the inheritors of the rest of her estate. For example, she left money to her domestic servant, her grandniece, the children of her widowed sister-in-law, and stated that any changes to these inheritors or their heirs be made ‘in favour of or descending to females’, ensuring that the women in her will would inherit in their own legal right and not in the right

¹⁹⁷ Erin Farley, ‘The Place of Poetry in Victorian Dundee’ (Doctoral thesis, University of Strathclyde, 2018).

¹⁹⁸ ‘To the Ladies’, *The Bellman*, 15 December 1893, p. 9.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Ladies’ Column’, *The Bellman*, 26 January 1894, p. 10.

²⁰⁰ Lowden Macartney, ‘The Secret of a Lady’s Work-Box. A Story of the Dundee Millworkers’, *The Bellman*, 1 May 1896, pp. 10–11; C.S., ‘A Mother’s Trouble’, *The Bellman*, 27 April 1894, pp. 7–8; W.C., ‘The Lassies in the Mill’, *The Bellman*, 2 February 1894, p. 5.

of their husbands or fathers.²⁰¹ Ultimately, *The Bellman* is a significant magazine as one of the only extant products of the life of Littlejohn, a pioneering Scottish presswoman, who might continue to be overlooked without recovery of the magazine and her role in its origins.

3. *Aurora: a Magazine of Fellowship* (1903)

Aurora (1903) was a magazine edited by Jessie Annie Anderson, a well-known Aberdeenshire poet and regular contributor to the *People's Friend* (see Fig. 9).²⁰² *Aurora* was a monthly magazine priced at 3d that published only one issue in December 1903. It was established for 'invalids' whom Anderson referred to as 'Thorn Bearers', a reference to the writings of St Paul in the Book of Corinthians who stated that 'I was given me a thorn in my flesh, a messenger of Satan', and which was adapted in the magazine as 'those on whom have been imposed physical variations'.²⁰³ This reference to disability was reiterated in the magazine's subtitle: 'A Magazine of Fellowship in the Aims and Activities that no "thorn in the flesh" can wholly check or destroy'. *Aurora* had a clear purpose: to provide entertaining and amusing reading material for the disabled community. This was a radical venture in the early twentieth century when disability rights and representation were particularly marginalised in the arts, literature, and popular culture.²⁰⁴ The magazine was aware of its radical intentions, stating that 'we believe that we are breaking new ground' through its representation of 'suffering in what we think is a novel and a special way'.²⁰⁵ Moreover, the magazine aimed to

²⁰¹ 1922 Elizabeth Littlejohn, (Dundee Sheriff Court Wills S45/34/43), NRS.

²⁰² Charlotte Lauder, "'Who Were They?': Recovering Jessie Annie Anderson as a Case Study of the Scottish Women Poets in Hugh MacDiarmid's *Northern Numbers* (1920–22)", *Scottish Literary Review*, 14: 1, (2022), 85–106.

²⁰³ Jessie Annie Anderson and Alphonsus W. Webster, 'Editorial Message', *Aurora: A Magazine of Fellowship*, December 1903, p. 24.

²⁰⁴ For a discussion of disability in literature, see Clare Walker Gore, *Plotting Disability in the Nineteenth-Century Novel* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), pp. 116–172. See also, *A Cultural History of Disability in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Joyce L. Huff and Martha Stoddard Holmes (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022).

²⁰⁵ Anderson and Webster, 'Editorial Message', pp. 24–26.

cheer each other on [...] We say “appreciate yourself! Don’t dwell on your weak points, but if you have not made the discovery, find out in what you excel, or can with a little patience be made to excel”.²⁰⁶

As a magazine for disabled readers, Anderson was suited to the role of editor. After an accident on her way to school at the age of eleven, she became a paraplegic and largely housebound during her life.²⁰⁷ Additionally, the entire editorial team behind *Aurora* was inferred as being disabled: Anderson and her co-editor, Alphonsus W. Webster, (also a poet) were described to readers as ‘two of their comrades’.²⁰⁸ The magazine’s sub-editor was deaf journalist George Frankland, who edited the *British Deaf Times* (1903–1954), a newspaper that consistently advocated for the recognition and representation of the deaf community against prejudice and bigotry that they faced in daily life.²⁰⁹ Frankland used his position in journalism to promote deaf liberation theology, a movement that sought to allow deaf Christians the right to use sign language during religious worship, something that was considered subversive by hearing church goers as it miscommunicated and abbreviated the original language and texts of the church.²¹⁰ There is evidence of deaf liberation theology in *Aurora*: the magazine reported that a new church ‘specially erected for the use of the Deaf and Dumb’ had been dedicated by the Bishop of Newcastle in October 1903 to serve a community of over 600 deaf worshippers on Tyneside.²¹¹ Further, the printer of *Aurora*, Frank Riddell Henderson, was also described as a ‘Thorn Bearer’ comrade. Whilst it is not stated what disability or illness this referred to, Henderson’s career as a printer was nonetheless as radical as *Aurora*. He was originally from Leith and began his career as the London representative of the Walter Scott Publishing Company based in Newcastle-upon-

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ D. H. Edwards, *Modern Scottish Poets*, 16 vols (Brechin: “Advertiser” Office, 1885), VIII, pp. 77–78.

²⁰⁸ Anderson and Webster, ‘Editorial Message’, p. 24. There is a lack of reliable biographical information for Webster. In *Aurora*, there is an advertisement for a ‘Calendar of Higher Thought’ attributed to Augusta Webster, however Alphonsus Webster was also a published poet around the same time as *Aurora*’s publication. Whether or not Webster’s first name was Alphonsus or Augusta has, therefore, complicated the matter of his recovery.

²⁰⁹ H. Dominic W. Stiles, ‘George Frankland, Deaf Journalist (1866–1936)’, *UCL Ear Institute & Action on Hearing Loss Libraries*, (10 June 2016), <<https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/library-rnid/2016/06/10/george-frankland-deaf-journalist-1866-1936-brilliant-scholar-deep-thinker-and-one-of-the-finest-writers-of-prose/>> [accessed 7 June 2023].

²¹⁰ Hannah Lewis, *Deaf Liberation Theology* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 161.

²¹¹ ‘Gossip’, *Aurora*, December 1903, p. vi.

Tyne which published George Bernard Shaw, Henrik Ibsen, Leo Tolstoy, and Sergius Stepniak.²¹² A radical socialist and anarcho-pacifist, Henderson later co-founded the Brotherhood Publishing Company in 1895 which was the imprint of the Croydon Brotherhood Church, a venture organised by the Tolstoyan Community in the south-east of England.²¹³ In 1909, he founded Henderson's – also known as The Bomb Shop – a radical bookshop on London's Charing Cross Road that stocked socialist journals including the *Clarion* (1891–1934), *Social Democrat* (1897–1911), *The Deadly Parallel* (1907), and *Coterie* (1919–1920).²¹⁴ After breaking ties with the Brotherhood Church and its publishing company in 1899, Henderson established his own independent publishing house in London's Paternoster Square. It seems that the Fraternity Press (also referred to as Fraternity Press for the Deaf), through which Henderson printed *Aurora* and the *British Deaf Times*, was this new printing venture.

Although never explicitly stated, *Aurora's* radical roots and its publication of socialist authors and poets suggests that it was sympathetic, if not affiliated to, the Independent Labour Party (ILP). For instance, the magazine published a letter from C. Allen Clarke – also known as Teddy Ashton – that was addressed to the magazine's readership, and included a recent publication by Fred Plant in its list of advertisements. Both Clarke and Plant were prominent Lancashire dialect writers and ILP activists in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries with membership to a number of radical-affiliated literary groups, such as the Lancashire Authors' Association (LAA).²¹⁵ *Aurora* also published a review of *Songs for the Right* (c.1902), by James Wilfred Cryer, a Bolton engineer-poet and member of the LAA who was described as 'the labour bard'. Further, the magazine provided an update on ILP leader Keir Hardie's health, stating that he 'is making a favourable recovery from appendicitis' in its 'Gossip'

²¹² Christopher Draper, 'The Bomb Shop (1907–1989): 66 Charing Cross Road', *Radical History Network*, (10 March 2018), <<https://radicalhistorynetwork.blogspot.com/2018/03/the-bomb-shop-1907-1989-66-charing.html>> [accessed 1 March 2023].

²¹³ Charlotte Alston, 'Britain and the International Tolstoyan Movement, 1890–1910', in *Russia in Britain, 1880–1940: From Melodrama to Modernism*, ed. by Rebecca Beasley and Philip Ross Bullock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 53–70 (pp. 57–65).

²¹⁴ Draper, *The Bomb Shop (1907–1989)*; "'Bomb Shop" Owner Dead', *Daily Herald*, 23 May 1931, p. 9 col g.

²¹⁵ C. Allen Clarke [Teddy Ashton], 'As It Happens', *Aurora*, December 1903, pp. 15–18; 'Advertisements', *Aurora*, December 1903, p. viii. For more on Clarke and Plant, see Paul Slaveson, 'Allen Clarke and the Lancashire School of Working-Class Novelists', in *The Rise of Socialist Fiction, 1880–1914*, ed. by H. Gustav Klaus (Brighton: Harvester, 1987), pp. 172–202.

column, and likened Hardie's affliction with other illnesses that occupied the magazine's readership.²¹⁶ Socialism also extended to the magazine's column 'Our Parliament' which asked 'Should Invalids Co-Operate?' and drew parallels between the solidarity of the co-operative movement and communities of disabled people in Britain:

AURORA is the outcome of a co-operation of invalids, who, first brought together as correspondents through the medium of a paper, found solace in the interchange of thought, experience, sympathy; and who thought they might do something to bring fellow invalids into similar helpful and pleasant association. Hence the establishment of this magazine, which, as a medium of communication, will pave the way for effective co-operation, should such be desired.²¹⁷

Moreover, whilst Anderson's politics in 1903 are difficult to ascertain – she wrote to a friend in 1924 that 'I am not a Labourist, but I think our times, like those of the Reform Bill, need a season of Tory and Labour well mixed in one batch' – her role as editor of a magazine that promoted Labour-supporting poets, writers, and authors, as well as the socialist and anarcho-pacifist politics of its printer, suggests that, like the magazine's aim to be a magazine for disabled readers, *Aurora* was a progressive and reformist magazine.²¹⁸ That it was edited by Anderson and published a number of her friends and poetic peers, adds to the recovery of her life and career which has, so far, challenged scholarly perceptions of women poets in Scottish literature between 1870 and 1920.²¹⁹

Aurora's ultimate aim was to create a literary community for its disabled readership. Like other magazines, it published poetry, short stories, essays, and sketches and contained pages devoted to specific audiences, such as the 'Our Boys and Girls' and 'Our Woman's League' columns. It also announced the establishment of a correspondence column, 'Our Parliament', to which readers could correspond in forthcoming issues, but this did not materialise beyond its one issue in December 1903. The magazine was also planning to launch prize competitions to engage more readers. The 'Our Boys and Girls' column invited letters from readers of 400 words on the subject 'My Most Useful Day', and

²¹⁶ 'Gossip'.

²¹⁷ Philo, 'Our Parliament', *Aurora*, December 1903, p. 47–48.

²¹⁸ Jessie Annie Anderson to James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, 24 October 1924, Works and Correspondence of James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, Acc.3501/9, NLS.

²¹⁹ Lauder, "'Who Were They?'".

‘Our Women’s League’ invited papers under the title ‘My Greatest Happiness’.²²⁰ Both stated that their competitions were for the ‘sick, or lame, or otherwise invalided’.²²¹ Similar to the women journalists’ pseudonyms discussed earlier, these columns were conducted by female personas, namely, ‘Aunt Jippie’ and ‘Sister Anne’.

Although *Aurora* was not a Scottish magazine, Anderson had a clear editorial influence which resulted in a notable Scottish presence. Between 1901 and 1928, Anderson published fourteen volumes of poetry and contributed vigorously to the Scottish press, including the *People’s Friend*, *People’s Journal*, *Scots Magazine*, *Perthshire Magazine*, *Northern Figaro*, *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, and *Buchan Observer*.²²² In addition, she wrote the biography of her friend and fellow poet Lewis Morrison Grant, colloquially known as ‘the Northern Keats’, as well as Cryer’s biography in 1928.²²³ In *Aurora*, the poetic contributions were primarily from Anderson’s friends and fellow Scottish poets. They include Morrison-Grant, Isabel H. Anderson, a minor poet in Inverness, and ‘Deas Cromarty’, the pseudonym of Dundee novelist Elizabeth S. Watson.²²⁴ *Aurora*’s connections to Anderson and, therefore to Scotland, gained it attention in the Scottish press.²²⁵ Writing as ‘Marguerite’ in the *Evening Telegraph*, King praised the magazine as a ‘message of cheer into many a sickroom’, and noted that the colour of its paper – green – conveyed ‘the colour of hope, and all invalids who are to do good to themselves or their generation are optimists’.²²⁶ At the same time, she questioned the magazine’s impetus to create a separate space for disabled writers and readers. She posed:

But are invalids fond of associating with other invalids? Would it not be healthier for them to breathe another atmosphere? The success or failure of “Aurora” will supply an answer to these

²²⁰ Aunt Jippie, ‘Our Boys and Girls’, *Aurora*, December 1903, p. 28; Sister Anne, ‘Our Women’s League’, *Aurora*, December 1903, p. 39.

²²¹ ‘Our Boys and Girls’; ‘Our Women’s League’.

²²² ‘Work of Buchan Poetess’, *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 8 January 1932, p. 6 col f.

²²³ Jessie Annie Anderson, *Lewis Morrison Grant: His Life, Letters, and Last Poems* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1894), and *James Wilfred Cryer: An Appreciation* (Breachin: “Breachin Advertiser” Office, 1928).

²²⁴ Lewis Morrison Grant, ‘The Priesthood of Suffering’, *Aurora*, December 1903, p. 36; Isabel H. Anderson, ‘Crowned’, *Aurora*, December 1903, p. 44; Deas Cromarty [Elizabeth S. Watson], ‘The Path of the Mortal’, *Aurora*, December 1903, p. 40.

²²⁵ ‘Literary Notes’, *Inverness Courier*, 18 September 1903, p. 3 col a.

²²⁶ Marguerite [Jessie M. King], ‘Ladies’ Column’, *Evening Telegraph*, 9 December 1903, p. 6 col c.

questions by and by; and we shall see how the class of readers for whom it is intended respond to the ideas of co-operation.²²⁷

In King's view, *Aurora* was too ahead of its time to find a successful and regular readership. Despite this prejudiced opinion, the magazine is clearly an early and important representative of disability in twentieth-century magazine culture.

In conclusion, these case studies demonstrate that Scottish women were editorially involved in the production of magazines between 1870 and 1920 and closely connected to magazine culture throughout this period. Moreover, as Veitch, Littlejohn, and Anderson's lives and careers demonstrate, Scottish magazines present a largely untapped resource for the continued recovery of Scottish women and women writers in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

²²⁷ Ibid.

Chapter 4 – Nationalising the Nation: Scottish Magazines and the *Fin-de-Siècle* Scottish Revival

Scottish historiography asserts that the establishment of the Scottish Office in Edinburgh in 1885 was a consolidation of administrative power in Scotland and not an endorsement of separatism from the British state.¹ So too is Scottish nationalism between 1870 and 1920 – principally associated with the Scottish Home Rule Association (SHRA), a significant organisation that advocated for devolved power for Scotland from the 1880s to 1950s – described as ‘no radical attempt at separation or even federalism’.² On the whole, the role of press is absent from most accounts of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Scottish nationalism.³ Magazines, in particular, have received almost no consideration. Far more attention has been placed on historiographical works, polemical books, and publications of speeches and associational reports, as well as material objects and architecture such as memorials, statues, and iconographical sculptures.⁴ Despite this, magazines published in Scotland were not oblivious to the growing desire for greater political control over Scottish affairs. In March 1884, the penny weekly magazine *Scottish Nights* (1883–1901) published a lengthy editorial on ‘the latest idea’ in Scottish politics – a minister of State for Scotland – following a public demonstration in Edinburgh in January that year.⁵ It explained:

Shall we have a Minister of State for Scotland? In plain words, shall Scotland have a servant devoted to the interests and to the business of Scotland, or shall it as in days gone past meekly suffer itself to rest satisfied with a minor importance and a secondary degree of legislative attention? We do not deal with this question politically – *Scottish Nights* has no politics. But it is due to the high place Scotland has always held among nations, that she should seek to obtain

¹ Ewen Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle: Scotland Since 1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 62; Graeme Morton, ‘Civil Society, Municipal Government and the State: Enshrinement, Empowerment and Legitimacy. Scotland, 1800–1929’, *Urban History*, 25: 3, (1998), 348–367; Lindsay Paterson, *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994).

² T. M. Devine, ‘In Bed with an Elephant: Almost Three Hundred Years of the Anglo-Scottish Union’, *Scottish Affairs*, 57, (2006), 1–18 (p. 1), and *The Scottish Nation, 1700–2007: a Modern History* (London: Penguin, 2012).

³ There is limited consultation of the Scottish press in Richard J. Finlay, *Scottish Nationalism. History, Ideology and the Question of Independence* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022), p. 91. David Goldie has paid the most attention to the press in his discussions of Scottish nationalism and literature, see ‘Shades of Bruce: Independence and Union in First-World War Scottish Literature’, in *Scotland and the First World War*, ed. by Gill Plain (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2016), pp. 205–226, and ‘Robert Burns and the First World War’, *International Journal of Scottish Literature*, 6, (2010), pp. 1–20.

⁴ See James J. Coleman, *Remembering the Past in Nineteenth Century Scotland: Commemoration, Nationality and Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), and Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay, *Scottish History: The Power of the Past* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002).

⁵ Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, p. 62.

what by right belongs to her, and as combined action alone will obtain this result, we consider it strictly within our province as a distinctly national paper to use our humble endeavours to the best possible advantage to secure that end.⁶

Although declaring that it ‘has no politics’, the awareness in *Scottish Nights* that Scotland had been ‘satisfied with a minor importance and a secondary degree of legislative attention’, suggests a level of constitutional anxiety and political discontent that invites a reconsideration of the desire for a Scottish Office in more politically meaningful terms than historians have previously discussed, as well as further investigation into the connections between nationalism and magazine culture.

Hitherto discussions of Scottish magazines and nationalism have primarily focussed on little magazines that grew out of the *fin-de-siècle*’s aesthetic movements, such as Patrick Geddes’ *The Evergreen* (1895–1897) and William Sharp’s *Pagan Review* (1892), as well as those associated with the Scottish Renaissance and Scottish Literary Revival in the 1920s, such as Hugh MacDiarmid’s *Scottish Chapbook* (1922–1923) and *Northern Review* (1924).⁷ Michael Shaw has recently demonstrated that the 1880s and 1890s were particularly fervent decades for cultural nationalism in Scotland, characterised as the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival, a cultural movement that attempted ‘to define and unify a national community through cultural apparatus’.⁸ Whilst little magazines like *The Evergreen* and *Scottish Chapbook* were the leading intellectual, artistic, and creative sites of the Scottish Revival, popular magazines produced during these years are absent from the current scholarship. This chapter addresses this gap by demonstrating that that Scottish magazines between 1870 and 1920 displayed a sustained engagement with the cultural apparatus of the Scottish Revival. It argues that Scottish magazines acted as networks for those who were motivated by the Scottish Revival and evaluates three magazines as case studies of this, the *Scottish Review* (1882–1920), *Dunedin Magazine* (1912–1915),

⁶ ‘A Minister of State for Scotland’, *Scottish Nights*, 15 March 1884, p. 191.

⁷ *The Evergreen: a New Season in the North*, ed. by Sean Bradley and Elizabeth Elliot (Edinburgh: The World Bank, 2014); Cairns Craig, ‘Modernism and National Identity in Scottish Magazines: *The Evergreen* (1895–7), *Scottish Art and Letters* (1944–50), *Scottish Chapbook* (1922–3), *The Northern Review* (1924), *The Modern Scot* (1930–6), *Outlook* (1936–7), and *The Voice of Scotland* (1938–9, 1945, 1955)’, in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume I: Britain and Ireland 1880–1955*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 759–784.

⁸ Michael Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival. Romance, Decadence and Celtic Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), p. 6.

and the *Scots Magazine* (1924–). Finally, it argues that the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival has a longer and more pervasive history across the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries as evidenced by Scottish magazines.

Popular Scottish Magazines and the Scottish Revival

As Cairns Craig sets out, the Scottish ‘revival did not become, as in Ireland, a nationalist movement’, and it was only in the ‘looming end of empire in the next century’ that *fin-de-siècle* revivalist efforts became a national movement as part of the cultural, intellectual, and political project of the Scottish Renaissance and Literary Revival.⁹ Whilst Scottish nationalism did not achieve substantial political impact until the establishment of organisations like the Scots National League (SNL) and Scottish National Movement (SNM) in the 1920s and the founding of the National Party of Scotland (NPS) in 1934, recent scholarship has demonstrated that arts and literature in Scotland had legitimate ties to political self-determination between 1870 and 1920.¹⁰ Much of this revisionism has concentrated on the commemoration of Scottish history and historic figures.¹¹ Only recently has Scottish literature and the periodical press been considered within these accounts. For instance, although Kirstie Blair states that it is difficult to assess the extent to which Scottish newspaper verse celebrating the connections between Robert the Bruce and William Wallace and leaders of European nationalism such as Giuseppe Garibaldi and Lajos Kossuth ‘fed into stirrings of Scottish nationalism’, she argues that they ‘certainly played a significant role in establishing a discourse of reciprocal sympathy and identification between European nationalism and Scotland’.¹² Again, magazines are absent from this analysis. Nevertheless,

⁹ Cairns Craig, ‘Review of *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival: Romance, Decadence and Celtic Identity*, by Michael Shaw’, *Victorian Studies*, 64: 1, (2021), 159–160 (p. 160).

¹⁰ Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*, pp. 8–17; Paul Malgrati, *Robert Burns and Scottish Cultural Politics. The Bard of Contention (1914–2014)* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023); Naomi Lloyd-Jones, ‘Liberalism, Scottish Nationalism and the Home Rule Crisis, c.1886–93’, *English Historical Review*, 129: 539, (2014), 862–887; James Kennedy, *Liberal Nationalisms. Empire, State and Civil Society in Scotland and Quebec* (London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2013).

¹¹ Coleman, *Remembering the Past*.

¹² Kirstie Blair, ‘“Whose Cry is Liberty, and Fatherland”: Kossuth, Garibaldi and European Nationalism in Scottish Political Poetry’, *Scottish Literary Review*, 10: 2, (2018), 71–94, (p. 90).

poems about Garibaldi were just as popular in the *People's Friend* as in the *People's Journal*.¹³ Moreover, verse that celebrated Scotland's historic self-determination in the context of growing constitutional anxiety was published throughout Scottish magazines. This includes poems such as 'Bruce's Address Before Bannockburn' and 'Lines Tae Scotland an' Her Sons' in the *Border Treasury of Things Old and New* (1874–1875), 'The Eve of Bannockburn', 'Wallace, Bruce and Burns', and 'Ye Needna Fear For Scotland' in the *People's Friend*, and 'Scottish Heroism' and 'The Legend of the Bruce's Heart' in *Scottish Nights*.¹⁴ There is, therefore, a much wider corpus of nationalist poetry throughout late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Scotland.

Shaw's exploration of Jacobite romance fiction argues that there was a considerable effort in Scottish literature in the 1880s and 1890s to use public memory of the Jacobites as 'representations of Highlanders and Lowlanders reconciled through common identification with Scottish nationality' and promote 'greater unity' in Scotland, both culturally and politically.¹⁵ Jacobite revivalist literature was also a consistent feature in Scottish magazines. 'The Laird of Harden's Escape from Oakwood. A Tale of the '45' was a Jacobite romance that was serialised in the *Border Counties' Magazine* (1880–1881), and the novels 'Young Rintoul: A Story of the Days of the Jacobites' (1890), 'The Maid of the Inn: a Jacobite Story of the Highlands of Forfarshire' (1894), and 'The White Rose. A Romance of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the '45' (1900) were all serialised in the *People's Friend*.¹⁶ Indeed, fiction that celebrated the history of the Jacobites was widespread in the book trade.¹⁷ Similarly, Scottish magazines were overly

¹³ Laurence J. Nicolson, 'Garibaldi', *People's Friend*, 12 July 1882, p. 433; John, 'Garibaldi', *People's Friend*, 19 July 1882, p. 450.

¹⁴ B.C. [William J. Currie], 'Lines Tae Scotland an' Her Sons', *Border Treasury of Things New and Old*, 21 November 1874, p. 199; James Winthrope, 'The Eve of Bannockburn', *People's Friend*, 7 April 1869, p. 61; Nisbet Noble [James Ferguson], 'Wallace, Bruce and Burns', *People's Friend*, 9 June 1886, p. 359; Alexander Logan, 'Ye Needna Fear For Scotland', *People's Friend*, 8 June 1881, p. 353; 'The Legend of the Bruce's Heart', *Scottish Nights*, 29 March 1884, p. 194; 'Scottish Heroism', *Scottish Nights*, 10 March 1883, p. 15.

¹⁵ Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siecle Scottish Revival*, pp. 73–81.

¹⁶ John Anderson, 'The Laird of Harden's Escape from Oakwood. A Tale of the '45', *Border Counties' Magazine*, October 1880, pp. 91–95; Agnes S. Falconer, 'Young Rintoul: A Story of the Days of the Jacobites', *People's Friend*, 20 October 1890, pp. 661–663; G. A. MacKay, 'The Maid of the Inn: a Jacobite Story of the Highlands of Forfarshire', *People's Friend*, 23 July 1894, pp. 465–467; 'The White Rose. A Romance of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the '45', *People's Friend*, 1 January 1900, pp. 9–10.

¹⁷ Dorothy A. Guthrie and Clyde L. Grose, 'Forty Years of Jacobite Bibliography', *Journal of Modern History*, 11: 1, (1939), 49–60.

concerned with memorialising and commemorating the lives of other historic Scots. 'Nights with Famous Scottish Folks' was a running column in *Scottish Nights*, as was 'Famous Scotch Folks' in *Scottish Blue Bells* (1883–1884), and 'Historic Romance and Biography' in the *Scottish Reader* (1883–1885). In the *People's Friend*, Rev. Peter Anton contributed a regular series of biographical essays in the 1880s on a variety of Scottish figures, including ministers, novelists, and essayists. Famous Scots and their biographies were a particular interest for the proprietor of the *People's Friend*, John Leng. For example, in a letter to Scottish antiquarian Robert Scott Fittis, Leng asked him to make sure that his proposed series of biographical essays, entitled 'Scottish Heroines', was written in 'a simple and popular style' and 'as attractive as possible' before its acceptance for publication in the *People's Friend*.¹⁸ This request came following Fittis's previous submission to the *People's Journal* (a series of local history essays entitled 'Fife Adventures') which a member of Leng's staff found 'stiff heavy reading' and 'dreadfully matter of fact and dry' and, according to Leng, 'would only be tackled by a limited number of the most intelligent and persevering readers in Fife'.¹⁹ This exchange demonstrates the considerable appetite amongst magazines for literature that emphasised Scotland's historic figures, in this case, its heroines.

The exchange between Leng and Fittis suggests that there was a greater desire amongst magazine publishers for literature that emphasised nation rather than region. In this case, Fittis' 'Scottish Heroines' won out against his 'Fife Adventures'. This was part of a much broader trend in magazine culture that emphasised nation and nationality as opposed to region and regionality. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, multiple magazines were established with nationally-observant titles, such as the *Scottish Reader*, *Scottish Nights*, and *Scottish Blue Bells*.²⁰ Other examples include *Scotland* (1882), a short-lived penny magazine subtitled 'a weekly journal of national literature', *Young Scotland* (1886), described as 'a national journal of healthy literature for Scotch boys', and *Scottish Society* (1897–1901), a weekly domestic and fashion magazine for 'Scottish women of the upper classes'.

¹⁸ Letter of John Leng to Robert Scott Fittis, 13 July 1887, PKC.MS2.1, Bundle 13, f.6, Perth and Kinross Council Archives, Perth. 'Scottish Heroines' was published as *Heroines of Scotland* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1889).

¹⁹ Letter of John Leng to Robert Scott Fittis.

²⁰ See Appendix I.

Clearly, there was a widespread effort throughout magazine culture to convey the idea of Scotland as a nation. Similarly, magazines with titles that specified a locality or region were not as successful as magazines that were advertised as 'national'. For instance, the *Strathearn Magazine* was established in 1888 as 'a journal of popular and instructive literature' and published a variety of serial novels, short fiction, poetry, and jokes. By its second issue, the magazine boasted that '[w]e have subscribers from Aberdeen to Southampton, and Ireland also sends it quota. Several copies are on their way to friends in the colonies'.²¹ Despite this, after five issues, the magazine felt it necessary to re-name itself as the *Perthshire Magazine* 'in order to widen our field'.²² Within a year of this re-naming, the magazine had folded because, in the words of the *Peterhead Sentinel*, 'its too local character, we think, was none in its favour'.²³ Similarly, *Caledonia* (1895), a monthly Aberdeenshire magazine edited by Alexander Lawson that published 'Literature, Antiquity & Tradition, Chiefly Northern', declared in its editorial that

[t]here is only one thing that can prevent the certain success of "*Caledonia*," and they all agree that that one thing is the fear that it will not be made *truly National*. To this we reply that, from Peterhead in the East, to Oban in the West, from John O'Groats in the far North to Kirkmaiden in the extreme South, – yes; from each and all of the thirty-two Counties in "Bonnie Scotland" we will from time to time cull our sketches, ballads, and traditions.²⁴

As Lawson's editorial suggests, it was essential for readers that *Caledonia* – a magazine published in Aberdeen that was confessedly 'Chiefly Northern' – had as wide a reach as possible, and did not contain itself to Aberdeenshire or the north-east. Scottish magazines were, therefore, consistently concerned with the idea of Scotland as a nation throughout the 1880s and 1890s.

Beyond their engagement with Scottish nationhood and nationality, discussion about nationalism was also conveyed in the commemoration of the Scottish past. Although Shaw and Naomi Lloyd-Jones note that print culture was a significant aspect of the political activities of the SHRA, the impact of this, including the influence of magazines, has yet to be investigated.²⁵ Precedent for the use

²¹ 'To Our Readers', *Strathearn Magazine* [*Perthshire Magazine*], February 1888, p. 13.

²² 'Important Announcement', *Strathearn Magazine* [*Perthshire Magazine*], June 1888, p. 72.

²³ 'The Perthshire Magazine', *Peterhead Sentinel and Buchan Observer*, 25 August 1891, p. 3 col d.

²⁴ 'Echoes from the Sanctum', *Caledonia*, January 1895, p. 192.

²⁵ Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*, p. 12; Lloyd-Jones, 'Liberalism, Scottish Nationalism', p. 877; Michael Shaw, 'Before the Rising: Home Rule and the Celtic Revival', in *Scotland and the Easter Rising: Fresh Perspectives On 1916*, ed. by Willy Maley and Kirsty Lusk (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2016), pp. 166–178.

of print culture to carve out support for a politically autonomous future for Scotland began with the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (NAVSR) (1853–1856), which was the first organisation to publicly express political dissatisfaction about the Union with England. NAVSR relied heavily on newspapers, particularly the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Glasgow Constitutional*, as well as pamphlets produced by its main proponent, William Burns, to publicise and promote its cause.²⁶ By the early 1900s, the debate and discourse around Scottish nationalism was voiced in magazines that were produced and edited by leading members of the SHRA, including Theodore Napier's *The Fiery Cross* (1901–1912), John Wilson's *Scottish Patriot* (1903–1906), T. D. Wanliss' *The Thistle* (1909–1918), and Hector C. Macpherson's *Scottish Nation* (1913–1917), which was published on behalf of the International Scots Home Rule League. Hitherto, there has been little to no examination of these magazines.²⁷ Nevertheless, they acted as significant vehicles through which support for Scottish Home Rule was constructed and expressed. Napier's *The Fiery Cross* aimed to promote 'the preservation and maintenance of the existing rights and privileges of Scotland' and 'the constitutional recovery of her rights, honours, and dignities lost to our nation in its past history'.²⁸ In its first issue, it published a fictionalised memoir in the persona of William Wallace in which he asks the magazine's readers '[w]as it not that Scotland, the land of my sires, should retain its freedom that I and other devoted Scots staked and lost our lives rather than surrender our liberty?'.²⁹ In Wanliss' *The Thistle*, he explained that the commemoration of the Battle of Bannockburn (known as Bannockburn Day) was 'a protest against the unfair aggressions by Englishmen on Scottish rights and Scottish national honour'.³⁰ He encouraged his readers to 'feel a glow of pride when he thinks of the way in which his gallant countrymen gathered round the standard raised by Prince Charlie'.³¹ Wilson's *Scottish Patriot* frequently mentions the

²⁶ See material relating to the NAVSR in the National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Edinburgh.

²⁷ Kennedy discusses these magazines and their editors in relation to the Liberal Party in Scotland, see *Liberal Nationalisms*. Also, see Nathan Kane, 'A Study of the Debate on Scottish Home Rule, 1886–1914' (Doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2015).

²⁸ Theodore Napier, 'Reasons for Issuing It', *The Fiery Cross*, January 1901, p. 1.

²⁹ 'Stands Scotland Where It Did?', *The Fiery Cross*, January 1901, p. 2.

³⁰ T. D. Wanliss, 'Why We Celebrate Bannockburn Day', *The Thistle*, July 1909, p. 181.

³¹ T. D. Wanliss, 'Culloden', *The Thistle*, May 1909, p. 160.

Jacobites, Wallace, Robert the Bruce, and Mary Queen of Scots in order to ‘rally round us those robust Nationalists whom the average newspaper would starve for want of proper nourishment’.³² Likewise, direct connections were drawn between historic Scots and the SHRA in Macpherson’s *Scottish Nation*, which described Bruce as a ‘Famous Scots Home Ruler’.³³ Similarly, a leaflet published in 1914 by the Young Scots Society (YSS) – an activist group established in 1900 to rejuvenate support for the Liberal Party in Scotland – stated that ‘Scotland secured her Nationality by the victory of Bannockburn six hundred years ago, but what of her Nationality to-day’.³⁴ The leaflet invoked the memory of Bannockburn by supporting the YSS’ central argument to ‘Demand a Scottish National Parliament!’.³⁵ Indeed, such was the dedication of these magazines to connecting historic examples of Scottish self-determination and the contemporary SHRA that their editors regularly attended public events together that memorialised the Scottish past, such as the execution of William Wallace and the Battle of Bannockburn. At the gathering at the Bore Stone to commemorate Bannockburn in June 1905, Wanliss, Napier, and Wilson appeared on the event’s platform alongside one another.³⁶ In addition, as a self-described Scottish Nationalist and Highland Jacobite, Napier also made annual pilgrimages to the site of the Battle of Culloden and to Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire where Mary Queen of Scots was executed and where he laid memorial wreaths.

Despite the many examples of the politicisation of Scotland’s past and the expression of genuine political dissatisfaction in Scottish magazines, these instances have been downplayed by scholars as a representation of the desire for a self-governing parliamentary system for Scotland and not for independence or political separatism from the Union with England.³⁷ This narrative is exemplified by James Coleman and Neil Curtis who have argued that commemoration portrayed Scotland as an equal partner in the Union and British Empire and, therefore, not an expression of

³² John Wilson, ‘Publisher’s Note’, *Scottish Patriot*, February 1903, p. 4.

³³ ‘Famous Scots Home Rulers’, *Scottish Nation*, January 1915, p. 222.

³⁴ Leaflets and Pamphlets of International Scots Home Rule League and Scottish Home Rule Council, 1910–1914, Papers and Correspondence of the Scottish Secretariat, and of Roland Eugene Muirhead, Acc.3721/152/5, NLS.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ ‘Bannockburn’, *Scottish Patriot*, July 1905, p. 199.

³⁷ Kane, ‘A Study of the Debate on Scottish Home Rule’.

nationalist sentiment.³⁸ This analysis reiterates the prevailing historiography on Scottish nationalism as theorised by Colin Kidd and Graeme Morton's concepts of 'banal unionism' and 'Unionist-nationalism' which have been used to explain the widespread interest in preserving and promoting the history of Scotland in the late-nineteenth century as an expression of Scotland's confidence within the economic safety of the British state and Empire.³⁹ In part, Kidd and Morton's theories have proved influential because they account for the lack of successful political nationalism in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Scotland. However, Lloyd-Jones' recent re-examination of Scottish Home Rule has shown that the movement significantly 'deviated from the norm suggested by "Unionist-nationalism"', and that Scottish Home Rulers '*did* demand a separate Scottish parliament, for the simple reason that it believed that it could not get what it wanted without one'.⁴⁰ Indeed, although Shaw contends that there was a difference between the questioning of a union between Scotland and England and 'the form of *the* Union', constitutional discontent grew in Scotland throughout the 1870 to 1920 period and was a pressing issue for *fin-de-siècle* Scottish revivalists interested in nationalist movements in Ireland, Belgium, and Japan.⁴¹ Similarly, Nathan Kane has argued that Scottish Home Rule was, overall, a nationalist movement, owing to its desire that 'Scottish legislation be framed without interference from Irish, Welsh and, most notably, English influence'.⁴²

Although 'Unionist-nationalism' and 'banal unionism' are used to reconcile the surge of efforts to commemorate, memorialise, and celebrate the legacies of national heroes such as Wallace, Bruce,

³⁸ Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, p. 187; Neil G. W. Curtis, 'The Place of History, Literature and Politics in the 1911 Scottish Exhibition', *Scottish Literary Review*, 7: 1, (2015), 43–74.

³⁹ Colin Kidd, *Union and Unionisms: Political Thought in Scotland, 1500–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Graeme Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830–1860* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999). Also, see Richard J. Finlay, *A Partnership for Good?: Scottish Politics and the Union Since 1880* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997), *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages*, ed. by Dauvit Broun, Richard J. Finlay and Michael Lynch (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998), and David McCrone, 'Tomorrow's Ancestors: Nationalism, Identity and History', in *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, ed. by Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), pp. 253–272.

⁴⁰ Lloyd-Jones, 'Liberalism, Scottish Nationalism', p. 863. Here, Lloyd-Jones references Lindsay Paterson's assertion that nineteenth-century Scottish nationalism '*did not demand a parliament for the simple reason that it believed that it could get what it wanted without a parliament – economic growth, free trade, liberty, cultural autonomy*', see *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland*, p. 61.

⁴¹ Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*, pp. 8–17.

⁴² Kane, 'A Study of the Debate on Scottish Home Rule', p. 6.

Mary Queen of Scots, and the Jacobites, it is the ‘unionism’ within ‘Unionist-nationalism’ and ‘banal unionism’ that is central argument to these accounts.⁴³ As the following case studies demonstrate, Scottish magazines complicate this argument by engaging with the cultural apparatus of the Scottish Revival as a means of gathering support for Scottish self-determination between 1870 and 1920. Moreover, the overapplication and overuse of Kidd and Morton’s theories is a wider problem in the scholarship. ‘Unionist-nationalism’ and ‘banal unionism’ are undeniably useful terms that offer an interpretation of Scottish national identity that swerves the binaries of unionist/nationalist. Indeed, the inclusivity of ‘Unionist-nationalism’ works both ways, allowing for nationalism *and* unionism. Despite this, the dominant application of the term argues that Scotland’s Union with England was an extension of its civil, religious, and national independence and, therefore, asserts a national identity that was culturally nationalist, but ultimately politically unionist. In light of recent studies that focus on the 1870 to 1920 period, it is clear that there was no consensus about Scottish national identity in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴⁴ The terms ‘Unionist-nationalism’ and ‘banal unionism’ should, therefore, be used to convey a messier, more complex, and more contradictory picture of Scottish nationalism in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century than scholars have hitherto suggested.

Case Studies – Scottish Magazines as Networks of the *Fin-de-Siècle* Scottish Revival

The following case studies examine Scottish magazines as networks of the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival between the 1870s and 1920s. The magazines in these case studies have been chosen because they demonstrate a noticeable engagement with the cultural apparatus of the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival.

⁴³ According to Coleman, the majority of late-nineteenth century Scots ‘preferred to remove any stridently national – or even proto-nationalist – interpretation from the commemoration of Mary Queen of Scots’; the Jacobite cause ‘was still being framed in terms of commemorating the valour and fidelity of the Highland soldiers’; and William Wallace and Robert the Bruce personified ‘the equal nationality of Scotland and England’, see *Remembering the Past*, pp. 39–42, pp. 176–179. Although he concludes by stating that a ‘sea change’ was occurring by 1900 ‘away from the dominance of moderate Scottish nationality towards a more politicised use of national memory’ (p. 180), his analysis overwhelmingly presents a unionist interpretation.

⁴⁴ Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*; Lloyd-Jones, ‘Liberalism, Scottish Nationalism’; Kane, ‘A Study of the Debate on Scottish Home Rule’.

Taken together, the case studies argue that there was a culturally nationalist, politically engaged, and outward-looking national identity in Scotland at the *fin-de-siècle*. They also demonstrate that there was a significant group of Scottish revivalists between 1870 and 1920 who used magazines as networks through which their concerns about contemporary culture, constitutional issues, and literature in Scotland were shared and disseminated. Ultimately, they demonstrate that the Scottish Revival was a more popular movement with a wider reach in Scottish life than has previously been argued.

1. *Scottish Review* (1882–1900; 1914–1920)

The *Scottish Review* was a Paisley based quarterly magazine that was established in 1882 by printer-publisher Alexander Gardner of Paisley (who was its proprietor from 1882 to 1886), John Crichton-Stuart, 3rd Marquess of Bute (its proprietor from 1886 to 1900), and was edited by Rev. William M. Metcalfe, minister of South Paisley Church. Correspondence between Bute and Gardner suggests that Gardner took on a significant amount of the magazine's editorial work, particularly with authors whom his firm had already published.⁴⁵ Indeed, several of the magazine's contributors were poets and authors who collaborated closely with him.⁴⁶ Although a consistently published quarterly magazine over a period of eighteen years, the *Scottish Review's* contents were particularly varied. A typical issue was made up of 200 to 205 pages of articles on literary, historical, and linguistic criticism, as well as reviews of foreign and contemporary literature. To give an example, in May 1883, the magazine's published six articles – 'Early Scottish Burghs', 'Archaeology in the South-West of Scotland', 'Some Results of Scotch Theology' 'Mrs Carlyle's Letters', and 'The Future of the Highlands' – as well as reviews of 'Contemporary Literature' and 'Summaries of Foreign Reviews'. Interestingly, amongst the 'Books Received' list for that issue are two recently published novels, one of which is *Aldersyde* (1883) by Annie S. Swan. This is a surprising addition in a magazine like the *Scottish Review* which did not focus on

⁴⁵ *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824–1900*, ed. by Walter E. Houghton (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1989), p. 785.

⁴⁶ A significant number of books published by Gardner were reviewed in the *Scottish Review*, therefore the magazine was also an opportunity to publicize his publishing firm.

popular fiction, but instead published essays and articles about Scotland's historical, archaeological, and theological past. Indeed, the magazine had a modest circulation in comparison to magazines like the *People's Friend*. In 1886, only 600 copies of the *Scottish Review* were printed, of which 300 were sold.⁴⁷ In comparison, the *People's Friend* sold an average of 240,000 in 1899.⁴⁸ Therefore, the inclusion of Swan demonstrates that there are further connections between the supposed extremes of the intellectual *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival and mass-produced popular Scottish literature than has previously been recognised.

The *Scottish Review*'s primary interest was the history and heritage of Scotland. Several Scottish historians contributed to the magazine, including Peter Hume Brown, Alexander H. Millar, John Stuart Blackie, and Andrew Lang, all of whom sought to establish the academic respectability of Scottish history based on the key principles of evidence, judgement, and rationality.⁴⁹ For the most part, the work of these historians has been interpreted in line with a 'Unionist-nationalism' interpretation of Scottish history which argues for a providential Union with England in 1707.⁵⁰ On the one hand, the *Scottish Review* appears to uphold a 'Unionist-nationalism' analysis. For instance, there is little evidence of the neo-Jacobitism that was prevalent elsewhere at the *fin-de-siècle*.⁵¹ In a letter to Metcalfe proposing a new article on 'the Whig state of mind immediately before Culloden', Alexander H. Millar – literary editor of the *Dundee Advertiser* and chief librarian of the Dundee Free Library from 1908 – complained that '[t]he Jacobite period is rampant at present, and all the present publications respecting it are from the Stuart side'.⁵² On the other hand, Catriona Macdonald has shown in her exploration of Lang's contributions to Scottish historiography that there were many Scottish historians and writers who straddled the traditionally accepted binaries of 'Jacobite/whig; nationalism/unionism;

⁴⁷ Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, p. 785.

⁴⁸ Duncan, 'A Study of Popular Literature', p. 131; Newspaper and Magazine Circulation Book (1896–1903), DCT/C1/1, D. C. Thomson & Co. Archives, Dundee.

⁴⁹ See Appendix V.

⁵⁰ Colin Kidd, 'The Strange Death of Scottish History Revisited', *Scottish Historical Review*, 76: 1, (1997), 86–102 (p. 96).

⁵¹ Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*, pp. 200–202.

⁵² Letter of Alexander H. Millar to Rev. William M. Metcalfe, 2 November 1897, Correspondence and other Papers Relating to the 'Scottish Review', MS.3654, f.202, NLS.

romance/science' in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.⁵³ Similarly, Shaw has examined Lang's preoccupation with 'dismantling teleological accounts of historical progress' in his short stories, and his defence of 'romance in a world of modernity' throughout his literary career.⁵⁴ Likewise, despite his letter, Millar was deeply interested in rehabilitating Jacobite historiography. In 1882 and 1883 he published a series of essays in the *People's Friend* titled 'The History of Rob Roy' and 'The Career and Fate of Rob Roy's Sons' (later published as *The History of Rob Roy*), and published biographies of other national figures, including *The Story of Prince Charlie* (1892), *The Story of William Wallace* (1908) and *Mary Queen of Scots: Her Life Story* (1905).⁵⁵ Millar also collaborated with Lang on the Pelham Papers in the British Museum for his forthcoming book, *Pickle the Spy* (1897), which revealed the identity of a Catholic Jacobite-turned-British intelligence agent in the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite Rising.⁵⁶ Thus, although the *Scottish Review* attracted historians and history enthusiasts whose work has previously been interpreted as 'Unionist-nationalism', the multiplicity of their interests as evidenced by Scottish magazines suggests a contradiction to this binary, as is the case for many figures associated with the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival discussed in this chapter.⁵⁷

The historian-contributors in the *Scottish Review* also sought to place Scottish history within a wider European context, something which has been observed in the career of Hume Brown whose 'conception of national history was by no means exclusive' and who consistently advocated the study of Scottish history alongside that of other countries.⁵⁸ Alongside essays on Scottish historiography, the

⁵³ Catriona M. M. Macdonald, 'Andrew Lang and Scottish Historiography: Taking on Tradition', *Scottish Historical Review*, 94: 2, (2015), 207–237 (p. 216).

⁵⁴ Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*, p. 74.

⁵⁵ See A. H. Millar, *The History of Rob Roy* (Dundee: John Leng & Company, 1883), 'The History of Rob Roy', *People's Friend*, 6 April 1882, pp. 212–213, and 'The Career and Fate of Rob Roy's Sons', *People's Friend*, 3 January 1883, pp. 3–4. Although he contributed these anonymously, the *People's Friend* later confirmed he was the author, see 'To Correspondents', *People's Friend*, 2 May 1883, p. 287.

⁵⁶ Letter of A. H. Millar to Rev. William M. Metcalfe, 2 November 1897, Correspondence and other Papers Relating to the 'Scottish Review', MS.3654, f.202, NLS.

⁵⁷ Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*.

⁵⁸ John Robertson, 'Peter Hume Brown (1849–1918)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32115?rskey=PXwWcy&result=2>> [accessed 19 November 2023]. See also, Dauvit Broun, 'A Forgotten Anniversary: P. Hume Brown's "History of Scotland", 1911', in *Writing a Small Nation's Past – Wales in Comparative Perspective, 1850–1950*, ed. by Neil Evans and Huw Pryce (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 267–282.

Scottish Review published the work of Sir John Rhys, Welsh scholar and the first professor of Celtic history at the University of Oxford, John Bagnell Bury, Irish scholar and professor of modern history at Trinity College Dublin and the University of Cambridge, Horatio F. Brown, Scottish historian of Italy, and Olaf Davidson, Icelandic historian of the Faroe Islands, as well as other historians, antiquarians, and archaeology enthusiasts with interests in Italian, German, French, and Islamic history and the Greek and Roman Empires.⁵⁹ Folklore also occupied a presence in the magazine. Shetland poet and folklorist J. J. Haldane Burges was a regular contributor, as was Countess Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco, the self-styled ‘padrona of folksongs’, who proposed to Metcalfe an article on ‘the condition, physical & moral, of the peasants in the North of Italy’.⁶⁰ Ultimately, the *Scottish Review*’s focus on Scotland’s past and cultural heritage contextualises the *Scottish Review* as a magazine of the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival.

Moreover, the establishment of the *Scottish Review* grew out of the growing political anxieties and constitutional discontent of the 1880s. Metcalfe, the magazine’s editor, hoped that the *Scottish Review* would ‘protest the idea that London is the centre of Scottish life’, and proposed to Bute that it ‘could become the organ of a Scottish “National Party”’ in 1889.⁶¹ Both sides of the Home Rule debate were presented in the *Scottish Review*, including pro-Home Rule articles by William Mitchell, honorary treasurer of the SHRA, and sceptical articles such as ‘The Limits of Scottish Home Rule’ by William Wallace, editor of the *Glasgow Herald*.⁶² Although the press considered the *Scottish Review* ‘independent and kept aloof from all the partisanship in politics’, for the most part, the magazine was a Liberal publication.⁶³ It published many Liberal contributors including Charles Cameron, Liberal MP for Glasgow, and J. Edward Graham, honorary secretary of the East and North of Scotland Liberal

⁵⁹ See Appendix V.

⁶⁰ A pamphlet of Burgess’s poem ‘Up-Helli-Aa Song’ (1897) is amongst the correspondence relating to the *Scottish Review*, see MS.3654, ff.203–204, NLS; Letter of Countess Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco to Rev. William M. Metcalfe, 25 April 1887, Correspondence and other Papers Relating to the ‘Scottish Review’, MS.3654, f.31, NLS; David Hopkin, The Padrona of Folksongs: Biography of Evelyn Carrington, Countess Martinengo-Cesaresco, *BEROSE International Encyclopaedia of the Histories of Anthology*, (2018), <<https://www.berose.fr/article1480.html>> [accessed 19 October 2022].

⁶¹ Quoted in Rosemary Hannah, *The Great Designer: Third Marquess of Bute* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2013), p. 169; Quoted in Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*, p. 12.

⁶² William Mitchell, ‘Scotland and Home Rule’, *Scottish Review*, April 1888, p. 323; William Wallace, ‘The Limits of Scottish Home Rule’, *Scottish Review*, April 1890, pp. 420–430.

⁶³ ‘The Scottish Review’, *Glasgow Herald*, 29 December 1900, p. 7 col g.

Unionist Association. Indeed, Prime Minister William Gladstone read and paid close attention to the magazine's Home Rule articles.⁶⁴ Ultimately, Metcalfe's letters to Bute stress that the *Scottish Review* emphasised such constitutional issues. He wrote that,

Scottish is an important part of the S.R. [Scottish Review]. 'The Edinburgh' [*Edinburgh Review*] and *NBR* [*North British Review*] went to London with the result that they lost whatever of the Scottish flavour they had.⁶⁵

Here, Metcalfe emphasises the importance of the magazine's association with an identity that was distinctly Scottish, as opposed to English or British. This reiterates the focus on nationhood and nationality discussed earlier in magazines like the *Scottish Reader* and *Scottish Nights* which advertised themselves as national magazines, used nationally-observant titles, and engaged with the cultural markers of Scottish national identity in the late-Victorian era. This was characterised in the *Scottish Review* in essays such as 'Scottish Patriotism and Scottish Politics' and 'The Scottish Language'.⁶⁶ The magazine's concern with constitutional issues was not limited to Scotland. It was considerably outward-looking and listed distribution agents in Australia, Germany, South Africa, India, France, and North America, as well as publishing translations of contemporary German, Italian, Russian, and French literature.⁶⁷ It also included summaries of magazines published in Sweden, Iceland, Denmark, Switzerland, Spain, Greece, Germany and Italy, of which the latter were written by Lily Wolffsohn, a Lancashire-born translator, suffragist, and journalist for *The Vote* and *Evening Standard* in the 1890s.⁶⁸ A notable trend in the magazine's interest in Europe were its discussions of small-nation nationalism in Ireland, Belgium, Romania, and Quebec.⁶⁹ Furthermore, whilst Andrew Nash's assessment of the *Scottish Review* is that it became 'less exclusively Scottish' in the 1890s, in the context of the Scottish

⁶⁴ Lloyd-Jones, 'Liberalism, Scottish Nationalism', p. 878.

⁶⁵ Quoted in *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*, p. 787.

⁶⁶ 'Scottish Patriotism and Scottish Politics', *Scottish Review*, September 1883, pp. 358–382; 'The Scottish Language', *Scottish Review*, July 1884, pp. 30–61.

⁶⁷ Andrew Nash, 'Literary Publishing: 1880–1914', in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 203–222 (p. 212).

⁶⁸ Letter of Lily Wolffsohn to Rev. William M. Metcalfe, 24 October 1897, Correspondence and other Papers Relating to the 'Scottish Review', MS.3654, ff.51–52, NLS. Wolffsohn was born Eliza Margaret Clay in 1832 and married Julius Wolffsohn in 1853, a Prussian-born naturalised British subject, who was British Vice-Consul at Naples, Italy, from 1878.

⁶⁹ 'French Canada', *Scottish Review*, April 1887, pp. 245–265.

Revival's connections with international movements such as European decadence, *Japonisme*, Belgian nationalism, and the Irish Revival, this further accentuates the magazine's alignment with the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival.⁷⁰

Reassessment of the *Scottish Review* also lends itself to a re-evaluation of its publisher, Alexander Gardner. Research into the wider scope of Gardner's printing activities between the 1870s and 1920s has revealed that the firm was a far more influential publishing house in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Scotland than an example of how 'provincial Scottish publishing could be truly national and international'.⁷¹ The firm was established in Paisley in 1828 by Alexander Gardner Sr and published over 400 books of Scottish poetry, history, biography, fiction, folklore, and music, as well as magazines, including *The Holyrood Annual* (1885–1886), *The Sun* (1889–1891), *The Notion* (1903), and *The Scribble* (1915–1916) between the 1830s and 1950s.⁷² There was a religious bent to the firm's publishing interests. From the 1820s to 1840s, Gardner Sr was the official printer to several religious organisations in Paisley and produced pamphlets and annual reports for their charitable and benevolent committees, as well as religious tracts that circulated in the west of Scotland, such as *The Friendly Monitor* (1848–1850). Gardner Jr continued his father's religious publishing through the establishment of the monthly literary magazine *The Sun* (1888–1891), which was described as a 'Magazine for General Readers' and subtitled 'Heaven's Light Our Guide'. *The Sun* included essays by clergymen and fiction by popular authors with a penchant for Christian overtones, including *People's Friend* contributors like Swan. At the same time, the magazine also published writers associated with the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival, such as Scottish poet and novelist William Sharp, who published a series of critical essays entitled 'Waifs of Time: Notes from the History of Art' from 1889 to 1890, and Scottish fantasy author George MacDonald, whose novel, *There and Back* (1890), was serialised in the same years. Indeed, as

⁷⁰ Nash, 'Literary Publishing', p. 212; Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*.

⁷¹ Nash, 'Literary Publishing', p. 212.

⁷² For *The Holyrood Annual*, see Chapter 3. For analysis of *The Scribble*, see Lois Burke and Charlotte Lauder, 'Charity, Cultural Exchange and Generational Difference in Scottish Children's Writings About the First World War', *The Edinburgh History of Children's Periodicals*, ed. by Beth Rodgers and Kristin Mourizi (Forthcoming with Edinburgh University Press).

a magazine that published popular authors like Swan as well as leading *fin-de-siècle* revivalists like Sharp and MacDonald, *The Sun* reiterates the need to explore the connections between the supposed extremes of the movements that these writers represent. Gardner Jr's impact on Scottish magazine culture was acknowledged by Hugh MacDiarmid in the 1920s. Writing his obituary under the journalistic pseudonym 'Mountboy', MacDiarmid likened Gardner's death to a loss of Scottish publishing in the face of centralisation in London, echoing Metcalfe's concerns nearly forty years earlier:

The death of Mr Alexander Gardner, the well-known Paisley publisher removes one of the very few, and one of the most outstanding, of Scottish publishers. They are dying out, and their places are not being taken by a new generation like to the old. [...] Scottish publishing is becoming more and more centralised in London, and it is consequently becoming more and more difficult to secure the publication of specifically Scottish books [...] it will soon become as difficult to publish a peculiarly Scottish book on a profitable basis as it has become to promote distinctively Scottish periodicals.⁷³

MacDiarmid's words are significant as he contextualises Gardner within the Scottish Renaissance's wider mission towards reviving Scottish literature, publishing, and the periodical press.⁷⁴ Therefore, this places additional importance on Gardner in the early development of the Scottish Literary Revival that gathered speed in the 1920s.

In the context of the *Scottish Review* and the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival, Nash observes that the magazine fits Gardner's religious repertoire through its particular interest in the history of religion in Scotland and theology, and the fact that a significant number of its contributors who were men of the cloth.⁷⁵ However, the clergymen who published in the *Scottish Review* represented a vast array of faiths, including a Scottish minister on mission to the Presbyterian Church in St Petersburg, Russia, a Moderator of the General Assembly, the Roman Catholic Archbishops of the Dioceses of St Andrews and Edinburgh and Aberdeen, a Greek Orthodox priest, and Albert Löwry, the founder of the Anglo-Jewish Association who also tutored Hebrew to the Marquess of Bute.⁷⁶ The openness towards different

⁷³ 'Scottish Arts and Affairs', *Leven Advertiser and East Wemyss Gazette*, 23 April 1917, p. 3 col a.

⁷⁴ For an example of the Scottish Renaissance's publishing legacy, see Alistair McCleery, *The Porpoise Press, 1922–39* (Edinburgh: Merchiston, 1988).

⁷⁵ Nash, 'Literary Publishing', p. 212.

⁷⁶ Sinéad Agnew, 'Albert Löwy (1816–1908)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-34616?rskey=25ohAL&result=1>> [accessed 12 November 2023]. See also, Appendix I.

faiths was noted by readers of the magazine. J. P. White suggested that the magazine ‘rose from the ashes’ of the *North British Review* (1844–1871), a magazine founded to represent the views of the Free Church of Scotland in the immediate aftermath of the Disruption but which, from the 1860s, espoused a Liberal and Catholic point of view under the editorial direction of Lord Acton.⁷⁷ There are noticeable parallels between the *North British Review* and the *Scottish Review*.⁷⁸ Like Acton, the *Scottish Review*’s proprietor (Bute) was aristocratic, Catholic, and a Liberal party supporter, and although its editor (Metcalf) was a minister of the Established Church of Scotland, his bibliography suggests that he had considerable interest in pre-Reformation Scotland, particularly the lives of Catholic saints of Scotland, a topic on which he published extensively.⁷⁹ Considering the interests of leading members of the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival in religious alternatives to Scottish Presbyterianism – particularly neo-Catholicism and neo-Paganism, but also astrology and the occult (subjects on which the *Scottish Review* also published) – the diverse group of faiths represented in the *Scottish Review* place it within the context of the Scottish Revival.⁸⁰

When Bute died in October 1900, the issue of the magazine for that month was the last to be published by the Bute-Metcalf-Gardner partnership. Its end was much lamented by its contributors, readers, and the press. Major Colonel Claude R. Conder, a contributor to the magazine on the archaeology of Palestine, wrote to Metcalf that ‘the Review kept up a high literary standard’.⁸¹ Sarah E. Saville (a reader) stated that ‘[a] magazine of its standing of usefulness should have a place in the world, & a voice to which the people should be ready to listen’.⁸² Saville was particularly upset that the

⁷⁷ Letter of J. P. White to Rev. William M. Metcalf, 2 January 1901, Correspondence and other Papers Relating to the ‘Scottish Review’, MS.3654, f.278, NLS; Joanne Shattock, ‘*North British Review* (1844–1871)’, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (London: The British Library, 2009), p. 457.

⁷⁸ The parallel between the *North British Review* and *Scottish Review* is noted in *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*, p. 785.

⁷⁹ William M. Metcalf, *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the 14th Century* (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1888); William M. Metcalf, *Pinkerton’s Lives of the Scottish Saints* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1889); William M. Metcalf, *The Legends of SS. Ninan and Machor* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1904).

⁸⁰ See Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*, pp. 145–147, pp. 208–209.

⁸¹ Letter of Major Colonel Claude R. Conder to Rev. William M. Metcalf, 4 January 1901, Correspondence and other Papers Relating to the ‘Scottish Review’, MS.3654, f.280, NLS.

⁸² Letter of Sarah E. Saville to Rev. William M. Metcalf, 10 January 1901, Correspondence and other Papers Relating to the ‘Scottish Review’, MS.3654, ff.281–282, NLS.

magazine was no longer able to quell the ‘pandering to a lower taste which neither improves nor elevates the people’ that she observed in popular literary magazines.⁸³ This sentiment was echoed by former Free Church of Scotland minister and London based magazine publisher William Robertson Nicoll. Writing under his pseudonym ‘A Man of Kent’ in the *British Weekly*, he bemoaned the loss of the *Scottish Review*’s reviews of foreign literature which made it ‘always worth buying and reading’.⁸⁴ Therefore, with its essays on Scottish historiography, its Liberal pro-Home Rule stance, and interest in Scottish nationalism, the *Scottish Review* was an important network for those association with the cultural apparatus of the Scottish Revival.

The Scottish Review After 1900

The magazine’s association with the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival extends further than its time under the Bute-Metcalf-Gardner partnership. In 1914, the Hon. Stuart Erskine, more commonly known as Ruairaidh Erskine of Marr, revived the magazine, titling it ‘A Quarterly Journal devoted to the cause of the Independence of Scotland’. Erskine was an active figure in Scottish nationalism as early as the 1880s: he was a neo-Jacobite, Gaelic revivalist, vice-president of the SHRA, and frequently used magazines to further his activism for a politically autonomist, culturally separate, and linguistically independent Scotland. For example, Erskine and his friend, Herbert Vivian, edited a weekly neo-Jacobite newspaper, *The Whirlwind* (1890–1891), which supported Scottish nationalism, Irish Home Rule, and the restoration of the Stuart line of succession to the British throne. Erskine was a member of the Legitimist Jacobite League of Great Britain and Ireland, which was formed in 1891 after a secession of the Order of the White Rose (1886), another pro-Jacobite organisation.⁸⁵ He also founded and edited a number of Gaelic language magazines in Scotland, including *Am Bàrd* (The Poet, 1901–1902), *Guth na Bliadhna* (The Year’s Voice, 1904–1925), *Alba* (Scotland, 1908–1909), and *An Sgeulaiche* (The Storyteller, 1909–1911), as well as *The Scots Review* (1925), and *The Pictish Review* (1927–1928), and

⁸³ Letter of Sarah E. Saville to Rev. William M. Metcalfe, 10 January 1901.

⁸⁴ ‘The Scottish Review Dropped’, *Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette*, 5 January 1901, p. 6 col g.

⁸⁵ Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*, p. 202.

was editorially involved with the *Scots Independent* (1926–present), a monthly newspaper established by the SNL to promote Scottish independence.⁸⁶ Erskine was aware of the power of the press in raising public consciousness about Scottish nationalism. In a letter to Roland E. Muirhead, national secretary of the SHRA in the early 1920s and the first chairman of the NPS, he stressed that ‘I must hope that arrangements will be made in order to secure good press management’ for the ‘National Party’, because ‘[m]y experience of our national movement is that they are very badly attuned so far as the press is concerned’.⁸⁷ For Erskine, magazines carried important cultural currency in the marketplace of Scottish nationalism. Moreover, his friendships with leading nationalist figures in Scotland and Ireland – including republican leader Michael Collins, SHRA member and president of the SNP R. B. Cunninghamhame Graham, and founder of the SNM Lewis Spence – along with his neo-Jacobitism, Catholic faith, and commitment to the Gaelic language, confirms his status as one of the most overlooked figures in the Scottish Revival. Indeed, Erskine acts as a link between the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival of the 1880s and 1890s, the Scottish Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s, and the post-war Gaelic language revival of the 1950s.⁸⁸ Despite this, there has been little analysis of the magazines that he founded and edited during his lifetime.

When reviving the *Scottish Review* in 1914, Erskine maintained continuity with its previous iteration, including the frequency of its circulation (quarterly) and its layout and format. Likewise, each issue was as eclectic as those published between 1882 and 1900. For the most part, Erskine’s *Scottish Review* published at least seven articles each quarter and did not contain any literary reviews or synopses of foreign or domestic magazines. The main difference between the earlier and older versions was political support for Scottish independence and the questioning of Scottish Home Rule as a viable

⁸⁶ The SNL was created in 1928 from an amalgamation of the Glasgow University Scottish Nationalist Association, SNM, and SHRA. Later, it became the NPS and, from 1934, the Scottish National Party (SNP), shortly after which Erskine resigned.

⁸⁷ Letter of Ruairidh Erskine of Marr to Roland E. Muirhead, 9 May 1925, ‘Correspondence File: Honourable R Erskine of Marr’, Papers and Correspondence of the Scottish Secretariat, and of Roland Eugene Muirhead, Acc.3721/9/181, NLS.

⁸⁸ Recent analyses of Erskine have emphasised his wide-ranging involvement in Scottish politics, literature, and culture from the 1880s to 1950s, see Gerard Carins, *No Language! No Nation!: The Life and Times of the Honourable Ruairidh Erskine of Marr* (Perth: Rymour Books, 2021).

political movement after 1914. This was largely spearheaded by Erskine, but was also reflected in the magazine's contributors. They include Independent Labour Party (ILP) MP James Maxton, novelist and founding member of the NPS Thomas D. MacDonald (also known as Fionn MacColla), Welsh Liberal MP Edward Thomas John, and Scottish journalist William Diack, whose views reflect the vast array of radical politics in early-twentieth century Scotland.⁸⁹ Scottish independence was, in the 1910s, a far-reaching view in a discourse that was heavily congested by ongoing discussions of Home Rule and, in the wake of the Irish Easter Rising in 1916, legitimate caution about political separatism within Britain. For instance, in a letter responding to Erskine's proposal for an article on the connections between Scottish and Irish nationalism for the *Scottish Review*, Scottish sculptor, poet, and Home Ruler James Pittendrigh Macgillivray was sceptical about the impact of the Rising on the nationalist movement in Scotland:

I am keenly national and all for Home Rule – have been for so many years – have always been a patriot. [...] But – while for Home-rule and freedom in all that concerns our internal polity, I am not for that kind of breaking up and separation on which the poor, mad Irish are bent, I pity their useless foolishness, and the kind of running amok they are in for. Their madness hurts out Scottish cause.⁹⁰

Erskine also expressed caution about Irish revolutionary actions. In a letter to Gaelic scholar and language activist Charles William Loch, he condemned the Easter Rising as a 'foolish affair' and, at the same time, described it as 'honourable' and likened it to the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745.⁹¹ On the whole, the *Scottish Review* discussed the events of Easter 1916 with admiration. In the article 'Who Fears to Speak of Easter Week', the anonymous author (most likely Erskine) makes a similar comparison between the events of 1916 and 1745, as well as nineteenth-century revolutionary insurrections in European states like France, concluding that Home Rule in Britain would encourage the submission of Ireland and Scotland to England, rather than the enhancement of their autonomy outwith English rule. The article stated that Home Rule would be

⁸⁹ For a discussion of these figures, see Wilson McLeod, *Gaelic in Scotland: Policies, Movements, Ideologies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), and Finlay, *Scottish Nationalism*.

⁹⁰ Letter of James Pittendrigh Macgillivray to Ruairidh Erskine of Marr, 5 March 1918, Letters of James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, Dep.349.19, NLS.

⁹¹ Letter of Ruairidh Erskine of Marr to Charles William Loch, 6 June 1916, 'Gaelic Correspondence I – General', Gen 138, The Loch Papers, University of Glasgow Special Collections, Glasgow.

a kind of glorified political *Valhalla* on earth, in which all the “English-speaking people” (with the possible exception of the United States) shall be gathered together, each one ceaselessly effervescing with “loyalty”, and perpetually exuding mutual admiration; in which each lesser State shall ecstatically salute England as the one and only possible “Mother-country”; in which beef and beer and bullion shall abound, and wherein the assembled “nations of Anglo-Saxondom”, both great and small, shall ceaselessly sing themselves hoarse in chanting the praises of “national” heroes like the late Lord Kitchener, and Mr Rudyard Kipling.⁹²

The connections between the Easter Rising of 1916 and the Jacobite risings, as well as Erskine’s personal correspondence on the subject, exemplifies the divergence in the application of the Scottish past in relation Scottish self-determination after 1900. Whilst Coleman has argued that nineteenth and twentieth-century commemorations of the Jacobites were ‘an attempt to keep alive the displays of Jacobite loyalty whilst eschewing its more overt political element’, for figures like Erskine, whose belief in the restoration of the Stuarts stretched as far back as the 1880s, the view that Jacobite supporters had ‘died for an anachronism’ was no more true in the 1910s than it had been in the 1880s and 1890s.⁹³ Indeed, although historians have emphasised the eclecticism of figures like Erskine, an interest in neo-Jacobitism – expressed as a belief in a pre-Puritan, pre-Reformation Scotland – drew many Scots to Scottish Home Rule in the belief that it would return Scotland to its pre-Union state.⁹⁴

This interpretation of Scottish history in the *Scottish Review* was not limited to the Jacobites. An anonymous article (again, most likely written by Erskine) entitled ‘Bannockburn’ stated that ‘the political results of the battle can be in no wise [sic] be minimised, nor is the justifiable pride with which the Scottish nation has always regarded Bannockburn in any danger of being brought low’.⁹⁵ On the practice of memorialising the Battle of Bannockburn at the Bore Stone it added that ‘the nation should not be invited to go out to see merely the reed of Borestoneism shaken once again by the stale eruptions of the inflated prophets of “Britainism”’.⁹⁶ Ultimately, ‘[t]he cause and the principle which all Scotland united to uphold at Bannockburn, and which the spears of our ancestors carried to victory,

⁹² ‘Who Fears to Speak of Easter Week’, *Scottish Review*, Autumn 1916, p. 373.

⁹³ Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, pp. 156–157, p. 188.

⁹⁴ Shaw, *The Scottish Fin-de-Siècle*, pp. 201–202.

⁹⁵ ‘Bannockburn’, *Scottish Review*, Summer 1914, p. 176.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

was Independence'.⁹⁷ As was argued earlier, the conflation of Bannockburn with the growing movement for Scottish Home Rule was not voiced in a vacuum. A number of leading Scottish Home Rulers produced and edited magazines that espoused a neo-Jacobitism, notably Napier's *The Fiery Cross* which also drew connections between eighteenth-century battles for Scottish freedom and the SHRA. Erskine's *Scottish Review* can, therefore, be contextualised within this nationalist interpretation of the Scottish past after 1900.

Throughout the magazine, the ideological divergences between Scottish Home Rule and Scottish independence were put forward in articles like 'The Rising Moon', in which the author is sceptical of the success of Home Rule, based on the fact that breaking up Britain would reduce England's role in the British Empire:

No doubt, Federalism is becoming and will tend yet more to become – provided no great war intervenes – the dominant issue in contemporary British politics; but between the period when it becomes that issue and the period when it definitely wins or loses there will stretch, in all probability, many a long year. England will not easily reconcile herself to any sound measure of Federalism, because her acceptance of the system must deprive her of her present dominating position within the Empire. [...] Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, etc. – these countries, though together constituting what is called the "British" Empire, have not, nor ever had, individually or collectively, any direct or practical control of the policy by which the Empire is governed. England, and England alone, shapes and controls the Imperial policy.⁹⁸

The argument here that Home Rule would potentially bolster the perception of England as the great liberator of the modern era was foreshadowed by Maxton in an earlier essay on the ILP, in which he described that 'in so far as there is any distinct sense or feeling of nationalism within the Independent Labour Party, [...] the sentiment rests with the Englishmen, some of whom feel that there is danger of English ideas becoming subordinated to Scottish standards of thought'.⁹⁹ Although downplaying nationalist concerns within the ILP, Maxton's comments are insightful as they justify Scottish political concerns well before the heyday of organised nationalism in the 1920s. Indeed, what is clear from Erskine's *Scottish Review* is that interest in Scottish independence was a legitimate concern amongst a

⁹⁷ 'Bannockburn', p. 181.

⁹⁸ J.M., 'The Rising of the Moon', *Scottish Review*, Summer 1914, p. 156.

⁹⁹ James Maxton, 'The Working-Class Movement', *Scottish Review*, Winter 1914, p. 567.

variety of Home Rulers, Liberals, neo-Jacobites, and socialists throughout Britain and Ireland, although this was not a unified or straightforward coalition. Thus, the *Scottish Review* can be seen as indicative of Scottish nationalism's period of incubation 'within radical Liberalism and the early Scottish labour movement' between the 1880s and 1910s, as Ben Jackson describes.¹⁰⁰ For the most part, this period of incubation is considered less important by scholars of Scottish nationalism in light of the continuation of the SHRA and the establishment of political organisations like the SNL and SNM in the 1920s and 1930s. However, as the continual debates about self-determination in the *Scottish Review* between 1882 and 1920 suggest, this was more than a gestation period for Scottish nationalism, it was an infancy in which the calls for self-autonomy were just as 'fissiparous', 'diverse', and 'at times contending' as historians have identified in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁰¹ Indeed, as Cameron notes, despite the onslaught of organising that lead to the creation of the Scottish National Party (SNP) in 1934, 'it would be almost thirty-five years, and many vicissitudes, before the SNP would see any political return'.¹⁰² Therefore, downplaying nationalist sentiment in the *Scottish Review* based on its ideological complexities, contradictions, and (sometimes) incoherence dismisses a period in which Scottish nationalism was being continually asserted, critiqued, and discussed. Moreover, Scottish nationalism was not as distant an idea at the *fin-de-siècle* as previous scholars have suggested. Ultimately, as a quarterly magazine that published historical, literary, and political criticism between 1882 and 1920, the *Scottish Review* emphasises the importance of Scottish magazines to the development of Scottish nationalism between 1870 and 1920, and to the networks of people who progressed and advanced these ideas.

¹⁰⁰ Ben Jackson, *The Case for Scottish Independence. A History of Nationalist Political Thought in Modern Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 16.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 17; Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, pp. 168–174. Also, see Richard J. Finlay, *Independent and Free: Scottish Politics and the Origins of the Scottish National Party, 1918–1945* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1994), James Mitchell, *Strategies for Self-Government* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996), and Paula Somerville, *Through the Maelstrom: A History of the Scottish National Party 1946–67* (Stirling: Scots Independent, 2013).

¹⁰² Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, p. 168.

2. Dunedin Magazine (1912–1915) and the Dunedin Association (1911–1917; 1944–c.1957)

At first glance, the *Dunedin Magazine* (1912–1916) does not appear as an obvious case study in the exploration of the Scottish Revival and magazine culture. It was the official magazine of a lesser-known society, the Dunedin Association, which was formed in Edinburgh in November 1911 as ‘a protest against the indifference shown to Scottish Music and Poetry’ and aimed to promote ‘the enthusiasm of all those interested in the development of a distinctive Scottish school of musical utterance’.¹⁰³ The *Dunedin Magazine* was published quarterly between 1912 and 1916 and primarily fulfilled two functions: to provide a list of forthcoming lectures, concerts, and recitals that were organised by the Association, and to publish poetry, essays, and articles by the members that related to the work of the Association. The majority of the prose in the magazine related to the musicology of Scotland, but other examples demonstrate striking affinities with the interests of *fin-de-siècle* Scottish revivalists, such as Scottish folklore, neo-Jacobitism, and Celtic identity.¹⁰⁴ In 1911, the impetus for establishing the Dunedin Association was as follows:

There can be no real necessity to-day for arguing with our fellow countrymen as to the value of our national history, folklore and song, although these have far too long been allowed to lie unnoticed or unworthily remembered by our own folks. It was not so with those of other lands; and foreign students have also been keenly aware to the value of the Scottish ballads, the Scottish melodies, and the illuminating power of the lowland Scots and the ancient Gaelic in philological matters. [...] Others have the sense not to be ashamed of their national voice, and why should we, who have a history and a heritage as great and stirring as any other in Europe?¹⁰⁵

Although the *Dunedin Magazine* more closely resembles the published proceedings or transactions of a society, its espousal that ‘others have the sense not to be ashamed of their voice’ and that Scotland has ‘a history and heritage as great and stirring’ echoes the kind of nationalist sentiment that we have encountered in other magazines thus far. Further, like the *Scottish Review*, the *Dunedin Magazine* is an important magazine that acted as a network for like-minded Scottish revivalists.

¹⁰³ James Lauchlan Maclean Watt, ‘By the Editor’, *Dunedin Magazine*, November 1912, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ Donald A. Mackenzie, ‘Scotland’s Distinctive Folklore’, *Dunedin Magazine*, February 1913, pp. 98–101; Frederick Watson, ‘Rob Roy’s Sons’, *Dunedin Magazine*, May 1913, pp. 169–181; Samuel Ferguson, ‘Our Celtic Heritage’, *Dunedin Magazine*, November 1913, pp. 24–32.

¹⁰⁵ Watt, ‘By the Editor’, pp. 6–7.

The Dunedin Association attracted a number of Scottish musicians, composers, and organists, as well as writers, poets, and journalists whose work had a vested interest in the advancement of Scottish culture. In 1911, Andrew Lang was the Association's honorary president, and its vice-presidents included Sir George Douglas (a contributor to the *Evergreen* and *People's Friend*), James Logie Robertson (a poet more widely known by his pseudonym 'Hugh Haliburton'), and Rev. James Lauchlan Maclean Watt, a Scottish clergyman who also was editor of the *Dunedin Magazine* and principal organiser of the Association.¹⁰⁶ Watt is an overlooked but important figure in discussions about the Scottish Revival and Scottish magazine culture. Along with his contributions to a variety of popular magazines, he published several poetry volumes, as well as devotional texts for practical use and biographies of Robert Burns, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Thomas Carlyle.¹⁰⁷ He was also an organist and bagpipe player, hence his interest in establishing an association that was dedicated to the promotion of Scottish music.¹⁰⁸ The majority of Watt's published work conveys standard themes in nineteenth-century literature that were replicated and popularised throughout the penny press, such as childhood, religion, and nature.¹⁰⁹ In the *People's Friend*, he published romantic verse, such as 'The Lassie's Kiss', and won the magazine's football song competition in 1887.¹¹⁰ Ostensibly, Watt epitomises the literary minister discussed in Chapter 2 who wrote popular literature that was intended for a wide readership. Hugh MacDiarmid noted this and included Watt as a perpetuator of 'hokum', in this context, a reference to Scotland's overtly popular (and populist) late-Victorian literary culture:

But what I canna accoot for's no'
Bein' able to gie folk hokum.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix VI.

¹⁰⁷ For examples of his bibliography, see James Lauchlan Maclean Watt, *The Grey Mother, and Other Poems: Being Songs of Empire* (London: J. M. Dent, 1903), *Selected Material Psalms and Paraphrases for Congregational Worship* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1906), *Historical Sketch of the Glasgow Society of the Songs of Ministers of the Church of Scotland* (Glasgow: Printed for the Society by Martin, Cleland & Taylor, 1910), *In Poets' Corner: a Book of Ballads and Verse* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910), *Thomas Carlyle* (Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1912), *Burns* (Glasgow: Collins' Clear-Type Press, 1914), and *The Hills of Home*, ed. by James Lauchlan Maclean Watt (Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1913).

¹⁰⁸ James Lauchlan Maclean Watt, *In the Land of War: A Padre with the Bagpipes* (Edinburgh: Turnbull & Spears, 1915).

¹⁰⁹ For an overview, see Kirstie Blair, *Working Verse in Victorian Scotland: Poetry, Press, Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

¹¹⁰ James Lauchlan Maclean Watt, 'The Lassie's Kiss', *People's Friend*, 15 December 1886, p. 785, and 'Over the Goal', *People's Friend*, 30 November 1887, p. 763.

I can joke 'em and sock 'em and choke 'em
But the a'e thing needfu' is hokum.
– I wish I was Neil Munro.

It isna fair to my wife and weans,
It isna fair to mysel'.
The day's lang by when Gaels gaed oot
To battle and aye fell.
I wish I was Harry Lauder,
Will Fyffe or J. J. Bell,
– Or Lauchlan Maclean Watt
For the matter o' that!
– Dae I Hell!¹¹¹

Here, MacDiarmid suggests that Maclean Watt is representative of the cultural backwardness that was associated with popular figures in Scotland such as the author Neil Munro and music-hall star Harry Lauder in the 1920s and 1930s, whom MacDiarmid considered 'a cultural racket that panders unashamedly to a debased popular taste'.¹¹² However, a re-evaluation of Watt and his literary life between 1870 and 1920 reveals some of the contradictions and paradoxes between the perceived opposites of the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival and popular Scottish literature. For instance, although MacDiarmid included Watt as an example of contemporary Scottish verse in his *Northern Numbers* poetry anthology, he took him to task in his collection of essays in *Contemporary Scottish Studies* (1926), stating that there is 'perhaps little or no fury about his overwhelmingly pietistic and sentimental output'.¹¹³ As a minister of the Established Church of Scotland and a Moderator of the General Assembly, Watt was certainly pietistic. For example, following the publication of Catherine Carswell's controversial biography of Robert Burns in 1932, in which she paid particular attention to Burns' promiscuity, he preached against her during a sermon in Glasgow Cathedral, and scathingly reviewed her book in the 1932 *Burns Chronicle* on the basis that '[b]iography is not the story of the scandals of a

¹¹¹ Hugh MacDiarmid. *Selected Poetry*, ed. by Alan Riach and Michael Grieve (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 2004), p. 122.

¹¹² David Goldie, 'Hugh MacDiarmid, Harry Lauder and Scottish Popular Culture', *International Journal of Scottish Literature*, 1, (2006), 1–12 (p. 1).

¹¹³ C. M. Grieve [Hugh MacDiarmid], *Northern Numbers. Second Series* (Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1921), pp. 137–142, and *Contemporary Scottish Studies* (London: L. Parsons, 1926), p. 292.

man'.¹¹⁴ Yet, despite his clashes with noted protagonists of the Scottish Renaissance in the 1920s and 1930s, Watt had deep-rooted interests in the cultural apparatus of the Scottish Revival. In 1883, he created a neo-Jacobite manuscript magazine, *The Thistle: a National Scotch Jacobite MS Magazine*, with his friend, George Anderson, which espoused a belief in the return of the Stuart monarchy to the British throne.¹¹⁵ In the only extant issue, Maclean Watt contributed a serial story titled 'Family Annals; or, The History of the McLeans of Duncreach' in which he imagines himself as the son of a Jacobite family living in the Scottish Highlands whose feud with a neighbouring family, the 'Finleys of Finnibrack', over possession of a small island in the fictional Loch Lettach spills over into 'clansman's revenge'.¹¹⁶ Later in life, Watt published *Edragil, 1745*, a Jacobite romance novel, as well as Gaelic verse in *Bolg Solair* (The Pedlar's Pack), a collection of poetry published in aid of the funds of Feill a' Chomuinn Ghaidealaich (the Glasgow Gaelic Society's Festival), and a short story, 'The Saving of the Queen', in the Gaelic language magazine, *An deo-gréine* (1905–1922).¹¹⁷ Just as an interest in Jacobite history and Highland identity occupied the minds of several *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revivalists, they held a similarly fixed position in Watt's literary career. He was also a Scottish Home Ruler: he stated that 'if I were to be sure we should be with Scottish Home Rule, I'd fling my hat up for it to-morrow' in the *Scots Magazine* (1924–present), and was a contributor to the *Scottish Nation* (1913–1917), a magazine produced on behalf of the International Scots Home Rule League.¹¹⁸ Despite his association with popular literature, Watt's views on the teleological debate in Scotland align him with many *fin-de-siècle* revivalists. For example, in *Scottish Life and Poetry* (1912) he states that

Scots are so mixed as a people that perhaps no greater historic fallacy has been perpetuated than the designation of us as the Anglo-Saxon race. Anglo-Celtic would be nearer the mark of

¹¹⁴ *The Savage Pilgrimage: A Narrative of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. by Catherine MacFarlane (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. xxii; Quoted in Kevin T. Gallagher, "'Sitting in the Mud and Telling Dirty Stories About Poets": Robert Burns and the Modern Scottish Renaissance', (MPhil thesis, University of Glasgow, 2018), pp. 55–56.

¹¹⁵ I am grateful to Suzanne Keller, reference librarian at the University of Cincinnati's Archives and Rare Books, for her perseverance in finding this magazine in the Walter C. Langsam Library's Jacobite collections.

¹¹⁶ James Lauchlan Maclean Watt, 'Family Annals; or, The History of the McLeans of Duncreach', *The Thistle: a National Scotch Jacobite MS Magazine*, July 1883, pp. 167–172.

¹¹⁷ James Lauchlan Maclean Watt, 'Inishail', *Bolg Solair* [The Pedlar's Pack] (Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, 1907), p. 96, and 'The Saving of the Queen', *An deo-gréine*, November 1907, pp. 26–27.

¹¹⁸ 'Devolution. All Sides of the Question', *Scots Magazine*, December 1924, p. 215.

truth, and, if we would be fully described, Anglo-Cymro-Dano-Celtic would most truly cover the Scot at any rate.¹¹⁹

Again, MacDiarmid was aware of this other aspect of Watt's literary life. He noted the 'Celtic Twilightism of Lauchlan M'Lean Watt' and admired 'the strong Gaelic element in much of his work'.¹²⁰

Watt's campaign to revive interest in Scottish balladry, verse, song, folklore, and music via the *Dunedin Magazine* in the 1910s was part of a wider effort to anthologise Scottish balladry and song in popular print culture. This includes magazines which consistently published biographical articles on famous Scottish musicians, such as 'The Ballad Writers of Scotland' and 'The Songs of Scotland' in *Scottish Nights*, and James Cuthbert Hadden's column 'Musical Notes' in the *Perthshire Magazine*. The *People's Friend* also promoted musical composition by encouraging its readers to write music that accompanied original poems published in the magazine.¹²¹ Elsewhere, Scottish poet and collector of verse, Robert Ford, published a weekly poetry anthology series 'The Poet's Album; or, Gleanings from the Field of Scottish Song' in the *Weekly News* and *Dundee Courier* between 1879 and 1890, as well as collections of Scottish ballads, including *Rare Old Scotch Ballads* (1888), *Vagabond Songs and Ballads of Scotland* (1899), *Song Histories* (1900), and *Thistledown: a Book of Scotch Humour, Character, Folk-Lore, Story & Anecdote* (1913), all of which were published by Alexander Gardner of Paisley.¹²² Likewise, Ford was a close friend to many of the people discussed throughout this thesis: he was on good terms with *People's Friend* editor Andrew Stewart and lived with Alexander Lamont (also known as the 'Vicar of Deepdale') in Dennistoun. Watt contributed in a similar vein to Ford's poetry anthologies, publishing *The Scottish Ballads and Ballad Writing* in 1923.¹²³ As Blair has noted, these anthologies constitute 'part of the emergence of cultural nationalism, chiming with renewed calls for a recognition of Scotland's

¹¹⁹ James Lauchlan Maclean Watt, *Scottish Life and Poetry* (London: James Nisbet & Co. Ltd., 1912), p. 8.

¹²⁰ Grieve, *Contemporary Scottish Studies*, p. 294.

¹²¹ For example, see Robin Goodfellow [John Fullarton], 'Far Frae Hame. Music by A. Stewart', *People's Friend*, 16 August 1882, p. 525.

¹²² John Douglas, 'The Songs of Scotland', *Scottish Nights*, 2 August 1884, p. 12; 'The Ballad Writers of Scotland', *Scottish Nights*, 2 February 1884, p. 74; James Cuthbert Hadden, 'Musical Notes', *Perthshire Magazine*, April 1889, pp. 62–64; Robert Ford, *Vagabond Songs and Ballads of Scotland* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1899), and *Thistledown: a Book of Scotch Humour, Character, Folk-Lore, Story & Anecdote* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1913).

¹²³ James Lauchlan Maclean Watt, *The Scottish Ballads and Ballad Writing* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1923).

cultural – and political – autonomy as the twentieth century developed’.¹²⁴ To this renewed call, we can add Watt, the Dunedin Association, and the *Dunedin Magazine*.

Like the revival of the *Scottish Review* in 1914, the Dunedin Association had a notable afterlife that reveals significant continuities between the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival and its twentieth-century iteration. Following the Association’s lapse in 1916 due to the impact of the First World War, it was revived and reinstated in the 1940s as the Dunedin Society ‘for the promotion of the Scottish arts’ by Scottish modernist composer Erik Chisholm who became its president in 1944. The presidency was then held by MacDiarmid from 1946 to 1957 and its chairman was modernist artist and sculptor, J. D. Fergusson. In addition, the Society counted a number of poets, writers, artists, and playwrights in its membership, including Neil M. Gunn, Eric Linklater, Sorley Maclean, Compton Mackenzie, and James Bridie, as well as Scottish composers Francis George Scott and Ian Whyte, whose work contributed to the post-war literary era of ‘Scottish reconstruction’.¹²⁵ Between 1944 and c.1957, the Dunedin Society primarily organised music events, concerts, and recitals in Scotland, but also supported the establishment of the Folklore Institute in 1947 and hosted lecturers and joint meetings with the Franco-Scottish Association, the Britain-China Friendship Society, the World Youth Festival, and the Glasgow Recital Club, some of which were supported by the Scottish Arts Council in the 1950s. This later iteration of the Dunedin Association also oversaw a significant moment in the Scottish Renaissance’s postwar era. Following the ‘Plastic Scots’ controversy that played out in the pages of the *Glasgow Herald* (in which the validity and authenticity of vernacular literature in Scotland was publicly debated), Douglas Young lectured on the subject to a meeting of the Dunedin Society in December 1946, which MacDiarmid presided over, and which was later published as a booklet by William Maclellan, who was honorary secretary of the Society in 1954.¹²⁶ Thus, the Dunedin Association/Society represents a

¹²⁴ Blair, *Working Verse in Victorian Scotland*, p. 207.

¹²⁵ See Appendix VII. Craig, ‘Modernism and National Identity in Scottish Magazines’, p. 764.

¹²⁶ Margery Palmer McCulloch, ‘Continuing the Renaissance: Little Magazines and a Late Phase of Scottish Modernism in the 1940s’, *Études Écossaises*, 15, (2012), 59–73. Also, see Douglas Young, *“Plastic Scots” and the Scottish Literary Tradition: An Authoritative Introduction to a Controversy* (Glasgow: William Maclellan, 1947).

significant continuity between the promotion of Scottish arts and culture in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Ultimately, although a short-lived organisation and magazine, this case study demonstrates that the Dunedin Association and the *Dunedin Magazine* was a significant network that facilitated the preservation and promotion of Scottish music, history, language, and culture. At the same time, the revival of the Association in the 1940s demonstrates significant links between the cultural apparatus of the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival and the post-war Scottish Renaissance. Further, through a re-evaluation of its original instigator, Rev. Watt, we can look beyond the accepted binaries between the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival and popular magazine culture between 1870 and 1920. For Watt, Scottish Presbyterianism, the Gaelic language, bagpipes, neo-Jacobitism, popular poetry, and Scottish Home Rule were co-existent entities that endured throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in Scotland.

3. Scots Magazine (1924–present)

The *Scots Magazine* was founded in Glasgow in 1924 to provide ‘a high class literary periodical devoted entirely to Scotland and things Scottish’.¹²⁷ Its title has much earlier origins: a *Scots Magazine* had been founded in Edinburgh in 1739, but was out of print after 1826, and from 1887 to 1900 the Free Church of Scotland issued the *Scots’ Magazine* as the reincarnation of its monthly magazine, *Scottish Church*.¹²⁸ Following its re-establishment in 1924, the *Scots Magazine* was issued by the Glasgow St Andrew Society until April 1927, after which it was bought by D. C. Thomson & Co. who still publish it today. The magazine has figured in discussions of the Scottish Renaissance and Scottish Literary Revival, primarily due to its contributors which include Joe Corrie, William Power, Lewis Spence, William Soutar, and Marion Angus.¹²⁹ This impressive group of contributors continued after 1927 with the publication of

¹²⁷ Alistair McCleery, ‘Scottish Literary Magazines’ in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 226–228 (p. 226).

¹²⁸ Maurice Fleming, *The Scots Magazine. A Celebration of 250 Years* (London: Pelham Books, 1989), pp. 11–12.

¹²⁹ See Appendix VIII.

Lewis Grassie Gibbon, Neil M. Gunn, Helen B. Cruickshank, Christine Orr, and Wendy Wood.¹³⁰ Despite this, the magazine has been largely dismissed because of its association as a popular magazine issued by a publisher with a reputation for 'Tartan Toryism' (D. C. Thomson).¹³¹ For instance, Margery Palmer McCulloch describes the *Scots Magazine* as 'a small magazine of Scottish rural life which attained a kind of Scottish Renaissance status', and Alistair McCleery argues that, whilst the magazine put forward the 'cultural and political agenda of the Scottish Literary Renaissance', it did so under 'the luxury of a stable circulation' afforded by Thomson and was, therefore, not as radical or challenging as other magazines associated with the Renaissance.¹³² Whilst this case study does not dispute these claims, it argues that the *Scots Magazine* has a longer and a broader revivalist legacy than McCleery and McCulloch suggest and is worthy of further attention.

The establishment of the magazine in 1924 had two aims. Firstly, to avoid 'the quagmire of partisan politics' and, secondly, to be 'the organ of the Scottish societies throughout the world'.¹³³ The 'Scottish societies' it referred to were the global branches of the St Andrew Society that were originally established to provide charitable relief for newly settled emigrant Scots in the late-eighteenth century and which reached a zenith of ethnic associational co-operation and cultural celebration in the Scottish diaspora by the 1890s.¹³⁴ The *Scots Magazine* was published on behalf of one of these branches – the Glasgow St Andrew Society – which was established around 1912 to encourage the 'cultivation of the spirit of Scottish patriotism', 'the guarding of the honour and dignity of Scotland, the vindication of Scottish rights in the British Union', and to 'foster the study of Scottish History, Archaeology, Art, Literature, and Customs'.¹³⁵ The Glasgow St Andrew Society was modelled closely on its predecessor,

¹³⁰ See Appendix IX.

¹³¹ McCleery, 'Scottish Literary Magazines', p. 226.

¹³² Margery Palmer McCulloch, 'Literary Publishing, 1914–45', in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 223–249 (p. 242); McCleery, 'Scottish Literary Magazines', p. 227.

¹³³ McCleery, 'Scottish Literary Magazines', p. 227.

¹³⁴ Tanya Buelmann, *Clubbing Together: Ethnicity, Civility and Formal Sociability in the Scottish Diaspora to 1930* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), pp. 69–97.

¹³⁵ 'Constitution', *Scotia*, Candlemas 1907, p. xvii; 'St Andrew Society of Glasgow Annual Report', 7 March 1912, Minutes and Papers of the St Andrew Society, Acc.11371, NLS.

the Edinburgh St Andrew Society, which was formed around 1906 in response to the hesitation by the British government to mark the second centenary of the Treaty of Union of 1707. It is likely that the Glasgow Society also had an earlier iteration. William Burns, leader of NAVSR, gave lectures to a Glasgow St Andrew Society in 1863 and 1869, the latter on ‘the misuse of the terms “England”, & “English” for the United Kingdom’, which was a perennial problem for Scottish Home Rulers, cultural revivalists, and Scottish nationalists throughout the twentieth century.¹³⁶ Thus, it appears that the 1912 Glasgow Society was itself a revival of an older organisation. To add to the genealogical confusion, although both the Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies existed as separate entities, they were also commonly referred to as a singular entity – the St Andrew Society – in newspapers, magazines, and in their own collection of archival papers.¹³⁷

The St Andrew Society’s efforts were primarily cultural. One outcome was the founding of the Scottish National Players in 1913, and another was the launch of *Scotia* (1907–1911) as the Society’s official magazine.¹³⁸ Like the previous case studies, *Scotia*’s contents were eclectic and, thus, distilling the contents of a typical issue is challenging. On the whole, it primarily published articles on topics relating to the interests of the St Andrew Society, as well as essays on Scottish history, art, and literature.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, it displays the internationalist outlook and constitutional anxiety discussed throughout this chapter. For instance, the magazine argued that there was a widespread ‘ignorance of Scottish history among the youth of Scotland’ which was the result of ‘history-books published during the Victorian era and relating to Scotland [that] have been written by Englishmen or by Anglicised Scots’.¹⁴⁰ An interest in Celtic identity and historical pageantry is also evident, such as the verbatim publication of the President of the Celtic Association’s address to the Pan-Celtic Congress in Dublin in 1907, and articles on the spread of pageantry in Scotland, including ‘the small pageant illustrating one

¹³⁶ William Burns, *Address by William Burns to the Glasgow St Andrew Society* (Glasgow: s.n., 1869).

¹³⁷ Although the clarification is not explicitly stated, it is clear that the Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies operated separately but also in combination, see Minutes and Papers of the St Andrew Society, Acc.11371, NLS.

¹³⁸ Karen Marshalsay, ‘The Scottish Players: in the Nature of an Experiment, 1913–1934’ (Doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 1991), pp. 6–7.

¹³⁹ For example, John S. Samuel, ‘The Teaching of Scottish History’, *Scotia*, (Whitsunday 1907), pp. 89–109.

¹⁴⁰ ‘Editorial Preface’, *Scotia*, Candlemas 1907, p. 2.

day in the life of Queen Mary [of Scots]' at Craigmillar Castle in 1906 and the forthcoming Edinburgh Exhibition of 1908.¹⁴¹ Both of these pageants have been identified as key events for cultural revivalists at the *fin-de-siècle*.¹⁴²

Tanya Bueltmann has identified a 'layer of politicization' in the activities of the Glasgow and Edinburgh St Andrew Societies. For example, the Societies combined their efforts in 1912 to petition the House of Commons over the question of the heraldic representation of the United Kingdom, a concern that was 'the epitome of the flaws in the relationship between Scotland and England', and an issue which was consistently pursued by leading members of SHRA, including Waddie, Wanliss, Erskine, and Napier.¹⁴³ Later, in 1929, the Societies drew up plans together to campaign for passports (and therefore citizenship) to be granted to those born in Scotland.¹⁴⁴ The Society's politics were further pronounced considering that the leading proponents of the SHRA were among its membership – Waddie, Wanliss, and Napier – along with several revivalists and Home Rulers whom we have encountered thus far, such as Pittendrigh Macgillivray. Similarly, the Society attracted at least five members who had founded the Dunedin Association in 1911. All in all, the St Andrew Society had 484 members by 1911, a significant proportion of whom derived from the intellectual, professional, and middle classes who were engaged in the cultural apparatus of the Scottish Revival throughout the 1870 to 1920 period.¹⁴⁵

Moreover, the political association of the St Andrew Society was more explicit than Bueltmann intimates. In 1907, the Edinburgh St Andrew Society stated that it was 'an offshoot from the Scottish Patriotic Association' (SPA), a Glasgow group that had been established in 1901 by Liberal Party supporters, Home Rulers, and Scottish nationalists including Waddie, Napier, and Rev. David MacRae, who was the first minister of the Gilfillan Memorial Church in Dundee and a 'quintessential example' of

¹⁴¹ 'Address to the Pan-Celtic Congress of 1907', *Scotia*, Candlemas 1907, p. 325; Hugh Beveridge, 'Pageants', *Scotia*, Candlemas 1907, p. 270.

¹⁴² Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival*.

¹⁴³ Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together*, pp. 215–220.

¹⁴⁴ See Minutes and Papers of the St Andrew Society, Acc.11371/10, NLS.

¹⁴⁵ 'List of Members of the St Andrew Society (1911)', Minutes and Papers of the St Andrew Society, Acc.11371/10, NLS.

a Liberal party member whose support for Home Rule included both Scotland and Ireland.¹⁴⁶ The SPA published its own magazine, the *Scottish Patriot* (1903–1906), ‘a Monthly Review for the Scot at Home and the Scot Abroad’, which was edited by John Wilson, an advertising agent, vice-president of the SPA, and member of the St Andrew Society. From an examination of the *Scottish Patriot*, it is clear that the SPA had close connections to the Liberal Party as it regularly published updates on the YSS.¹⁴⁷ Like the St Andrew Society, part of the YSS’ *raison d’être* was to encourage ‘the Study of History, Social and Industrial Science, and Economics’ in Scotland.¹⁴⁸ By 1911, two were affiliated to such an extent that they held a joint meeting that year.¹⁴⁹ Kane has argued that magazines issued such as *Scotia* and *Scottish Patriot* ‘primarily focussed on cultural issues’ but also exploited ‘instances of perceived neglect of such cultural and scientific endeavours’ in Scotland to ‘press for the political aim’ of Scottish Home Rule and exacerbate constitutional anxieties.¹⁵⁰ For instance, the lack of government funding in the 1880s for cultural institutions like the Scottish National Portrait Gallery was specifically linked in these magazines to the lack of financial autonomy in Scotland and stressed Home Rule as the obvious solution.¹⁵¹ Therefore, considering the St Andrew Society’s affiliation with leading members of the SHRA, SPA, and YSS, the *Scots Magazine* of 1924 was continuing a far more politically engaged legacy than has previously been suggested.

Although McCleery is right to note that the ‘lack of commitment to cultural, let alone political, nationalism’ in the *Scots Magazine* was ‘window-dressing’ in light of the nationalist politics of the

¹⁴⁶ ‘A Stalwart Gone’, *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette*, 16 May 1907, p. 2 col b; Kane, ‘A Study of the Debate on Scottish Home Rule’, pp. 119–120. MacRae was involved in a number of patriotic societies and organisations that advocated for self-determination for Scotland since the 1880s, including the SHRA and the YSS. In his will, he left £100 to the Dundee School Board to fund a prize for the ‘best essay or examination on Scottish history, Scottish national rights, some phase of Scottish national life, or on Scottish song or music’.

¹⁴⁷ The YAA also issued its own magazine, *The Young Scot* (1903–1905), see Kennedy, *Liberal Nationalisms*.

¹⁴⁸ ‘The Young Scots’ Society’, *Scottish Patriot*, July 1903, p. 48; ‘Brief Biographies – No. 1, J. M. Hogge, M.A., President, Young Scots’ Society’, *Scottish Patriot*, July 1903, p. 43; R. Ian Elder, ‘The Young Scots Society. A Lost Liberal Legion’, *Journal of Liberal Democrat History*, 36, (Autumn 2002), 13–15. Also, see William Laughland, *Manifesto and Appeal to the Scottish People on Scottish Home Rule* (Glasgow: Young Scots’ Society, 1911), as well as *60 Points for Scottish Home Rule* (Glasgow: A Maclaren & Son for the Young Scots’ Society, 1912), and *The Bannockburn Sexcentenary and Home Rule for Scotland* (Glasgow: Young Scots’ Society, 1914).

¹⁴⁹ Kane, ‘A Study of the Debate for Scottish Home Rule’, p. 198.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

magazine's editor, considering that its proprietor (the Glasgow St Andrew Society) carried with it a noticeable legacy of political nationalism, this 'window-dressing' was far less opaque than he suggests.¹⁵² The magazine's editor, Charles Stewart Black, was a medical doctor-turned-playwright, writer, and journalist, as well as the honorary secretary of the Glasgow St Andrew Society and a leading light in the NPS in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁵³ Black's political position was paradoxical, though not unique in early-twentieth-century Scotland; although a supporter of Scottish Home Rule, he was also a Conservative and Unionist Party supporter, and married to the daughter of George Eyre-Todd, a 'committed Unionist' as well as chairman of the SPA and president of the Glasgow St Andrew Society.¹⁵⁴ Other Scottish Home Rulers in this political vein include Waddie who described himself as a nationalist and a unionist 'with no shade of hypocrisy'.¹⁵⁵ In a letter to Muirhead in 1930, Black was dismayed to hear Oliver Brown (then an NPS candidate in the East Renfrewshire by-election of 1930) state in a speech that if electors 'want Socialism & Nationalism in Scotland they must first secure Home Rule', which Black complained could 'only irritate those Conservatives, like myself' as well as damage the reputation of the NPS more broadly.¹⁵⁶ Black's politics clearly influenced the political view of the *Scots Magazine*. Its prospectus stated that the 'only political sympathy will be with the Scottish Party, which embraces all Conservatives, Liberals and Socialists who love their country'.¹⁵⁷ In this context, it is clear that the *Scots Magazine* was a Home Rule magazine and, it might be argued, an early proponent of what would become the NPS of 1928, which was itself formed of a coalition between the Glasgow University Scottish Nationalist Association, SNL, SNM, and SHRA. Indeed, both Lewis Spence, founder of the SNM, and William Power, later leader of the SNP from 1940 to 1942, were among the contributors to the *Scots Magazine* between 1924 and 1936.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² McCleery, 'Scottish Literary Magazines', pp. 226–228.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹⁵⁴ For an outline of the overlap between Scottish nationalism and unionism, see Finlay, *Scottish Nationalism*. Eyre-Todd's contribution to Scottish Home Rule is discussed in Curtis, 'The Place of History'.

¹⁵⁵ Kane, 'A Study of the Debate on Scottish Home Rule', pp. 5–6.

¹⁵⁶ Letter of Charles Stewart Black to Roland E. Muirhead, 18 November 1930, 'Correspondence File: C. Stewart Black', Papers of the Scottish Secretariat, and of Roland E. Muirhead, Acc.3721/12/273, NLS.

¹⁵⁷ 'Foreword', *Scots Magazine*, April 1924, p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ See Appendix IX.

In 1927, the magazine transitioned from the proprietorship of the Glasgow St Andrew Society to D. C. Thomson. Prior to this, the magazine had been suffering financially and after only five months of production it was 'losing money each month'.¹⁵⁹ Financial woes were not eased by the high cost of 'blocks, paper, printing, [and] insetting' used in the magazine, and the loose commitment of its business manager, Archibald N. Ferguson.¹⁶⁰ Whilst McCleery has noted Thomson's reputation for 'Tartan Toryism', in the magazine's immediate post-1927 era there was a retention of its status as a site for up-and-coming voices in Scottish literature, most notably through the publication of Lewis Grassie Gibbon and Neil M. Gunn.¹⁶¹ This retention was overseen by the magazine's new editor, J. B. Salmond, an Arbroath journalist who co-edited *The Hydra* (1917–1918) during the First World War, a poetry magazine made by military patients convalescing at Craiglockhart War Hospital in Edinburgh that included Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon. Salmond's editorship of the *Scots Magazine* has been noted as its 'most creative period'.¹⁶² Whilst this case study does not disagree, it was the 1924 to 1927 period that first published Scottish writers whose work has been included in major studies of the Scottish Literary Revival and Scottish Renaissance.¹⁶³

Nevertheless, the 1930s was also a decade of evolution for the magazine, during which it progressed from a 'Scottish Renaissance status' to a 'magazine of rural and small town Scotland'.¹⁶⁴ Whilst McCulloch is somewhat dismissive of this transition and the magazine's opposition to the 'avant-garde' nature of magazines associated with the Scottish Renaissance, its transition was part of a wider trend in Scottish magazine culture in the interwar period that re-focussed attention away from

¹⁵⁹ Letter of Charles Stewart Black to James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, 30 September 1924, Correspondence and Papers of James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, Dep.349/5, NLS.

¹⁶⁰ Ferguson describes that he was 'supposed to be the Business Manager', see letter of Archibald N. Ferguson to James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, 11 May 1925, Correspondence and Papers of James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, Dep.349/5, NLS.

¹⁶¹ McCleery, 'Scottish Literary Magazines', p. 226. Also, see Joseph McAleer, 'Magazines and Comics', in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 368–384.

¹⁶² *British Poetry Magazines 1914–2000. A History and Bibliography of 'Little Magazines'*, ed. by David Miller and Richard Price (London: British Library, 2006), p. 24.

¹⁶³ See Appendix VIII.

¹⁶⁴ Margery Palmer McCulloch, 'Scottish Renaissance Periodicals: Work in Progress Revisited', in *Scottish Literary Periodicals*, ed. by Alistair McCleery (Edinburgh: Merchiston Publishing, 1998), pp. 29–53 (p. 43).

industrial, urban, and city literature towards an engagement with themes such as environmentalism, ruralism, and regionalism within a modernist framing.¹⁶⁵ For instance, in addition to the reestablishment of *Scottish Field* in 1931 and *Scottish Country Life* in 1935 as magazines that became devoted to rural issues and landscape discourse, there was a similar change in the *Scots Magazine*, such as a focus on issues affecting the Scottish environment and contemporary Scottish literature.¹⁶⁶ This includes the controversy around the Lochaber Hydro-Electric Scheme and the Caledonian Power Scheme, as well as efforts to re-populate areas of the Highlands and Islands.¹⁶⁷ By 1939, such was the magazine's reputation that it was described as containing 'the usual informative articles on affairs in Highlands and Lowlands'.¹⁶⁸ Gunn was the *Scots Magazine*'s most prominent advocate of 'writing about literature, national politics and the need for regeneration of the Highlands' which offered him 'the chance to address his concerns to as wide an audience as possible'.¹⁶⁹ Other examples include Gibbon's short story 'Smeddum', which the magazine published in January 1933 and which Graeme Trousdale's notes has an 'earthy nature of the narrative'.¹⁷⁰ There was also an emphasis on the environment in travel articles by Isobel Wylie Hutchison, a mountaineer and climber whose travel writing was collected in *Stepping Stones from Alaska to Asia* (1937), William Kersley Holmes, an enthusiastic hill-walker and poet who published *Tramping Scottish Hills* (1947), and James H. B. Bell, president of the Scottish Mountaineering Club, whose *Leaves From a Mountaineer's Diary* (1932) was first published in the *Scots*

¹⁶⁵ McCulloch, 'Scottish Renaissance Periodicals'.

¹⁶⁶ *Scottish Field* was originally a newspaper issued by the Scottish Leader Company Ltd. (1893–94) and owned by Sir Thomas Carlaw Martin. It was relaunched in 1903 by John McMurtie, an advertising agent, as a 'high-class journal devoted to mainly sport and the outdoor life'. In 1931 it was bought by newspaper proprietor Henry Munro and came under the direction of George Outram & Co. in the 1960s.

¹⁶⁷ Andrew J. Sneddon, "'We Will Beat the Landlords and the Scenic Sentimentalists': Neil M. Gunn and Landscape Discourse in the "Hydro" Debates', *International Journal of Scottish Literature*, 5, (Autumn/Winter 2019), 1–26; William T. Kilgour, 'The Lochaber Hydro-Electric Scheme', *Scots Magazine*, February 1925, pp. 342–346; J. K. R. Doak, 'The Re-Population of St Kilda', *Scots Magazine*, December 1930, pp. 161–167; Neil M. Gunn, 'Hail, Caledonian!', *Scots Magazine*, May 1938, pp. 113–122.

¹⁶⁸ 'The Scots Magazine', *Evening Telegraph*, 3 May 1939, p. 2 col f.

¹⁶⁹ McCulloch, 'Literary Periodicals', p. 242; Sneddon, "'We Will Beat the Landlords'", p. 4.

¹⁷⁰ Lewis Grassie Gibbon, [James Leslie Mitchell], 'Smeddum', *Scots Magazine*, January 1933, pp. 250–256; Graeme Trousdale, 'Why Everybody Needs Smeddum', *Bottle Imp*, 1, (2007). Gibbon also published 'Greenenden', *Scots Magazine*, December 1932, pp. 168–176, and 'Clay', *Scots Magazine*, February 1933, pp. 329–338.

Magazine in 1931.¹⁷¹ More broadly, these themes were also present in interwar Scottish theatre, of which the *Scots Magazine* was a particular supporter.¹⁷² Drama critic David Hutchison draws a direct connection between the rural literature in the *Scots Magazine* and *Scottish Field* and the themes present in the work of John Brandane (pseudonym of John MacIntyre), a playwright and co-founder of the Scottish National Players who also contributed to the *Scots Magazine* in the 1930s:

It is not suggested that the Highlands are not beautiful, that they are not full of sunlit hills, moorlands and bays, but what is suggested is that Brandane's emphasis on the beauty of the Highlands and on their wild open spaces gives one the impression that he is providing escapism for his urban audience, and perhaps for himself also. Brandane was doing in the theatre what 'The Scots Magazine' and 'Scottish Field' do today for a Lowland urban readership.¹⁷³

For the most part, this attention on the environment in popular Scottish magazines noted by Hutchison evokes a wider trend in Scottish literature in the 1930s. This has been identified by scholars as rural modernism, in which 'an actual physical nature founds the striking realm of consciousness and political urgency'.¹⁷⁴ In a Scottish context, rural modernism is present in texts that explore ecology, environmentalism, and landscape discourse by Gibbon, Gunn, Nan Shepherd, and Nancy Brysson Morrison.¹⁷⁵ Although not defined as a modernist magazine in the classifications set out by McCleery and McCulloch, the *Scots Magazine* did publish a number of writers whose work can be classed as rural modernism. Their contributions to the magazine certainly provide a modernist perspective, as well as

¹⁷¹ For a recent example of the connections between modernism, environmentalism, and hill-walking in Scotland, see Sarah Leith, 'Bog, Bothy, Zen: Introducing Sydney Scroggie's Environmental and Metaphysical Thought', *Northern Scotland*, 14: 1, (2023), pp. 60–79.

¹⁷² A substantial number of Scottish playwrights and dramatists associated with the Scottish National Players and Glasgow Citizens Theatre published their work in the *Scots Magazine* between 1924 and 1936, including Charles Stewart Black, Iain Cameron, Christine Crowe, Christine Orr, David G. MacKemmie, George Reston Malloch, James Bridie, Robert J. B. Sellar, Cormac Simpson, and David Cleghorn Thomson. See Appendices VII and VIII.

¹⁷³ David Hutchison, 'Scottish Theatre and Drama in the Twentieth Century' (MLitt thesis, University of Glasgow, 1975), p. 75.

¹⁷⁴ Jeffrey Mathes McCarthy, *Green Modernism. Nature and the English Novel, 1900 to 1930* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 2.

¹⁷⁵ On Nan Shepherd, see Samantha Walton, *The Living World. Nan Shepherd and Environmental Thought* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020). On Lewis Grassie Gibbon, see Scott Lyall, 'Pagan Modernism: First World War and Spiritual Revival in Lewis Grassie Gibbon's *Sunset Song* and Neil M. Gunn's *Highland River*', in *Scottish Literature and World War I*, ed. by David A. Rennie (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 180–199. On Neil Gunn, see Margery Palmer McCulloch, *Scottish Modernism and its Contexts 1918–1959: Literature, National Identity and Cultural Exchange* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 113–130.

a clear correlation between landscape discourse in Scottish magazines and the interests of Scottish writers in environmentalism in the 1930s.

In conclusion, although the *Scots Magazine* has previously figured in discussions of the Scottish Renaissance and Literary Revival, its impact in comparison with better-known revivalist magazines has been underappreciated by scholars. As this case study sets out, the magazine's connections to Scottish Home Rule in the 1900s and its publication of some of the leading voices of Renaissance in the 1920s and 1930s demonstrates that it has a longer and wider legacy of cultural revivalism that stretches from the *fin-de-siècle* to the interwar period. Further, beyond McCleery and McCulloch's assessments of it as a magazine of 'small town Scotland', this rural turn can be seen as part of rural modernism that swept Scottish literature in the 1930s.

The Long *Fin-de-Siècle* Scottish Revival?

Ultimately, these case studies have shown that the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival is found in popular Scottish magazine culture throughout the 1870 to 1920 period. They demonstrate that Scottish magazines were as internationalist, outward-looking, politically engaged, and culturally nationalist as well-known magazines like *The Evergreen* and *Scottish Chapbook*. They also reveal that, in addition to representing the organisations for which they were established, magazines in this period operated as a networks for Scottish revivalists who transcended the binaries between cultural revival and popular literature between 1870 and 1920. For instance, Andrew Lang and James Cuthbert Hadden both contributed to the *Scottish Review* and were members of the Dunedin Association; William Mitchell was a contributor to the *Scottish Review* and a member of the Glasgow St Andrew Society; and Rev. Watt and David MacRitchie were members of the Dunedin Association and the Glasgow St Andrew Society. Indeed, just as Patrick Geddes was a radial force in establishing *The Evergreen* at the *fin-de-siècle*, he was likewise involved in each of the three magazines discussed here. He was a contributor to the *Scottish Review*, a member of the Glasgow St Andrew Society, and addressed the Dunedin

Association on the subject of ‘Scottish Literature and the Arts’ in May 1912.¹⁷⁶ Moreover, by illuminating the connections between the people, ideas, and organisations involved in cultural revival during this period, this chapter argues that the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival should be considered a long *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival, one that extends from the late-1870s to the early-1920s and beyond, as evidenced by the considerable networks and connections facilitated by these magazines.¹⁷⁷ This chapter has also demonstrated that Scottish magazines complicate a ‘Unionist-nationalism’ or ‘banal unionism’ interpretation of Scottish nationalism between 1870 and 1920 and argues for a more contradictory and complex understanding of these concepts.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Programmes of Monthly Meetings for First Season, 1911–12’, *Dunedin Magazine*, (November 1912), p. 55.

¹⁷⁷ The idea of a ‘long Scottish Renaissance’ has recently been suggested by Sarah Leith, see ‘Sensuality, Nationality, Country: Connecting the Muirs, Naomi Mitchison, and Hamish Henderson in Scotland’s Long Renaissance’, *Scottish Literary Review*, 13: 2, (2021), pp. 51–70.

Chapter 5 – Little Magazine Making in Scotland: Charting the Development of Scottish Manuscript

Magazines and Amateur Magazines

Little magazines are defined as those that were produced by ‘authors and artists sharing an interest in particular niche themes or style’.¹ Analysis of little magazines in Scotland has overwhelmingly focussed on those published as part of the *fin-de-siècle* Celtic Revival, the Scottish Renaissance in the 1920s, and the wave of independently published magazines between the 1960s and 1990s.² Based on this scholarship, and the limited discussion of Scottish magazine culture more broadly, one would assume that there were no little or independent magazines produced in Scotland outwith these periods. Indeed, in the first issue of his little magazine *Scottish Chapbook* (1922–1923), C. M. Grieve (better known as Hugh MacDiarmid) lamented that ‘None of those significant little periodicals – crude, absurd, enthusiastic, vital – have yet appeared in Auchtermuchty or Ardnamurchan’.³ These ‘little periodicals’ were the modernist magazines that sprouted across Europe and North America in the 1920s published by a generation of avant-garde writers, poets, and artists whose cultural activities were inspired by the destruction of the First World War.⁴ Whilst Grieve/MacDiarmid was correct – there were no modernist magazines in deepest Fife (Auchtermuchty) or in the remotest Inner Hebrides (Ardnamurchan) – there were, in fact, little magazines in Scotland that were just as crude, absurd, enthusiastic, and vital to the

¹ Koenraad Claes, *The Late-Victorian Little Magazine* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), p. 18.

² Michael Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival: Romance, Decadence, and Celtic Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), pp. 1–2; Cairns Craig, ‘Modernism and National Identity in Scottish Magazines: *The Evergreen* (1895–7), *Scottish Art and Letters* (1944–50), *Scottish Chapbook* (1922–3), *The Northern Review* (1924), *The Modern Scot* (1930–6), *Outlook* (1936–7), and *The Voice of Scotland* (1938–9, 1945, 1955)’, in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume I: Britain and Ireland 1880–1955*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 759–784; Margery Palmer McCulloch, *Scottish Modernism and its Contexts 1918–1959: Literature, National Identity and Cultural Exchange* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 11–28, and ‘Literary Publishing: 1914–1945’, in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, pp. 223–249; Alistair McCleery, ‘Scottish Literary Magazines’, in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, pp. 226–228; J. T. D. Hall, ‘Hugh MacDiarmid, Author and Publisher’, *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 21: 1, (1986), 53–88; Gerry Cambridge, *The Dark Horse: The Making of a Little Magazine: & Sundry Divagations on Poets, Poetry, Criticism & Poetry Culture* (Glenrothes: HappenStance Press, 2016). See also, *Scottish Magazines Network*, <<https://campuspress.stir.ac.uk/scotmagsnet/>> [accessed 6 March 2023].

³ C. M. Grieve [Hugh MacDiarmid], ‘Causerie’, *Scottish Chapbook*, August 1922, p. 5.

⁴ For an overview of these magazines, see McCulloch, *Scottish Modernism*, pp. 11–28.

people that made them and the readers that they circulated amongst. These magazines primarily took two forms, manuscript and amateur. Manuscript magazines were handmade and handcrafted productions that were typically shared within a group of dedicated members and circulated amongst them monthly via the postal system. Amateur magazines were printed magazines that were usually issued monthly and made by enthusiastic teenagers and young people who held membership to amateur journalism organisations and associations. Moreover, both of these magazines can be defined as little magazines due to their adherence to the same seriousness about literature and literary criticism that scholars have identified in accounts of canonical little magazines.⁵ Although manuscript and amateur magazines were not popular in a mass-produced or mass-circulated sense, they were popular for the readers and contributors who made and read them. Moreover, these little magazines constitute an important but hitherto neglected form of magazine production in Scotland since the 1880s and reveal the influence of magazine culture on everyday readers, writers, and literary consumers in Scotland.

This chapter traces the development of manuscript and amateur magazines in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Scotland. Firstly, it examines the evolution of manuscript magazines and presents a case study of *The Scots Thistle* (1885–2013), a magazine that was established by two girls in Kilmarnock in 1885 and was still in circulation as recently as 2013. Next, it examines printed magazines that were created by young men as part of amateur literary associations in Scotland, including the International Correspondents Association's (ICA) *The Cosmopolite* (1886–1887), and the Scottish Amateur Literary Association's (SALA) *The Mid Lothian* (1895), *The Monthly Miscellany* (1895–1899), and *Caledonia* (1900). A second case study analyses *The Scot* (1915–1922), a monthly amateur magazine that was affiliated with the British Amateur Press Association (BAPA) and edited, printed, and published by a working-class Dundonian teenager. Throughout this chapter, assessment is made about these magazines' connections to wider literary movements, including the Scottish Renaissance and

⁵ David Bennett, 'Periodical Fragments and Organic Culture: Modernism, the Avant-Garde, and the Little Magazine', *Contemporary Literature*, 30: 4, (1989), 480–502.

early-twentieth-century American science fiction. Ultimately, this chapter recontextualises the emergence of little magazines in Scotland that have traditionally been viewed in a European modernist context by considering examples that were similarly engaged with literary movements that gathered speed in the 1920s.

Manuscript Magazines in Scotland since 1850

Manuscript magazines are characterised by three key features: anonymity, amusement, and aspiration. Whilst these magazines differ across location and time period, they were typically monthly or quarterly handmade magazines that published fiction, poetry, essays, illustrations, photography, and other art. They were usually produced by a dedicated group of contributors who regarded themselves as a membership and amongst whom the magazine circulated via the post. The editor (usually one person but sometimes two) typically received contributions from the membership by the first of the month, and either copied or typed out these contributions before binding them as a magazine and sending it to the first recipient. The magazine then circulated amongst members over the course of a month before it was sent back to the editor. In order to maintain the magazine, strict rules and regulations were followed. Contributors used pseudonyms, addresses were assembled in a circulation list and checked off after the magazine had reached each address, subscriptions were collected at yearly or half-yearly intervals, and dedicated spaces (sometimes entire pages) were included in each issue in which contributors offered criticism and analysis of the magazine's content, sometimes approvingly and other times disparagingly.⁶ Moreover, manuscript magazines emphasise values of self-improvement, autodidacticism, and literary sociability that epitomised late-Victorian magazine culture more broadly and, as textual objects, functioned as sites for people to further their learning, creativity, and intellectual improvement.⁷

⁶ For an example, see Lauren Weiss, 'St Stephen's Literary Society Magazine (1883–1884)', *Literary Bonds*, <<https://www.literarybonds.org/digitised-magazine/>> [accessed 28 June 2020].

⁷ Kirstie Blair, Michael Sanders and Lauren Weiss, 'Literary Bonds: Mutual Improvement Society Manuscript Magazines and Victorian Periodical Culture', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 54: 3, (2021), 463–486 (p. 466).

As Kathryn Gleadle states, research on manuscript magazines is ‘still in its infancy’.⁸ Whilst this chapter agrees, recent published work has emphasised Scotland as one of the most prodigious producers of manuscript magazines since the 1850s. Lauren Weiss has identified a significant number of manuscript magazines produced by men’s literary associations, mutual improvement societies, and church groups in Glasgow between the 1840s and 1920s.⁹ Similarly, Erin Farley has highlighted Dundee as a place where manuscript magazines were especially popular in the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Likewise, Lois Burke’s study of girls’ manuscript magazines has noted that this was a particularly popular activity amongst Scottish girls and young women.¹¹ Examples of these include the *St Bernard’s Budget* (1892), *Evergreen Chain* (1892–1899), *Chuckles* (1905), and *The Pierrot* (1911–1915), all of which are held in the collections of the Museum of Childhood in Edinburgh.¹² In addition, ongoing research conducted by myself and Burke has found that juvenile manuscript magazines were common amongst canonical Scottish writers. These include the schoolboy writings of Robert Louis Stevenson in *The Sunbeam* (1866), a manuscript magazine that he edited as a pupil at Thomson’s School in Edinburgh, and J. M. Barrie’s contributions to *The Clown* (1875), a manuscript magazine started by his friend and classmate Wellwood Anderson whilst they attended Dumfries Academy.¹³ Scottish poet, explorer, and

⁸ Kathryn Gleadle, ‘Magazine Culture, Girlhood Communities, and Educational Reform in Late Victorian Britain’, *English Historical Review*, 134: 570, (2019), 1169–1195 (p. 1169).

⁹ Lauren Weiss, ‘The Literary Clubs and Societies of Glasgow during the Long Nineteenth Century: a City’s History of Reading through its Communal Reading Practices and Productions’ (Doctoral thesis, University of Stirling, 2017); Lauren Weiss, ‘The Manuscript Magazines of the Wellpark Free Church Young Men’s Literary Society’, in *Media and Print Culture Consumption in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Paul R. Rooney and Anna Gasperini (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 53–73; Blair, Sanders and Weiss, ‘Literary Bonds’. Also, see *Glasgow’s Literary Bonds*, <<https://www.glasgowsliterarybonds.org>> [accessed 7 March 2023], and *Literary Bonds*, <<https://www.literarybonds.org>> [accessed 7 March 2023].

¹⁰ Erin Farley, ‘The Place of Poetry in Victorian Dundee’ (Doctoral thesis, University of Strathclyde, 2018), pp. 262–289.

¹¹ Lois Burke, ‘“Meantime, it is Quite Well to Write”: Adolescent Writing and Victorian Literary Culture in Girls’ Manuscript Magazines’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 52: 4, (2019), 719–748, and ‘Nineteenth-Century Girls and Authorship: Adolescent Writing, Appropriation, and their Representation in Literature, c.1860–1900’ (Doctoral thesis, Edinburgh Napier University, 2019).

¹² These magazines are included in Burke’s forthcoming monograph on late-Victorian girls’ literary culture with Edinburgh University Press. For more information on *The Pierrot*, see Lois Burke and Charlotte Lauder, ‘Charity, Cultural Exchange, and Generational Difference in Scottish Children’s Writings about the First World War’, in *The Edinburgh History of Children’s Periodicals*, ed. by Kristine Moruzi, Beth Rodgers, and Michelle J. Smith (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp. 194–211.

¹³ *The Sunbeam*, (1866), Edwin J. Beinecke Collection of Robert Louis Stevenson, MSS 664, b. 43, f.959–960, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; *The Clown*, (1875), Dumfries Museum & Camera Obscura, DUMFM: 1948.101.1, Dumfries & Galloway Council.

mountaineer Isobel Wylie Hutchison was sub-editor of two manuscript magazines in her youth, the *Horticultural Magazine* (1896–1900) and *The Scribbler* (1903–1911), which she made with her siblings at their home, Carlowrie Castle in West Lothian.¹⁴ In addition, the manuscript magazine *Talks and Tales* (1911–1916) was made by Scottish writer and playwright Christine Orr and circulated amongst her friends at St George’s School in Edinburgh.¹⁵ Similarly, *The Celt* (c.1930) was made by nine-year-old George Mackay Brown during a period of ill-health at home in Orkney.¹⁶ As examinations of the juvenile manuscript productions of other canonical writers including George Eliot, Louisa May Alcott, Lewis Carroll, and Charlotte Brontë demonstrate, magazines were a key part of their literary development and, ultimately, in the creation of cultural capital that benefitted them in their later careers.¹⁷ As Gleadle states, manuscript magazines ‘demonstrate the desire of young people to seize new opportunities to create their own youth-centred networks of cultural exchange’.¹⁸ Likewise, the noticeable trend in manuscript magazines made by Scottish writers suggests that, even as children, they recognised magazines as an important source for the development and dissemination of their writings. Considering this trend, it is likely that more well-known Scottish writers were involved in creating manuscript magazines as children, though these productions may not have survived. In conjunction with these examples, this section traces the development of manuscript magazines made by children and young people in Scotland, including manuscript magazines that have yet to be fully examined. It charts some of the similarities between mass-produced magazines and manuscript magazines and establishes a historical context for the origin of *The Scots Thistle* which is analysed

¹⁴ *The Horticultural Magazine* (1896–1899), Papers of Isobel Wylie Hutchison, Acc.9713/86, National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Edinburgh; *The Scribbler* (1903–1911), Papers of Isobel Wylie Hutchison, Acc.9713/87, NLS. Typescript copies of *The Horticultural Magazine* (1900) are held at Acc.13412, NLS.

¹⁵ Susan Gardner, ‘Christine Orr’s “Talks and Tales”: Children’s Magazine Writing in Early 20th Century Edinburgh’, *Scotland’s Early Literature for Children*, (12 November 2019), <<https://www.blogs.hss.ed.ac.uk/selcie/2019/11/12/christine-orr-s-talks-and-ales-childrens-magazine-writing-in-early-20th-century-edinburgh/>> [accessed 7 March 2023].

¹⁶ *The Celt*, (c.1930), Acc.13906, NLS.

¹⁷ Burke, ‘Nineteenth-Century Girls and Authorship’, pp. 47–49, pp. 93–96; Kristen Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines, 1751–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 45.

¹⁸ Gleadle, ‘Magazine Culture, Girlhood Communities’, p. 1169.

thereafter. Ultimately, this section argues that Scottish children were particularly influenced by mass-produced magazines and (re)produced aspects of this culture in their own juvenile manuscript form.

Scottish manuscript magazines were principally made by children and young people under the age of nineteen. Of the thirty-six identifiable readers and contributors to the magazines created by the Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Literary Society between 1883 and 1888, Weiss notes that 27% were aged eighteen, and the ages of the girl magazine makers identified by Burke ranged from eleven to nineteen.¹⁹ Similarly, the manuscript magazines discussed in this section were all instigated by young people aged between eleven and twenty-one. In the context of Scottish magazine culture, the popularity of manuscript magazines amongst can be explained by the lack of child-specific magazines in Scotland. For instance, *Young Scotland*, a magazine that was described as 'a national journal of healthy literature for Scotch boys' lasted for only two months in 1886.²⁰ When there were literary magazines intended for child readers, these were often issued on behalf of charities and organisations with heavy Christian overtones, such as the Young Women's Christian Association's magazine *The Home Friend: a Magazine for Young Women* (1880–1925), which later became the *Scottish Girl* (1925–1964). Although youth-specific (and, in this case, girl-specific), these magazines were not universally appealing. Similarly, although the most popular Scottish magazine of this period, the *People's Friend*, was established on the principle that 'nothing will be admitted into its columns having the slightest tendency to corrupt the morals either of old or young', the prioritised readership during the magazine's first decades was undoubtedly the 'hundreds of working men and women who pursue literature not professionally, but purely for the love of it'.²¹ As such, it was not until 1908 that a specific children's page was established in the magazine, known as 'The Boys' & Girls' Own Page'.²² Similarly, it was as late as the 1920s and 1930s that D. C. Thomson & Co. (the publishers of the *People's Friend* after 1905)

¹⁹ Burke, "Meantime, it is Quite Well to Write", p. 735.

²⁰ 'Our Magazine', *Young Scotland*, 20 March 1886, p. 1.

²¹ 'To Our Readers', *People's Friend*, 13 January 1869, p. 8.

²² 'The Boys' & Girls' Own Page', *People's Friend*, 5 October 1908, p. 295.

began producing magazines that directly targeted child readers.²³ Even then, these titles were more boy-specific than girl-specific.²⁴ Indeed, Thomson's first foray into the market for girls' magazines, *Blue Bird* (1922–1924), was not successful, and girl-specific titles did not reappear until the 1960s.²⁵ Although, Scottish children undoubtedly read and had access to children's magazines produced by publishers in England throughout the late-Victorian era which Kristine Moruzi and Beth Rodgers discuss, in a Scottish context, there was an overall lack of Scottish magazines for Scottish children (particularly girls) between the 1870s and 1920s.²⁶

Concurrently, the gender disparity in the production of printed children's magazines in Scotland was reflected in the production of manuscript magazines. Weiss has noted that magazines made by mutual improvement societies and associations were overwhelmingly created by boys and young men, which is indicative of the male-dominated educational and extra-curricular associational culture of the Victorian era.²⁷ Whereas, Burke's study of children's manuscript magazines has found that most, if not all, were led by girls and young women. Therefore, due to a lack of representative magazine culture, Scottish children turned to manuscript magazines which, as Gleadle states, became a 'phenomenon in which girls and young women were especially active'.²⁸ The girls and young women who made manuscript magazines were primarily from middle-class and upper-class backgrounds. Burke and Gleadle's magazine makers were overwhelmingly middle-class girls who were in school or had just finished full-time education, or upper-class and aristocratic young women who had been educated privately or by a governess at home.²⁹ Whereas, Weiss' manuscript magazines were mostly created by

²³ These include the *Wizard* (1922–1978), *Skipper* (1930–1941), and *Hotspur* (1933–1981), as well as the comics *The Broons* (1936–), *The Dandy* (1937–), and *The Beano* (1938–).

²⁴ For a discussion of D. C. Thomson's boy-specific magazine agenda, see Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain, 1914–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 162–204.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164. Girls' magazines issued by D. C. Thomson include *Jackie* (1964–1993), *Mandy* (1967–1983), *Lucky Charm* (1979–1980), *Debbie* (1979–1983), *Tracy* (1979–1985), *Suzy* (1982–1987), and *Judy* (1987–1991).

²⁶ Kristine Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood Through the Periodical Press, 1850–1915* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Beth Rodgers, *Adolescent Girlhood and Literary Culture at the Fin de Siècle: Daughters of Today* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

²⁷ Weiss, 'The Manuscript Magazines of the Wellpark Free Church'.

²⁸ Gleadle, 'Magazine Culture, Girlhood Communities', p. 1169. Both Weiss and Burke discuss the importance of gender in their respective accounts.

²⁹ Burke, 'Nineteenth-Century Girls and Authorship'; Gleadle, 'Magazine Culture, Girlhood Communities', p. 1176.

working-class boys and young men for whom magazines were part of their autodidactic self-improvement.³⁰ The only identifiable working-class circulatory manuscript magazine outwith those identified by Weiss is the *Catrine Chronicle* (1906–1908) which was instigated by sixty-four-year-old Hugh Wilson Pollock, then manager of Catrine Cotton Works in east Ayrshire, who used it to communicate news of Catrine ‘to some of his boyhood companions in other parts of the world’.³¹ Another male-production with likely but unconfirmed working-class connections is *The Blue Bell* (1855–1856) which was later renamed *The Star* (1862–1863). Both of these magazines were created in manuscript form by Alexander Gibb, most likely a pupil teacher in Aldbar in Kincardineshire in the 1850s and continued by his younger brothers (or possibly his cousins), James and Philip, in the 1860s.³² The magazine appears to have circulated amongst them and other boys in Letham, Laurencekirk, and Carnwath (Lanarkshire). This magazine echoes the examples identified by Weiss. In the first issue, Alexander announces that *The Blue Bell*, once assembled, would be available for reading ‘every Monday evening between the hours of eight & ten in one of the rooms of that noble and famous institution of learning the Aldbar Academy for the Education & Training of the Children of A Noble Peasantry’.³³ Furthermore, the working-class origins of men’s manuscript magazines was important to the literary development of those involved with the *People’s Friend*. As a schoolboy at Hull Grammar School in the 1840s, John Leng co-edited a manuscript magazine with his classmate Charles Cooper, who later became editor of the *Scotsman*.³⁴ David Pae, editor of the *People’s Friend* between 1870 and 1884, was involved in the creation of *Leaves and Blossoms*, a manuscript magazine made by the Bristo Square

³⁰ Blair, Sanders and Weiss, ‘Literary Bonds: Mutual Improvement Society Manuscript Magazines’, p. 463.

³¹ *The Catrine Chronicle*, <<http://www.euankerr.co.uk>> [accessed 7 March 2023]. The Mitchell Library holds some original manuscript issues of *The Catrine Chronicle* as well as facsimiles. A typescript copy can be purchased via the Catrine, Sorn & District Local History Group.

³² Gibb, Alexander, 1851 (Census 259/2/5), National Records of Scotland (hereafter NRS), Edinburgh; Gibb, Alexander, 1861 (Census 263/3/1), NRS.

³³ *The Blue Bell of Scotland* (1855), MS.9169, NLS. *The Blue Bell* became *The Star* (1862), MS.9171, NLS.

³⁴ Dilwyn Porter, ‘John Leng (1828–1906)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-34494?rskey=sxnA1B&result=2>> [accessed 15 March 2022].

Mutual Improvement Association of which he was a member.³⁵ Similarly, Andrew Stewart, editor of the *People's Friend* from 1884 to 1900, was involved in editing *The Spoutmouth Institution Magazine* made by the Spoutmouth Bible Institution Mutual Improvement Association attached to St James' Free Church in Glasgow.³⁶

Overwhelmingly though, manuscript magazines in Scotland were produced by girls and young women as a source of amusement, entertainment, and self-led education.³⁷ Amusement and entertainment, in addition to being key principles of late-Victorian Scottish magazine culture, are especially pertinent in manuscript magazines created by upper-class girls and young women. *The Red Heart Magazine* (1894–1895), which originated in Dumfriesshire, circulated amongst a group of thirteen girls whose ages ranged from twelve to eighteen years old.³⁸ The majority of the contributors – self-styled as the 'Red Heart Society' – were daughters of landed gentry, Army officers, politicians, and other prominent members of civic society in south-west Scotland. Similarly, *The Cavalier* (c.1916), a manuscript magazine created in Perthshire, was edited by seventeen-year-old Barbara E. Smythe who was the daughter of Lord Methven, and circulated amongst five upper-class girls – known as the 'Cavalier Club' – who lived in their landowning families' stately homes in central Scotland.³⁹ Similarly, Wylie Hutchison created the *Horticultural Magazine* (1896–1899) and *The Scribbler* (1903–1911) with her siblings at their family home, Carlowrie Castle.⁴⁰ The Hutchison children were simultaneously members of the 'Carlowrie Horticultural Society' (instituted by them in 1894), and funds raised from the magazine's subscriptions went towards the society's annual flower show and bazaar, as well as its

³⁵ Pae's membership is confirmed by material held in the Pae Family Archive. A copy of this magazine is held in the collections of Edinburgh City Libraries. For more information, see Christine Lumsden, 'Bristo Square Mutual Improvement Society: Victorian Self-Help in Action', *The Baptist Quarterly*, 45: 6, (2014), 356–368.

³⁶ Stewart's membership is mentioned in D. H. Edwards, *Modern Scottish Poets*, 16 vols (Brechin: "Brechin Advertiser" Office, 1893), XV, p. 97. His involvement in its magazine is noted in David Walker Brown, *Clydeside Litterateurs* (Glasgow: Carter & Pratt, 1897), p. 199. An extant copy of this magazine is held in the Mitchell Library's special collections. For more information, see Lauren Weiss, 'The Spoutmouth Institution Magazine', *Literary Bonds*, (10 April 2018), <<https://www.literarybonds.org/periodicals/the-spoutmouth-institution-magazine/>> [accessed 2 March 2023].

³⁷ Burke, "Meantime, it is Quite Well to Write", p. 738.

³⁸ *The Red Heart Magazine*, (1894–1895), Acc.1278, NLS.

³⁹ *The Cavalier*, (1916), Coll-1880, Box:CLX-A-375, University of Edinburgh Library Heritage Collections, Edinburgh.

⁴⁰ *The Horticultural Magazine* (1896–1899), Papers of Isobel Wylie Hutchison, Acc.9713/86, NLS.

lending library. For girls and young women who spent extended periods of time in relative isolation in large countryside houses with only the company of siblings and a governess or tutor, manuscript magazines were essential sources of fun, sociability, and distraction from the boredom they often experienced. Commenting on the isolation she felt when members of the 'Cavalier Club' were busy or overseas, Barbara, the editor of *The Cavalier*, wrote in her diary that 'sometimes the loneliness has been awful'.⁴¹

Amusement and entertainment also occupied the minds of the children who made *From Out of Goblin's Cave* (1882), an inconsistently produced manuscript magazine made by multiple sibling groups on Cramond Island in the Firth of Forth, to where they decamped every summer with their cattle-herding families. Descriptions of these summers by George Lisle portray a group of unsupervised ten to nineteen-year-old-children, some of whom managed to create a magazine 'on the Island once a week, or as often as the editor could find contributions'.⁴² At one point, seventeen-year-old George was its editor and his sisters, nineteen-year-old Isabella and twelve-year-old Annie, were his principal contributors. According to him, the magazine contained 'not only prose of peculiar spelling, but poetry and illustrations, plain and coloured'.⁴³ The title, *From Out of Goblin's Cave*, refers to the children who named themselves the 'Rob-goblins' and from whose 'printing office' the magazine was assembled and disseminated. In a poetic address that echoes Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market* (1862), 'the Rob-goblins' open their 1882 issue:

Now all ye people brave
Who love but fish and whales
And do yourselves behave
Come listen to our wondrous tales
Of magic shops & fairy sails

The tide's now gathered round our isle
So come all round the fire just so
And at each now wear a smile
In honour of our little go.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Diary of Barbara E. Smythe, (1916–1919), Acc.9602, NLS.

⁴² George Lisle, 'R.L.S. and Some Savages on an Island', in *I Can Remember Robert Louis Stevenson*, ed. by Rosaline Masson (Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1922), pp. 148–157.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 156.

⁴⁴ *From Out of Goblin's Cave, A Magazine*, 23 September 1882, Acc. 13775, NLS.

The magazine's penchant for 'wondrous tales' extends to a real-life situation involving George, the 'Rob-goblins', and Scottish novelist Robert Louis Stevenson in the 1880s. During a canoeing expedition on the Firth of Forth with his cousin Balfour, Stevenson sought shelter on Cramond Island during bad weather. According to George, Stevenson stayed with them for at least two days, took some of the children to the rocky outcrops in the Forth in his canoe, and nicknamed him 'Robinson Crusoe' and the other children 'the Savages'.⁴⁵ In a reflection on this experience written later in his life, George suggests that that summer's edition of *From Out of Goblin's Cave* 'may have owed its existence to him [Stevenson]'.⁴⁶ Here, we have an inter-generational Scottish manuscript magazine exchange: just as Stevenson was the creator of a magazine as a boy in 1866, he became a source of inspiration for another generation of juvenile manuscript magazine makers in the 1880s.

Children's manuscript magazines present multiple instances of intertextuality like this. There is the simulation of a shared experience of reading and writing, especially amongst siblings and within families, which was encouraged by domestic magazines in the late-Victorian era.⁴⁷ There is also the recreation of popular features associated with magazines, such as the literary and prize competitions discussed in Chapter 1. For instance, *The Red Heart Magazine* ran a monthly short story competition that was

to be judged by a different person every (or nearly every) month. All the marks are to be added up at the end, and the prize given. One prize is for writing (all the things in the Magazine, except riddles & pictures).⁴⁸

The *Horticultural Magazine* also had a 'competition going on under the charge of Miss Masson for the best papers of stories, puzzles, and poems' in 1896.⁴⁹ The magazine's more pressing competitive concern, however, was its annual flower show and bazaar to which the children competed in categories

⁴⁵ Lisle, 'R.L.S. and Some Savages', p. 151.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 156.

⁴⁷ Doris Lechner, *Histories for the Many: The Victorian Family Magazine and Popular Representations of the Past: The Leisure Hour, 1852–1870* (Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag, 2017).

⁴⁸ 'Editor's Page', *Red Heart Magazine*, July 1894, p. 29.

⁴⁹ 'Editor's Notes', *Horticultural Magazine*, March 1896, np.

for the best pressed flowers, garden flowers, grasses, wild flowers, and so on.⁵⁰ Likewise, manuscript magazines replicate the process of magazine production itself, including arrangement and layout of pages, as well as features such as correspondence columns, something that scholars of adolescent writing have identified as essential to girls' participation in literary culture in the nineteenth century.⁵¹ Scottish children display a sophisticated awareness of the production of magazines in their manuscript versions, such as an editor's page or address, as well as delineations between poetry, fiction, and correspondence. Particularly noticeable is the imitation of the terminology of magazines. For example, in *From Out of Goblin's Cave* the children use phrases such as 'To be continued' and 'All Rights Reserved', which is a perceptive addition to what is, ostensibly, a collection of writings on school workbook pages that were bound together as a magazine.⁵² Moreover, this textual reproduction was both a recreation of the fun and enjoyment of popular magazines and a replication of a magazine culture that Scottish children were often excluded from.

Finally, manuscript magazines supplemented the lack of formal education and scholastic opportunities available to girls and young women in the 1880s and 1890s. *The Barnacle* (1859–1877), an English manuscript magazine that circulated amongst young women in their early twenties and was edited by novelist Charlotte Mary Yonge, has been described as offering its girl contributors 'more mental stimulation than the life of a Victorian daughter at home afforded them'.⁵³ Similarly, the *Horticultural Magazine*, which was edited by Wylie Hutchison's sister Nita, initially involved their brother Walter who was tasked with overseeing the siblings' lending library in a drawer in his bedroom. In August 1896, when Walter left for Fettes College (a boarding school in Edinburgh), Nita 'was appointed Keeper of the Library in his place' and moved the library to 'a shelf in one of the rooms

⁵⁰ Walter Hutchison, 'An Account of the Flower Show', *Horticultural Magazine*, October 1897, np.

⁵¹ Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*; Beth Rodgers, *Adolescent Girlhood*; Kim Reynolds, *Girls Only? Gender and Popular Juvenile Fiction in Britain, 1880–1910* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990); Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England, 1880–1915* (New York City: Columbia University Press, 1995).

⁵² *From Out of Goblin's Cave*, 23 September 1882, np.

⁵³ Ellen Jordan, Charlotte Mitchell and Helen Schinske, "'A Handmaid to the Church': How John Keble Shaped the Career of Charlotte Yonge, the "Novelist of the Oxford Movement"', in *John Keble in Context*, ed. by Kirstie Blair (London: Anthem Press, 2004), pp. 175–193 (p. 184).

downstairs'.⁵⁴ Nita took her role as 'Library Keeper' seriously: she created a catalogue for the library and a system to record books that were borrowed and returned, and instigated a book donation drive in 1897. The list of donated books indicates that the Hutchison siblings, as well as the contributors to their magazine, attached great significance to reading. Titles of the donated books include Charles Dickens' *David Copperfield* (1850), Jonathan Swift's *The Adventures of Captain Gulliver in Lilliput* (1799), and Walter Scott's *Anne of Geierstein* (1829), books that were part of the Victorian girl writer's canon.⁵⁵ Fiction that was published in Scottish magazines is also a notable presence in the Hutchisons' library. In January 1898, Nita accepted two books from her mother, *The Luck of the House* (1889) by Adeline Sergeant and *The Strait Gate* (1887) by Annie S. Swan, who were the most prolific contributors to the *People's Friend* at the time.⁵⁶ As the Hutchison children demonstrate, manuscript magazines and their associated activities enabled girls and young women to engage in reading and writing via roles that they were often excluded from, such as editor, sub-editor and, in Nita's case, librarian. Manuscript magazines also supplemented girls' lack of formal education in comparison to their brothers who were educated outwith the home and, as a result, were often less engaged with manuscript magazines than their sisters. Moreover, these magazines fostered an enthusiasm for literature, literacy, and reading which, in the case of Wylie Hutchison, played out in her later life as a published poet and travel writer.

Ultimately, these examples demonstrate that there was a vibrant corpus of manuscript magazines made by children and young people in late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Scotland that was heavily influenced by popular Scottish magazines. The practice of writing an essay, poem, or short story, sending it to the editor, and waiting for the magazine's arrival, was aspirational and encouraging for the communities of youngsters involved in their production. These magazines offered participants and contributors the chance to exercise creativity, whether that be in prose, verse, or artwork. As Gleadle states, manuscript magazines were 'part of a nexus of overlapping cultural

⁵⁴ Nita Hutchison, 'C. H. Library Report', *Horticultural Magazine*, August 1897, np.

⁵⁵ Nita Hutchison, 'List of Books Presented to the C.H. Library', *Horticultural Magazine*, July 1897, np.; Burke, 'Nineteenth-Century Girls and Authorship', p. 53.

⁵⁶ Nita Hutchison, 'Editor's Notes', *Horticultural Magazine*, January 1898, np.

activities' that was rooted in 'self-directed correspondence' and 'collaborative self-education'.⁵⁷ The symbiosis between printed and handmade manuscript magazines examined in this chapter, and the fervour with which Scottish children recreated magazine culture at a juvenile level, demonstrates that children and young people were prodigious consumers of magazines culture as well as producers of it. Indeed, until more research is conducted on manuscript magazines elsewhere in the UK, Scotland would appear to be one of the most enthusiastic places for the production of manuscript magazines.

Case Study – *The Scots Thistle* (1885–2013)

The historical context of manuscript magazines that circulated amongst girls and those created by men's mutual-improvement societies, literary associations, and church groups is essential to the establishment of *The Scots Thistle*, a monthly manuscript magazine that originated in Kilmarnock in 1885 and was active as recently as 2013. For the magazine's 50th anniversary issue, one of its oldest members, Robert Taylor Paterson, reflected on its legacy:

In various districts other manuscript Magazines have been begun and have had their little day, not without good work done, no doubt, but with these a few years at most was the span of life. The actual beginning of the Thistle was like that of many a similar venture; have we not all seen School Magazines and Literary Society Magazines and Among-Friends Magazines begin on more or less grandiose scale, flourish for a time, and then pass? The Thistle began quietly, continued unostentatiously, and endured!⁵⁸

Paterson's statement is important because it isolates the types of manuscript magazines that have been discussed so far. It also identifies *The Scots Thistle* as an exceptional, though not unique, case amongst these examples. Indeed, there were other magazines like *The Scots Thistle* in circulation in the late-nineteenth century. The *Peripatetic Magazine* (1865–1881) was a manuscript magazine created in Thurso, Caithness, by the adult daughters of John Henderson (a Writer to the Signet) that circulated amongst men and women living in that town as well as nearby Wick and John O' Groats.⁵⁹ *The Gael* (1874–1887) was a manuscript magazine edited by nineteen-year-old Marjory Bonar, the daughter of

⁵⁷ Gleadle, 'Magazine Culture, Girlhood Communities', p. 1170.

⁵⁸ Jove [Robert Taylor Paterson], 'Retrospect', *The Golden Thistle*, May 1935, p. 11.

⁵⁹ *The Peripatetic: a Quarterly Magazine*, (1865–1881), Acc.8911, NLS.

Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, a Free Church minister in Glasgow, and circulated amongst her cousins in Edinburgh, who were also the children of a Free Church minister.⁶⁰ A comparative English example is the Canterbury Persistent Scribblers Society (1875–1878) which was established by twenty-eight-year-old Mary Grace Whightwick, the daughter of a former mayor of Canterbury, and Mary Payne Smith, the Dean of Canterbury’s seventeen-year-old daughter, which produced a manuscript magazine that circulated amongst twenty-two women and three men in Canterbury, Kent.⁶¹ Nevertheless, *The Scots Thistle* is by far the most long-running circulatory manuscript magazine established in the late-Victorian era. Despite this, it has never undergone scholarly assessment and has remained relatively unknown and private since its establishment.⁶² This case study is the first to trace its origins and the first to contextualise it within a broader legacy of little magazines in Scotland. It explores the magazine’s literary impact, including its connections to twentieth-century magazine culture through the contributions of Scottish poets William Soutar and Robert Garioch. This examination is based on an incomplete collection of the magazine’s issues which are held at the National Library of Scotland, the earliest copy of which is dated 1903 and the most recent is 2013.⁶³ Included in this collection are special anniversary issues that the membership made, including *The Silver Thistle* (1910), *The Golden Thistle* (1935), and a 60th anniversary edition in 1945, as well as ‘reminiscent’ numbers, including *Yestreen* (May 1942) and *Byeganes* (November 1942), and an issue that features the magazine’s best contributions between 1961 and 1965 entitled *Thistle Heids* (1966). Within this collection there are major gaps: there are no copies between 1911 and 1934, 1935 and 1941, 1969 and 1982, and 1991 and 2010. In addition, there are no extant copies of the first eighteen years of the magazine (1885 to 1903), and efforts to

⁶⁰ *The Gael: a Magazine for Mutual Improvement*, (1874–1887), Acc.14198, NLS.

⁶¹ The Canterbury Persistent Scribblers Society (1875–1878) is the subject of Michelle Crowther’s ongoing doctoral thesis at Canterbury Christ Church University.

⁶² *The Scots Thistle* has been the subject of journalistic interest, see Wilfred Taylor, “‘Scots Thistle’”, *The Scotsman*, 30 April 1955, p. 6 cols a–b, Mona Davidson, ‘Eighty Years of The Scots Thistle’, *Scots Magazine*, April 1966, pp. 31–34, Lorn Macintyre, ‘A Century of Thistles’, *Scots Magazine*, April 1985, pp. 23–27, and Cheryl Wood, ‘The Thistle’s Still Blooming 115 Years On’, *Fife Free Press*, 23 June 2000, p. 10 cols b–d. A small exhibition on the magazine was on display at Kirkcaldy Museum in 2000.

⁶³ Issues of *The Scots Thistle* in the NLS have an accession stamp dated 2013 or 2019 and were likely acquired following the death of Elizabeth W. Coutts, the magazine’s editor in 2000, in Kirkcaldy in 2019. Two copies of the magazine are also held in the NLS, see Acc.4266 and Acc.10492.

locate copies from these years have so far been unsuccessful. As such, the analysis that follows is based on a partial, but nonetheless detailed, collection of the magazine since 1885.

The Scots Thistle was created by childhood friends Ann Wyllie (later Ann Robertson) and Euphemia Martin (later Euphemia Paterson) in Kilmarnock in 1885 when the girls were seventeen and twenty years old, respectively. According to Paterson (who married Euphemia in 1889), the girls were inspired by a visit from a mutual friend who received a copy of *The Hillside Magazine*, a manuscript magazine that she made with a group of friends in Cornwall.⁶⁴ This sparked the Kilmarnock girls' interest in re-creating something similar. Initially, the magazine travelled between Ann, Euphemia, three other girls in Kilmarnock (Misses McAllister, Lawrie and Smillie), and another in Cardiff (Miss Kennedy).⁶⁵ Based on census records, marriage certificates, and valuation rolls for Kilmarnock between 1881 and 1891, tentative matches have been made for the McAllister, Lawrie, and Smillie girls. They are likely to have been seventeen-year-old Jane McAllister, twenty-one-year-old Maggie Lawrie, and either sixteen-year-old Margaret Smellie or fourteen-year-old Elizabeth Smellie (a common derivation of the surname Smillie).⁶⁶ Miss Kennedy in Cardiff was most likely Kilmarnock native Margaret A. Kennedy, the daughter of an English engineer, who returned to the town in the late-1880s and was a member of the magazine (along with her father) between 1903 and 1911.⁶⁷ Based on these matches, the girls were all from middle-class backgrounds – their fathers' occupations listed in census records include a grocer, merchant, medical doctor, coal and ironmaster, and railway inspector.⁶⁸ Therefore, the origins of the magazine are similar to other middle-class girls' circulatory manuscript magazines that were established in the late-nineteenth century.

⁶⁴ Weiss, 'The Literary Clubs and Societies of Glasgow', p. 18.

⁶⁵ 'Members, May 1885', *The Golden Thistle*, May 1935, p. 1.

⁶⁶ Lawrie, Maggie, 1881 (Census 597/27/25), NRS; McAllister, Jane, 1881 (Census 597/26/13–14), NRS; Smellie, Margaret, 1881 (Census 597/18/4–5), NRS.

⁶⁷ Kennedy, Margaret, 1891 (Census 597/30/23), NRS. A copy of *The Scots Thistle* (May 1910) is mis-catalogued in the NLS as the 'Magazine of the Family of Thomas Kennedy, Kilmarnock', see Acc.10492, NLS. Although Kennedy and his daughter, Margaret, were members of *The Scots Thistle* between 1903, and 1911, it was not their family's magazine. Margaret emigrated to Canada between 1911 and 1916 where she helped set up the Scottish Nursing Home in Calgary, see Correspondence and Papers of Margaret Auld Kennedy, Acc.10510, NLS, and Letters of Margaret Auld Kennedy from the Scottish Nursing Home, Calgary (1911–1916), Acc.10878, NLS.

⁶⁸ Wyllie, Annie, 1881 (Census 597/30/18), NRS; 1889, Martin, Euphemia Smith (Statutory registers Marriages 597/189/95), NRS.

Although there are no extant copies of *The Scots Thistle* from 1885 to 1903, descriptions of the first issue by those who remembered it are quite detailed. According to Paterson, the first issue was co-edited by Ann and Euphemia and featured eight contributions from the girls, including an article on Mary Shelley, a translation of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a short story, and two poems.⁶⁹ This description is typical of girls' circulatory manuscript magazines. As Burke has noted, girls often dedicated their writings in magazines to canonical writers, including William Shakespeare, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Walter Scott, and Charles Dickens.⁷⁰ A prominent writer in these intertextual encounters is Louisa May Alcott, from whom various girl-centred manuscript magazines took inspiration, such as Egaltine Jebb, the editor of the Shropshire based manuscript magazine *Briarland Recorder* (1889–1892). Jebb who used it to recreate the *Pickwick Portfolio*, a fictionalised manuscript magazine made by the March sisters in Alcott's novel *Little Women* (1869) which is itself an adaptation of Charles Dickens's first novel, *The Pickwick Papers* (1836).⁷¹ Whilst information on the first years of *The Scots Thistle* is lacking, it had a similar textual connection to Alcott. Between 1886 and the mid-1890s, the magazine circulated under a different name, *Thistledown*. In a description by the *Irvine Times*, *Thistledown* was described as 'a local annual' that was 'edited by two young ladies belonging to the town whose intellectual gifts are of no mean order, and whose talents are best known to those within the inner circle of their acquaintances'.⁷² Subsequent reports in the Ayrshire press describe it as 'an old friend which appears intermittently':

"Thistledown" proper is a MS. magazine to which a number of ladies and gentlemen contributed, and which is sent round the members for criticism. In the original there are sketches of scenery, portraits, and flowers, which add considerably to the beauty and interest of the magazine.⁷³

The magazine's title and its description as an 'old friend' link it to Alcott's *Lulu's Library* (1886), a republished collection of short stories that were written for her siblings when she was sixteen years

⁶⁹ Jove, 'Retrospect', p. 6.

⁷⁰ Burke, 'Nineteenth-Century Girls and Authorship', p. 47.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 149–155.

⁷² 'Thistledown – A Local Annual', *Irvine Times*, 24 December 1886, p. 8 col a.

⁷³ 'Thistledown', *Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald*, 9 January 1891, p. 8 col c.

old. One short story describes the adventures of girl and boy fairies Lilybell and Thistledown, the former who is kind and caring, and the latter who is mischievous and naughty.⁷⁴ When the two become separated in fairyland, it is Thistledown's song that Lilybell hears and thus reunites them. Lilybell then reciprocates in kind:

Through sunlight and summer air
I have sought for thee long,
Guided by birds and flowers,
And now by thy song.
Thistledown! Thistledown!
O'er hill and dell
Hither to comfort thee
Comes Lily-Bell.⁷⁵

Here, we have an intertextual exchange between *Thistledown* and Alcott's short story in which the importance of friendship and companionship is emphasised. In this interplay, just as Lilybell is Thistledown's 'comfort', *Thistledown* was a source of comfort to Ann, Euphemia, and the other young women and men in Kilmarnock who received the magazine each month. Therefore, whilst the relationship between Alcott and girls' manuscript magazines has so far been viewed as specific to girlhood and girl friendships, *Thistledown* represents a connection between the two that accentuates the role of manuscript magazines in fostering friendships amongst men and women.

At the same time, the number of women in the magazine's membership outweighed the number of men. Based on the extant magazines, the average number of *Scots Thistle* members was eighteen, of whom there were typically ten women and eight men. The consistently high engagement of women in *The Scots Thistle*'s membership thus makes the magazine distinctive in the context of late-Victorian manuscript magazines, particularly mutual improvement manuscript magazines which were predominantly created by men. In addition, where Burke and Gleadle have observed that girls' magazines tended to peter out as the contributors matured from childhood into adulthood, the founders of the *Scots Thistle* continued to edit, create, and circulate their magazine well into their

⁷⁴ Louisa M. Alcott, *Lulu's Library*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, 1887), II, pp. 25–49.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

twenties and thirties.⁷⁶ This development, from girls' circulatory magazine to a private mixed gender literary magazine, seems to have been motivated by the marriages of Ann and Euphemia. In 1888, Ann married Robert Gardner Robertson, an artist, who joined the magazine under the pseudonym 'Struan', and in 1889, Euphemia married Robert Taylor Paterson, a lawyer, who was known as 'Jove' in the magazine. The celebration of Ann and Robert's marriage gives us a brief insight into the camaraderie of *Thistledown's* membership. Just before their wedding, the couple received a silver egg stand and egg spoons from members of the magazine.⁷⁷ This group of magazine makers was, therefore, tight knit.

Further inspection of the circulation lists for *The Scots Thistle* reveals that a significant number of members were married or related to one another. This includes Kate Y. A. Bone, who joined in 1923 and was known in the magazine as 'Wendy', and her husband, William J. K. Bone, who joined a year later as 'Peter Pan'. Both were co-editors of the magazine in the 1950s and 1960s. John B. Bell, who joined soon after the magazine was started in 1886 as 'Fitz-James', was a long serving member and editor from 1922 to 1942. His wife, Jane E. R. Bell, joined as 'Morag' in 1934, and his son, Harold B. Bell, joined as 'Fionn' in 1922 and became the magazine's official illustrator and, later, its editor from 1942 to the late 1980s. There were also several siblings in the membership. Following the private publication of a volume of her poems in 1928, Jessie Pagan (known as 'Gemini') was recruited by Annie Macdonald Clark ('Leo'), who also recruited her daughter, Georgie H. Pagan ('Libra'), and her niece, Anna M. Pagan ('Lavengro'). In addition, Clark's sister and brother were members of the magazine at various points in the 1910s and 1920s.⁷⁸ Finally, founding member Ann introduced her son, Robert Cecil Robertson, as a member whilst he was still a child and he contributed under the pseudonym 'Hypo'.⁷⁹ Therefore, the development of *The Scots Thistle* was aided by the involvement of spouses, relatives, and multiple family units.

⁷⁶ Gleadle, 'Magazine Culture, Girlhood Communities', pp. 1187–1194; Burke, "Meantime, it is Quite Well to Write'", p. 732.

⁷⁷ 'Marriage Presentations', *Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald*, 10 August 1888, p. 8 col b.

⁷⁸ Jessie Pagan, *Twelve Poems* (Edinburgh: Printed for Private Circulation, 1928).

⁷⁹ 'Names and Addresses', *The Scots Thistle*, January 1907, Acc.4266, NLS.

The continued evolution of the magazine was supported by the 'second wave' of manuscript magazine production associated with literary societies and church groups that Weiss has identified from the 1880s onwards.⁸⁰ Several members of *The Scots Thistle* were recruited to the magazine through their involvement with the St Brycedale Church Literary Society in Kirkcaldy, and its manuscript magazine *The Echo*.⁸¹ Paterson, Clark, and Bone all left *The Echo* to join the magazine between 1886 and the 1920s, and sometimes repurposed articles from the former magazine in the latter. Although *The Echo* fell victim to a diminished membership, its former members maintained a connection to other literary societies contemporaneous to their time with *The Scots Thistle*. For example, Paterson was a member and office-bearer of the Uddingston Literary Society, and the Bones were members (and sometime secretaries) of the Colinton Literary Society for many years.⁸² *The Scots Thistle* also had minister-members who were active in church literary societies and reading groups. Rev. Samuel Harvey McEwing was minister at Sandringham Road Presbyterian Church in Hartlepool, where he oversaw a flourishing literary society during his time as a *Scots Thistle* member between 1903 and 1911, and was later called to the United Free Church in Drymen where he was treasurer of the Drymen Reading Room.⁸³ Several members were also the wives and daughters of ministers, as indicated by the addresses in the circulation lists. The arrival of the magazine on the doorsteps of various manses across Scotland suggests that this voluntary literary activity was approved by the clerical head of the household.⁸⁴ Therefore, just as the magazine owes its origins to the phenomenon of manuscript magazines that was particularly popular amongst Scottish girls and young women, it was also indebted to the development of manuscript magazines attached to church groups and literary societies after 1880.

⁸⁰ Weiss, 'The Literary Clubs and Societies of Glasgow', p. 171.

⁸¹ Leo [Annie Macdonald Clark], 'Nemo Me Impune Lacessit!', *The Golden Thistle*, May 1935, p. 18.

⁸² 'Literary Society', *Airdrie and Coatbridge Advertiser*, 25 October 1902, p. 4 col f; 'Colinton Parish Church Literary Society', *Midlothian Advertiser*, 21 March 1930, p. 5 cols c–d; 'Literary Society Annual Meeting', *Midlothian Advertiser*, 19 March 1937, p. 3 col c.

⁸³ 'Literary Society', *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 3 October 1894, p. 3 col f; 'Minister's Death', *Stirling Observer*, 5 December 1940, p. 4 col f.

⁸⁴ 'Circulation List', *The Scots Thistle*, January 1907, Acc.4266, NLS.

Although *The Scots Thistle* can be seen as an extension of associational culture in Scotland, participation existed outwith the traditional spaces afforded by such groups and societies, for example, a meeting room, church hall, pub, or café. Membership to *The Scots Thistle* was therefore akin to a virtual literary society and imagined community of magazine makers. This physically liminal existence was conveyed in the membership's metaphorical collective identity. In the same way that children magazine makers styled themselves as clubs and societies – the 'Red Heart Society', 'Cavalier Club', 'Carlowrie Horticultural Society', and 'Rob-goblins' – members of *The Scots Thistle* acknowledged themselves through affiliation to the plant in the magazine's title and were collectively known as 'Thistleites'. As Burke has discussed in her examination of the editor-contributor relationship in *The Barnacle*, hierarchical delineations based on age were particularly important for girls and their manuscript magazines. Contributors to *The Barnacle* were collectively referred to as the 'Gosling Society' and, Yonge, their editor, was known as 'Mother Goose'.⁸⁵ Similarly, 'Thistleites' incorporated differences in age. Younger members were referred to as 'jags' and 'spikes', and older members (or those with more years of membership) were known as 'old spikes', 'branches' and 'leaves'.⁸⁶ 'Leo' referred to herself as 'a prickle on the splendid Scots Thistle' and described how new members became attached to 'the Leaves, by the Blossoms and Prickles alike of the growing plant'.⁸⁷ The personification of the thistle was likewise found in the magazine's earlier iteration as *Thistledown*. Thistledown is the fluffy sprout that is attached to the seeds of thistle plants and which, in strong gusts of wind, detaches and floats through the air to be sown elsewhere. Though Ann and Euphemia could not have foreseen their magazine's longevity, even in its earliest period, *The Scots Thistle's* identity was rooted in the imagery of the thistle, conveying then a sense of innocence and newness like a seedling. Indeed, the decision to re-name the magazine as *The Scots Thistle* in the mid-1890s suggests a consciousness of national identity that has been discussed throughout this thesis. As such, it was one of the national

⁸⁵ Burke, "Meantime, it is Quite Well to Write", p. 724.

⁸⁶ These descriptions are mentioned throughout issues of *The Scots Thistle*.

⁸⁷ Leo, 'Nemo Me Impune Lacessit!', p. 19.

emblems of Scotland that became the symbol that imagined this community of magazine makers and, in many ways, provided a more profound sense of belonging than the physical magazine itself.

The spiky nature of the thistle also became adopted into this collective identity. Spikiness was described as a 'desired trait' of 'Thistleites', particularly in reference to the magazine's lengthy and much-loved criticisms page, in which members reviewed each month's contributions and gave feedback and suggestions for improvement. 'Lavengro' noted that 'a prickly nature and "Wha daur meddle with me?" attitude are inherent to a Thistle'.⁸⁸ The metaphor of the thistle was so far extended that it became a verb to define the action of contributing to the magazine. In the 60th anniversary issue, 'Wendy' composed a fictional interview with herself about why she was a member of the magazine:

[interviewer] Why do you thistle, if I may coin a new verb, for thistling seems a special sort of writing, not for oneself, and not for the public. It is done hastily at the last minute, with only the Thistle in view.

[...] ['Wendy'] Thistling, as you call it, doesn't need to be a special sort of writing. Why should it? Some of the members, who have never wanted to sell their work find the Thistle attractive because they can write without thinking of the markets, but they write primarily because they have an itch to write, and like all other itches it is better to come out. [...] The Thistle stimulates one to write something, even though it may be under pressure; one gets some sort of opinion about it, and having tried it out on the Thistle, one may try it out on the Press, either because of the Thistle criticism, or in spite of them.⁸⁹

As 'Wendy' suggests, for most members of *The Scots Thistle*, 'thistling' allowed them to express their literary ambitions without the anxiety of publishing in a local newspaper or magazine. Similarly, an existing *Scots Thistle* member explained to 'Leo' that a 'magazine like this does a lot of good – it exists for those who are desirous of private renown'.⁹⁰ Within this private imagined community, the members offered each other criticism as a means of improvement and betterment. As one of them described, 'The Criticism pages are grand! We have some fine rows, I can tell you!'.⁹¹ Another reminisced that one member 'was the very spirit of fun and took great delight in writing "spicy" criticisms in those final pages [...] If the member criticised was induced to reply, my friend was the better pleased'.⁹² Moreover, this

⁸⁸ Lavengro [Anna M. Pagan], 'A Letter', *The Scots Thistle*, May 1945, p. 7.

⁸⁹ Wendy [Kate Y. A. Bone], 'Why Thistle?', *The Scots Thistle*, May 1945, pp. 21–22.

⁹⁰ Leo, 'Nemo Me Impune Lacessit!', p. 18.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Fitz-James [John L. Bell], 'Aphrodite. A Scots Thistle Episode', *The Scots Thistle*, November 1942, p. 138.

competitiveness often turned into friendship. As Paterson explained, 'there has always been a feeling of camaraderie permeating the band, a friendship even for those whom one has never seen'.⁹³ 'Leo', in particular, was motivated to become a *Scots Thistle* member 'as I don't make friends readily', and enjoyed the fact that the magazine did not demand face-to-face interactions which she found personally awkward and demanding.⁹⁴ Indeed, the majority of members never met each other or interacted in person during their entire membership. Moreover, the virtual nature and imagined community of *The Scots Thistle* is what kept its members participating for so long.

Unlike other manuscript magazines, *The Scots Thistle* was not a membership or association in a traditional sense. There are no minute books, syllabi, or records that constitute *The Scots Thistle* as a society, and contributors did not meet in person or share their articles before the production of the magazine. Likewise, in contrast to a mutual improvement society in which the magazine was the product of the meeting or gathering, copies of *The Scots Thistle* represent the product, the meeting, and the membership all at once. In this way, the magazine was a community that existed outside of the traditional temporal and spatial boundaries of an in-person meeting, lecture, or get-together. Therefore, *The Scots Thistle* is a significant publication in the context of manuscript magazines not only because it offers 'a multi-level, interacting series of negotiations and dialogues between the editor, contributors, critics, and the society', but because it represents a multi-generational, transnational, and imagined literary community without the spatiality that is usually associated with literary associational culture, like a church hall, library or reading room.⁹⁵ It offers an insight into magazine culture that was not spatially binary: *The Scots Thistle* existed in the moments when a contribution was devised and composed, in the sending of contributions to the editor, when the editor received the contributions, when the magazine arrived at each contributor's home, and when it was read, consumed, and critiqued by the members. Following Benedict Anderson's theory of imagined communities – in which he argues that print technology is a significant influence in the collectivisation of people who will never meet or

⁹³ Jove, 'Retrospect', pp. 13–14.

⁹⁴ Leo, 'Nemo Me Impune Lacessit!', p. 18.

⁹⁵ Weiss, 'The Manuscript Magazines of the Wellpark Free Church', p. 56.

come to know one another – *The Scots Thistle* magazine fulfilled the same function. It created a community amongst a group of enthusiastic literary people spread across Britain and Ireland between 1885 and 2013.⁹⁶

This imagined community included well-known and well-regarded Scottish poets associated with the twentieth-century Scottish Renaissance. Poet and diarist William Soutar was a member between 1927 and 1931 and won the magazine's annual poetry prize during this period.⁹⁷ Around the same time, William H. Ogilvie, a Scottish poet who achieved popularity in Australia, was also a member.⁹⁸ Although copies of the magazine from the 1920s and 1930s are not extant, Soutar's membership was confirmed by later editors of the magazine.⁹⁹ In addition, a manuscript copy of his poem, 'The Three Puddocks', was included in the magazine's special 'reminiscent' issue in 1942. Considering that the magazine prioritised original contributions from its members, the inclusion of this poem suggests that it was originally published in the magazine.¹⁰⁰ Soutar's pseudonym in the magazine, 'Scriblerus', suggests that he was an enthusiastic member of *The Scots Thistle*. The Scriblerus Club was an informal association of authors and poets in early-eighteenth-century London who met at St James's Palace to satirise and criticise modern intellectual life.¹⁰¹ The Scriblerus Club's members created a collective pseudonym and literary persona known as 'Martinus Scriblerus', through whom they published their satirical aims in *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* (1741). Soutar's choice of pseudonym recalls this earlier period of print culture camaraderie and, like the Scriblerus Club, suggests that *The Scots Thistle* provided him with humour, relief, and intellectual stimulation. Indeed, his membership coincided with his diagnosis of ankylosing spondylitis, a long-term condition in which the

⁹⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). For the geographical spread of *Scots Thistle* members, see Appendix X.

⁹⁷ Libra [Georgie H. Pagan], 'The "Diamond" Scots Thistle', *The Scots Thistle*, May 1945, p. 9.

⁹⁸ Ogilvie is described as having been 'a member for several years', see Taylor, "'Scots Thistle'".

⁹⁹ See Davidson, 'Eighty Years of The Scots Thistle' and Macintyre, 'A Century of Thistles'. There is only one issue of *The Scots Thistle* from this period (May 1934) which is after Soutar's membership.

¹⁰⁰ William Soutar, 'The Three Puddocks', *The Scots Thistle*, May 1942, p. 143.

¹⁰¹ Peter Lewis and Nigel Wood, *John Gay and the Scriblerians* (London: Vision, 1989).

spine and vertebrae become inflamed.¹⁰² Following his subsequent invalidity and confinement at home from 1930, the magazine's virtual existence and domestic production meant that Soutar was not excluded from participation and was able to continue as a member from home.

Although it is unclear how Soutar came to join *The Scots Thistle*, his training as a teacher in Edinburgh in 1924 might give an indication. Of the contributors that can be identified between 1903 and 2013, the most common profession amongst the membership was teaching. For example, long-serving members James C. Wyse, David Symons, and Archibald Watson Bain were all teachers employed by Kirkcaldy School Board and were likely to have been invited to join the magazine by John L. Bell, then headmaster of Kirkcaldy High School, who was also a member of the magazine from 1886. Bell's son, Harold, was also a teacher at the same school from the 1930s to 1960s. At least five other members of the magazine were teachers between 1903 and 2013. Like Soutar, another teacher-turned-poet and *Scots Thistle* contributor was Robert Garioch, who was a member between 1961 and 1968 and possibly earlier and later than these dates.¹⁰³ Garioch returned to Edinburgh in 1959 following a teaching career in the south-east of England and began writing poetry full-time.¹⁰⁴ Like Soutar, it may have been teaching that brought him to *The Scots Thistle*, but without a biography or autobiography for Garioch, this is unsubstantiated. Nonetheless, what is remarkable about Garioch's membership is that he originally published some of his best-known poems in the magazine, including 'Sisyphus', 'Elegy', and several of his Edinburgh sonnets. These poems appeared in the magazine in typescript on yellow or orange coloured paper and were signed using his pseudonym in the magazine, 'Grommet'.

That Garioch was a prolific contributor to twentieth-century Scottish magazine culture is entirely without doubt. Between his collected volumes *Chuckies on the Cairn* (1949) and *Selected Poems* (1966), he published almost exclusively in magazines, periodicals, and newspapers, including Hugh

¹⁰² Joy Hendry, 'William Soutar (1898–1943)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-49536?rskey=X1KeAg&result=2>> [accessed 12 December 2023].

¹⁰³ Copies of *The Scots Thistle* are lacking between 1950 and 1985, therefore it is difficult to corroborate the length of Garioch's membership.

¹⁰⁴ James B. Caird, 'Robert Garioch: an Appreciation', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 10: 2, (1983), 68–78 (p. 71).

MacDiarmid's *National Weekly* (1948–1953) and *Scottish Art and Letters* (1944–1950), and the independent literary magazines *Akros* (1965–1983), *Gambit* (1965–1967), *Jabberwock* (1945–1959), *Lines Review* (1954–1998), and *Scottish International* (1968–1974). In addition, he was literary adviser for *Scottish International* alongside Scotland's first Makar, Edwin Morgan.¹⁰⁵ Garioch's choice of pseudonym, 'Grommet', is significant in the context of this late-twentieth-century magazine culture. The name 'Andrew Grommet' was a contributor to both *Scottish International* and *Lines Review* between 1966 and 1969.¹⁰⁶ Whilst it is possible that a person with this name did write these pieces, it is more than likely that these were contributed by Garioch using an extension of the pseudonym that he used in *The Scots Thistle*. This is an important revelation in Scottish magazine culture in the 1960s and 1970s, of which there is relatively little information aside from personal anecdotes and ongoing oral history interviews with those who were involved in these magazines.¹⁰⁷ For Garioch, Scottish magazines in this period were a medium that included printed and manuscript forms and which he frequently transcended the boundaries of. Moreover, his example suggests that further research on these magazines should pay close attention to their manuscript and archival collections (including proofs, typescripts, and correspondence), as much as the printed magazines themselves, when investigating the role of magazines in late-twentieth-century Scottish literature, culture, and politics.¹⁰⁸

Investigation into Garioch's membership of *The Scots Thistle* reveals further aspects of his writing process that are difficult to examine without a biography or equivalent scholarly study. When

¹⁰⁵ Robin Fulton Macpherson gives a summary of Garioch's career in his preface as well as the manuscript dates for most of his poems, see *Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by Robin Fulton Macpherson, rev. ed. (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2004).

¹⁰⁶ Andrew Grommet, 'How to Get the Land Back', *Scottish International*, April 1968, pp. 31–35, and 'Review of Opera', *Scottish International*, January 1969, p. 64; A. Grommet, 'Review of Cartoid Cornucopius', *Lines Review*, Winter 1966, pp. 42–43.

¹⁰⁷ The Scottish Magazines Network has published several reflective blog posts entitled 'Mag Memories' that are written by those who were active in Scottish magazine culture in the 1960s to 1990s. For reflections on *Scottish International* and *Lines Review*, see D. M. Black, 'Mag Memories: D. M. Black', *Scottish Magazines Network*, (14 April 2021), <<https://campuspress.stir.ac.uk/scotmagsnet/tag/lines-review/>> [accessed 4 May 2023], and John Herdman, 'Mag Memories: John Herdman', *Scottish Magazines Network*, (31 May 2021), <<https://campuspress.stir.ac.uk/scotmagsnet/2021/05/31/mag-memories-john-herdman/>> [accessed 4 May 2023]. For more reminiscences on literary and political life in postwar Scotland, see John Herdman, *Another Country: An Era in Scottish Politics and Letters* (Edinburgh: Thirsty Books, an imprint of Argyll Publishing, 2013).

¹⁰⁸ The NLS holds the manuscript and archival collections of a number of Scottish magazines (as well as the manuscripts of their editors and contributors) published between the 1960s and 1990s.

comparing his poems in the magazine and as they appear in the most recent edited collection of his poetry, *Complete Poetical Works* (1983), most of the verse is unchanged. These include 'A True Story', 'Dae It Yerself or Ilka Man His Ain Browster' and 'Glawmrie'. Other poems, such as 'Merulius Lacrymans', contain minor differences in word choice. Importantly, these poems all appeared as originally in *The Scots Thistle* prior to their inclusion in other magazines and printed volumes. Of the twenty-five poems that Garioch published in the magazine, fourteen were original contributions. Additionally, there are six unpublished pieces in the magazine that have remained unseen by scholars of Garioch's work, including the editor of his collected verse, D. M. Black.¹⁰⁹ The differences in word choice, language, and structure between these poems in *The Scots Thistle* and in his printed volumes suggests that Garioch used the magazine as an experimental site to write his early drafts. For instance, there are notable differences in 'Sisyphus'. In *The Scots Thistle*'s version, line 12 reads as follows:

sat himself doun on the chuckie-stanes, hoping the Boss wadnae spy him,¹¹⁰

Whereas in *Complete Poetical Works* this line is changed to:

streikit his length on the chuckie-stanes, houpan the Boss wadna spy him,¹¹¹

Another difference is in line 12 of 'Brither Worm', which appears in *The Scots Thistle* as:

thinkan some Friend of the Worms had sent a maist welcome shoure¹¹²

Whereas in *Complete Poetical Works*, the line is:

thinkin some Friend of the Worms had slockent them with a shoure,¹¹³

Here, we see Garioch diversify his use of Scots, choosing words that strengthens the imagery of the rain falling on the worm, as opposed to the description of the rain itself. Of all the original contributions to

¹⁰⁹ D. M. Black has written the most amount of criticism on Garioch, see 'Poets of the Sixties 3: Robert Garioch', *Lines Review*, Spring 1967, pp. 8–15, 'In Memoriam: Robert Garioch', *Chapman*, Winter 1981/1982, pp. 1–6, and 'Handling Wildcats: Robert Garioch Reconsidered', *The Dark Horse*, Autumn/Winter 2013, pp. 18–36. Also, see Robin Hamilton, 'Robert Garioch's *Complete Poetical Works*', *Akros*, October 1983, pp. 73–78, Robin Fulton Macpherson, *Robert Garioch Remembered*, (28 April 2011), <<https://scottishpoetrylibrary.wordpress.com/2011/04/28/robert-garioch-remembered/>> [accessed 4 May 2023], and Caird, 'Robert Garioch: an Appreciation'.

¹¹⁰ Grommet [Robert Garioch], 'Sisyphus', *The Scots Thistle*, July 1963, p. 21.

¹¹¹ *Complete Poetical Works*, p. 28.

¹¹² Grommet [Robert Garioch], 'Brither Worm...', *The Scots Thistle*, October 1966, p. 16.

¹¹³ *Complete Poetical Works*, p. 10.

The Scots Thistle, 'For Translation into the Gaelic' is Garioch's most redrafted poem. For instance, in *Complete Poetical Works*, lines 5 to 9 appear as:

Or if it was not a game that those Sneeshes played with me,
and if they charged me the same for admission
as they were charging everybody else,
it follows that the people of their part of the world
must have greater riches than a stranger would judge¹¹⁴

Whereas the wording is less refined in his earlier draft in *The Scots Thistle*:

Or if it was not a game that those Sneeshes played with me,
and if the charge they extorted for my admission
was the same as they were demanding from everyone else,
it follows that the people of that part of the world
have greater riches than a stranger would consider possible,¹¹⁵

Again, the word choice in *The Scots Thistle*'s version is more expressive, emphasising the motif of the outsider and the dislocation between Scots and English which further conveys the protagonist's feelings of alienation and encroachment.

In addition to these original contributions, Garioch also reproduced poems in *The Scots Thistle* that had appeared in print much earlier. This includes 'The Canny Hen', one of his most well-known poems, which was first published in MacDiarmid's weekly newspaper *The National Weekly* in April 1949, but reappeared in *The Scots Thistle* in the 1960s.¹¹⁶ Comparing older versions of Garioch's poems in *The Scots Thistle* with later publications again generates further insight into his editorial process over time. For example, 'Heard in the Cougate' (of which the manuscript version is dated 29th September 1962) was re-titled 'Heard at the West-End' in *Lines Review* and *The Scots Thistle*, before returning to its original title, 'Heard in the Cougate', in *Selected Poems* (1966).¹¹⁷ Changing titles, word choice, and imagery appears to be a consistent trait in Garioch's writing and editorial style. As he explained in the

¹¹⁴ *Complete Poetical Works*, p. 156.

¹¹⁵ Grommet [Robert Garioch], 'For Translation into the Gaelic', *The Scots Thistle*, October 1968, p. 5.

¹¹⁶ Robert Garioch, 'The Canny Hen', *National Weekly*, 30 April 1949, p. 5. No manuscript date is given for this poem in *Complete Poetical Works*. Its identification in the *National Weekly* gives a likely origin of 1948 or 1949.

¹¹⁷ Robert Garioch, 'Heard at the West-End', *Lines Review*, Winter 1962–63, p. 19; Grommet [Robert Garioch], 'Heard at the West-End', *The Scots Thistle*, January 1966, p. 17; Robert Garioch, *Selected Poems* (Edinburgh: M. Macdonald, 1966), p. 25.

preface to *Chuckies on the Cairn*, although '[s]ome o thae poems hae been prentit', they appeared 'no aye in their present form'.¹¹⁸

The use of Scots language in *The Scots Thistle* demonstrates that the magazine was not impervious to the linguistic aims of the postwar Scottish Renaissance. In addition to Soutar and Garioch's contributions, a number of other poems were published in Scots. These include verse by 'Fingal' (the pseudonym of John G. Horne) who was a member of the magazine from 1937 to 1947 and the author of *An Lan'wart Loon: a Poem in Scots* (1928).¹¹⁹ Horne also contributed poems in Scots to Ninian MacWhannell's *Oor Mither Tongue: an Anthology of Scots Vernacular Verse*.¹²⁰ By the 1960s, there was a network of *Scots Thistle* members whose interests overlapped with the Scottish Renaissance, but whose contributions have been overlooked in accounts of that movement. They include Alex Frizzell, the printer-publisher of Castlelaw Press, who was a member of the magazine in the 1960s and the first to publish Edwin Morgan's poetry in printed volume.¹²¹ Frizzell went on to publish the work of other Scottish literary figures, including Robin Macpherson Fulton, Bessie J. B. MacArthur, George Mackay Brown, and Valda Grieve.¹²² Frizzell also published the poetry of *Scots Thistle* member 'Wendy'. In the foreword to her volume (which was written by Garioch), he noted that Bone's poems 'should take their place in what we are proud to regard as a considerable literary movement'.¹²³ Garioch was also encouraging of fellow *Scots Thistle* member William J. Rae (also a teacher) whose interests in Scots led him to become a member of the magazine and a contributor to the Scottish literary magazines including *Lallans* (1973–present), *Chapman* (1970–2009), and *Scots Glasnost* (1988–1994).¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Robert Garioch, *Chuckies on the Cairn: Poems in Scots & English* (Kent: The Chalmers Press, 1949), p. i.

¹¹⁹ John G. Horne, *An Lan'wart Loon: a Poem in Scots* (Edinburgh: Porpoise Press, 1928); Fingal [John G. Horne], 'Our Scots Tongue', *The Scots Thistle*, May 1942, pp. 73–80, and 'Omelette For Four', *The Scots Thistle*, May 1942, p. 132.

¹²⁰ Ninian MacWhannell, *Oor Mither Tongue: An Anthology of Scots Vernacular Verse* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1937), pp. 136–141.

¹²¹ Edwin Morgan, *Twelve Songs* (West Linton: Castlelaw Press, 1970) and *Glasgow Sonnets* (West Linton: Castlelaw Press, 1972).

¹²² Robin Macpherson Fulton, *Quarters* (West Linton: Castlelaw Press, 1970); Bessie J. B. MacArthur, *And Time Moves On* (West Linton: Castlelaw Press, 1972); George Mackay Brown, *Edwin Muir: A Brief Memoir* (West Linton: Castlelaw Press, 1975); Valda Trevlyn Grieve, *Why?* (West Linton: Castlelaw Press, 1978).

¹²³ Kate Y. A. Bone, *Thistle By-Blaws* (West Linton: Castlelaw Press, 1971), p. 5.

¹²⁴ 'Words That Paint a Picture', *Dundee Courier*, 12 January 1996, p. 8 cols c–d. Rae also contributed to James Robertson's anthology, *A Tongue in Yer Heid* (Edinburgh: B. and W. Publishing, 1994).

Therefore, just as Garioch transcended the boundaries of manuscript and printed magazines, he likewise encouraged other *Scots Thistle* members to do the same, particularly those that were interested in writing in Scots. Moreover, although Garioch has consistently featured in histories of Scottish poetry, he is sometimes underestimated in the broader narrative of twentieth-century Scottish literature.¹²⁵ This may have been derived from his unassuming personality. Those who knew him note his quiet character and dislike for the kind of confrontational debates that were courted by his contemporaries, notably MacDiarmid. He was described by James Caird as ‘the vulnerable poet’ and likened to a hermit crab.¹²⁶ Similarly, Robin Fulton Macpherson notes his ‘courteous, quiet-voiced and sometimes hesitant manner’.¹²⁷ Garioch’s membership to *The Scots Thistle*, a cloistered magazine for private literary people, supports this characterisation. At the same time, this examination has shown him to be a much more involved and impactful figure in twentieth-century Scottish magazine culture than has previously been suggested. Ultimately, *The Scots Thistle* demonstrates the importance of magazines to twentieth-century Scottish literature, in both the public and private literary spheres.

Amateur Magazines and Amateur Journalism in Scotland

Amateur journalism – the practice of making and printing newspapers, periodicals, and magazines for fun and not for profit – has its origins in the mass-availability of domestic and toy printing presses that emerged in the 1860s.¹²⁸ Typically, these amateur productions were four-page magazines that were printed and published by one person in a single location consisting of two pages of fiction and poetry and two pages of essays, correspondence columns, and puzzles.¹²⁹ The movement was particularly prominent in North America where cheap domestic printing presses encouraged children and

¹²⁵ Garioch is regularly included in anthologies of Scottish verse, see *Twentieth-Century Scottish Poetry*, ed. by Douglas Dunn, rev. ed. (London: Faber, 2006). For a wider examination of his work, see Andrew J. R. Macintosh, ‘Robert Garioch and Aspects of the Scottish Poetic Tradition’ (Doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 2001).

¹²⁶ Caird, ‘Robert Garioch: an Appreciation’, p. 72.

¹²⁷ Macpherson, ‘Robert Garioch Remembered’.

¹²⁸ Jessica Isaac, ‘Youthful Enterprises: Amateur Newspapers and the Pre-History of Adolescence, 1867–1883’, *American Periodicals*, 22: 2, (2012), 158–177 (p. 158).

¹²⁹ Isaac, ‘Youthful Enterprises’, p. 160.

teenagers to produce magazines and newspapers at home as part of an academic-alternative educational and literary pursuit. These magazines became a recognised sphere in print culture, known as ‘Amateurdom’:

Amateurdom forms a vast literary society, whose members express their opinions, state their arguments upon topics under discussion, expound their theories, and thus improve their literary composition, through the columns of their papers.¹³⁰

Amateur journalism developed as a public peer culture for mainly white, male middle-class teenagers whose activities shaped the parameters of magazine culture at the turn of the century.¹³¹ As Jessica Isaac explains, this movement was a particularly youthful activity and members recognised that they were ‘engaged in a project of world-making [...] that linked self-assertion to youth and defensiveness to being a teenager’.¹³² Moreover, these youngsters used their magazines to transcend the boundaries of professional journalism, a traditionally adult-only industry with financial stakeholders, profit pressures, and circulation statistics. This entrepreneurial spirit is emphasised by the movement’s emphasis on didacticism, education, and self-improvement, described as follows:

The chance is thus given a member of the fraternity, by hard work and diligent study to so improve himself and the effusions of his pen, that he will become one of the leaders of this little literary world, and make his name celebrated for years to come [...] his elevation to the halls of Congress or to the professorship of Colleges, is no more to him than the honors of Amateurdom are to its disciples, and is obtained and toiled and worked for from the same motives that induces the youth to enter and cling to the Amateur Press.¹³³

By the 1890s, amateur journalism had formed groups and associations that linked these magazine makers at local, regional, and national levels.¹³⁴ These associations created sororal connections; many youngsters became friends and long-term correspondents, as well as principal contributors to each other’s magazines which effectively kept these titles in production for longer than they might have otherwise survived. The earliest association to be formalised was the National Amateur Press

¹³⁰ Thomas G. Harrison, *The Career and Reminiscences of an Amateur Journalist and a History of Amateur Journalism* (Indianapolis, IN: Thos. G. Harrison, 1883), p. 16.

¹³¹ Isaac, ‘Youthful Enterprises’, p. 160; George M. Huss, *A History of Amateur Journalism* (Tiffin, OH: Arthur J. Huss, 1877).

¹³² Isaac, ‘Youthful Enterprises’, p. 175.

¹³³ Harrison, *The Career and Reminiscences*, p. 16.

¹³⁴ Isaac, ‘Youthful Enterprises’, p. 161.

Association (NAPA) which was formed in 1876 by Evan Reed Riale and nine others in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. By the 1910s, the association had been re-named the United Amateur Press Association (UAPA) and produced its own magazine, *The United Amateur*, which defined its members as the following:

If you are a student of elementary English desirous of attaining literary polish in an enjoyable manner,

If you are an ordinary citizen, burning with the ambition to become an author,

If you are a solitary individual wishing for a better chance to express yourself,

If you own a printing-press and would like to learn how to issue a high-grade paper,

If you are a mature person eager to make up for a youthful lack of culture,

If you are a professor or teacher seeking a new method of interesting your English class, or

If you are an author or person of ripe scholarship, anxious to aid your cruder brothers on their way, then

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO BECOME A MEMBER OF THE UNITED AMATEUR PRESS ASSOCIATION.¹³⁵

Here, UAPA identifies the groups of young people who were active in magazine production and whom are discussed throughout this chapter, such as those with access to a printing-press, those interested in self-improvement, and those seeking friendship and companionship beyond the bounds of their own environment.

Whilst there is no study of Scottish amateur magazine production, there was a flourishing of at-home magazines in the mid-nineteenth century amongst children and young people in Scotland. An early example is *Caberfeigh* (1874–1875), an illustrated monthly magazine that was printed on a toy printing press by Isobel MacKenzie, a twenty-one-year-old consumptive woman, at her aristocratic home, Gollanfield House near Inverness. The magazine was a means of keeping Isobel occupied whilst she suffered from periods of protracted illness in her family's palatial home. An inscription in the bound volume of the magazine notes that *Caberfeigh* was printed by 'a small printing machine for fun, during

¹³⁵ H. P. Lovecraft, *Writings in The United Amateur, 1915–1922: Official Organ of the United Amateur Press Association of America* (Hamburg: Tredition, 2012), p. 4.

a long illness with a companion cousin' and was assembled into a volume after Isobel's death from consumption in 1881 'in remembrance of her little Printing Press, & of many happy days at Gollanfield House'.¹³⁶ Although girls like Isobel were involved in the production of amateur magazines, it was, like Weiss' associational manuscript magazines, an overwhelmingly boy-centred pursuit.¹³⁷ Isaac has identified a prominent 'shade of boyishness' in the self-representation of amateur journalism that has persisted since the 1880s.¹³⁸ These boys and young men were typically members of amateur journalism associations that complemented their own magazine production, such as literary societies, political associations, and church groups. A classic example of this multi-faceted amateur magazine culture in Scotland is William Paxton, who was an undergraduate arts student in Glasgow in 1907. Alongside his role as president of the Glasgow branch of the British Amateur Literary Association, he was active in church work (he was secretary of Rosslands U. F. Church's Sabbath school and its mission meeting group), served as the first president of the YSS, was a member of the Temperance Advocates' Union, and contributed articles and essays to various Scottish newspapers.¹³⁹

Amateur journalists like Paxton were initially affiliated with the British Amateur Press Association (BAPA), which was founded in 1890 by 'a band of young men whose interest in writing and printing were about equal'.¹⁴⁰ Like UAPA in North America, BAPA was an equally youth-dominated society that encouraged its members to be independent in the creation of magazines and newspapers which were printed privately for the enjoyment of contributors and readers. BAPA also produced a magazine – *The Amateur Journalist* – which contained resources for amateur journalists, notices related to the Association's activities, and updates on the magazines produced by members in Britain and North America. Scottish magazines affiliated with BAPA include the *Midlothian* (1895), the *Monthly Miscellany and Scottish Amateur* (1899), and *Caledonia* (1900). A comparative study of all three demonstrates that there was a key group of young men who drove Scotland's amateur magazine scene: James D. Porter

¹³⁶ *Caberfeigh. A Magazine of Polite Literature*, (1874–1875), RB.s.2669, NLS.

¹³⁷ Isaac, 'Youthful Enterprises', pp. 163–164; Weiss, 'The Literary Clubs and Societies of Glasgow'.

¹³⁸ Isaac, 'Youthful Enterprises', p. 172.

¹³⁹ 'Tribute to a Kinghorn Man', *Fifeshire Advertiser*, 2 February 1907, p. 3 col c.

¹⁴⁰ 'A Brief History of Amateur Journalism', *41 Review*, December 1932, np.

(editor of the *Midlothian*), William Brown (co-editor of the *Monthly Miscellany* and foreign secretary of BAPA), David B. Mungo (co-editor of the *Monthly Miscellany* and *Caledonia*), and John M'cL. Burns (co-editor of *Caledonia*). Like Paxton, all three were university students in the 1890s and 1900s. These men were also the leading forces in the establishment of a Scottish amateur journalism association in 1891, the Scottish Amateur Literary Association (SALA), and became its first board members. SALA was founded with the object to 'encourage the practice and study of literature, to inculcate a higher taste in the youth of both sexes, and otherwise to promote their social and intellectual warfare'.¹⁴¹ Scottish novelist S. R. Crockett was the Association's honorary president and *The Young Journalist* (1891–1892) was its printed magazine, which later became the *Scottish Amateur* (1897–1898). The defining characteristic of these magazines is their eclecticism. Although they primarily published verse and prose, they differ wildly in their themes and literary interests. The *Midlothian* was more journalistic in its approach by including a 'Notes and News' column that reviewed other British amateur magazines that had been circulated that month. The *Monthly Miscellany* was more focussed on discursive content and published essays on the state of amateur journalism, such as, 'Amateurs We Know; Or Would Like To'.¹⁴² Lastly, *Caledonia* was more aspirational by emphasising educational improvement through the inclusion of essays on language, literature, and literary forms.

An important Scottish amateur magazine at this time was *The Cosmopolite* (1886–1887), subtitled a 'Magazine of Literature, Science, and Art'. The magazine was produced monthly by an independent group of amateur journalists known as the International Correspondence Association (ICA) who were not affiliated with BAPA or SALA. The magazine was printed and published at the *Glasgow Herald's* offices on Sauchiehall Street and journalism seems to have been the primary connecter amongst the membership. Peter Wilson Raffan, a reporter at the *Dumfries Standard* and later the *Forfar Herald*, was ICA's president in November 1886, and other committee members were also professional

¹⁴¹ 'Literary Notes', *Otago Witness*, 12 October 1899, p. 56.

¹⁴² By 1899, the *Monthly Miscellany* had been amalgamated with the *Scottish Amateur*.

journalists as well as university students, teachers, and clerks.¹⁴³ The vast majority of the members were middle-class professionals and very few were in working-class trades. For instance, out of a total of 400 members, seventeen members were warehousemen, fourteen were engineers, and three were printers. Therefore, the ICA was a different type of amateur magazine association compared to a men's mutual improvement society or church group, which was traditionally rooted in working-class communities and dominated by working men looking to improve their education.¹⁴⁴ That being said, the ICA was unusual for having a significant number of women members which was not common for literary associations in the late-Victorian era. For instance, by 1887, the ICA had a total of seventy-two women. Additionally, the transcended international boundaries and had members in Canada, Denmark, Brazil, Germany, Jamaica, and India, which was a unique position within amateur magazine production in Scotland.

Like other amateur magazines, the ICA was a community of young people for whom *The Cosmopolite* served as a literary pursuit, source of camaraderie, and knowledge exchange. The association had four main objectives:

- (a) To provide the Members with Correspondents on any subject for the exchange of ideas with a view to mutual improvement and information;
- (b) To furnish Correspondents in the various foreign languages and in shorthand to aid Members in acquiring proficiency therein;
- (c) To bring about a closer community of thought and feeling, a happier and more useful intercourse between members in various towns and countries; and
- (d) To encourage their literary and artistic talent by means of a monthly magazine – the *Cosmopolite* – open only to contributions from them.

These objectives closely resemble those put forward by mutual-improvement association manuscript magazines and echo the spirit of imagined communities like *The Scots Thistle*. Indeed, the two magazines share a unique connection. Ann and Euphemia, the founding members *The Scots Thistle*, were members of the ICA and, interestingly, both contributed to *The Cosmopolite* under the

¹⁴³ 'Valedictory', *Forfar Herald*, 26 November 1886, p. 5 col a; 'Membership List', *The Cosmopolite*, September 1886, p. i.

¹⁴⁴ Weiss, 'The Literary Clubs and Societies of Glasgow'.

pseudonyms that they used in *The Scots Thistle*.¹⁴⁵ Having established their magazine just a year earlier, clearly both girls were deeply invested in the production of little magazines and, most likely, saw *The Cosmopolite* as a means to meet like-minded youngsters and, potentially, attract new members to their manuscript magazine. They succeeded: Aaron Watson Bain (who was the ICA's representative councillor for Scotland) and John L. Bell both became members of *The Scots Thistle* after 1886. Indeed, issues of *The Cosmopolite* reveal more information about the early period of *The Scots Thistle* when it circulated as *Thistledown*. For instance, *The Cosmopolite* describes that *Thistledown* produced an annual Christmas edition that circulated publicly, as opposed to its regular monthly issues which were only shown to its membership:

Two of our lady-members – “Ailsa Craig” and “Brown Robin” – sign themselves editors of a magazine which includes among its contributors most of the best known writers to the *Cosmopolite*. They, of course, publish a Christmas Number – *Thistledown* is its title – and a very superior production it is. We can heartily recommend it to any of our readers who may be inclined to go in for another sixpence worth of literature at this Christmas time. It contains 36 pages of very interesting matter, chiefly tales – or romances – and poetry, of a standard not often found in amateur magazines. [...] *Thistledown* is published in Kilmarnock, but we should be glad to procure copies for as many subscribers as the issue allows.¹⁴⁶

The magazine offers further insight into other possible members of *Thistledown/The Scots Thistle* in 1886–1887. The ICA's membership list also includes the names of those who nominated members to the ICA and the town or city where each member lived. It is likely that the four members of *The Cosmopolite* whom Ann and Euphemia nominated were also members of *Thistledown/The Scots Thistle*, and that those who listed Kilmarnock (Ann and Euphemia's hometown) as their residences also became connected with *Thistledown/The Scots Thistle*. Therefore, by including amateur magazines like *The Cosmopolite* within a wider discussion of late-Victorian little magazines in Scotland, it is possible to uncover more about their connection with manuscript magazines beyond the extant copies held in public libraries and archives. Ultimately, research into amateur magazines reveals a fuller picture of the network of little magazine makers in Scotland between 1870 and 1920.

¹⁴⁵ Ailsa Craig [Ann Wyllie], ‘Mendelssohn's “Venetian Gondola Song”’, *The Cosmopolite*, September 1886, p. 9; Brown Robin [Euphemia Martin], ‘To-Morrow’, *The Cosmopolite*, September 1886, p. 11. Initially, Euphemia's pseudonym in *The Scots Thistle* was ‘Brown Robin’, but by 1905 she had changed it to ‘Bog Myrtle’.

¹⁴⁶ ‘Our Book Shelf’, *The Cosmopolite*, December 1886, p. 71.

Case Study – *The Scot* (1915–1922)

One of the most successful amateur magazines in Scotland in this period was *The Scot*, a monthly magazine that was printed in Dundee between September 1915 and November 1922 and was affiliated with UAPA.¹⁴⁷ The editor, printer, and publisher was Gavin T. McColl who was a sixteen-year-old iron turner apprentice at the Wallace Foundry in Dundee in 1915. His family was working-class – his mother was a yarn twister and most of his siblings worked in jute mills – but his father was a photographer, which suggests a more aspirational and creative household that likely influenced Gavin’s interest in little magazines. Like the other amateur magazine makers discussed in this section, Gavin was an active member of amateur journalism during his childhood. He described how his magazine was ‘an amateur paper by an amateurish amateur with a simple homemade wooden press’ that he hoped ‘inspires a feeling of assistance and inspiration to the reader’.¹⁴⁸ The magazine was subtitled ‘From the Land of Mountain and Flood: A Little Magazine of Poetry and Prose’ and was a fairly typical amateur magazine. It was produced by a teenager at home, involved a small band of devoted contributors, and published a combination of ‘Short original Storyettes, Poetry, and Articles on topics of universal interest’.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, *The Scot* is unique in the context of little magazines in Scotland because of its wide network of contributors across Britain and North America.

The magazine had a particularly close link with the Lancashire Authors’ Association (LAA), a society of Lancashire authors, poets, and writers established in 1909 that promoted the county’s literature and dialect. The LAA produced its own magazine, *Red Rose Leaves* (1911–1925), as well as a circulatory manuscript magazine, the *Red Rose Magazine* (1917–?).¹⁵⁰ Both magazines were edited by Alfred H. Pearce and Edith Pearce, a married couple who were founding members of the LAA, as well

¹⁴⁷ Copies of *The Scot* from 1915–1916 are held in the NLS, see Doig.23. Copies from 1920–1922 are held in the New York Public Library, see DY 13-686. Copies from 1917–1919 are not extant.

¹⁴⁸ Gavin T. McColl, ‘Editorial Chat’, *The Scot*, June 1920, p. 116.

¹⁴⁹ Gavin T. McColl, ‘A Little Personal Chat’, *The Scot*, September 1915, p. 1.

¹⁵⁰ *Red Rose Leaves* was previously titled *Red Rose Magazine* (1909–1912). The LAA’s manuscript magazine was subsequently referred to as both *Red Rose Leaves* and *Red Rose Magazine*. In 1978, the association resurrected its printed magazine as *The Record. For Writers and Lovers of Lancashire Literature and History* (1978–present).

as regular contributors to *The Scot*. Other LAA members who contributed to Gavin's magazine include Annie Pearce (Alfred and Edith's daughter), Rosa Ayscoughe Hayden, Russell Markland, Elizabeth Eckersall, and Annie Mackereth, all of whom were poets, writers, and authors in Lancashire. As recent research on early-twentieth century literary societies has demonstrated, the LAA was a significant association for the promotion of vernacular literature, working-class literature, and literary comradeship.¹⁵¹ In the words of Edith Pearce, the association's magazine, *Red Rose Leaves*, was

Written mostly by men and women who love literature for itself, rather than as a means of livelihood, its simple stories, poems, essays and historical articles are mainly recreative work, penned as mental relaxation from the sterner duties of life.¹⁵²

The connection between *The Scot* and the LAA suggests that both associations viewed their magazines as cooperative. Like the members of *The Scots Thistle* who kept up membership to local literary societies, the LAA members in *The Scot* likewise considered it a valuable addition to their wide-ranging literary interests. Alfred Pearce was an avid supporter of *The Scot* and of amateur journalism in general. Pearce was a founder of BAPA, a member of SALA, and a contributor to Scottish magazines including *The Mid Lothian*, *Caledonia*, and *The Scot*.¹⁵³ He was, therefore, a prolific amateur supporter of little magazines in Scotland. Pearce's involvement – and others from the LAA – gave *The Scot* a pronounced transnational character. For example, one North American contributor states that 'though I am an American citizen now, I am half-sister to the Scot, because I am a Welsh-woman, and am pleased to have an opportunity to cultivate "Fraternal Friendship" with my relatives across the sea'.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, the connection between *The Scot* and the LAA supports this chapter's argument that Scotland was a particularly fervent place for the production of little magazines between 1870 and 1920.

¹⁵¹ Kirstie Blair and Lauren Weiss, 'Lancashire Authors' Association', *Piston, Pen and Press: Database*, <<https://www.pistonpenandpress.org/database/association/lancashire-authors-association?lat=53.63211955780138&lng=-2.166194915771485&zoom=13>> [accessed 25 August 2022].

¹⁵² Edith Pearce, 'Foreword', *Red Rose Leaves* (Manchester: L. Saunders & Co., 1925), p. i.

¹⁵³ Alfred H. Pearce, 'Dreaming of Fame and Fortune', *The Mid Lothian*, October 1895, p. 1, and 'Hey For Eawr Lankysheer Fowk! (Lankysheer Dialect Poem)', *The Scot*, June 1921, p. 41; 'Lancashire Authors. A. H. Pearce', *Haslingden Gazette*, 26 November 1921, p. 6 col f.

¹⁵⁴ K. Leyson Brown, [untitled article], *The Scot*, February 1920, p. 45.

Alongside the Lancashire contingent, other contributors to *The Scot* include several North American amateur journalists, such as Edna von der Heide (Hyde), E. Bruce Chaplin, William T. Harrington, and H. P. Lovecraft.¹⁵⁵ As accounts of amateur journalism reiterate, these contributors were some of the most notable amateur magazine makers in North America and were fundamental to the success of the movement in the early-twentieth century.¹⁵⁶ American science fiction author Lovecraft was a long-serving president of UAPA, editor of his own amateur magazine, *The Conservative* (1915–1923), and a contributor to *The Scot* from 1915 to 1920. Remarkably, he published his well-known short story ‘The Doom That Came to Sarnath’ as a special contribution to *The Scot* in 1920.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, science fiction was a prominent genre in *The Scot*. The magazine published Henry J. Winterbone, whose weird fiction sketch ‘A Star-Fish Taking a Walk’ is notably Lovecraftian, as well as Ernest L. McKeag, a journalist for the Amalgamated Press in London, who published speculative fiction novels including *The Lost City of the Sierras* (1927) and *Invaded By Mars* (1934) under his pseudonym ‘Jack Maxwell’, as well as science fiction for children under the name ‘John King’ and ‘Eileen McKeag’.¹⁵⁸ Like Soutar and Garioch’s contributions to *The Scots Thistle*, it is surprising that well-known authors like Lovecraft and McKeag were drawn to *The Scot* which was, ostensibly, an amateur magazine produced by a working-class teenager in Dundee. Moreover, this demonstrates the importance of recovering little magazines production in Scotland. Indeed, *The Scot* was a particularly outward-looking magazine that presented a transatlantic literary perspective. For instance, there were often contributions from Americans authors commenting on Scottish or English topics, for instance, Lovecraft’s poem ‘The Rose of England’.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ For discussion of these contributors, see *The Fossils: The Historians of Amateur Journalism*, <<https://thefossils.org>> [accessed 19 October 2023].

¹⁵⁶ Almon Horton, *The Hobby of Amateur Journalism: An Appreciative, Illustrated History* (Manchester: Ross D. Chamberlain, 1955).

¹⁵⁷ H. P. Lovecraft, ‘The Doom That Came to Sarnath’, *The Scot*, June 1920, pp. 90–98.

¹⁵⁸ Al von Ruff, ‘John King (Ernest L. McKeag) (1896–1974)’, *The Internet Speculative Fiction Database*, (24 April 2006), <<http://www.isfdb.org/cgi-bin/ea.cgi?151829>> [accessed 25 August 2022]; Henry J. Winterbone, ‘A Star-Fish Taking a Walk’, *The Scot*, October 1915, p. 6. The name ‘H. J. Winterbone’ was previously assumed to be a pseudonym for H. P. Lovecraft but it is now recognised as Henry J. Winterbone, who was an amateur journalist active at the same time as Lovecraft, see S. T. Joshi, *H. P. Lovecraft and Lovecraft Criticism: An Annotated Bibliography* (Holicong, PA: Wildside Press, 1981), pp. 180–181. Winterbone is listed as a British contributor in *The Scot*.

¹⁵⁹ H. P. Lovecraft, ‘The Rose of England’, *The Scot*, October 1916, p. 7.

Although founding its identity in the landscape of Scotland – ‘From the land of mountain of flood, a little magazine of poetry and prose’ – *The Scot* was clearly an attractive destination for international contributors, especially considering the attention and contribution of Lovecraft.

As a magazine established in 1915, the other notable influence on *The Scot* is the First World War. Initially, *The Scot* conveys a patriotic tone:

Brother, are you helping to keep the flag flying? If not, your [sic] not playing the game. Would our young men at home and from Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and all the other lands under the Union Jack have rushed to the Motherlands [sic] aid in her hour of need when the bugle-call sounded in their ears, and marched cheerfully forward to the battlefield to death or glory, if it was not the best flag under which we can live or die.¹⁶⁰

This patriotism was supported by its contributors including McKeag, who managed to contribute whilst on active duty with the Royal Navy. A wider study of amateur and manuscript magazines made by Scottish children during the war reveals that juvenile patriotism was high. In Paisley, fifteen-year-old apprentice bank clerk Donald Gibson created *The Scribble* (1915–1916), an amateur magazine that was printed by Alexander Gardner who was discussed in Chapter 4. *The Scribble* had originated as a manuscript magazine made by Gibson and his classmates at Paisley Grammar School before becoming a printed magazine. It was partly established to raise funds to send cigarettes to the 6th Renfrewshire Battalion of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.¹⁶¹ Wartime charitable efforts like these were widespread in amateur and manuscript magazine production. Ruth Dent, the daughter of a Captain in the Kings’ Own Scottish Borderers, produced a special wartime issue of her circulatory manuscript magazine, *The Pierrot* and dedicated another manuscript production, ‘The Chronicles of the Belgians’, to Belgian soldiers and refugees convalescing in Blackmoor House near her home in Hampshire.¹⁶² Further, the child contributors to Christine Orr’s manuscript magazine *Talks and Tales* performed scenes from Shakespeare’s *Henry V* to raise funds for hospitals in Serbia in 1915, and Barbara E. Smythe’s *The Cavalier* was involved in raising funds for an officer’s convalescence hospital at Keir House

¹⁶⁰ Gavin T. McColl, ‘Keep the Old Flag Flying!’, *The Scot*, October 1915, p. 8.

¹⁶¹ For more information this magazines and charity in Scottish children’s magazine productions during the First World War, see Burke and Lauder, ‘Charity, Cultural Exchange and Generational Difference’.

¹⁶² Ibid.

in Stirlingshire where she worked as a Voluntary Aid Detachment from 1917.¹⁶³ Children's manuscript and amateur magazine production during the First World War was therefore part of their participation in an adult-centred conflict that had little room for the involvement of children.

Gavin's magazine was certainly part of these other youth-centred wartime efforts. Indeed, his elder brother had joined the Royal Engineers in 1915 and, after his eighteenth birthday, Gavin enlisted in the Gordon Highlanders and served in France where he was injured in September 1918.¹⁶⁴ It appears that *The Scot* was still being printed whilst Gavin was on active service and potentially during his convalescence in France, though information on how he managed this is not revealed in the magazine.¹⁶⁵ It may be that copies from 1917 to 1919 – which do not appear to be extant – reflect his wartime experiences. Nevertheless, by 1920, *The Scot* portrays a far less enthusiastic tone about war. Several contributions present a profound sense of loss and grief, such as the pacifist and peace advocate Arthur B. Du Soir's poem 'The Unknown Warrior (On the Hill at Hampstead, November 11th, 1920)' as well as Hayden's 'Poppies, the Death-Flowers', which was reprinted from her wartime collection of verse, *This for Remembrance* (1917). Similarly, a sketch by McKeag (who survived the war) entitled 'Birds of Prey' conveys the fear and desperation that he experienced whilst on active service.¹⁶⁶ Remembrance and memorialisation of the war's dead is also prominent after 1920. Russell Markland, who contributed poetry under the pseudonym 'R. M. Ingersley', edited and published the poetry of Second Lieutenant H. Rex Freston, who had died in action in 1916, and dedicated it to the memory of his own cousin, Captain Alan Hodgkinson.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Burke and Lauder, 'Charity, Cultural Exchange and Generational Difference'.

¹⁶⁴ 'German Attacks Shattered', *Dundee Courier*, 12 September 1918, p. 3 col d.

¹⁶⁵ McColl makes a reference to an issue of *The Scot* dated December 1918, see 'Notable Poetess Dead', *The Scot*, October 1922, p. 44.

¹⁶⁶ Arthur B. Du Soir, 'The Unknown Warrior (On the Hill at Hampstead, November 11th 1920)', *The Scot*, May 1921, p. 20; Rosa Ayscough Hayden, 'Poppies, the Death-Flowers', *The Scot*, July and August 1920, p. 128; Ernest L. McKeag, 'Birds of Prey. A War-Time Sketch', *The Scot*, June 1920, pp. 99–100.

¹⁶⁷ Gavin T. McColl, 'Review of "Ultimate Light"', *The Scot*, May 1920, p. 88; Russell Markland, *Ultimate Light: Poems* (Lytham: N. Ling, 1919).

Like these men, Gavin also survived the war and returned to Dundee where he married Kathleen Connelly, a jute worker, in 1922.¹⁶⁸ By 1925, NAPA's records indicate that he was still a card-carrying amateur journalist, alongside four other Scots: John L. Jackson in Glasgow, a tram car conductor in Glasgow; Archibald M. MacNeill, a bank clerk in Tarland; Aubrey J. Metcalf, a torpedo factory clerk in Gourrock; and Godfrey C. Wengenroth, a mercantile clerk in Paisley, who was a contributor to *The Scot*.¹⁶⁹ Research on these men has revealed a wider network of amateur magazine makers in Scotland beyond those associated with BAPA and SALA. For instance, Wengenroth produced his own magazine, *Pals*, in the 1910s.¹⁷⁰ A closer study of NAPA's membership lists between the 1880s and 1920s may potentially reveal other Scottish amateur magazine makers and, possibly, more magazines.

In conclusion, this chapter has argued there is a longer tradition of little magazine production in Scotland than the period since 1920. As vehicles for literary, educational, and social improvement, these magazines were vital for their members and should not be overlooked in the field of magazine and periodical studies. This chapter demonstrates that little magazines in Scotland had far-reaching connections, both in terms of literature and global connections, including the Scottish Renaissance and North American science fiction. Ultimately, late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century little magazines in Scotland were international in their outlook, wide-ranging in their content, and aspirational for a generation of young people went on to publish novels, poetry, and work in publishing and journalism. By exploring their origins and development, little magazines in Scotland can be viewed in a longer and broader tradition of independent magazine production. In this way, the hegemony of European and modernist accounts of little magazines associated with the Scottish Renaissance are

¹⁶⁸ 1922 McColl, Gavin T. (Statutory registers Marriages 282/2/595).

¹⁶⁹ I am thankful to Dave Tribby, editor of *The Fossil* (APA's magazine) for sending on this information which is taken from *The National Amateur*. See Godfrey C. Wengenroth, 'Patient Work', *The Scot*, June 1922, pp. 7–8.

¹⁷⁰ Copies of *Pals* do not appear to be extant. For more information, see James Overhill, 'Memory Lane', *Collectors' Digest Annual*, Christmas 1973, p. 58.

challenged, as well as MacDiarmid's statement that there was a lack of 'crude, absurd, enthusiastic, [and] vital' little magazines in Scotland.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Grieve, 'Causerie', p. 5.

Conclusion – 150 Years of the *People's Friend*: Five Years On

Three months after research for this thesis began, the *People's Friend* celebrated its 150th anniversary in January 2019. To mark it, the magazine's staff gathered for a party in the foyer of D. C. Thomson's historic headquarters at Meadowside, opposite the public statues of Robert Burns and Oor Wullie in Dundee's Albert Square. The party was reminiscent of the many celebrations that the *People's Friend* has hosted over the course of its 150 years. These include gatherings to mark its first twenty-five years in 1896 and 50th anniversary in 1929, as well as dinners that celebrated the launch of its sister magazine *My Weekly* in 1911 (see Fig. 10) and the journalistic anniversaries of its editors, Andrew Stewart in 1896 and David Pae in 1938. Newspaper reports of these occasions often include the speeches that were made by editors and staff, which were public opportunities to take stock of the magazine's legacy. In January 1896, then editor Andrew Stewart gave his assessment before a crowd of 100 people. He described the *People's Friend* as 'a periodical which has all along the line of its existence been on the side of goodness and purity and truth', adding that he 'did not believe there was a periodical in the kingdom in connection with which such a gathering could be held'.¹ In 2019, the 150th anniversary presented a similar opportunity. I spoke to BBC Scotland News, BBC Radio Scotland, and STV News about the magazine's history as far as I knew it after three months of research, giving them under-rehearsed phrases like 'once the fan-base is established among women the voice [of the magazine] changes and we get more romantic and nostalgic stories'.² Expectedly, the editor of the *People's Friend*, Angela Gilchrist, was far more eloquent. She surmised that the magazine's milestone was 'proof of the relationship we have with our readers', stating that '[n]o other magazine can come close to this'.³ It is testament to the successful marketing and brand loyalty of the *People's Friend* that Angela's statements in 2019 echo those made in 1896.

¹ "'People's Friend' Semi-Jubilee', *Dundee Advertiser*, 20 January 1896, p. 2 col h.

² Steven Brocklehurst, 'The People's Friend: 150 Years Without Upsetting or Offending', *BBC News*, (13 January 2019), <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-46797116>> [accessed 26 March 2023].

³ Ibid.

Nearly five years on from the beginning of my research, there is far more to say about the *People's Friend* than I could have imagined. Some of this is incidental. For instance, the *People's Friend* had an office dog named Sausage who lived with one of the magazine's staff, William C. Honeyman, and aided him in the judging of the annual Love Darg competitions.⁴ The magazine's illustrated covers began on 11th May 1946 with a depiction of Edinburgh Castle and since then each cover page has been illustrated by a small group of artists working under a collective pseudonym, 'J. Campbell Kerr'. The best-selling issue of the *People's Friend* was 7th September 1974 when it sold a total of 851,578 issues, partly because readers received a free tape measure and coat hanger chain with every copy. Similarly, there were avenues of research that were outside the scope of this thesis, but which would provide a rich source for future research. This includes the material culture of the *People's Friend*, such as the tea caddies, tea towels, needle cases, egg whisks, and soap dishes that were given away as part of its competitions. A variety of these items can be found in the collections of the National Museums of Scotland, Dundee City Archives, and D. C. Thomson. My favourite is a cast-iron jelly pan that was won by a woman in Orkney in 1920 much to the dismay of the magazine's staff who had to facilitate its transport all the way from Dundee.

Stories like these are ultimately rooted in the relationship between the magazine and its readers, the people of the *People's Friend*. It is no understatement to say that the magazine's original intention to be 'the friend of the people' in 1869 has been fulfilled ten times over since then. These people have changed over the course of a century and a half. As this thesis has shown, the readership has shifted from mostly working-class men and women in the 1870s and 1880s to middle-class housewives and aspirational working women by the 1910s. Almost 100 years later, women still make up the majority of its readership – 88% – of whom 79% are over sixty years old.⁵ The magazine's constant emphasis to serve 'the people' is precisely what has driven its criticism. In the words of the

⁴ Sausage died on Hogmanay in 1906, see 'In Memoriam', *People's Friend*, 11 May 1907, p. 201. Honeyman was a violinist and composer and dedicated a Strathspey reel to Sausage, see *Strathspey, Reel and Hornpipe Tutor* (Edinburgh: E. Köhler & Son, 1898), p. 30.

⁵ Andrew Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination and Modern Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 117.

Peterhead Sentinel in 1901, the magazine gives the people ‘not what they need, but what they think they want’.⁶ This legacy – giving the people ‘what they think they want’ – has led scores of historians, scholars, and cultural commentators to condemn the *People’s Friend* for its commodification of Scottish culture and the popularisation of a fictitious, twee, and sentimentalised version of national identity amongst generations of Scottish readers and their descendants. Recently, Scottish poet Pippa Little has captured her perception of this identity, which features lines (in italics) quoted directly from a 2016 copy of the magazine:

The Good Lord won’t send us more than we can bear
if we live our lives as *hidden gems*, make do with mending –
who can resist the soft warmth of flannelette? Comfort is all
we deserve, desire now, our *piano favourites*, *simple knits*, a day make bright;
problems below the waist, ageing, loneliness, a fall
soothed with *Reflections from the Manse*, a mail-order baby doll – what might
hold back the dwindling life, the darkening horizon
Why not? Wasn’t Scotland always this way one, *All Our Yesterdays* arising
From *very special moments*, collective Love Darg toil?⁷

For Hugh MacDiarmid working to revive Scotland’s literary tradition in the 1920s, the magazine was a pariah in Scottish culture life, as renowned as ‘the Charybdis of English superiority’ and the ‘rocks of Aberdeen granite’ or, in his words, the ‘immitigable night of the soul in which the editor of the *People’s Friend* converses with his readers’.⁸ As one of the omnipresent figures in modern Scottish literature, MacDiarmid has been an unavoidable voice of criticism in this thesis. Of particular relevance are his dismissals of Dundee’s literary culture, D. C. Thomson, the Kailyard, and Annie S. Swan which have provided a point of contention throughout. Although MacDiarmid’s critical attitudes towards the *People’s Friend* have persisted in academic scholarship, as Dundee poet W. N. Herbert argues, such was his vociferousness against ‘the people’ and his eagerness ‘to dispense with the bath water of the populist Kailyard [sic] and the likes of DC Thomson’s *People’s Friend*’, that he ‘throws oot the barinie

⁶ ‘The Blight of the Commonplace’, *Peterhead Sentinel and Buchan Journal*, 1 June 1901, p. 4 col b.

⁷ I am grateful to Pippa Little for permission to reproduce her poem. For the full poem, see Appendix XI.

⁸ C. M. Grieve [Hugh MacDiarmid], ‘Causerie’, *Scottish Chapbook*, September 1922, p. 35.

of a genuinely radical nineteenth century working class' literary tradition.⁹ Recent studies of this literature have highlighted that MacDiarmid's cultural snobbery is actually cultural amnesia.¹⁰ To this, we can add snobbish attitudes towards the *People's Friend*. Indeed, just as the magazine loomed large in the reading habits of modern Scots throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was no less present in the kitchens, living rooms, and firesides of the Scottish Renaissance generation. Edwin Muir – no fan of MacDiarmid, but just as significant a literary figure – wrote in his memoir that he read the *People's Friend* as a child, particularly its novels 'illustrating the dangers of intemperance and the value of thrift'.¹¹ Likewise, Scottish magazines played a significant role in the literary lives of several Scottish writers, including Jessie Kesson, Neil M. Gunn, Lewis Grassie Gibbon, Nancy Brysson Morrison, and Christine Orr, all of whom are associated with the Renaissance and Literary Revival of the 1920s and 1930s.

This thesis has sought to revive the scholarship on magazine culture in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Scotland. As each chapter demonstrates, magazines have much to offer us in terms of the diversification and broadening of Scottish literature, particularly in ongoing reassessments of women's writing, the Kailyard, the *fin-de-siècle* Scottish Revival, and little magazines. Although the period between 1870 and 1920 undoubtedly oversaw the popularisation and commodification of Scottish literature – which magazines certainly contributed to – this thesis has shown that the period was far from a 'literary wasteland'.¹² It was an era of energetic literary production that was strongly influenced by cultural nationalism and a growing desire for political nationalism, the parameters of which are yet to be fully examined. Similarly, we should not assume that popular representations of national identity such as those published in the *People's Friend* were accepted or adopted by each and every reader just because the magazine was widely read and consumed. Late-nineteenth-century and

⁹ W. N. Herbert, 'The Great Slowing Down versus Poet MacDiarmid (3)', *Gairnet Provides: Press of Bill*, (10 April 2022), <<https://wnherbert.wordpress.com/2022/04/10/the-great-slowng-down-versus-poet-macdiarmid-3/>> [accessed 21 March 2023].

¹⁰ Kirstie Blair, *Working Verse in Victorian Scotland. Poetry, Press, Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Erin Farley, 'The Place of Poetry in Victorian Dundee' (Doctoral thesis, University of Strathclyde, 2018).

¹¹ Edwin Muir, *The Story and the Fable: An Autobiography* (London: Harrap, 1940), pp. 84–85.

¹² Gerard Carruthers, *Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 112.

early-twentieth-century Scots had an agency and power through which to filter their understanding of nationhood and national identity, just as much as those who were invigorated by these concepts during the renewal of Scottish literature in the 1920s and 1930s. The more scholars engage with Scottish magazines produced between 1870 and 1920, the more we can challenge our preconceptions about this period and its literature.

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Figures

Cover Page – 'The People's Friend Literary Department', c.1905. © D. C. Thomson Media.

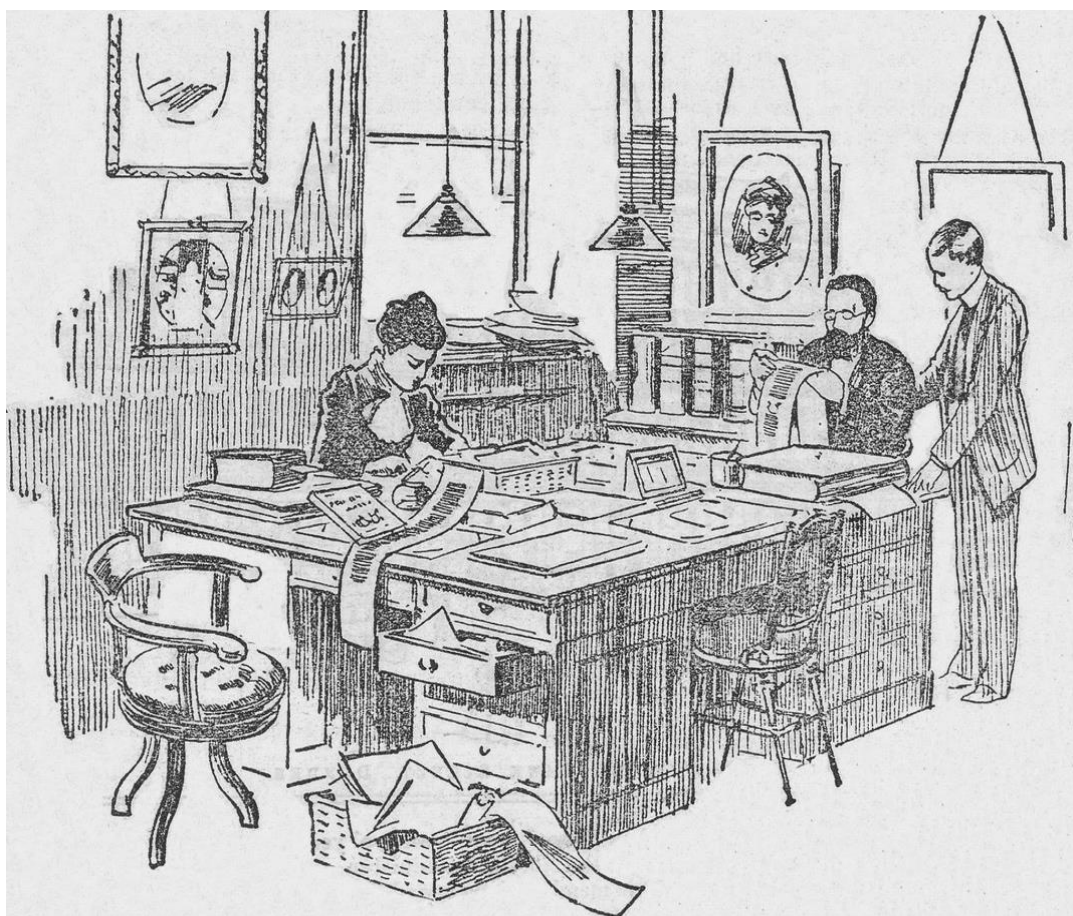


Fig. 1. Dundee Free Library bookmark, nd. [c.1917]. Author's own.



Fig. 2. Photograph of John Leng Sturrock (centre front) and George T. Watson (centre back), December 1910. © Dundee City Archives.



Fig. 3. Scottish Song Prize Medal, Dundee Public School Competition, Sir John Leng's Trust, nd. Author's own.



Fig. 4. Andrew Stewart, editor of the *People's Friend*, 1895. © Dundee Art Galleries and Museums Collections (Dundee City Council).



Fig. 5. Photograph of women's suffrage activists, January 1912. Wikimedia Commons.



(Left to right) Helen Crawford, Janet Barrowman, Margaret McPhun, Mrs A. A. Wilson, Frances McPhun, Nancy A. John, and Annie S. Swan.

Fig. 6. Photograph of Mr Lamond [sic], Vicar of Deepdale, nd. [c.1890], The Duncan Brown Photographic Collection, DB/93. © The Glasgow School of Art Archives and Collections.



Fig. 7. Illustrated menu card for John Leng Company dinner, February 1911. Reproduced with permission from the Pae Family.



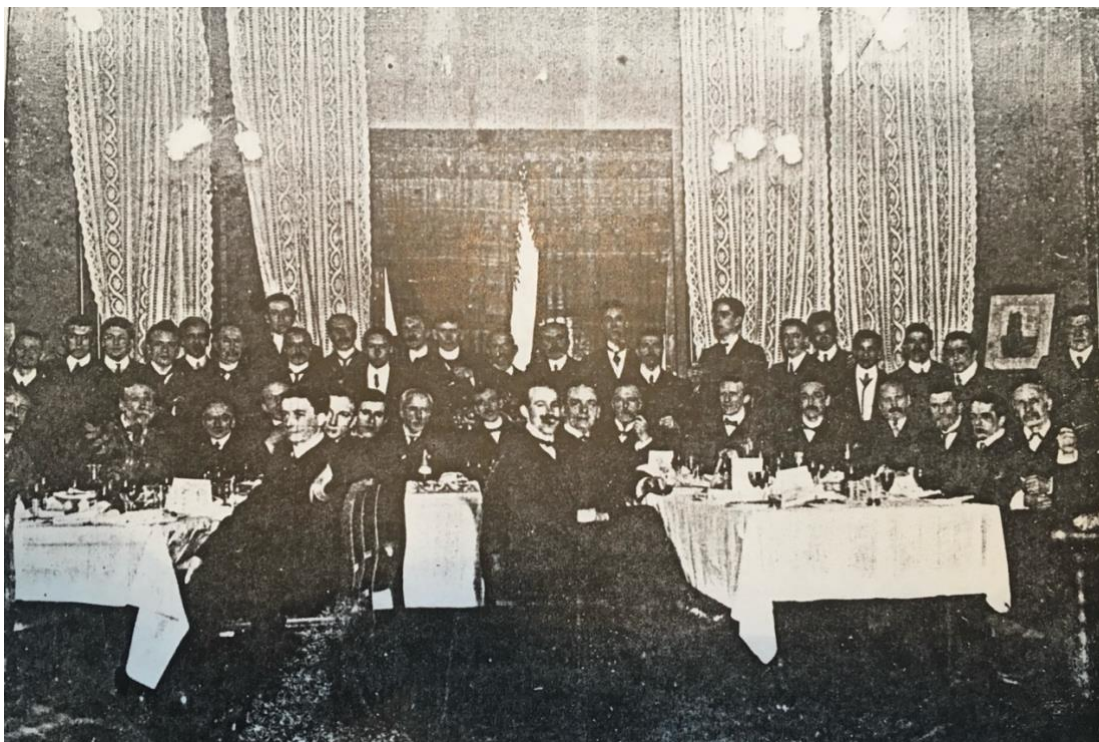
Fig. 8. Photograph of Janette [Jessie M. King], 1905. Reproduced with permission from Ian Lindsay.



Fig. 9. Photograph of Jessie Annie Anderson, nd. © Reproduced with permission from the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig. 10. Photograph of the John Leng Company staff dinner, February 1911. Reproduced with permission from the Pae Family.



Appendices

Appendix I – Scottish Magazines, 1870–1920¹

<u>Title</u>	<u>Year(s)</u>	<u>Publication Place</u>	<u>Publisher</u>	<u>Subtitle/Description</u>
<i>People's Friend</i>	January 1869–present	Dundee	John Leng Company	'Weekly miscellany of popular and instructive literature.'
<i>The Border Treasury of Things New and Old</i>	1874–1875	Galashiels	Thomas Frier Brockie	n/a
<i>Piper o' Dundee</i>	April 1878–Aug 1878.	Dundee	William Kidd	'The Piper was a well-known official for centuries, his duty being to warn the inhabitants to keep within doors at night, and to rouse them at early morn.'
	October 1886–May 1906.	Dundee	James P. Matthew	'Dundee chronicled in picture and story'.
<i>Wizard of the North</i>	1879–1901	Dundee	James P. Matthew	?
<i>The Blue Bells of Scotland</i>	November 1880–May 1881.	Edinburgh	Harry Blyth	'There is room for another National Scottish Story Paper...'
<i>The Border Counties' Magazine</i>	October 1880–June 1881	Galashiels	Thomas Lister	'A Popular Monthly Miscellany of the History, Biography, Poetry, Folk-Lore &c., of the Border Districts'.
<i>Quiz</i>	1881–1898	Glasgow	W. Weatherston & Sons	n/a
<i>Scotland</i>	April 1882	Glasgow	Andrew Elliot	'A weekly journal of national literature'.
<i>Scottish Review</i>	1882–1900	Paisley	Alexander Gardner	n/a
	1914–1920	Perth		

¹ Most of the detail about years of publication, publisher, and description of magazines has been taken from the *Waterloo Directory of Scottish Periodicals, 1800–1900*, *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824–1900*, and the NEWSPLAN Project Report (2000–2005). Where relevant detail was not available in this book, information has been supplemented from examination of these magazines.

			Milne, Tannahill, & Methven	'A Quarterly Journal Devoted to the Cause of the Independence of Scotland'
<i>Scottish Reader</i>	June 1883–May 1885	Glasgow	Horn & Cornell	'A journal of entertaining literature'.
<i>Scottish Nights</i>	February 1883–September 1892	Glasgow; London	John Douglas; Charles Maclean; Phil H. Johnston, William G. Tarbet	'A Journal of Entertainment'. Later, <i>Good Times</i> (1892–1893), then <i>Scottish Nights</i> (1893–1901).
<i>The Scottish Blue-Bells</i>	1883	Glasgow	McLaren & Sons	'A magazine of entertainment'
<i>The Holyrood Annual</i>	1885–1886	Paisley	Alexander Gardner	n/a
<i>Young Scotland</i>	March 1886–April 1886	Glasgow	Maclaren & Sons	'A national journal of healthy literature for Scotch boys, feat. legendary tales of Scotland, poetry, science talk, novelettes'.
<i>The Strathearn Magazine</i>	1888–1889	Perth	Miller & Gall	'A Journal of Popular and Instructive Literature'.
Later, <i>The Perthshire Magazine</i>	1889–1891	Perth		
<i>The Bellman</i>	1893–1896	Dundee	Mrs [Elizabeth] Littlejohn	n/a
<i>The Dundee Figaro</i>	1893–1895	Dundee	?	'A Social, Topical, Musical, Dramatic and Athletic Weekly'.
<i>Caledonia</i>	1895	Aberdeen	W. Jolly & Sons	'A monthly magazine of literature, antiquity, & tradition, chiefly northern'.
<i>Weekly Welcome</i>	1896–1938	Dundee	D. C. Thomson & Co.	'The Brightest of Penny Periodicals'
<i>The Border Magazine</i>	1896–1939	Glasgow; Edinburgh	Carter & Pratt; John B. Fairgrieve	'An Illustrated Monthly'
<i>The Gem</i>	1899–1900	Dundee	John Leng Company	'For Home and Outdoor Reading'
<i>The Fiery Cross</i>	1901–1911	Edinburgh	John B. Fairgrieve	'A Scottish Nationalist Magazine'
<i>The Scottish Patriot</i>	1903–1906	Glasgow	John Wilson	'A Monthly Review for the Scot at Home and Abroad'
<i>Scotia</i>	1907–1911	Edinburgh	St Andrews Society	'The Journal of the St Andrew Society'
<i>The Thistle</i>	1908–1918	Edinburgh	T. D. Wanliss	'A Scottish Patriotic Magazine'

<i>My Weekly</i>	1910–present	Dundee	John Leng Company	‘The Ideal Journal for Matron and Maid’
<i>Dunedin Magazine</i>	1912–1916	Edinburgh	Dunedin Association	n/a
<i>The Scottish Nation</i>	1913–1917	Edinburgh	International Scots Home Rule League	‘For Scotland and Progress’
<i>The Scot</i>	1916–1922	Dundee	Gavin T. McColl	‘From the land of mountain and flood, a little magazine of poetry and prose’.
<i>Scots Magazine</i>	1924–1927	Glasgow	Glasgow St Andrew Society	‘A monthly miscellany of Scottish life and letters’, <i>later</i> ‘Scotland’s Literary Monthly’.
	1927–present	Dundee	D. C. Thomson & Co.	‘Scotland’s National Monthly’.

Appendix II – ‘The Birth of the “PEOPLE’S FRIEND”’ (1869) by ‘R., Dundee’

We hail thy birth, thou promised one,
And trust this day thou hast begun
An honoured life, whose course will run
 Through time unken’d,
Till thou hast proved, by victories won,
 THE PEOPLE’S FRIEND.

While others strive for selfish fame,
Maintain the honour of thy name,
Fulfil the end for which thou came;
 With might defend
The people’s right, whene’er they claim
 A PEOPLE’S FRIEND.

Resist the wrong, assist the right,
Neglected the genius bring to light,
Save honest worth from party spite;
 And aye contend
Against oppression’s iron might –
 THE PEOPLE’S FRIEND

While thus an honoured life you lead,
And prove THE PEOPLE’S FRIEND indeed;
With wholesome food our minds aye feed,
 Thrice noble end!
And show in this how much we need
 A PEOPLE’S FRIEND.

Appendix III – Women Writers in the *People's Friend* (1870–1899)

Florence Marryat (1833–1899)
Annie S. Swan [David Lyall, Evelyn Orchard] (1859–1943)
Adeline Sergeant (1851–1904)
Lydia Hands (1831–1884)
Harriet Jay [Charles Marlowe] (1857–1932)
Eliza Lynn Linton (1822–1898)
Dora Russell (1829–1905)
Mary Cross [m. Lynch] (1862–1927)
Mary Elizabeth Braddon (1835–1915)
Robina F. Hardy (1838–1891)
Jessie Patrick Findlay (1857–1933)
Agnes Marchbank [m. Marshall] (1846–?)
Isabella Fyvie Mayo (1834–1914)
Maggie Swan [m. Campbell] (1867–1935)
Annie E. Holdsworth [Keith Christie, Max Beresford] [m. Lee-Hamilton] (1860–1917)
Jane Murdoch Kippen (c.1817–1899)
Halliday Rogers [Harriet Reid] (1870–1960)
Jean L. Watson (1823–1885)

Appendix III – Women Writers in the *People's Friend* (1900–1919)

Annie S. Swan [David Lyall, Evelyn Orchard] (1859–1943)
Ethel F. Heddle [m. Marshall] (1862–1942)
Dora Russell (1829–1905)
Adeline Sergeant (1851–1904)
Annie S. Swan (1859–1943)
Jessie Kerr Lawson (1838–1917)
Elsie Walter (1860–1900)
Jessie Patrick Findlay (1857–1933)
Jane T. Ord [m. Tarbet] (1861–1936)
Carrol King [Christina Whyte Simpson] (1849–1932)
Agnes Grozier Herbertson (1873–1958)
Maude Crawford (1875–1956)
Jane H. Findlater (1866–1946)
Agnes C. Mitchell (1866–1937)
Agnes E. Melville [m. Brown] (1878–1947)
Isabel Cameron [Margaret Isabella Cameron] (1873–1957)
Marion Yuill (?)
Mollie E. Jamieson [Mary Ellen Jamieson] (1873–1939)
Lilac Storrar Lawson [Mary Storrar Lawson] (d. 1962)
Bella Dunbar Dey (1864–1940)
Jessie E. Monro (1860–1946)
Agnes Fraser Robertson (1862–1931)
Natalie D. Laing (?)
Mary Helen Jessiman (1876–1961)
Marion I. Jameson (?)
May Morison (?)
Jane Helen Easton (1890–1974)
Winifred Carter (1883–1949)

Appendix III – Women Writers in the *People's Friend* (1920–1950)

Annie S. Swan [David Lyall, Evelyn Orchard] (1859–1943)
Colleen Pelham (?)
Jean Blair [Helen C. E. Evans] [m. Rees] (1903–1970)
Rosamund Martin
Mary E. Sleath (1886–1968)
Beatrice Thorpe (?)
Dorothy Pollok (?)
Margaret Munro (?)
Amy McLaren [Emily Louisa McLaren] (1859–1935)
Christine Strathern [Nancy Brysson Morrison] (1903–1986)
Jessie Kesson (1916–1994)
Marie Russell Brown (1882–1956)
Mima Robertson (1901–1985)
Jean S. Macleod (1908–2011)
Christine Orr [m. Stark] (1899–1963)
Elspeth V. Lorimer (?)
May Sullivan (?)
Molly Clavering (1900–1995)

Appendix IV – Women Journalists in Dundee (1880–c.1950)

Jean Kyd [m. Allan] (1857–1929)
F. [Franziska] Marie [Isabella] Imandt (1861–1945)
Jessie M. King [m. Batey] (1862–1947)
Helen Greig Souter (1867–1935)
Annabella Galloway (1870–1901)
Bessie Maxwell (1871–1946)
Frances Scrymgeour (1872–1922)
Annie S. Maxwell (1873–1952)
Elizabeth Josephine Craig (1883–1980)
Ethel Gladys Robertson [m. Swannack, Juster] (1888–1980)
Flora Scrymgeour (1892–1982)
Margaret Elizabeth Haggart (1897–1966)
Nora[h] Fyffe [m. Scott] (1905–1977)
Stella Watt [m. Lang] (1906–2001)

Appendix V – Contributors to the *Scottish Review* (c.1900)¹

- Aikman, Charles Morton, (1861–1902), Scottish chemist and scholar of agricultural science.
- Aitken, Rev. David, Scottish minister at Musselburgh Congregational Church.
- Aldis, Harry G., (1864–1919), English librarian, secretary to the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution and permanent secretary to the Cambridge University Library.
- Armit, Annie, (1850–1933), English novelist, educator, and journalist.
- Anderson, James Maitland, (1852–1927), Scottish librarian of St Andrews University.
- Bishop, Isabella Bird, (1831–1904), English explorer, naturalist, photographer, and travel writer.
- Blackie, John Stuart, (1809–1895), Scottish scholar and historian.
- Blind, Karl (1826–1907), German revolutionist and author on politics, history, mythology, and literature.
- Bourniot, John George, (1836–1902), Canadian journalist, historian, and civil servant.
- Brown, Horatio F., (1854–1926), Scottish historian and scholar of Italy.
- Brown, Professor Peter Hume, (1849–1918), Scottish historian and professor at the University of Edinburgh.
- Burgess, J. J. Haldane, (1862–1927), Shetland historian, poet, and novelist.
- Bury, John Bagnell, (1861–1927), Irish professor of modern history at Cambridge University and Trinity College Dublin.
- Bury, Jane, (1878–1942), English historian of Italy and wife of Professor John Bagnell Bury.
- Cameron, Charles, M.P., (1841–1924), Scottish physician, editor of *North British Daily Mail*, and Liberal MP for Glasgow.
- Conder, Major Colonel Claude Reignier, R.E., (1848–1910), English soldier, explorer, and antiquarian of Palestine.
- Craigie, William A., (1867–1957), Scottish philologist and editor of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- Crespi, Alfred J. H., (1848–1918), Maltese physician and editor of the *Sanitary Review*.
- Crichton-Stuart, John, 3rd Marquess of Bute, (1847–1900), Scottish aristocrat and proprietor of the *Scottish Review*.
- Crockett, Rev. Samuel R., (1859–1914), Scottish minister, novelist, and poet.
- Davidson, Olaf, Icelandic historian of the Faroe Islands and folklorist.
- Donaldson, James, (1831–1915), Scottish scholar of Classics and Principal of St Andrews University.
- Dyer, Henry, (1848–1918), Scottish engineer, educationalist, and vice-president of the Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders of Scotland.
- Fullarton, J. H., (1856–1920), Scottish superintendent of the Scottish Fisheries Board.
- Geddes, Patrick (1854–1932), Scottish biologist, sociologist, geographer, author, and literary critic.
- Gladstone, Florence M., (1856–1928), English author on the history of London and sister-in-law of Ramsay MacDonald.
- Gloag, Rev. Paton James (1823–1906), Scottish minister, theological author, and moderator of the General Assembly.
- Graham, James Edward, K.C., (1851–1929), Scottish honorary secretary of the East and North of Scotland Liberal Unionist Association and author on Scottish Education and the Poor Law.
- Graham, Rev. Henry Grey, (1874–1959), Scottish Church of Scotland minister of Avondale Church, later convert to Catholicism and subsequent Roman Catholic Bishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh.
- Grant, Rev. Colin Cameron, (1832–1889), Scottish Roman Catholic Bishop of Aberdeen and Gaelic author.
- Hadden, James Cuthbert, (1861–1914), Scottish musician, magazine editor, and author.
- Hardy, Ernest George, (1852–1925), English scholar of Classics and Principal of Jesus College, University of Oxford.

¹ This list is based on the 'Index to the articles of the "*Scottish Review*" and their authors so far as these can be traced', nd. [c.1900], and 'Notebook containing addresses of contributors to the "*Scottish Review*" (1891)', see MS.3656 and MS.3655, National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Edinburgh.

Hatherley, Rev. Stephen George, (1807–1905), English Greek Orthodox minister and convert to Greek Orthodoxy.

Japp, Alexander Hay, (1839–1905), Scottish journalist, author, and editor of *Sunday Magazine*.

Lang, Andrew, (1844–1912), Scottish poet, novelist, literary critic, and folklorist.

Laurie, Simon Somerville, (1830–1909), Scottish professor of the Institutes and History of Education at the University of Edinburgh.

Layard, Florence, (1850–1924), Scottish literary critic and translator of French.

Leggo, William, (1830–1915), Canadian inventor, engraver, and businessman.

MacCunn, Florence A., (1857–1939), Scottish author, biographer and translator of French, Greek, and Latin.

MacCunn, William, (1891–1967), English secretary of the Bluecoat Society of Arts in Liverpool.

Maclachlan, Thomas Banks, (1865–1952), Scottish biographer, journalist, and editor of the *Weekly Scotsman* and *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*.

Maughan, William Charles, (1836–1914), Scottish chartered accountant, banker, and travel writer.

McKenrick, J. G., member of Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh.

McNeill, George Powell, (1860–1930), Scottish novelist and Scottish Text Society member.

Menzies, Allan, (1846–1916), Scottish Church of Scotland minister and later Chair of Biblical Criticism at St Andrews University.

Metcalf, Rev. William M., (1840–1916), Scottish minister of South Church, Paisley, and editor of the *Scottish Review*.

Millar, Alexander Hastie, (1847–1927), Scottish journalist, historian, and librarian.

Mitchell, William, (1834–1913), Scottish lawyer and member of the Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Courts of Scotland.

Morris, His Honour Judge William O'Connor, (1824–1904), Irish county court judge and historian.

Morton, William Kinniburgh, (1857–1929), Scottish lawyer, Liberal Party supporter, and member of the Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Courts of Scotland.

Nicolson, Rev. William, Scottish minister of Presbyterian Church in St Petersburg, Russia.

Ormond, George William Thomson, (1846–1929), Scottish advocate and historian of Scotland and Belgium.

Parsons, Florence Mary (m. Taylor), (1879–1969), Australian architect.

Paul, James Balfour, (1846–1931), Scottish advocate, antiquarian, and Lord Lyon King of Arms.

Rinder, Joseph Francis [Frank], (1863–1937), Scottish art critic for the *Glasgow Herald* and author on early-twentieth-century Scottish prints.

Robertson, Rev. Professor James, translator.

Rhys, Sir John, (1840–1915), Welsh scholar and first Professor of Celtic at University of Oxford.

Saunders, T. Bailey, (1860–1928), South African barrister and contributor to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Scott-Moncrieff, William George, (1846–1927), Scottish advocate and sheriff.

Smeaton, William Oliphant, (1856–1914), Scottish author, journalist, and historian.

Smith, William Anderson (1843–1906, Scottish member of Scottish Fisheries Board, oyster culturalist, journalist, and author.

Spence, T. W. L., C.B., (1845–1923), Scottish secretary to the Commissioners of the Board of Lunacy and Commissioner of Supply for Shetland.

Stewart-Syne, George, Office of the Chronicle, Quebec, Canada.

Tod, John (John Strathesk), (1832–1906), Scottish novelist and proprietor of John Tod & Sons and St Leonard's Paper Mills, and novelist.

Turgenieff, Ivan, (1818–1883), Russian novelist, poet, playwright, and translator.

Veitch, Sophie F. F., (1839–1907), Scottish novelist and editor of *The Holyrood Annual*.

Vikelas, Demetrios, (1835–1908), Greek businessman, author, and first President of the International Olympic Committee.

Wallace, William, (1843–1909), Scottish editor of the *Glasgow Herald*.

White, Colonel Thomas Pilkington, R.E., (1837–1913), British Army officer and director of the Ordnance Survey for Northern Ireland.

Wolffsohn, Lily [Eliza] Margaret ('Edit Marget') (née Clay), (fl. 1878–1908), English journalist, biographer, and translator of German and Italian.

Appendix VI – Founding Members of the Dunedin Association (1911)²

Anderson, William C.
Baird, William.
Barratt, Edgar, (1877–1928), Scottish composer and concert and recital pianist in the Scottish Orchestra.
Barrett, Francis Thornton, (1839–1919), librarian of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, president of the Scottish Library Association, and president of the Library Association of the United Kingdom.
Begg, Peter.
Boase, William Norman, (1870–1936), Provost of St Andrews University and president of St Andrews Golf Club.
Borland, Rev. Robert, (1849–1919), Evangelical Church minister at Langholm, Kilmarnock, and Yarrow.
Brown, Horace.
Brown, James Duff, (1863–1914), superintendent and librarian of Islington Public Libraries.
Bridge, Sir Frederick, (1844–1924), English organist, composer, teacher, and author.
Buchan, R. A.
Bunten, A. C., Vocal soloist and musician of Irish folk music.
Campbell, George A., Scottish baritone singer and Director of Music for the Freemasons of Scotland.
Carrick, Rev. John Charles, (1861–1914), Scottish minister at Newbattle Parish Church (1885–1912).
Clapperton, William John, (1862–1940), Scottish organist.
Clark, William Fordyce, (1865–1948), Shetland folklorist, poet, and author.
Clark, William Inglis, (1856–1932), Scottish businessman and lecturer in science.
Colquhoun, F. Mary, sister of Sir James Colquhoun Irvine of Colquhoun and Luss.
Corelli, Marie, [pseudonym of Mary Mackay], (1855–1924), English novelist.
Cowan, William.
Cowen, Sir Frederic H., (1852–1935), English composer, conductor, and pianist.
Craig, David Millar, (1878–1965), Scottish musician and the BBC's first Controller for Scotland.
Crockett, Rev. William Shillinglaw, (1866–1945), Scottish minister, preacher, lecturer, and historian.
Curwen, John Spencer, (1847–1916), principal of the Tonic Sol-Fa College and proprietor of J. Curwen & Sons.
Cuthbertson, David.
Cuthbertson, William.
Diack, J. Michael, (1869–1946), Scottish musician, conductor, and composer, and professor of the Athenaeum School of Music.
Dobie, William Fraser, (1852–1926), ex-Master of the Merchant Company, chairman of the Cockburn Association, and founder of Edinburgh College of Art.
Donaldson, James, (1831–1915), Classics scholar and Principal of St Andrews University
Douglas, Sir George, (1856–1935), Scottish aristocrat and poet, historian, and short story author.
Drysdale, Andrew Learmont, (1856–1937), factor and commissioner on 5th Earl of Rosebery's Scottish estates.
Edwards, J. Carter, English stage and film actor.
Eyre-Todd, George, (1862–1937), Scottish author, journalist, and editor of *Scottish Country Life*.
Findlay, Jessie Patrick, (1857–1933), Scottish novelist, poet, and antiquarian.
Fisher, Rev. Robert Howie, (1887–1934), Scottish minister, historian, and author.
Fleming, Rev. Archibald, (1864–1941), Scottish minister.
Forbes-Robertson, Johnston, (1853–1937), English actor and theatre manager.
Foulis, Thomas Noble, (1847–1943), Scottish publisher and proprietor of T. N. Foulis.
Gerard, Mrs.
Glasse, Rev. John, (1848–1918), Scottish Christian-Socialist minister and member of the Scottish

² This list is based on the list of Council Members in the *Dunedin Magazine*, (Edinburgh), (November 1912), pp. 28–29.

Socialist Federation.

Graham, Peter.

Grant, Alexander

Graves, Alfred Perceval, (1846–1937), Anglo-Irish poet, songwriter, and folklorist.

Greig, Thomas B.,

Grey, Annie.

Guy, William.

Hadden, James Cuthbert, (1861–1914), Scottish musician, magazine editor, and author.

Hardie, Rev. R. Montgomerie, (1854–1942), Scottish minister at Cockpen Parish Church.

Harris, Fraser

Hogben, John, (1853–1937), Scottish secretary of the Standard Life Assurance Company, poet, and literary scholar.

Keith, Henry Shanks, (1853–1944), Provost of Hamilton and chairman of Education Committee for Lanarkshire.

Keith-Johnston, Miss

Kirk, Rev. James, (1890–1918) Scottish minister at Dunbar Parish Church and Chaplain to 2nd Battalion Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

Knott, Cargill G., (1856–1922), Scottish physicist and mathematician.

Lang, Andrew, (1844–1912), Scottish poet, novelist, literary critic, and folklorist.

Langston, Frederick W., (1859–1933), Scottish civil servant.

Lehmann, Liza, (1862–1918), English soprano and composer.

Lyon, David.

M'Kenzie, Colin.

MacCunn, Hamish, (1868–1916), Scottish composer, conductor, and teacher.

MacKenzie, James Lormier, (1880–1939), Scottish Town-Clerk of Glasgow.

Mackenzie, Lady Marjory, of Gairloch, (1862–1943), president of the Ross-shire County Red Cross Society.

MacLeod, John Lorne, (1873–1946), Scottish solicitor and Lord Provost and Lord Lieutenant of Edinburgh.

Maclean Watt, Rev. James Lauchlan, (1867–1957), Scottish minister, poet, and author in Scots, English and Gaelic.

Macpherson, Charles.

MacRitchie, David, (1851–1925), Scottish historian, antiquarian, folklorist, and archaeologist.

Masson, Rosaline, (1867–1949), Scottish novelist, biographer, and poet.

Millar, Alexander Hastie, (1847–1927), Scottish journalist, historian and librarian.

Minshull, George T., actor, theatre producer, and theatre manager.

Moonie, James Anderson, (1853–1923), Scottish musician, pianist, and choral conductor.

Moonie, William Beaton, (1883–1961), Scottish musician, pianist, and composer.

O'Brien, Charles H. F., (1882–1968), Scottish musician and Director of Music at the Royal Blind School, Edinburgh.

Ogilvie, Rev. James Nicoll, (1860–1926), Scottish minister, Moderator of the General Assembly, and President of the Presbyterian Alliance.

Ormiston, Archibald, (1861–1931), Scottish violinist and music teacher.

Paterson, Stirling.

Paton, Robert.

Pentland, Robert White, (1866–1947), musical instrument manufacturer.

Richardson, Stephen.

Ross, William Baird, (1871–1950), Scottish musician, organist, and founder of Edinburgh Society of Organists.

Sanderson, George T.

Sanderson, John.

Saxby, Jessie M. E., (1842–1940), Shetland author, folklorist, novelist, and suffragette.

Shand, J. Harvey, (1879–1942), Writer to the Signet and member of the St Andrew Society of Edinburgh.

Simpson, Henry Young, (1868–1929), Librarian of Kilmarnock Public Library.

Smeaton, Oliphant [pseudonym of William Henry], (1856–1914), Scottish author, journalist, historian, and editor.

Stewart, Rev. David C., (1860–1950), Scottish minister at Currie Parish Church and novelist under the pseudonym 'Quintin MacCrindle'.

Stronach, George

Terry, [Charles] Sanford, (1864–1936), English historian and musicologist.

Turner, Harry Sandiford, (1869–1928), Scottish organist and composer.

Walker, Archibald Stodart, (1870–1934), Chairman of the Executive for Scottish Modern Arts Association.

Waterston, Jean, Vocal soloist and musician.

Williamson, Rev. Andrew Wallace, (1857–1926), Scottish minister and Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the King in Scotland.

Winram, James, (1868–1937), Scottish violinist and violin teacher.

Wright, Rev. Henry William, (1846–1923), Scottish minister at Ferryhill Parish Church.

Appendix VII – Dunedin Society Advisory Council (1947)³

Bax, Sir Arnold, (1883–1953), English composer, poet, and author.
Bridie, James [Osborne Henry Mavor], (1888–1951), Scottish playwright, screenwriter, and poet.
Bullock, Ernest, (1880–1979), English composer, organist, and musician.
Chisholm, Erik, (1904–1965), Scottish composer, pianist, organist, and conductor.
Crosbie, William, (1915–1999), Scottish artist and painter.
Davie, Cedric Thorpe, (1913–1983), Scottish musician and composer
Dent, Edward, (1876–1957), English musicologist, teacher, translator, and critic.
Farmer, Henry G., (1882–1965), Musicologist and scholar of the Middle East.
Gunn, Neil M., (1891–1973), Scottish novelist.
Hendry, J. F., (1912–1986), Scottish poet, editor, and author.
Honeyman, T. J., (1891–1971), Scottish art dealer and gallery director.
Ireland, John, (1879–1962), English composer, musician, and teacher of music.
Linklater, Erik, (1899–1974), Scottish poet, novelist, historian, and travel writer.
Moodie, James, (?), Scottish choral conductor and director of music at the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust.
Moonie, William Beaton, (1883–1961), Scottish musician, pianist, and composer.
MacEwan, Sydney, (1908–1991), Scottish tenor and musician.
Maclean, Somhairle, (1911–1996), Scottish author, poet in Scots, English and Gaelic, and Gaelic activist.
MacLeod, Joseph, (1903–1984), English poet, actor, playwright, theatre director, and newsreader.
MacEwan, John Blackwood, (1868–1948), Scottish composer, musician, and educator.
McInnes, Malcolm, (1871–1951), Scottish lawyer, bagpipe player, music publisher, and scholar of Gaelic music.
Mackenzie, Compton, (1883–1972), Scottish novelist and poet.
MacLellan, Robert, (1907–1985), Scottish playwright, dramatist, author, and poet.
Murchison, Rev. Thomas Moffat, (1907–1984), Scottish minister and Gaelic scholar.
Newman, Sidney, (1906–1971), English organist, musician, pianist, and conductor.
Orr, Robin, (1909–2006), Scottish organist and composer.
Scott, George.
Sinclair, Colin.
Whyte, Ian, (1901–1960), Scottish conductor and composer and Scottish Music Director of the BBC.
Wilsher, Harry.

Appendix VII – Additional Members of the Dunedin Society's Advisory Council (1956)⁴

Bain, George, (1881–1968), Scottish artist and art teacher.
Bain, Donald, (1904–1979), Scottish artist and painter.
Mackie, Albert David, (1904–1985), editor of the *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch* and comedy playwright.
Main, Donald.
McQuaid, John, (1909–2004), Scottish composer.
Miller, J. H.
Reid, Robert, (1895–1965), Scottish Pipe Major of 7th Highland Light Infantry.
Scott, Francis George, (1880–1958), Scottish composer and lecturer in music.
Whyte, James J.
Wilkie, Robert Blair, (1913–1998), Scottish author, scholar, and curator of the People's Palace Museum.

³ This list is based on correspondence between William MacLellan and Roland E. Muirhead in 'Correspondence File: Dunedin Society for the promotion of Scottish arts, 1947–1956', Papers and Correspondence of the Scottish Secretariat, and of Roland Eugene Muirhead, Acc.3721/36/1244, NLS.

⁴ This list is based on a letter of Ian Forrest to Roland E. Muirhead, 26 September 1956, 'Correspondence File: Dunedin Society for the promotion of Scottish arts, 1947–1956', Papers and Correspondence of the Scottish Secretariat, and of Roland Eugene Muirhead, Acc.3721/36/1244, NLS.

Young, Douglas, (1913–1973), Scottish poet, scholar, and leader of the Scottish National Party.

Appendix VIII – Contributors to the *Scots Magazine* (1924–1927)

- Allix, G.,
Anderson, E. D.,
Anderson, Jessie Anne [Annie], (1861–1931), Scottish poet, magazine editor, dramatist, and biographer.
Angus, Marion, (1865–1946), Scottish poet in English and Scots.
Baker, Ernest A., (1869–1941), English author and editor of fiction, biographical writing, and books on librarianship.
Baird, J. G.,
Barbé, Louis Auguste, (1845–1926), French-born teacher, historian, author, and lecturer.
Belser, Marie,
Betram, James A.,
Beveridge, Elizabeth, (?), Scottish short story author.
Black, Charles Stewart, (1887–1963), editor of *Scots Magazine*, playwright, and Scottish nationalist.
Black, John Cameron, (1865–1934), Collector of the Trades House Glasgow.
Blake, Elaine H., (?), Scottish poet.
Boyd, Dreda [Etheldreda], (1879–1975), journalist, author, and member of the Old Glasgow Club.
Bottomley, Gordon, (1874–1948), English poet and dramatist.
Brandane, John, [pseudonym of John MacIntyre], (1869–1947), Scottish playwright, dramatist, and theatre director.
Branmen, Elizabeth,
Bridgett, Robert Currie, (1878–1926), schoolteacher and expert on fishing in Scotland.
Buchanan, John,
Caie, John Morrison, (1878–1949), Scottish poet, agricultural lecturer, and deputy secretary of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.
Cameron, Duncan,
Cameron, Iain, (?), Scottish playwright and dramatist.
Cassie, Robert Lawson, (1859–1938), Scottish poet in English and Scots.
Chalmers, James,
Chrystal, William, (1864–1935), Scottish folklorist and local historian.
Clow, William,
Clyne, Anthony,
Clyne, George Wilson, (1867–1943), Scottish historical writer and antiquarian.
Coats, Victoria Taylor, (1885–1946), Scottish novelist and poet.
Cockburn, John,
Cocker, William Dixon, (1882–1970), Scottish poet in Scots and English and accountant for the *Daily Record*.
Colman, Horace Ralph, (1904–1971), Scottish educationalist.
Cook, John,
Constable, Eric A.,
Corrie, Joe, (1894–1968), Scottish miner, poet, author, and playwright.
Coutts, Lewis, (?), Scottish poet.
Crawford, Robert,
Crockett, Rutherford, (1888–1957), Scottish novelist and daughter of S. R. Crockett.
Crowe, Christine, (?), Scottish dramatist and playwright.
Currie, John Ronald, (1870–1949), professor of chemistry and writer of chemistry textbooks.
Davis, F. Hadland, Scholar of Japan and Persian folklore.
Denholm, Reah, (?), Journalist and literary critic.
Dickson, Thomas S., (1890–1935), Scottish journalist and Labour Party M.P. for South Lanark.
Donald, Andrew B., (1901–1929), Scottish journalist.
Donaldson, Mary Ethel Muir, (1876–1958), English photographer, poet, naturalist, and climate activist.

Douglas, Sir George, (1856–1935), Scottish aristocrat and poet, historian, and short story author.

Douglas, William,

Duke, Winifred, (1890–1962), Scottish novelist and poet.

Eden, Charles,

Eyre-Todd, George, (1862–1937), Scottish author, journalist, and editor of *Scottish Country Life*.

Fergusson, James,

Findlay, John Wainman, (1873–?), Australian-born medical doctor

Fleming, Elizabeth S., (?), Scottish poet.

Fleming, Rosanna,

Franklin, Charles Aubrey Hamilton, Scholar of genealogy and heraldry.

Fraser, Harry,

Fraser, George Milne, (1863–1938), Aberdeen City Librarian.

Galletly, W. G.,

Gardner, Wallace,

Gibb, Andrew Dewar, (1888–1974), Scottish advocate, barrister, law professor, and politician.

Gibson, Andrew,

Gordon, Percy, (?), Scottish critic of music and film.

Graham, Morland, (1891–1949), Scottish actor on stage and screen.

Grant, Margaret,

Grant, Neil Forbes, (1882–1970), English playwright, dramatist, and journalist.

Graves, Charles, (1899–1971), English journalist, travel writer, and novelist.

Gray, William Forbes, (1874 – 1950), Scottish journalist and author.

Gunn, George,

Hamilton, General Ian, (1853–1947), British Army general, poet, and novelist.

Haig, Wolesley, (1865–1938), British civil servant and professor of Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani.

Harvey, Charles Cleland, (1882–1916), Scottish architect and author.

Hay, J. M.,

Hopkyns, D. Knox,

Hunter, J. Blaine,

Irving, Lieutenant John,

Jeffrey, Agnes Allan, (1898–1976), Scottish poet and author.

Jeffrey, William, (1896–1946), Scottish poet in Scots and English.

Keith, Alexander,

Kennedy-Fraser, Marjorie, (1857–1930), Scottish vocalist, composer, music teacher, and suffragist.

Kilgour, William T., (1869–1932), Scottish journalist, author, and general controller of the Labour Exchange at Fort William.

Kyle, Elizabeth, [pseudonym of Agnes Mary Robertson Dunlop], (1901–1982), Scottish children’s novelist and travel writer.

Law, J. D.,

Lochhead, Marion Cleland, (1902–1985), Scottish poet and author.

Logan, Eric,

Lyell, William Darling, (1860–1925), Scottish solicitor and novelist.

Macarthur, Bessie J. B., (1889–1983), Scottish poet and dramatist in Scots and English.

Macarthur, David Wilson, (1903–1981), Scottish short story author.

Maccadum, John,

MacCrae, Alexander,

MacDougall, Alexander,

Macgillivray, James Pittendrigh, (1856–1938), Scottish sculptor, artist, and poet.

MacGirr, E.,

MacGregor, Alasdair Alpin, (1899–1970), Scottish author, folklorist, travel writer, and photographer.

MacKemmie, David Glen, (1878–1949), Scottish playwright, chairman of the Scottish National Players

Committee, and chairman of the Scottish Community Drama Association.

MacIntyre, Archibald,

MacLennan, John MacKay, (1885–1977), Scottish minister and moderator of the General Assembly.

MacLeod, Canon Roderick Charles, (1852–1934), English clergymen and genealogist of Clan MacLeod.

Macmillan, M.,

MacMullen, Beatrice J.,

MacRitchie, David, (1851–1925), Scottish historian, antiquarian, folklorist, and archaeologist.

MacWhannell, Ninian, (1860–1939), Scottish architect, author, biographer, and footballer.

Maitland, Peter,

Malloch, George Reston, (1875–1953), Scottish poet, dramatist, and playwright.

Martin, John Smellie, (1880–1960), Scottish novelist, naturalist, travel writer, and poet in English and Scots.

McIntosh, Barbara Ross, (1897–1942), Scottish poet and author.

McLeish, R. J.,

McLeish, William,

McMorrine, Robert,

Menzies, Walter,

Morris, Keith,

Morton, Thomas,

Muir, A.,

Murdoch, Robert Barclay, (1852–1932), Scottish tea agent and amateur historian.

Murdoch, William Garden Blaikie, (1880–1934), Scottish author and critic of art and literature.

Murray, Eunice G., (1878–1960), Scottish author, poet, folklorist, political campaigner, and suffragist.

Murray, W. K.,

Nisbet, Christine M., (?)

Norton, Eleanour Trehane, (1881–1951), English aristocrat and poet.

Norwood, John Cheesman, (1857–1937), Scottish amateur historian and antiquarian.

Ochterlonie, Jean, (?) [possibly a pseudonym, yet to be attributed]

Ord, John,

Oswald, D. A.,

Pagan, Anna Marshall, (1879–1971), Scottish biographer and poet.

Picken, T. S.,

Power, William, (1873–1951), Scottish author, journalist, and leader of the Scottish National Party (1940–1942).

Pringle, Ella [Isabella] Ferrie, (1876–1963), Medical doctor, assistant medical officer in the Child Welfare Department of the Edinburgh City Health Service, and the first women Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians.

Readman, William R.,

Reid, J. M.,

Reid, Thomas,

Ripley, Ozark, [pseudonym of John Baptiste de Macklot Thompson], (1872–1940), American short story writer.

Robb, Thomas Dun, (1867 – 1930), Scottish author, literary critic, and teacher at Paisley Grammar School.

Robertson, Stewart Alan, (1866–1933), Scottish poet and educationalist.

Ross, Alex,

Sackville, Lady Margaret, (1881–1963), English poet and author in Scots and English.

Saunders, William,

Scott, Alexander MacCallum, (1874–1928), Scottish biographer and Liberal MP for Glasgow Bridgeton.

Scott-Moncrieff, William George, (1846 – 1927), Scottish advocate and Sheriff of Banff.

Seton, Walter, of Aberdeen

Shirley, [George] William, (1879–1939), Scottish poet, playwright, and librarian of Dumfries Library.

Skinner, Robert T., (1867–1946), Scottish educationalist and House-Governor of Donaldson’s Hospital.

Skinnider, Albert S., (1887 – 1958), Scottish journalist.

Simpson, Margaret Winifrede (Winefride/Winifride), (1893–1972), Scottish poet, translator, and embroiderer.

Smith, A. Pentland, Scottish medical doctor and medical lecturer.

Smythe, Barbara E., (1899–1988), Scottish poet, diarist, and folk music vocalist.

Snoddy, Rev. Thomas Gillespie, (1885–1971), Scottish minister at Pathhead Parish Church (Fife).

Soutar, William, (1898–1943), Scottish diarist and poet in Scots and English.

Spence, Lewis, (1874–1955), Scottish journalist, poet, author, folklorist, occult scholar, and founder of the Scottish National Movement.

Squair, Olive Maud, (1902–1992), Scottish novelist, author, journalist for *The Pictureshow*, and Gaelic language activist.

Stevenson, Jack A.,

Stevenson, D. [Dorothy] E. [Emily], (1892–1973), Scottish novelist.

Stewart, Flora,

Stewart, William,

Stewart, W. C.,

Storey, Hedley Vicars, (1870–1929), English poet and social reformer.

Symon, Mary, (1863–1938), Scottish poet in English and Scots.

Thomson, James

Thomson, Rev. Thomas Bentley Stewart, (1889–1973), Scottish minister and author.

Thripeland, M.,

Tourneur, Nigel, [pseudonym of unknown author], Scottish short story author and playwright.

Waddell, Jeffrey J., (1876 – 1941), Scottish architect.

Watt, Rev. James Lauchlan Maclean, (1867–1957), Scottish minister, poet, and author in Scots, English and Gaelic.

Welsh, John,

Wight, John,

Williams, A. M.,

Wilson, Nora Clyne, (1895–1969), Scottish poet in Scots and English.

Wilson, Katharine Margaret, (1893–1977), Scottish poet, poetry scholar, and author.

Yuill, Alexander Wilson, (1862–1929), Scottish playwright and dramatist.

Appendix IX – Contributors to the *Scots Magazine* (1929–1936)

- Adams, Lady Agnes Anne, (d.1942), Scottish poet and wife of Sir John Adams, Professor of Education at London University.
- Anderson, Iain Fleming, (1902–1966), Scottish historian and travel writer.
- Angus, Elizabeth, (?)
- Angus, Marion, (1865–1946), Scottish poet in English and Scots.
- Apsey, Donald, (?)
- Armstrong, P. Douglas,
- Balance, Sir Charles, (1856–1936), English surgeon in otology and neurotology,
- Ball, Arthur W., (?), Scottish poet.
- Batten, H. Mortimer, (1888–1958), English novelist, travel writer, and author of children's literature.
- Baxter, Pat, (?)
- Baxter, James Houston, (1894–1973), Scottish archaeologist and lecturer.
- Beattie, George, (?)
- Bell, Jim H. B., (1896–1975), Scottish mountaineer, climber, and travel writer.
- Bell, J. J., (1871–1934), Scottish journalist and author.
- Black, Charles Stewart, (1887–1963), editor of *Scots Magazine*, playwright, and Scottish nationalist.
- Black, Matthew Wilson, (?)
- Blair, George C., (?)
- Bridie, James, [Osborne Henry Mavor], (1888–1951), Scottish playwright, dramatist, and medical doctor.
- Brix, Baron de, (?)
- Broun, C. L., (?)
- Bruce, Elizabeth, (?)
- Bruce, Iain, (?)
- Bruce, Malise, (?), Scottish poet.
- Buist, Francis, (1901–1980), Scottish author.
- Buist, Robert Cochrane, (1861–1939), Scottish medical doctor and lecturer at University College Dundee.
- Bulloch, John Malcolm, (1867–1938), Scottish journalist, magazine editor, genealogist, and president of the Vernacular Circle of the London Burns Club,
- Burnett, George,
- Cairncross, Thomas Scott, (?), Scottish poet and novelist.
- Cameron, Isabel, (?), Scottish novelist and author of *The Doctor* series.
- Carmichael, Stewart, (1867–1950), Scottish artist and painter.
- Calvert, Thomas, (?)
- Carnegie, Agnes Lindsay, (1843 – 1930), Scottish poet and wife of Henry Alexander Lindsay Carnegie of Spynie and Kinblethmont.
- Carstairs, Robert, (?), Scottish civil servant and author on Indian topography and hill walking in Asia.
- Carswell, Catherine, (1879 – 1946), Scottish novelist, biographer, and journalist.
- Carswell, Donald, (1882 – 1940), Scottish solicitor, journalist, and author.
- Chapman, H. J., (?)
- Christie, A. G., (?)
- Clunes, Moyna, (?)
- Cockburn, Harry A., (?), Amateur historian and antiquarian.
- Cocker, William Dixon, (1882–1970), Scottish poet in Scots and English and accountant for the *Daily Record*.
- Conacher, Isabel Laird, (?), Short story writer.
- Connor, Hugh, (?)
- Cook, Davidson, (?)

Cook, H. R., (?), Journalist for D. C. Thomson & Co.
 Craig, Robert, (?)
 Cruickshank, Helen B., (1886–1975), Scottish poet, essayist, literary activist, and suffragist.
 Cuthbert, Walter Robertson, (1887–1970), British Army soldier and husband of Wendy Wood.
 Daiches, Salis, (1880–1945), Rabbi of the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation and father of David Daiches.
 Denoon, J. W., (?), Scottish historian and antiquarian.
 Diack, Hunter, (1908–1974), Scottish nationalist, educationalist, poet, and author.
 Doak, James K. R., (1891–1980), Scottish hillwalker and Gaelic author.
 Douglas, Ninian, (?)
 Downie, George, (?)
 Duffid, Ruth, (?)
 Duthie, James, (?)
 Dyer, Florence E., (?)
 Ellison, Wallace, (1890–1974), Lecturer in economics at Frankfurt University prior to 1914.
 Emslie, Elizabeth, (?)
 Eyre-Todd, George, (1862–1937), Scottish author, journalist, and editor of *Scottish Country Life*.
 Fenton, Leo, (?)
 Fleming, Elizabeth S., (?), Scottish poet.
 Fogie, David, (?)
 Forbes, J. D., (?)
 Forbes-Sempill, Elizabeth, [transitioned to Ewan Forbes in 1952], (1912–1991), Scottish aristocrat, medical doctor, and author.
 Fraser, G. M., (?)
 Fraser, H. D., (?)
 Gibbon, Lewis Grassie, [James Leslie Mitchell], (1901–1935), Scottish novelist and essayist.
 Gillespie, Thomas Haining, (1876–1967), Scottish solicitor, zoological administrator, and broadcaster.
 Gordon, Alisdair, (?)
 Gordon, Seton, (1886–1977), Scottish naturalist, photographer, and folklorist.
 Graeme, Alan, (?), Historian, writer, and poet.
 Graham, Frederick D., (1904–1999), Scottish writer, primary school teacher, and honorary secretary of the Dundee district of the Scottish Youth Hostels Association.
 Grant, Isabel Frances, (1887–1983), Scottish ethnographer, historian, and founder of the Highland Folk Museum.
 Grant, L. Gordon, (?)
 Grant, Will, (?)
 Gray, J. M., (?)
 Gregory, John Walter, (1863–1932), English geologist, explorer, and professor of geology at Glasgow University.
 Grierson, Herbert J. C., (1866–1960), Scottish literary scholar, lecturer, editor, and critic.
 Gunn, Neil M., [Dane McNeil], (1891–1973), Scottish novelist, critic, dramatist, and essayist.
 Halcrow, A., (?)
 Haldane, Elizabeth S., (1862–1937), Scottish author, biographer, social health worker, and suffragist.
 Haldane, Lieut-Colonel M. M.,
 Hall, Thornton, (?)
 Hamilton, Rev. William H., (1868–1958), Scottish poet, writer, anthologist, and Church of Scotland minister.
 Harvey, William, (1874–1936), Scottish author and journalist and fiction editor for D. C. Thomson & Co.
 Herries, J. W., (?), Scottish playwright and dramatist.
 Hill, [A.] Muriel, (?), Poet and Church of Scotland youth worker.
 Holden, Mary, (?)
 Hooley, Leonard J., (?), Chemist at Scottish Dyes Ltd., Grangemouth.

Horne, David, (?)

Horne, John G., (1885–1950), Scottish poet and Scots language activist.

Homan, Helen, (?)

Hughes, H. C.,

Hunter, John Blane, (1900–1988), Artist.

Hutchison, Isobel Wylie, (1889–1982), Scottish Arctic traveller, mountaineer, poet, diarist, and botanist.

Ingram, Isobel, (?), Short story writer.

Ingram, William, (?)

Insh, George Pratt, C.B.E., (1884–1956), Scottish historian and editor of *Transactions of the Forty-Five Association*.

Jackson, Archibald, (?)

Jeffrey, William, (1896–1946), Scottish poet, journalist, and dramatic critic for the *Glasgow Herald*.

Kemble, Nina, (1885–1933), of Laggan, daughter of Sir Robert Anderson, Bart., of Forglen and Birkenbog and Countess of Northbrook.

Kennedy, Donald, (?)

Kyle, Angus, (?)

Kyle, Elizabeth, [pseudonym of Agnes Mary Robertson Dunlop], (1901–1982), Scottish children’s novelist and travel writer.

Lamont, A., (?)

Learney, Thomas Innes, (1893–1971), Scottish Lord Lyon and Officer of Arms (1945–1969).

Lee, H. Fletcher, (?), Scottish playwright and dramatist.

Lendrum, G. M., (?), Historian.

Lorimer, James, (?)

Lorrain-Smith, E., (?), Agricultural Economics Research Institute at Oxford University (?)

Lumley, Adrian, (?)

Lumsden, Louisa Innes, (1894–1967), Scottish educationalist, suffragist, and activist for women’s education.

Macdonald, J. M., (?)

MacEwan, D. Keith, (?)

Macgillivray, James Pittendrigh, (1856–1938), Scottish sculptor, artist, and poet.

Mackay, C. F. W., (?)

Mackie, R. L., (?)

Mackenzie, Margaret, (?)

Mackenzie, Orgill, [Harriet J. Orgill Cogie], (1893–1974), Scottish novelist, poet, and schoolteacher.

Mackinnon, Rev. Albert G., (1871–1939), Chaplain to the Presbyterian Church in Rome.

Macintyre, Dugald, (?)

MacQueen, Christina M., (?)

MacQueen, Edith E., (1900–1977), Scottish parliamentary historian and historian of emigration.

Macnamara, Kathleen, (?)

Macnaughton, W. A., (?)

Macpherson, Hector C., (1851–1924), Scottish author, journalist, editor of *Scottish Nation*, and president of International Scots Home Rule League.

Macpherson, Ian, (?)

Macrae, Margaret, (?)

Maitland, Bernard, (?)

Marwick, William H., (1894–1982), Scottish economic historian.

Matheson, John, (?)

May, C. C., (?)

Macarthur, David Wilson, (1903–1981), Scottish short story author.

McElhinney, Robert, (?)

McKelvie, D. B., (?)

McIntosh, Barbara Ross, (1897–1942), Scottish poet and author.

McLaren, Moray, (1901–1971), Scottish author, editor of *The Listener* (1929–1991), and executive for BBC Scottish Radio.

McLeish, R. J., (?), *Scottish Chapbook* contributor.

McNeil, Dane, [Neil M. Gunn], (1891–1973), Scottish novelist, critic, dramatist, and essayist.

McNeill, Florence Marian, (1885–1973), Scottish folklorist, author, editor, suffragist, and political activist.

McPherson, D. D., (?)

Mégroz, Phyllis, (?), Poet and translator of French.

Meikle, William W.,

Mitton, Geraldine E., (1868–1955), English novelist, biographer, editor, and guide book author.

Moody-Stuart, E. [Eliza?], (1861–1946), Nurse.

Morrison, W. S.,

Muir, Jack, (?)

Muir, Willa, (1890–1970), Scottish novelist, essayist, and translator.

Murray, A. Maitland, (?)

Neil, J. H., (?)

Neill, Alexander Sutherland, (1883–1973), Scottish educationalist and author.

Nisbet, Norah, (?), Poet

Norgrove, Isobel, (?)

Orr, Christine, [m. Stark], (1899–1963), Scottish novelist, poet, actor, dramatist, and theatre director.

Paine, J., (?)

Paterson, Mary Muirhead, (1864–1941), Scottish factory inspector and secretary of the Scottish Committee on Women’s Employment.

Parker, George R.,

Peachell, Kathleen, (?)

Peacock, A. D., (?)

Penney, J. Addison, (?)

Pitt, Frances,

Pollock, R. F., (1885–1937), Scottish dramatist and playwright.

Pope-Hennessy, Una, (1875–1949), English author, historian, and biographer.

Quig, Donald, (?)

Ramsay, Anna Augusta Whittall, (?), Novelist

Rayne, Gordon Leslie, (?), Essayist

Reid, John MacNair, (1895–1954), Scottish novelist and poet.

Rhynd, James, (?)

Richardson, Nancie, (?)

Rintoul, Leonora Jeffrey, (1878–1953), Scottish ornithologist and member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

Ritchie, David J. B., (1905–1990) Secretary of the St Andrews University Alumnus Association.

Rorie, David, (1867–1946), Scottish medical doctor, folklorist, and poet.

Roy, Mary P., (?)

Salmond, J. [James] B., (1891 – 1958), Scottish journalist, poet, novelist, and editor of the *Scots Magazine*.

Saunders, William, (?)

Sands, Christopher Johnston, (1857–1934), Scottish Unionist MP and expert on Church Law in Scotland.

Sang, George, (?)

Sangster, J. H., (?)

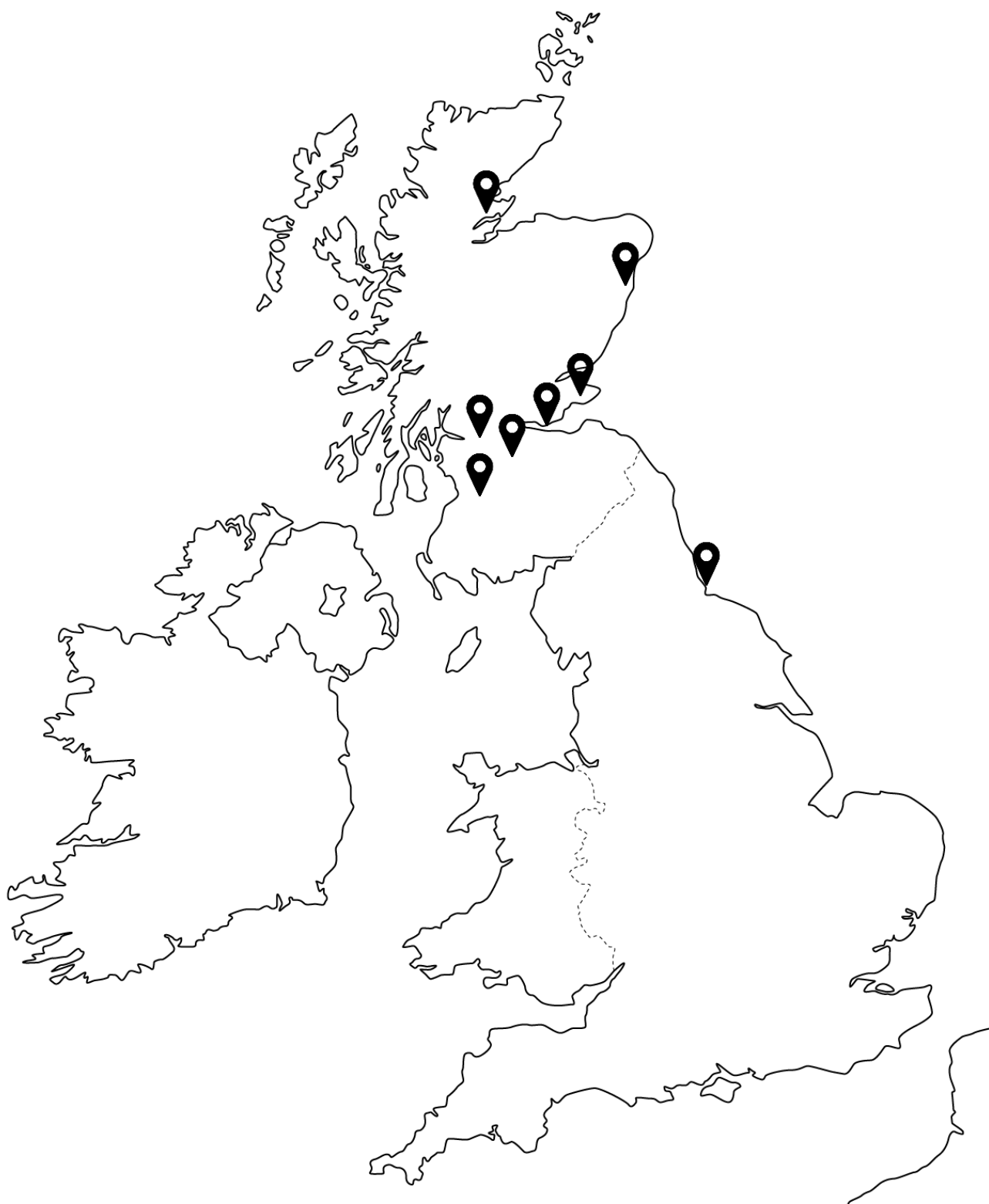
Scott, James, (?)

Scrymgeour, Norval, (1870–1952), Scottish journalist, poet, author, and antiquarian,

Sellar, Robert James Batchen, (1893–1960), Scottish playwright, dramatist, and author.

Shepherd, Nan [Agnes], (1893–1981), Scottish author, poet, educationalist, and essayist.
 Sim, Evelyn A., (?)
 Skinner, William Cumming, (?)
 Sillars, John, (?)
 Simpson, Cormac, [William J. Macdonald], Scottish playwright and dramatist.
 Smart, R. S., (?)
 Soutar, William, (1898–1943), Scottish diarist and poet in Scots and English.
 Stewart, Alison, (?)
 Stewart, Maude, (?)
 Sutherland, Helen B. G.,
 Suttie, D. F., (?)
 Swan, Annie S., [David Lyall, Evelyn Orchard] [m. Burnett Smith], (1859–1943), Scottish novelist, and poet.
 Templeton, F. J., (?)
 Thomson, David Cleghorn, (1900–1980), Scottish journalist, author, poet, playwright, politician, and director of BBC's Scottish Region.
 Thorpe, Harry, (?)
 Tonge, John, (?)
 Turnbull, F. G., (?)
 Urquhart, Alexander, (1867–1942), Scottish journalist and editor of the *Dundee Advertiser*.
 Vincent, Lady Kitty, [pseudonym of Lady Kitty Ritson], (1887–1969), Scottish novelist and animal activist, known for the *Tessa* series.
 Watt, Rev. James Lauchlan Maclean, (1867–1957), Scottish minister, poet, and author in Scots, English and Gaelic.
 Watt, Margaret Heweit, (1877–?), Novelist
 Weir, J. Gordon, (?)
 Weir, Mary A., (?)
 Weir, William L., (?)
 Whiting, Mary Bradford, (1864–1935), English novelist and Christian author.
 Williams, Alexander Malcolm, (1858–1939), Scottish novelist, literary critic, educationalist, and rector of Glasgow Provincial Training College.
 Williamson-Ross, R. R.,
 Willsher, Harry M., (?)
 Wilson, Erica, (?)
 Wilson, Norman, (?)
 Wood, Wendy [pseudonym of Gwendoline Meacham], (1892–1981), English-born novelist, poet, artist, and activist for Scottish Independence.
 Young, [Florence] Ethel Mills, (1875–1945), English author.
 Young, R. T., (?)

Appendix X – Geographical Circulation of *The Scots Thistle* Members (1903)



Appendix X – Geographical Circulation of *The Scots Thistle* Members (1907–1911)



Appendix X – Geographical Circulation of *The Scots Thistle* Members (1934–1935)



Appendix X – Geographical Circulation of *The Scots Thistle* Members (1941–1947)



Appendix X – Geographical Circulation of *The Scots Thistle* Members (1950–1959)



Appendix X – Geographical Circulation of *The Scots Thistle* Members (1961–1968)



Appendix XI – ‘The People’s Friend’ (2016) by Pippa Little

On wings of song and sweetened with *a breath of country air*
the story so far wraps up a cosy scene of happy endings:
The Good Lord won’t send us more than we can bear
if we live our lives as *hidden gems*, make do with mending –
who can resist the soft warmth of flannelette? Comfort is all
we deserve, desire now, our *piano favourites*, *simple knits*, a day make bright;
problems below the waist, ageing, loneliness, a fall
soothed with *Reflections from the Manse*, a mail-order baby doll – what might
hold back the dwindling life, the darkening horizon
if not *clip-on magnifiers*, tasty meal ideas, *Historical Romance*?
Why not? Wasn’t Scotland always this way one, *All Our Yesterdays* arising
From *very special moments*, collective Love Darg toil? Only chance
and change conspire to make it wishful longing now from *people who*
don’t always get the credit they deserve and keep secrets, too.

[All phrases in italics are quoted directly from the *People’s Friend*, (30 January 2016)]