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A Study of Popular Literature in Scotland 1860-1900

with special reference to Dundee area periodicals.

By

Alan M. Duncan

Abstract of Thesis

The respectability of periodicals was established by 'quality' magazines of the early nineteenth century. Cheap periodicals which followed catered for a new mass audience, giving them entertainment and instruction. By the 1840's 'family' magazines were established providing entertainment mainly in the form of fiction. These magazines formed the future pattern.

The Scottish dimension in periodicals and their fiction stemmed from the debate on Scottish identity. Political and other developments in the middle of the century had failed to resolve the problem of identity. The timeless virtues of Scottish life and character were popularised by books on the subject and soon these images, reinforced with examples from literature, were accepted as the truth. The family life of ordinary men and women was central to this vision. By the end of the century therefore, magazines and fiction could confidently portray an acceptable image of Scotland.

One of the successes of cheap Saturday papers of the 1850's was John Leng's People's Journal. Reflecting his moral aims, it gave news and fiction of interest to the readers of the surrounding district. One of the results of its support of Scottish literature and literary competitions was the People's Friend in 1869. Fiction writers gained success and fame in its pages and the magazine became popular all over the world. It adapted to changing circumstances without deviating from its original aims among which was the portrayal of Scottish life.

The moral framework of its fiction, presenting an ideal attainable by the readers, was established by the proprietor and his editors.

Plot dominated every story with the marriage of the hero and heroine as the ultimate goal. Characters were shown at times of crisis: the good overcame through their inner moral strength; the bad received a just reward. Stories showed an awareness of the lives of ordinary people although later in the century changes in emphasis appeared. Sometimes uneven in quality, Friend fiction sustained a clear view of human experience often reflecting the lives of its authors.

John Leng's journalistic career began in his native Hull. Ideas developed there were put into practice in Dundee. A progressive and considerate employer, he gathered around him men of similar outlook. Leng writers of fiction recognised they were not writing great literature; a fact which helps in assessing their work.

Wider recognition for Dundee-produced fiction came with the 'Kailyard' movement. 'Kailyard' literature of the 1890's varies from that produced by John Leng & Co. Sketches in the People's Friend had appeared many years earlier and those of the 1890's grew out of this with a different emphasis from those of Barrie and Maclaren. The 'leader' of the 'Kailyard', William Robertson Nicoll, may well have been influenced by John Leng. There were many similarities yet each had a distinctive audience. Scottish sketches were but one strand in the fiction of John Leng & Co. which made the firm a major force in popular Scottish writing.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by me, that the work of which it is a record has been done by myself, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree in the University of St. Andrews or elsewhere.

..... Signature

STATEMENT OF RESEARCH

I was admitted as a Research Student in the University of St. Andrews under Ordinance General No. 12 as from January 1972 and enrolled for the degree of B.Phil. under Resolution 1969 No. 8 as from 29th November 1972. This thesis embodies the results of the higher study undertaken by me on the topic approved by the Senatus Academicus of the University of St. Andrews.

..... Signature

CERTIFICATE

I hereby declare that the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy (B.Phil.) at the University of St. Andrews have been fulfilled by the candidate.

..... Signature of Supervisor

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Introduction

One of the most significant features of nineteenth century literature in these islands was the development of fiction for the mass of the public and not just the educated few. Judged by accepted literary standards, much of the writing will be found wanting. Sometimes sensational, usually romantic, it presented a simplistic view of life through characters who behaved according to the conventions created by the magazines in which the fiction appeared. In England it was the staple of the many and varied magazines and journals which appeared during the century. However this fiction has remained separate, for the most part, from what is normally regarded as standard literature.

In Scotland it is otherwise. Mainstream Scottish literature of the latter part of the nineteenth century was more closely connected with popular fiction and journalism than has yet been fully realised. Moreover, the ethos which pervades late nineteenth century literature developed through Scottish journalistic enterprise, much of which was centred in Dundee. No popular magazine in England ever possessed an influence on national culture such as that which the People's Friend had in Scotland. Its unique position was recognised in the nineteenth century before the 'Kailyard' was truly established. "The Friend soon came to be recognised as the national literary miscellany. It drew round it the rising literary talent of North Britain. . .

It holds a distinctive place in Scottish literature, providing a medium for the expression of genuine native talent in fiction, poetry, and general literature of every kind."¹ This is what made it special.

It published Scottish fiction; it consciously aided authors to write fiction; it deliberately fostered Scottish identity. Writers on this period of more recent years have tended to misunderstand the role played by the People's Friend. George Blake describes the magazine and its publishers as succeeding solely by the "careful cultivation of the Kailyard strain."² Another writer (inaccurately) said of the Friend, "[it] came into being during the vogue of the kailyard writers and worked up its circulation in the main by treating stock kailyard characters and stock kailyard situations in simple language with an even more sentimental and pietistic approach than the big guns of kailyard writing, Barrie, Crockett and company."³

Both these writers commit the error of seeing the People's Friend as a product of the kailyard period and a blind imitator at that. By the time of the "big guns of kailyard writing" the Friend was fully established as a national magazine and was already producing fiction which was later regarded as 'kailyard'. The question which more accurately should be asked is the extent to which kailyard writers like Barrie and Maclaren were influenced by the People's Friend.

The People's Friend forms the link between Dundee-produced popular journalism and fiction, and Scottish literature. The magazine was the consummation of developments which had been taking place in Dundee and which were to affect fundamentally the nature of popular Scottish culture.

The rise and development of popular journals in Scotland was different from the English experience. Since the beginning of the

century there had been a strong provincial base for journalism. As well as the quality magazines of Edinburgh, Scotland could boast of many newspapers and journals in most of the towns.

The increase in the number of journals as the century progressed was a result of unique Scottish experience. The Disruption of 1843 brought about a major expansion of the press, on a local basis. The emphasis in Scotland was still on the newspaper while in England the family magazine was gaining in popularity.

The major step forward came during the 1850's. Two events contributed to this: the abolition of the taxes on knowledge and the arrival of a new editor for the Dundee Advertiser, John Leng. With the stamp duty and advertising duty gone, publishers were able to produce cheap papers for the first time and be assured of, at least, the chance of success. Many failed but not John Leng. He was a man with an acute awareness of the potential of journalism. He had a good business mind; was a capable journalist; possessed firm moral principles and had an amazing sensitivity towards Scottish people, their lives and culture.

Building upon the earlier development of Scottish journalism, he rapidly created a major publishing house in Dundee. In 1858 he produced the People's Journal, a Saturday weekly, which was the forerunner for the People's Friend. He it was who successfully encouraged ordinary men and women to write for his papers. He brought an understanding of the problems of working people to his journals. But perhaps most importantly of all, he deliberately set out to make the

Journal a Scottish paper which fostered an interest in the history and literature of the country and through its fiction encouraged writers for the future.

This was no easy task. Many Scotsmen were concerned about what was the essential nature of a Scot and about the position of the country within the framework of the British Empire. Half hearted political stirrings in the middle of the century soon died down. Yet they were symptomatic of the unease of many educated Scots. There was a harking back to the past in a search for identity. The success of many books on life and character in Scotland of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century indicated the eagerness of the public for things Scottish. John Leng was aware of these needs and in his journals he consciously created a pride in all aspects of Scottish life: characters, attitudes, humour, religion, language. He brought the skills of journalism to the search for identity.

By gathering in Dundee men of similar outlook to himself, he created an organisation with a totally united belief in what it was doing. The moral outlook of his papers was that of his editors and himself. Moreover these men were themselves writing and choosing the writers of fiction. By 1869 when the People's Friend began, a clear picture of what the magazine could do had been established. Its success was rapid and world wide. It was popular in many parts of England as well as Scotland and for Scottish exiles it brought memories of their native land. The success of the magazine brought success to many authors who gained early experience in the People's Friend.

The keystone of its rapid advance was serial fiction.

The serial had always been an important part of all popular magazines. Just as the whole magazine was identifiably Scottish, so too was much of the fiction. Not all fiction was Scottish but it was, in the main, the writers of Scottish fiction, like Annie S. Swan, who gained a national reputation. The success of the fiction was partly due to the writers' awareness of what they were doing. They were not attempting to write 'great' literature. Theirs was a craft rather than an art: a fact that must always be borne in mind when judging their writing. It was however a craft carried out with considerable skill. Leng & Co.'s fiction combined in fine balance the entertainment of the reader and moral improvement. Some small attempt was made to use the urban settings of the contemporary Scotland, and to portray contemporary Scottish characters, although many of the characteristics now regarded as contemporary had once been thought of as belonging to a past age.

The reader could always find sufficient to identify with in the serial. The hero or heroine who prospered from nothing was sufficiently like the reader or the reader's family for him or her to accept. Nor was this without a basis in reality for many of Leng's writers had themselves succeeded from nothing.

The sketch had always had a place in the People's Friend. The success of Scottish sketches in London magazines and in books gave Scottish writing a greater publicity and popularity than it had enjoyed for decades. Guided by William Robertson Nicoll, Barrie,

Maclaren and others soon achieved world wide fame. This was the 'Kailyard Movement'. The ideas contained in sketches by London writers and publishers had long been an inherent part of fiction in Dundee journals. The flourishing of Scottish sketches in the People's Friend during the 1890's was not a result of what happened in London but part of local and national (in a Scottish context) developments which went back as far as the 1850's. London writers - exiled Scots - were portraying to the world an idealised picture of Scotland which Leng had helped create. Dundee periodicals had given to ordinary Scottish people for over forty years a separate and, albeit often idealised, a truer picture of Scottish life. These writers were men and women who lived and worked among those for whom they were writing.

The success of John Leng and Dundee area journalism was not just the establishment of periodicals but of a relationship with their readers whose loyalty and affection has been retained for well over a century. From vehicles promoting Scottish fiction, Dundee journals have themselves become synonymous with one area of Scottish culture and literature. John Leng & Co. set out to give entertainment to ordinary Scottish men and women and succeeded. By studying developments in Dundee journalism in the second half of the nineteenth century, a clearer and deeper understanding of popular Scottish literature and of Scottish life itself can be achieved.

Notes

- 1 About Newspapers: chiefly English and Scottish, Issued in connection with the Anglican Communion in Great Britain and Ireland, n.p., 1888, p.80.
- 2 George Blake, Barrie and the Kailyard School, London, 1951, p.85.
- 3 Alexander Reid, "The Era of Annie S. Swan", Scotland's Magazine, 56, March, 1960, pp.51-2.

Chapter I

Journalistic Developments Prior To The Establishment of The People's Friend (1869).

While the rise of popular periodicals may be dated from 1832, it was the early years of the nineteenth century that saw the foundation of what were to become the top echelon of nineteenth century magazines. Of these, Scotland contributed more than her share - the Edinburgh Review of 1802 and Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine of 1817. These, along with what might be thought of as the other 'great' reviews and journals - Quarterly Review, Westminster Review, and the Foreign Quarterly, were the magazines for, and the organs of, the upper levels of society. Blackwood's in its great days attracted some of the finest authors of the day to its pages and its contents were made famous throughout the land, particularly the witty and bitingly satirical "Noctes Ambrosianae." "To write a 'Noctes' was the summit of every contributor's ambition; and even to assist in the composition of one was a distinction which did not fall to every contributor's lot."¹ These magazines of the early decades of the century achieved a supremacy in the highest literary circles which periodical literature since then has never emulated. They were relatively expensive, but not for their readers who belonged, in the main, to the wealthy section of society. In this period before the rise of cheap periodicals, magazines like Blackwood's or the Edinburgh were in a unique position as disseminators of information, reflections and entertainment for the educated classes. The Edinburgh Review at one time had

a circulation as high as 13,000,² while the Quarterly Review reputedly reached 14,000³ - circulations which publications of this type were never again to achieve once the flood of popular and cheap periodicals had begun.

Their importance in the development of periodical literature lies not in their position as the chronological forerunners of cheap periodicals, but in the general influence which they exercised in style, content and in the acceptance of the respectability of writing for periodicals - a profession which was to sustain countless contributors throughout the nineteenth century. As early as 1822, a contributor to the Dundee Magazine and Caledonian Review was writing, "Formerly a magazine was not expected to contain more than extracts from new publications, the gratuitous contributions of a few correspondents, a love tale, a poetical department - always including a historical register of political and domestic occurrences. Now a magazine is a melange of original entertainment holding a distinguished place in the belles lettres."⁴ Thus, in a few years it had been realised that literature in magazines did have an important place in the literary field. No problem existed as long as the magazine market catered solely for the intelligent, educated and intellectual reader. However journals for the masses brought the problem of the propriety of writing for them. Moreover, judgement of the merit of their contents by accepted literary standards caused debate for many years.

However, more than debate over the literary merits of content

contributed to this new situation. Men involved in this branch of literature also found themselves in a new world; one in which literary merit was by no means the foremost consideration. "The editors are men of taste and talent who devote themselves to their task, not as an amusement, but as a business. Men of learning and abilities write for the different magazines and are liberally paid for their contributions."⁵ This is one of the most important aspects in the development of the new movement. As with the magazines which came later, these early publications were not simply vehicles for men of letters to propound their own ideas; they were business enterprises. All these involved in editing, or publishing periodicals from the Blackwoods and Chambers brothers to John Leng, William Robertson Nicoll and beyond did not and could not lose sight of this fact. Business acumen was to be as important as literary content. A magazine could contain brilliant writing but unless it could be sold at a profit it was as useless as if it were blank paper. To be successful a magazine had to sell and in order to sell there had to be a public which was satisfied and continued to be satisfied with the content of the magazine. Therefore professionalism in conducting magazines was always necessary and never more so than after 1832 when competition for a vast new market became and was to remain intense.

Scotland continued to play her part in the development of this new force with the appearance of the first successful cheap publications in 1832.⁶ Of the three cheap periodicals to appear in 1832, Chambers Edinburgh Journal in February, the Penny Magazine

of the S.D.U.K. in March and the Saturday Magazine of the S.P.C.K.⁷ in June, only Chambers was to survive and continue into the next century. Moreover, Edinburgh saw in the same year the publication of another 'quality' magazine in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine which was to become remarkably successful over the next few years. Neither Chambers, nor Tait's can be regarded in terms of a strictly Scottish context, for both aimed to be national within Great Britain.

Although initially Chambers was published only in Scotland, after a few issues stereotyped plates were taken to London and a London edition was published along with one in Edinburgh. As a result, Chambers soon had a circulation of 50,000 and by 1845 a sale of nearly 90,000.⁸ Tait's could not boast of being truly national on the same scale, but even it was not confined purely to Scotland, although the bulk of their sales were in Scotland where, the publishers believed, the sale "is equal to that of either Blackwood or the Edinburgh Review."⁹ In 1833 they were able to inform would-be advertisers that, "No better vehicle can be found than Tait's Magazine for any advertisement intended to be extensively made known in Scotland and the north of England."¹⁰

The appearance of popular and cheap journals was, without exaggeration, the major event in the development of magazine literature. For the first time it was seen that a vast and potentially influential public could be reached through the written word. They could be informed and entertained; a new and ever increasing arena was opened to writers and those with literary aspirations; above all

the science of communication had begun. Not everyone realised the potential of magazines; many who did were disapproving of the power magazines possessed. However, many of those who were involved in the business of writing for periodicals were aware of the significance of the new phenomenon. A contributor to Tait's, discussing the dismay with which the flood of cheap publications was greeted by many booksellers who saw a threat to their livelihood, could say, "... vain is it to wait until the flood of cheap publications shall exhaust itself. It will run for ever, let who will wait on the brink."¹¹ The next twenty years was to see the coming and the going of many cheap publications. The failure of many of these early attempts may have been caused by the inability of many people to come to terms with the new public. The desire of many to know a little was looked upon as the start of falling standards. Many of the intelligentsia could not see that the old system, whereby those who studied studied deeply because they looked upon it as a full time occupation, could not continue in the new situation. Men had to 'toil' to live and could not devote themselves at all times to learning. Any learning had to be in their hard earned spare time and of a congenial nature. For the most part, periodical literature had not come to terms with this and attempted to instil old standards in a new public for whom it was unacceptable. The result was an over-emphasis on the serious nature of such a task and the adoption of a master and pupil attitude as far as the new reading public was concerned. Many found it difficult to reconcile the purveyance of knowledge with the necessity of running a financially viable publication.

At the other extreme there were the organs which catered to the basest instincts of men. The middle ground where publishers and writers were aware of the necessity of tempering learning and knowledge with entertainment to suit the new conditions and the new reading public was not yet occupied. They had not lost the habit of talking down to their audience and the audience was not yet articulate enough to express its own demands or perhaps to know what type of reading matter it really wanted.

Scotland had an influential part in the beginnings of periodical literature both quality and popular - a part which is recognisable in the context of the whole of the United Kingdom. However, after the appearance of Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, Scotland's role in the continuing growth of cheap national publications was more or less extinguished and it was much later in the century before she again achieved anything like national repute, even within Scotland herself, with the publication of the People's Friend in 1869. The continuous and important developments were to be in England and more precisely in London. This is not all that surprising. In order to be financially successful on a national scale a publisher had to be sure of maximum circulation and this was most easily obtainable from London. It was estimated that a weekly circulation of 5000 was needed for a penny magazine to pay its way¹² and this was much more easily obtained through distribution from London. Magazines could be sent throughout the country with parcels of books to booksellers and with the expansion of the railways the costs of

transportation were negligible. If a magazine was to have a national appeal then it had to avoid bias towards a specific area. In Scotland with a growing concern for a national identity, a magazine needed a Scottish flavour, but this, while helping circulation in Scotland would not endear it to the rest of Britain. Moreover circulation of a cheap weekly would be of necessity small in Scotland for reasons of population. Chambers had realised this, hence their publication in London where they knew that there was a ready market.

The expansion of the cheap periodical in England over the next twenty years was prodigious. Much has been written about this period and the nature of the expansion,¹³ but it bears some repetition, for although no comparable Scottish developments took place on a national scale during this period, there were some parallel movements at a local level. Besides, the style and content of a typically cheap periodical had been generally established in England by about 1850 and has an obvious influence on later Scottish developments. The cheap periodicals had begun on a wave of enthusiasm for learning among the working classes. It was the age of the Mechanics' Institutes and a time when men were supposed to be eager for knowledge of all kinds. It was this movement which had induced the S.D.U.K. to produce the Penny Magazine and similar motives were behind the introduction of Chambers Journal.

" In conducting the 'Journal', the object never lost sight of was not merely to enlighten, by presenting information on matters of interest, and to harmlessly amuse, but to touch the heart - to purify the affections; thus, if possible, imparting to the work

a character which would render it universally acceptable to families."¹⁴ More specifically religious were the motives behind the Saturday Magazine of the S.P.C.K.. The initial reactions to these were considerable. The Penny Magazine had a circulation by the end of the year of 200,000 and a readership which was estimated at around five times that figure.¹⁵ Nevertheless the desire for learning among the working classes was comparatively shortlived which brought about a decline in these publications, so that eventually both the Penny and Saturday Magazines disappeared.¹⁶ Chambers alone survived but even its audience was not that at which it had aimed but one more specifically middle class with only the upper reaches of the working class still supporting it.¹⁷ One reason for the survival of Chambers which is often cited is that it contained fiction which the Penny Magazine did not.¹⁸ Another reason for its failure is contained in a comment in Tait's Magazine written only months after the inception of the Penny Magazine when it was judged to be a 'hopeless case,' the reason being that, "Every work must be submitted, in rotation, to all the members of the committee of management, who cut and carve, add, delete, and transpose at their pleasure, till every feature of originality or individuality is expunged and nothing remains but the most woful commonplace."¹⁹ This was a fault which, said Tait's, also befell the Saturday Magazine. Undoubtedly it was a major factor in the decline of both magazines, although even at the end, the Penny Magazine still had a considerable circulation. Nevertheless, these three periodicals should not be dismissed lightly for they, through

their high standard, had made cheap periodicals respectable in the eyes of many and thus had eased the path for future developments - developments which centred around one thing in particular - fiction.

With the early 1840's the clamour among the working classes was for fiction, and the 'penny dreadful' pandering to sensationalism and melodrama flourished as never before. On an even lower level there was for a time a considerable sale of near pornographic literature much of which was based on London's low life.²⁰ A major figure in the growth of this lower class literature was Edward Lloyd who, in 1842, published Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper. Among his other publications were Lloyd's Monthly Volume of Amusing and Instructive Literature in 1845, Companion to Lloyd's Penny Sunday Times and People's Police Gazette 1841-47, Penny Weekly Miscellany 1843-46, and his Weekly Miscellany 1850-51.²¹ By this period it was often difficult to distinguish between what was a periodical and what a newspaper for nearly always the newspaper contained fiction. Public demand was at last making itself felt and new publications like Lloyd's, Illustrated London News, News of the World and the Weekly Times were replacing the once dominant papers such as Bell's Weekly Dispatch. These papers contained the general news of the week but made a speciality of crime reporting often enhancing the written word with wood cuts of the most gruesome crimes.²² Out of and as a reaction to this group of periodicals there grew a new type of magazine which was to be much more influential in the long term. Frequently these papers were nothing but crude sensationalism aiming

at the excitement of the lower classes and their fiction was never of a high level.²³ The circulation of such papers was immense²⁴ indicating the extent of the public appetite for fiction especially of a melodramatic nature.

The magazine which replaced them and which was to remain dominant was of a more sophisticated nature. For the remainder of the Victorian era the 'family' paper was supreme. By the mid 1840's periodical literature was beginning to settle into distinct groupings - the 'quality' quarterlies and monthlies with their particular audience; the established cheap weeklies like Chambers which had settled down with reasonable circulations; and the London weeklies and Sunday papers which had highlighted the market for sensation and excitement as well as a desire for fiction. The gap in this scheme of things was for an informative and entertaining magazine which was firmly biased in favour of fiction, which had a higher moral tone (in keeping with the times) than most existing weeklies and which had some instructive value as well. In the mid forties this gap was filled by three new periodicals, The Family Herald in 1843, the London Journal in 1845 and Reynold's Weekly Miscellany in 1846. These magazines had an immediate impact and within six years the Family Herald could boast of a circulation of 125,000 which was more than doubled by the mid 50's.²⁵ The new mood is reflected in the aims of the Family Herald, "... the Family Herald will be conducted in accordance with its motto, 'Interesting to All Offensive to None' - without reference to party feeling or religious predilections, being neither the advocate of any popular theory nor the apologist for delusive schemes."²⁶

By giving "pleasing and harmless recreation for all the members of a family"²⁷ through a judicious mixture of amusement (mainly in the form of fiction) and instruction the publishers hoped to improve public taste and turn them from the poorer literature then available based on sensationalism and crime.²⁸ As well as fiction the Family Herald contained articles on biography, science, travel, poetry and readers' correspondence - a basic formula which was to change little as the century progressed. Most of the fiction was romance, melo-drama with a fair scattering of sensation and many tales of domestic life. Serial stories were particularly popular and when a story in the London Journal or Reynold's Miscellany reached a climax their sales would rise immediately.²⁹ With the approach of the middle of the century there was growing in Victorian England a stronger moral sense and this was reflected in many of the new magazines both secular and religious. Soon the Family Herald was joined by others such as Eliza Cook's Journal, The Family Friend, Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper, Household Words etc. Besides these there were those sponsored by religious organizations such as The Leisure Hour, The Churchman's Monthly Penny Magazine or The True Briton. Of the periodicals which established themselves in the years 1846-50, about half were sponsored by religious bodies.³⁰

Most of these magazines contained fiction in a greater or lesser amount, much of it concerned with social conditions. The moral improvement of their readers was a constant concern and indeed much of the fiction contained a moral message or lesson, particularly in

the evangelical journals. Many writers of skill were attracted to these periodicals and soon established for the magazines and for themselves high reputations. Eminent among them was Charles Dickens' Household Words, which rapidly reached a circulation of 100,000, and which because of "the constant variety of other features, fiction and non-fiction, which flowed in from well-known and highly reputable writers made a regular reading of the periodical; however cheap, a necessity in cultivated households."³¹ At last the cheap periodical had been firmly accepted by society at large as an integral part of the literary world. Although with the abolition of the taxes on knowledge in the 1850's the circulation and availability of journalistic material rapidly increased, the formula for contents was little changed. The problem of what was successful had been solved and a market embracing the whole family had been established. A Magazine was nearly always sixteen pages long and was offered in annual volumes or monthly parts as well as in weekly numbers. Fiction, both short stories and serials, had been found to be the key ingredients in a successful magazine; the moral tone of a family magazine had been set and whether it was a religious or a secular publication basic precepts of morality were always adhered to. No longer could the disappearance of periodical literature be regarded as a serious subject for discussion.

How did this completely English development affect Scotland? During this period (1832 to the early 1850's) Scotland had produced nothing on a similar scale. It is difficult to assess how great the

circulation of English magazines like the Family Herald or Reynold's Miscellany was in Scotland. However the ease with which they could be distributed by rail suggests that they were available in Scotland at least in the main areas of population. What is more difficult to assess is the extent of their circulation. A hint of the Scottish reaction to these London produced magazines can be deduced from a reference to them in a serial story "The Homes and Hearths of the Poor" in the Dundee Weekly News. The story, set about 1850, concerns the two children of a furnishing tailor who, in order to improve their taste "for the pure and elevating exercise of reading... . spent their few halfpence when young in purchasing such periodicals as Chambers' Journal, the London Journal, Family Herald as the last but one of these could boast of engravings, it accordingly was the one most acceptable at least to Ellen and Charles."³²

If Scottish people were reading English periodicals, why had not a similar periodical with a distinctly Scottish character been produced? It was 1869, over twenty years after the appearance of the Family Herald before the People's Friend appeared in Scotland. It shows signs of the English influence in terms of content division, but its main line of development belongs to the peculiarly Scottish journalistic developments in which the periodical made a relatively late appearance.

The main concern of Scottish journalism during this period was concentrated on the newspaper as opposed to the periodical. The three main areas around which the newspaper developed were politics, chartism and religion.³³ By 1832, the Scottish press was beginning

to have a recognisably distinctive image: purely Scottish problems were increasingly discussed; party politics were challenged as the only bone of contention between papers and the position of the editor was more clearly defined.³⁴ The most significant development, for this study, is the remarkable growth of the press outside the main centres in Scotland. Each small town in the 1830's and 40's was starting its own paper and more often than not there was more than one newspaper in each town. Very often these papers had grown up through party interests. In Montrose, for example, the Review, a radical paper, was followed by the Montrose Standard (1837), an organ of Tory principles. Similarly in Fife, the Fife Herald published in Cupar, found a rival in the Fifeshire Journal of Kirkcaldy. Such situations developed throughout the country from Wick in the north to Dumfries and Berwick in the south.

Most of these papers had small circulations which were confined very much to their own area, yet, when they are looked at as a whole they represent the wide interest there was in journalism, and the remarkable number of people who were involved in it.

They encouraged publishers and writers and often the content was of a high standard. Many of the men involved were of a high standing in Scottish journalism - John McDiarmid (founder of the Scotsman) who devoted much of his time to the Dumfries Standard, Robert Carruthers of the Inverness Courier, John Mackay Wilson, editor of the Berwick Advertiser and many others. Small as their circulation may have been, their influence with regard to national

issues was far greater. Often the established papers in the cities quoted these local papers and their views were treated with respect quite out of proportion to their size or circulation.

The other strand in the rapidly expanding Scottish press was the appearance of the short lived Chartist newspapers. Out of this movement appeared the True Scotsman, the Scottish Patriot, Scots Times and Dundee Herald which, although brief in life, burned brightly and added another dimension to the field of journalism.

However, important as politics were in encouraging the development of the Scottish press, the greatest impetus was given by the Non Intrusion issue which led to the Disruption of 1843 and the establishment of the Free Church of Scotland. While in England the family periodical was becoming an accepted part of the journalistic world, in Scotland everything was cast aside by this one issue. There was no existing newspaper which did not take up a stand on the Non Intrusion question and violent was the debate which took place. But most important of all, it brought about another expansion of the rapidly growing Scottish press. In those areas where the existing papers took up a position opposed to the Non Intrusionists (and many of the important papers did, among them the Scotch Reformers' Gazette, Saturday Post, Glasgow Chronicle and the Scotsman), new papers soon sprang up. In Dundee in 1841, there appeared the Dundee Warden and Arbroath and Forfar Journal later to become the Northern Warden and Aberdeen, Cupar, Ayr, Dumfries, Kelso, and many other towns found themselves with new papers as a result of this issue.³⁵ Most notable of all these new papers was, of course,

The Witness, edited by Hugh Miller and which, after 1843 became the chief organ of the Free Church. It is difficult to overestimate the impetus given to journalism in Scotland by this controversy. In circulation alone, these non intrusion papers often exceeded that of existing papers. At times the Northern Warden was second to the Dundee Advertiser in circulation³⁶ and at the height of the crisis 1842-43, in Edinburgh The Witness had a circulation high above that of any other Edinburgh paper.³⁷

What is important in the long term for Scottish journalism in this issue is that it provided an impetus to development. It ensured a strong hold for the press in Scotland in spite of the difficulties which they faced from the newspaper stamp. Its strength is made evident by a comparison with England, where, during this period, no newspaper appeared more than once a week away from London, Manchester and Liverpool.³⁸ In Scotland, however, although daily papers did not get underway successfully until the 1850's, papers produced tri-weekly and bi-weekly were not exceptional and were not confined simply to Edinburgh and Glasgow. The Disruption was an event which affected the whole population in many ways - education being one of the most important - and this truly national interest was reflected in the press. The Witness under Hugh Miller is a case in point. Cowan sees much of the success of the paper as belonging to Miller of whom he says, "Miller was not an ecclesiastic but a man of the people, transparently sincere in his social sympathies and responsible for his opinions to no Church court or committee."³⁹

Nor was this sense of social responsibility confined either to the Witness or its editor, for there was also in the Scottish press a growing awareness of working people and their interests particularly in Glasgow and the west where, what was to be the most important link between the Scottish newspaper and the Scottish periodical, the Saturday weekly was well established. The most notable of these papers were the Scotch Reformers' Gazette, the Glasgow Saturday Post, the Citizen and The Examiner. As early as 1837, the Reformers' Gazette had a circulation of 2000 which placed it next to the Glasgow Herald and by 1842 it boasted the highest circulation in Scotland. It was soon overtaken by the Post with a circulation of 3600 in 1843 and 8800 in 1850.⁴⁰ Papers like these were ably run by men of ability like James Hedderwick of the Citizen, "progressive in politics, urbane and tolerant."⁴¹ Born in 1814, he was at 23 sub editor of the Scotsman and came to know many of the influential men of his time. Under his direction the Citizen gained a high reputation and it was in its columns that the novelist, William Black first saw print.⁴² Papers like Hedderwick's were aware of the social difficulties of the times but their papers also saw the need to give entertainment for their readers, as in the municipal satire in the Examiner, "The Chronicles of Gotham", the type of article which was to gain so many readers for the Saturday weeklies in the 1850's.

In the midst of this newspaper enterprise, what was the place of the periodical? The centre of the literary magazine in Scotland was still in Edinburgh. Some new publications did appear like

The Edinburgh Christian Magazine in 1843, edited by Norman Macleod and in many ways the forerunner of Good Words, and the North British Review in 1844. But neither of these could be looked upon as paralleling the developments in the south. The rapid growth and interest in newspapers is undoubtedly a major reason for the lack of interest in this aspect of journalism. As long as proprietors and publishers saw newspapers as their first concern then there was little hope for a development in periodical journalism. Another reason must be the influence of the existing Edinburgh periodicals. They were all of high quality and reputation so that anyone attempting to start a cheap and popular periodical was up against a great deal of opposition. No doubt the difficulties which had faced the Chambers brothers in 1832 were still too fresh in the minds of would-be publishers. Linked to this were the difficulties of circulation, for outside Chambers on one level, and Blackwoods' or Taits' on another, there were still no periodicals circulating on a national scale. As has been seen, where Scotland succeeded in the years prior to the abolition of the stamp duty was in the development of the provincial rather than a national press. The newspaper reader in Aberdeen or Dundee was buying the Aberdeen Journal or the Dundee Advertiser rather than the Scotsman, which, as a paper produced in the capital, might have been considered as having a national circulation. This was probably equally true of the smaller towns where the local paper would be given preference by the reader. Herein lies the paradox of the Scottish situation.

Local loyalties and influence had been and still were strong in Scotland and this plus a lack of a political centre in Edinburgh around which a national paper might have developed, worked against the centralisation of journalism in the capital. This resulted in national events like the Disruption being reported and discussed from the local point of view. What was true for the newspapers was equally true for the periodical. They could have some success within a clearly defined area, but in the long run this doomed them to failure by placing a limit on circulation. This problem would remain until a national circulation could be guaranteed and, until Scotland could come to terms with her own identity, there would be no solution to the impasse.

That Scotland's popular national periodical, the People's Friend, when it did come, should come from a provincial centre and not Edinburgh is not really so surprising in view of the strength of the local press which had been built up in Scotland over the years and nowhere more than in Dundee. The various pressures and currents evident in the rise of the Scottish journalism can all be seen in the developments of both newspapers and periodicals in Dundee. There were newspapers created out of party politics - the Whig Advertiser in 1801, the Tory Courier and Argus in 1816, the Chartist Herald in 1841 and the Non Intrusion Warder of the same year, the outcome of a religious crisis. Against this backcloth of a flourishing newspaper press, periodicals in Dundee also came and went reflecting pressures of the times.

There were several unsuccessful attempts to establish periodicals in Dundee at the end of the eighteenth century and in the first years of the nineteenth.⁴³ All these early attempts were in the style of the traditional magazine as it had developed in the eighteenth century. Some hints of the coming changes can be found in The Independent or Dundee Periodical Journal of Literature and Criticism, History and Politics, Agriculture and Commerce of 1816. The Independent was published quarterly, (there were in fact only three issues) and was sold in London, Perth, Aberdeen and Edinburgh as well as in Dundee. The magazine comprised of articles and essays on general subjects, poetry, correspondence, book reviews, as well as commercial and agricultural reports which were aimed no doubt at the merchants and farmers of the district. What is noteworthy about this magazine is the way in which it discusses the new expansion in knowledge which was just beginning. Of the three existing issues each contains an essay "On the General Diffusion of Knowledge." The writer, while pointing out the great ignorance in Scotland, "of about 1,800,000 inhabitants, which constitute the population of our country, there are not perhaps, 18,000, or the hundredth part of the whole, whose knowledge extends to any subject of importance, beyond the range of their daily avocations,"⁴⁴ sees some hope in the increase in learning which is growing up through Bible Societies, periodicals, and "from the establishment of libraries and reading societies in almost every village." The results being that even the lower classes are "becoming acquainted with subjects hitherto known and cultivated only by persons of the

learned professions."⁴⁵ While the magazine does not attempt to help directly in this movement, it is interesting that it is at least stating a view which was to become almost the *raison d'être* of many future magazines. The concern for the working class is evident even in their account of the new Dundee Savings Bank which, "we believe to be one of the very best of institutions, as it may enable the poor to do for themselves what the rich never do for them, except ostentatiously or with a grudge."⁴⁶

The next burst of periodical production in Dundee came in the early 1820's, possibly partly as a result of the success of Blackwood's. These magazines were the Dundee Magazine and Caledonian Review (the last of several attempts to establish a magazine of that name in Dundee) published in 1822 and The Literary Olio published in 1824. The first of these was a monthly publication and in the first number in July 1822, it is apparent that the growth and expansion of the periodical press had been recognized as a fait accompli. "The race of periodicals fasten, like limpet shells or barnacles, on every object within the tide-mark of an available public," says 'Spectator Junior' in his opening letter. There follows a well thought out description of the new state of affairs, free from any moral or didactic aims which were to dominate, often to their detriment, later publications both in Dundee and in the country at large. It is worth quoting at length for it shows that the astonishment which is often expressed at the impact of the cheap magazines of 1832 was not a new phenomenon. While generally guarded in tone,

Spectator Junior's pronouncement shows that the implications of the new position had, by that early date, been realised.

"The intellectual and literary aristocracy of the land has melted down, and has shaded off into the great mass of the reading public. A fresh impulse has been given to the latent and inactive powers and susceptibilities of enjoyment; and the character of the nation has undergone a material and, upon the whole, a most advantageous alteration. This process is still going on, - and literary and amusing, and instructive publications are succeeding to, and in many cases happily supplanting political disquisitions, and even on the shop-stool of the shoemaker, the board of the tailor, or the stall of the butcher, one may occasionally stumble upon a stray number of Constable or Blackwood."⁴⁷

Indeed, there are several articles in this magazine which show the importance which periodicals were assuming and not simply with regard to the new readership, but the problems involved in writing for them and the suitability of their content. In a letter from 'Humphrey Humbug Esq.' on the subject of magazines, the point is made that the public will accept only that which is good. He is in no doubt as to what he wants from a magazine. "Give us, in short, sentiment and poetry, and wit, and humour, and fun and fancy; but above all give us common sense."⁴⁸

'Murnev', in an article "On Magazine Writing", touches on a

problem which is being debated even in the present day. It is the question of the place to be given to magazine material in the spectrum of literary merit:

"The great intellects write for posterity - they stand out in full relief along the dim vista of futurity... Magazine minds are of less enormous calibre, and less lofty aim - they are minds of talent versatile, dashing, humourous, and indiscrivable... When I speak of the excellence of magazine writing, I do not try it by any acknowledged literary standard - I try it solely by its fitness for its ostensible purposes - its fitness to please and amuse the reading classes for whom it is intended. If it does not do this, its literary merit no matter how bright has no right to be there, and will be treated after the fashion of all unbidden guests."⁴⁹

It is difficult to imagine a comment like this being written ten or even twenty years later. The key phrase is "its fitness to please and amuse the reading classes." There is no other purpose, according to the writer, than for a magazine to serve as entertainment. (In fact he goes on to say that a magazine should never be found in the study but always in the drawing room.) These views which to the modern reader represent in many respects the contemporary position, indicate, in the context of nineteenth century development, the position prior to the major rise of cheap periodicals.

This local magazine and others such as Maga were written for an

intelligent and already educated audience. They did not need, or indeed wish, to read magazines for the purpose of educational or moral improvement. Their main purpose was one of entertainment in the most general sense. What must be remembered, however, is that there was a tendency over the next decade or so to lose sight of this most important feature of the magazine and it is evidence of the maturity and relative sophistication which later magazines like The People's Friend had achieved that they could so judiciously balance the necessity of providing entertainment with a moral and educational purpose which had by this time become a sine qua non of any would-be respectable and successful magazine.

The contents of The Dundee Magazine are based very much on the model of Blackwoods. There are the usual essays, poems, tales, reviews etc. as well as a monthly register. It is, on the whole, well written and an obvious attempt has been made to give the magazine a local flavour. Many of the articles on travel, for example, are about the local area; letters or conversations are full of allusions to local events and personalities; nor is the life of Dundee neglected - an article on "Flit Friday" (market day in Dundee) is particularly memorable for the vigour of the description. There is even an attempt to emulate the "Noctes Ambrosianae" with the Dundee version, "Noctes M'Coshianaæ"⁵⁰ in which the local equivalents of Christopher North, Timothy Tickler et al. take part. Fiction found its place in the magazine in the form of short stories and tales as well as an occasional short play. The standard of the

fiction is not particularly high although a few of the stories rise above the mediocre. They are divided more or less equally between Scottish stories and English with the former represented by titles such as "The Minister and His Sons", "The Witch of Culz" and the latter by "Adventure in the Bay of St. Malo" and "The Lady of Devon: an Anglo-Saxon Tale."

The last issue of this magazine, now called The Caledonian Magazine and Review seems to be in February 1823. From the local nature of so much of its content, it would be reasonable to assume that most of the material was original, indicating that, in a small way at least, there was an interest in magazine writing in the Dundee area even at this early date. Part of the impetus may have been due to the editor, William Wilson. A friend of Robert Chambers, he contributed to Chambers' Popular Rhymes of Scotland (1826)⁵¹.

He had been an operative calenderer in Dundee but gave it up to devote himself to literature. In 1833 he emigrated to America where he started as a bookseller in New York State. He remained, however, a contributor to many magazines including Blackwood's, Tait's and Chambers' often using the pseudonyms "Allan Grant" and "Alpin."⁵² When the next periodical appeared in Dundee in 1824 Wilson was once more in the editor's chair.

The Literary Olio breaks new ground in local periodicals in several ways. It was, unlike its predecessors, a fortnightly publication and cost only 4d. per issue.⁵³ It was published on Saturday and had a Monday reprint, The Dundee Observer. In the

prospectus the organisers claimed that, "It is our wish and shall be our study to form such a melange, as, while it is fitted for the workshop of the inquiring and ingenious mechanic, may not be unsuitable for the family-parlour, nor found unworthy of a place on the young lady's work-table."⁵⁴ The mixture was much as before - essays on travel, science etc., poetry, and a selection of gleanings from various subjects. Some articles were obviously directed at certain sections of the community such as the article entitled "Method for Ascertaining the Richness of Milk." There is some fiction, though not in any great quantity. Most of the stories are set in Scotland although many have a distinctly English character with the setting simply transferred to Scotland.

Even more than the Dundee Magazine is this a local effort. From the very early issues each item is classified as either 'Selected' or 'Original' and the latter came to predominate more and more. Much is made of this fact in the periodical. In one letter, 'Peter Whang' a "Humble dominie" writes to complain that he cannot visit any of his friends because they are all too busy writing for the Olio.⁵⁵ Whether this desire to write for magazines was as widespread in the area as all this original material would suggest is difficult to assess. Certainly it might be given some credence in the light of a statement in the same number of the Olio, that, "the good people of Angus, from their numerous, or rather frequent periodical publications are considered in Edinburgh the most literary provincials in Scotland."⁵⁶ Certainly in the short

term it was a reasonably successful magazine, for by April 1824 the proprietors could write that the success of the magazine "has far exceeded their most sanguine expectations at any period of the work; and they shall now pursue their labours with a redoubled zeal and earnestness to please."⁵⁷ No doubt the initial success was to some extent the result of the comparatively cheap price and the frequency of publication. Alas for the Olio, however, the "redoubled zeal" of the proprietor was in vain for between May 29th and October 4th 1824 only 4 issues appeared⁵⁸ and this erratic publication must surely mean that it had started on the downward slope. It is difficult to account for this failure, perhaps financial difficulties, or a drop in contributions from correspondents. There may in fact not have been such a great desire on the part of the public to contribute at all, for A.C. Lamb says that half the contents were by Wilson himself, and only five years later the proprietors of yet another Dundee periodical were writing plaintively about the apathy of the Dundee public. "If a lively disinterested desire of cultivating the Belles Lettres existed among us, we would not overlook such a desirable publication. But we have in this way given no evidence of so laudable a zeal hitherto."⁵⁹

In spite of this somewhat inauspicious end, the Literary Olio is an important landmark in Dundee periodicals. It was a break-away from the usual monthly magazine; at 4d. it was a much cheaper publication; and it did foster and encourage local contributors

to a provincial magazine - an element to become so important later on. Both these magazines of the early 1820's exhibit a breadth of purpose covering all ages and all groups. They recognize the growth of audience to include artisans and mechanics if not yet all levels of the working classes. They saw entertainment as being still the prime function of a magazine and in this fiction had a role to play.

Just as a change was taking place in the nature of periodicals throughout the United Kingdom, so in Dundee a new atmosphere pervades the next local periodical, The Dundee Miscellany of 1829. The spirit of learning is abroad as is made abundantly clear in the Introduction of the first number:

"Now a regard for polite literature is manifest in every corner of our island. Plebeians as well as patricians are eagerly bent on the cultivation of their minds. The haunts of revelry and dissipation are, in many instances, relinquished for the more manly and delightful exercises of the lecture-room. Hundreds of periodicals are in active circulation; literature and science are winning their way into the habitations of the poor."⁶⁰

How much more earnest is this than the opinions of earlier magazines. Now amusement has given way to the "manly and delightful exercises of the lecture-room." Nor has the moral aim been forgotten - "Nothing hostile to morality or religion shall ever pollute our page... we will ever lean decidedly to the side of virtue."

A magazine of 31 pages, it was published monthly and devoted its contents to instructive and educational material such as "A Sketch of the Progress of Literature in Dundee", "Description of a Storm from Ovid", "On Education" etc. Many of these were continued from one number to the next, so that the amount of new material was strictly limited. The nearest approach to fiction is to be found in "A Summer's Excursion to the North" in which a tale of emigration is told to the traveller by a miller whom he meets on his journey. Fiction, which had been found in earlier magazines is eclipsed by the new material. The attitude of The Dundee Miscellany to this is quite explicit. The editor quotes from a letter from "a learned and highly respectable gentleman" who makes the following points;

"The great defect of most of our lately projected periodicals is, that they are too much devoted to the record of tales of fiction both in poetry and prose; and that they substitute the vagaries of an unbridled imagination and the mere amusement of their readers, for substantial knowledge and the moral and intellectual improvement of mankind."⁶¹

This statement shows more clearly than any lengthy discussion the generally accepted view of many people of the aim and purpose of periodicals. The idea of amusement is considered to verge almost on the immoral, and so what place could fiction possibly have in the scheme of things? The editor, in quoting from the above

letter, proclaims that he is "resolved at all events to follow" this advice. That this explains the appearance of only two numbers would be misguided, but the seriousness of purpose with which this magazine was obviously being conducted may well have discouraged the potential readership.

The lack of success which had greeted this last effort at local publishing may have discouraged further attempts, for the 1830's is a period bereft of further efforts at a local magazine. Other reasons, however, are not difficult to find. The developments of 1832 have been mentioned already. No provincial publication could have withstood the competition from an adversary like Chambers. Cheap and well written, it would easily have demolished any would-be rival. Moreover the radical movement of the 1830's was getting underway and Dundee, a centre of reform, kept up her radical tradition and, along with the rest of Scotland helped increase the newspaper press, by producing her own radical paper, The Dundee Chronicle.⁶² With this background, it is not surprising that there was no apparent interest in starting a new literary periodical. Another reason can be found in the rapidly expanding number of religious and moral magazines and tracts. Morality, which was to be the touchstone for all future magazines, certainly found an outlet at the local level, if the profusion of new journals of this type is any guide. During this decade were published in Dundee, The Presbyterian Magazine (1832) The Dundee Monthly Visitor (1836) a gratuitously circulated tract,

The Dundee Teetotaller and Scottish Moralist (1839), The Abromion,

or Advocate of Moral Reform for the People (1839) and in 1840,

The Dundee True Temperance Advocate and Scottish Moralist.⁶³

While of little importance in themselves, they indicate even by their titles many of the prevailing attitudes, some of which were to remain. Many were not successful in the long term, but often were well circulated during their life. The Dundee Teetotaller and Scottish Moralist at 1d., of which only 12 were published had,

according to Lamb, a circulation of 4000 - 5000 monthly.⁶⁴

Although at this time there were no important periodicals produced at a local level, the currents of opinion which existed everywhere were at work. The zeal for learning and learning alone was passing and a desire for entertainment, which in reality meant fiction was once more being heard. Saturday weeklies were starting to fill the demand for cheap reading in Scotland. Once again this was answered at the local level when the first of the Saturday weeklies was published in Dundee.

There was a group of these new weeklies in the early years of

the 1840's - The Perth and Dundee Saturday Journal (1841),

Taylor's Weekly (1843), Dundee, Perth and Arbroath Weekly Magazine

(1843). What is immediately apparent about the first and last of these is the area which they served. Previous Dundee publications

had been restricted to Dundee and the county of Angus, but now

a wider area was being served, covering as the Perth and Dundee

Saturday Journal tells us, Forfar, Fife, Stirling and Perth.⁶⁵

The Perth and Dundee Saturday Journal of Literature, Science, Biography, Arts Etc. Etc. is the most interesting of these new magazines and was the longest lasting.⁶⁶ It first appeared on Saturday, November 27th, 1841, with its aim and purpose being, "to strengthen the intellect, and enrich the understanding, by affording rational, pleasing, and serviceable amusement and instruction, during those hours not usually occupied in the ordinary pursuits of life."⁶⁷ Once more the change in tone which was prevalent nationally is found in provincial work. It is not the purposeful and morally elevating tone of the Dundee Miscellany of just over ten years earlier, nor the easy entertaining style of the Literary Olio of twenty years before; it is, through a long process of maturation, a mixture of the two. The aim of instructing is still there but now is tempered by the idea of offering amusement, and most significantly, it had been realised that a magazine occupies the leisure time of the reader. Implicit in this is the assumption that the magazine is for a working readership who have become accustomed in their spare time, in the evening and especially at the weekend, to read a magazine not just to learn but to be entertained. The concept of a miscellany covering a variety of topics had become generally accepted: "We have aimed at a pleasing variety in every number, and in this we think we have been somewhat successful. Tales, Romantic Incidents, Biographical Sketches, Interesting Extracts from New Books, Popularly written articles on Science, Poetry, Anecdotes Etc. have been the staple production which we have

endeavoured to supply our readers with."⁶⁸

At the end of three months, The Perth and Dundee Saturday Journal were in no doubt that this was what their readers wanted. There had been a printing of 2000 copies of the first number and for the last three editions (ie. Nos. 13-15) 2300 had been printed.⁶⁹ This, they said, was better than the previous circulation of any journal from either Perth or Dundee. While allowing for editorial jubilation, there seems no reason to doubt the veracity of their claim. A journal like this, local and cheap, was new and this in itself would attract the notice of the public. Its circulation, they continued, was not confined to the immediate area, but extended to "the remotest districts of Badenoch, Invernesshire, Edinburgh, Glasgow etc." However, it is unlikely that it circulated to any great extent in these areas, although the fact that it was so widely known is but another indication of the importance of local journalism in the national setting. Not only was the wide circulation proclaimed but the reason for it was plainly stated: "Our success we attribute entirely to the assistance of our numerous correspondents."⁷⁰ From this and the general tone of the magazine in its early stages, it is fair to deduce that most of the content was original - there were occasional articles by named authors eg. Washington Irving, which probably were taken from other periodicals - but most of the others are anonymous, yet from the subject matter eg. "Trip to Loch Lomond", a series of "Clerical Sketches" of local ministers, would seem to be by

local authors. What is certain is that the fiction was by local writers for each piece was usually signed with initials and the name of the author's town.

However, only two months after this proud boast, the journal seems to have run into financial difficulty resulting in a period of erratic production.⁷¹ Once more the organisers appealed to their public:

"We beg to state that we never entertained the remotest expectations that the journal was to be productive of pecuniary advantage to any party connected with it. We thought and believed that a periodical opened for the almost express purpose of devoting its pages to the cultivation of youthful genius, by the insertion in it of the first fruits of a young mind, was a desideratum the want of which was much felt, and is still so, at least in the districts Perthshire and Forfarshire, if not throughout broad Scotland."⁷²

Such a statement is, to say the least, surprising. There must have been very few periodicals set up with no desire to make a profit. Certainly many did fail after a short time, but invariably the basic reason was that they had failed to be financially remunerative. Those which had and were to have most success were those which were run on sound business lines. The encouragement of young writers, while a worthy aim in itself and one put to use most successfully by John Leng, does not seem to have done this particular magazine much good. The desire to encourage young

writers was not mentioned as a specific aim of the magazine when it was started. Therefore it seems more than likely that stress was laid on this aspect when excuses were being sought for the magazine's failure. Most of the fiction was set in Scotland but was very far from being in the Scottish tradition. It was nearly all in the romantic and melodramatic mould, so much favoured by London periodicals, which had simply been transposed to a Scottish setting without any attempt to fit the characters into their new background. Favourite settings were the Scottish highlands or the Mediterranean. The Crusades or the times of William Wallace provided typical historical backgrounds. What they all had in common was a mediocrity often bordering on the ludicrous. With each issue fiction became more and more predominant often taking up more than three-quarters of the available space. Often the tales were in serial form covering several issues. What is more surprising is that the editor, having obviously recognized the standard of the fiction, should announce this in the journal itself. In March 1842, he said of the tales and sketches that, "If they had not improved quite so much as might be desired, they have not, at least, in any degree flagged."⁷³ By December he was no happier: "We confess that many articles, in the shape of tales and poems, have appeared in it of but very indifferent merit."⁷⁴ However, soon more than the editor were unhappy with the fiction. In August 1843, they were promising to give up long tales because of readers' complaints and asked their contributors to condense their material. "We really cannot spare

nearly one half of the Journal for one subject. The tastes of our readers are varied, so, therefore we must try and cater for all."⁷⁵ It seems that this did not satisfy, for by March in the next year another appeal was made this time informing their readers of a drop in circulation because of tales being continued in so many numbers. In future, they informed them, "We cannot promise to insert tales which will occupy more than a reasonable space in two or at most three of our numbers."⁷⁶

This curious situation allows certain conclusions to be drawn regarding the position of fiction in the early 1840's, in at least one area of Scotland. At a time when fiction was developing into the foremost reason for periodical expansion in the country at large, why should the readers of this particular magazine complain? Does it indicate a dislike for fiction on the part of the readership which, like the editor, could recognize inferior material? If the first hypothesis were true then it would put in question the assumption that fiction was so popular at this time, and there can be no valid ground for thinking that the people of Perthshire and Angus were any less well-disposed to fiction than the rest of the country. Furthermore it was possible for the proprietors, after their first announcement in March 1842, either to have curtailed the amount of fiction or have attempted to obtain material of a higher quality. From an examination of the fiction after this time and the continued editorial statements it is apparent that neither of these courses was followed. The real reason for their difficulty would seem to lie not in a

dislike of fiction itself, but in a dislike of a certain type of fiction. In all references to complaints in the magazine reference is made to "long tales" or "tales ... being continued in so many successive numbers" - in other words serial fiction. That this was the area of complaint shows something of developing taste. Fiction in this quantity was still relatively new and it would appear that amongst the class of reader at whom it was aimed there was at this time a desire for the short sketch or tale contained in one issue rather than the longer story covering several issues. However this is only half the answer. The other is the reflection it has on the buying habits of the reader. It would be safe to assume that if the quality of the fiction was not in itself a cause for complaint then the method of presentation was. To follow a serial tale would have meant buying the journal regularly for a period of weeks. This the public obviously did not wish to do, hence the fall in circulation. It shows that a regular working class readership was not fully established for a provincial magazine. They were either buying a regular periodical from among those nationally distributed and the local one occasionally or what is more likely were not yet fully involved in a regular habit of reading for pleasure. That serial fiction was a major factor in increasing the circulation of Saturday newspapers from the 1850's onwards and formed the background of the People's Friend, indicates the rapidity with which the pattern had been reversed.

The astonishingly candid editorial remarks on the magazine's

failings reflects a 'laissez-faire' approach by the editor. It contrasts greatly with later development under John Leng when young and inexperienced writers were encouraged but, to succeed, had to fulfil rigorous editorial demands. The approach of this earlier magazine is symptomatic of the, as yet, hesitant and essentially amateur direction of magazine production which inevitably led to failure.

This rather strange magazine - a production not aiming at a profit and conducted almost wholly for the purpose of allowing young people of the district to show their literary talent - seems to have lasted until June 1844 when it was followed by the Perth and Dundee Journal published weekly in Perth at 1d. from June 29th 1844.⁷⁷ It was conducted in much the same fashion as its predecessor and in spite of the dire warnings was composed almost solely of fiction. So much so that in one issue⁷⁸ only three-quarters of a column is devoted to non fiction the rest of the magazine being made up of the following tales: "The Moss Trooper" (serial), "The Female Parricide or The Lover's Revenge", "A Spanish Legend", and "The Caliph's Adventure." The titles alone speak for the nature of the fiction. It seems to have flourished for within three months it was increased to 12 pages, "thus affording an instance of cheapness, which anyone who takes into consideration its comparative merits, will declare to be almost unprecedented in that species of Periodical Literature to which it belongs, - that useful penny and twopenny trash, which, says Lord Brougham, 'has contributed more extensively to the dissemination of general knowledge, than any other class of publication.'"⁷⁹

The Dundee, Perth and Arbroath Weekly Magazine was begun on April 17th 1843, and unlike the other two was published on a Friday. It had grown out of The Perthshire Monthly Journal and its area extended to cover Dundee and Angus, "in the hope that not only our circulation may be increased, but that our communications may be multiplied also."⁸⁰ This journal like the others, is a miscellany aimed at amusement and instruction. It contains a great deal of selected material and in its infancy seems to have lacked contributions from local people - a fate which its rival did not suffer. While they had received contributions of poetry, "we have not yet received even one in prose, to which we are more partial. Prose is the STAFF of literary life - Poetry is only its jelly and marmalade."⁸¹ This shortage does not seem to have lasted, for in a note to the readers at the end of the first volume, the publishers say that it had not been their intention to make the magazine as original as it had become. This did not, however, bring them success, and with the completion of Volume I in September 1843, the magazine ceased publication, the reason given being the lack of a "remunerating circulation."⁸²

Like the other two magazines, The Dundee, Perth and Arbroath Weekly Magazine put great emphasis on the contribution of young talent. None of them appears to have had any concern about literary standards and all are remarkably candid about their material. None puts their point of view more clearly than the Weekly Magazine. They admit that while some contributions were worthy of magazines of "higher pretensions," "perhaps others have not been so well written, yet the fact

that we had determined at the outset of our career, never to refuse any article, however tame, if it contained the mark and superscription of intrinsic merit, will plead our excuse in this point. To this resolution we intend to abide, and never to swerve from it, because the greater part of our contributors we know to be young persons, who are only trying their maiden powers of composition, and we consider it a heinous crime to look down with contempt and scorn upon the efforts of any youthful aspirant to fame, as some literary journals pretend to do."⁸³

This, and similar expressions previously mentioned, are very worthy as far as they go. Here were magazines willing to encourage the local populace to attempt literary composition, and being reasonably successful in getting their support. Nevertheless, it indicates a somewhat muddled attitude to publishing. Without commercial stability success could never be assured and the inclusion of what was admitted to be often inferior material was not the way to go about it. It is astonishing that the Perth and Dundee Saturday Journal which had deliberately cast this consideration aside, in fact lasted longer than any previous Dundee periodical publication. This is an indication in itself of the growing public demand. The avowed aim of these magazines was to give entertainment and improvement but it can be doubted if filling a magazine with "maiden attempts" of the local youth was the best way of achieving this. It may well have been, however, that these local magazines were not able to secure the

services of well qualified people to write for their publications. If they could not be financially viable with the contributors they had then there was little chance of success in obtaining well known contributors who would need to be paid even more. The lesson to be learned was the absolute necessity of catering for the readers' demands with a high standard of material while still encouraging the best of new talent, and this could only be done from a position of financial security and by a trained journalistic staff.

Not all periodicals at this time had a bias towards fiction.

Taylor's Weekly Magazine of Literature, Science and Rational Amusement which lasted for only eleven issues (June 10th-August 19th 1843) placed improvement first and amusement a poor second. There was an occasional short tale, but on the whole it consisted of weighty subjects often selected and very seldom dealt with in any depth. "The Horrors of Drunkenness" or "The Advance of Moral Science Reading" are typical examples of the type of material. It is strangely out of tune with contemporary productions. The gulf between it and its peers is seen from an article in the penultimate issue of August 12th on "Mechanics' Institutes - Their Nature and Advantages" which would have been more appropriate ten years earlier. When much lighter material was available to the public it is not surprising that this magazine - another penny Saturday weekly - was not a success. There were occasional abortive attempts in the following years to start other magazines in Dundee but none met with any success and it was to be 1855 before any new publications appeared and then as a direct result of the repeal of stamp duty.

In the rapid expansion of journalism during the first half of the nineteenth century provincial journalism had an important role often paralleling national developments. But what cannot be ignored is the fact that none of the provincial publications was successful. Some lasted for over a year, some about a year and a great many only a few months. There is no doubt that the difficulties facing a local production were immense. The paramount one was circulation. By its very nature a provincial periodical was limited in its appeal and in the early days only a very small section of the public was willing to buy such a publication. There were also the problems over contributors which the magazines of 1841 and 1843 highlighted. However the difficulty that was common to them all was the apparent prejudice against a local publication. As early as 1816, the organisers of The Independent were writing that there were people "who effect a superiority over their neighbours in matters of taste, and are very ready to scatter prejudices against all provincial literature."⁸⁴

The Dundee Magazine, 1822 talks of "the formidable obstacles" arising from the "prejudices entertained against provincial literature."⁸⁵ Twenty years later The Dundee, Perth and Arbroath Weekly Magazine was echoing similar sentiments about the difficulties of local publications⁸⁶. The source of this prejudice no doubt lies in the publications of Edinburgh and London. Dundee and district is close enough to Edinburgh for the capital to have had a considerable influence so that the prestige of Edinburgh publications would far outweigh that of the local town. They had a prominent place in libraries and reading rooms and

for the individual Blackwood's or Tait's was probably considered to be a 'better buy' than The Dundee Magazine or The Independent. Similarly when Chambers appeared there was no attempt to start a local journal in opposition and in the 1840's local magazines had to withstand the pressures of the Family Herald and the like. The Dundee, Perth and Arbroath Weekly Magazine saw quite clearly that its own difficulties were a result of the existence of "many metropolitan productions that are widely circulated, because justly appreciated."⁸⁷ If a local magazine was to succeed then it had to ensure an adequate circulation locally and to achieve this it needed to be a better publication than anything else available. Nothing like this had been produced and what had, was really too experimental to succeed. This point had been grasped in 1829 by The Dundee Miscellany :

"The circulation of the Miscellany must be confined almost entirely to Dundee and its immediate vicinity, and to insure the requisite circulation here, its pages must, we apprehend, be devoted almost exclusively to matters which are locally interesting, which are not to be handled, or not so well handled anywhere else."⁸⁸

The failure of successive magazines after this date would indicate that the lesson was not easily learned. The impact of cheap periodicals nationally circulated had to come first. But these local publications were not total failures. It meant at least that periodical journalism was a continuing factor in the provincial press for many years before the great expansion of 1855 and after. These

earlier attempts had lacked a sound financial base but by their very existence many problems of a local journal or paper had been highlighted and could be avoided in the future. From England they had taken the mixture of instruction and fiction and from Edinburgh the pattern for many articles with a Scottish flavour, although the problems of adapting a 'Scottishness' for their fiction had not yet been overcome. To all this they were able to add their own local elements which enabled them to maintain their own identity. From the start they never wavered from a strict policy of moral rectitude and the avoidance of offence to any group. The encouragement of local contributors also meant that a base had been created which could be built upon in the future. They also had found an audience, not yet fully developed, but at least one which had shown some desire for a local journal. What was still lacking was an established journalistic and commercial base from which to launch a periodical with the chance to be a long term success. The newspaper and magazine worlds were still separate but both were alive and developing. The concept of the Saturday newspaper and Saturday periodical was an accepted part of the journalistic world. The reading public was now articulate enough to demand news and amusement.

The key to future developments and successes was to lie in the bringing together of these elements. The growing market for cheap periodicals was there; to supply it, success would come to those who, financially secure, could produce a paper with news, instruction and entertainment and still maintain the local connection. In this new

pattern of journalism all the strands of the journalistic world in Scotland along with the other broader influences were to come together. The opportunity came in 1855 and it was to bring to Dundee journalism a pre eminence the like of which it had not previously experienced.

In 1851, Myles' Forfarshire Telegraph and Monthly Advertiser was published, the first of the Saturday papers in Dundee to include news as well as reviews and instructive articles plus a local section. Although it was not a success, (James Myles, a Dundee bookseller who was the proprietor and editor died in February of that year) it was a portent of things to come. Significantly, in this same year John Leng arrived in Dundee as the new editor of the Dundee Advertiser, and it was almost solely as a result of his efforts that Dundee gained for herself a reputation as a centre of journalism known throughout the country and beyond.

Notes

- 1 J.H. Miller, Literary History of Scotland, London, 1903, p.507.
- 2 Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader, London and Chicago, 1957, p.392.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Dundee Magazine and Caledonian Review, I, No.4, 1822, p.228.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Of the attempts at cheap magazines before 1832, the most notable was George Miller's The Cheap Magazine, 1813 which, at 4d., once achieved a circulation of 20,000 per month. (J.H. Miller, op. cit., pp.536-7.)
- 7 Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- 8 R.K. Webb, British Working Class Reader 1790-1848 Literary and Social Tensions, London, 1955, p.77.
- 9 Notice to Correspondents, Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, III, 1833.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid., IV, 1833, p.491.
- 12 Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man, Oxford, 1963, p.17.
- 13 For detailed discussion see, Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago, London, 1957.
- 14 William Chambers, A Memoir of Robert Chambers, Edinburgh, 1872, p.241.
- 15 James, op. cit., p.15.
- 16 Saturday Magazine ceased in 1844 and the Penny Magazine in 1846 .
- 17 Dalziel, op. cit., p.13.

- 18 Altick, op. cit., p.334; Dalziel, op. cit., p.8.
- 19 Tait's, I, 1832, p.724.
- 20 Altick, p.346.
- 21 Dalziel, p.183.
- 22 Altick, pp.342-346.
- 23 For a description of Penny Dreadful fiction see, Dalziel, op. cit., p.16ff.
- 24 Altick, Appendix C, pp.391-396.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Quoted in Dalziel, op. cit., p.24.
- 27 Family Herald, I, 1844, p.8.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 James, op. cit., p.42.
- 30 Dalziel, op. cit., p.55.
- 31 Altick, op. cit., p.347.
- 32 Dundee Weekly News, 17th May, 1856.
- 33 For a full account of the rise of newspapers in Scotland, see, R.M.W. Cowan, The Newspaper in Scotland: a Study of its First Expansion, Glasgow, 1946.
- 34 Cowan, op. cit., p.132.
- 35 Ibid., p.236.
- 36 Ibid., p.151.
- 37 Ibid., p.170.
- 38 A.P. Wadsworth, "Newspaper Circulation", Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society, March, 1955, p.6.

- 39 Cowan, op. cit., p.237.
- 40 Ibid., pp.143-144.
- 41 Ibid., p.146.
- 42 D.Walker Brown, Clydeside Litterateurs, Glasgow, 1897, pp.91-98.
- 43 A.C. Lamb, "Bibliography of Dundee Periodicals", Scottish Notes and Queries, III, 1889-90, pp.98-100, 115-117.
- 44 The Independent, No.1, Dundee, 1816, p.25.
- 45 Ibid., p.28.
- 46 Ibid., p.120.
- 47 The Dundee Magazine, I, No.1, Dundee, 1822, pp.3-4.
- 48 Ibid., p.41.
- 49 Ibid., I, No.2, p.104.
- 50 Named after James M'Cosh, a local publisher and printer.
- 51 Chambers, op. cit., p.189.
- 52 Scottish Notes and Queries, III, 1889-90, p.149.
- 53 The Caledonian, issued quarterly in 1820, cost 3/-, The Dundee Magazine of 1822 cost 1/6.
- 54 Dundee Advertiser, 1st January, 1824.
- 55 The Literary Olio, I, Dundee, 1824, p.65.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Ibid., No.7, 17th April, 1824.
- 58 The last apparent issue was No.14 on Saturday, 4th October, 1824 and not July, 1824, as Lamb states in his bibliography.
- 59 The Dundee Miscellany, Introduction, No.1, Dundee, 1829.
- 60 Ibid.

61 Ibid., p.14.

62 Scottish Notes and Queries, op. cit., p.167.

63 Ibid., pp.168-170.

64 Ibid., p.169.

65 This journal was printed and published in Perth, but in view of the area it covered, may be considered a local journal.

66 This particular journal appears to have ceased publication with the completion of Volume III on 1st June, 1844. Three weeks later The Perth and Dundee Journal appeared on 29th June but no reference was made to this being a new publication. The similarity in title of the two journals and the continuation of a serial from the Saturday Journal to the Perth and Dundee Journal would suggest that the latter was a continuation of the first although the printer and publisher were different in each case. It is not clear how long the Perth and Dundee Journal lasted. The last known issue was No.4, 25th January, 1845, but there may have been other issues which have since been lost.

67 Perth and Dundee Saturday Journal, I, Perth, 1841, p.1.

68 Ibid., Preface.

69 Ibid., p.113.

70 Ibid.

71 There was a gap of six weeks between No.25 on 14th May and No.26 on 2nd July

72 Perth and Dundee Saturday Journal, 2nd July, 1842.

73 Ibid., 5th March, 1842.

- 74 Ibid., 31st December, 1842.
- 75 Ibid., 9th September, 1843.
- 76 Ibid., 30th March, 1844.
- 77 See footnote 66.
- 78 Perth and Dundee Journal, 12th October, 1844.
- 79 Ibid., 1st September, 1844.
- 80 Dundee Perth and Arbroath Weekly Magazine, 7th April, 1843.
- 81 Ibid., 14th April, 1843.
- 82 It would seem that the publishers expected to fail: "Our Readers must have thought for themselves, that an ordinary provincial circulation at the small price charged, could not remunerate the publisher for the amount of original material furnished." (22nd September, 1843)
- 83 Ibid., 23rd June, 1843.
- 84 Advertisement, The Independent, No.1, 1816.
- 85 The Dundee Magazine, I, 1822, p.466.
- 86 Dundee Perth and Arbroath Weekly Magazine, 7th April, 1843.
- 87 Ibid.
- 88 The Dundee Miscellany, No.1, January, 1829.

Chapter 2

The Search for a Scottish Identity:
The Debt of Magazines and Fiction.

Scottish literature of the late nineteenth century has often been described as at best second rate and at worst maudlin ramblings of clerics turned journalists with an eye firmly fixed on monetary return rather than on literary merit.¹ Yet to adopt such a view, is to misunderstand not only the writings themselves (irrespective of intrinsic literary merit) but the very being of Scotland as a nation. Much of the writing in the pages of the People's Friend and in the Scottish fiction of the British Weekly is symptomatic of the state of the nation and often grew out of a struggle for a national identity which lasted throughout the nineteenth century and which was at its most critical in the middle of the century. This soul-searching was found in all spheres of life - political, ecclesiastical, social, and it is by attempting to understand these aspects of Scottish life, that the pressures and currents which found their way into literature and magazines must be viewed.

The basic dilemma which faced Scotsmen in the first half of the century, more strongly than at any time since 1707, was concerned with the question of a national identity. Was it possible to feel or write about a Scottish way of life in the shadow of the British Empire of which Scotland, as part of the United Kingdom, felt so proud? This sense of split identity was present from the

beginning of the century but not until the 1850's did it become a matter of general discussion. The early years of the century were ones in which the old independent Scotland was still visible both in the country and in the capital. Edinburgh was clearly the capital of a nation. The Scottish society of the eighteenth century still resided there; many, if not all of its members still spoke the Scots language; the law courts and their officers still occupied a strong position in society and it was, par excellence, the Age of Sir Walter Scott. And yet, paradoxically, his works which gave to Scotland an identity distinct from all others, also, in a sense, brought about this crisis of identity. He introduced the country to the world and in particular to the English. An interest in Scotland, which had never before existed perhaps since the seventeenth century, suddenly blossomed forth and was symbolized by George IV's visit to Scotland in 1822. At the same time changes in transport, the Industrial Revolution, the effect of the Napoleonic Wars were drawing the two nations of Great Britain together. "The Union at last was actually accomplished; and Scotland, for the first time in her history had ceased to be a province or separate kingdom."²

Yet to a large extent these forces of change did not impinge upon the minds of Scotsmen because of events at home. There was in the late 1820's the agitation over the Reform Bill and then hard on the heels of this came the Disruption crisis which convulsed the whole country for a decade from 1833 to 1843 and drove any other considerations into the background. One effect of the Disruption was that

it tended to give Scotland a sense of national independence once more, for it was an issue which was utterly Scottish and one about which the rest of the United Kingdom knew little and probably cared less. The only lasting effect was to fix the impression in English minds that Scotland was undoubtedly a country obsessed by religion to the exclusion of all else.³

The North British Review expresses the annoyance felt by many Scotsmen at the general ignorance and lack of interest which the rest of Britain showed towards Scotland and which had been highlighted by the Disruption and its aftermath. It was an event which the North British Review likened to the French Revolution with regard to its effect on the people, and yet outside Scotland next to nothing was known about it: "In a few years this poor nation of Scotland raised three millions of money in behalf of the ecclesiastical institution which they had been obliged to found, scattered churches over the land, provided dwellings for their pastors, secured them minimum incomes, and established new theological seminaries. And yet, to this day, there are myriads of Englishmen, otherwise intelligent, who never heard of the Disruption."⁴

This lack of interest, plus a growing concern about the manner of Scottish representation in Parliament, created in the early 1850's a movement which was a curious amalgam of various groups, with equally diverse demands. It illustrated the difficulties of identity faced by many leading Scotsmen. This movement, begun in 1851, was entitled the "National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights."

The demands of the movement, presented in their "Statement of Grievances" in July, 1853, varied from the re-creation of a Secretary of State and increased Parliamentary representation, to complaints about the quartering of the lion rampant in the arms displayed in Scotland and on the florin, and the removal of the imperial crown from above the supporting unicorn on the Great Seal. These 'insults' to Scotland were publicised and made an issue by, among others, William Burns, a Glasgow solicitor, aided by The Caledonian Mercury, a Glasgow newspaper. On January 23rd, 1853, a memorial was sent to the Lord Lyon King-of-Arms formally asking that these complaints should be remedied. On receiving no satisfaction, Burns and the Mercury continued the campaign, broadening it to complain of "England" being used instead of Great Britain, and of the state into which England had allowed the Scottish royal palaces to fall.

The eventual outcome was that the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights was formed and on November 2nd, 1853 a meeting was held in Edinburgh. By this time several leading Scotsmen had become involved including the Earl of Eglinton, Sir Archibald Alison, and Professor W.E. Aytoun. That such a motley collection of demands would be realised was hardly to be expected. The combination of what possibly were legitimate demands for Parliamentary reform, with those concerning such matters as Royal Arms, resulted in none of them being treated with much seriousness and after the failure of a petition to the House of Lords, the movement collapsed.

In itself a short-lived and unsuccessful movement, it is, nevertheless, important for it brought into the open the feelings which were perplexing many Scotsmen about the position of their country. The Society, as a whole, with a membership of three thousand, including thirteen peers and thirty-nine town councils cannot be looked upon, in the words of the North British Review, as a "truly national movement." The Dundee Advertiser, while sympathising with some of its views, probably echoed the general sentiment when it stated that, as a movement, it "will end in discussion and little more." Such a movement built around some rather romantic demands, with only one Member of Parliament in its membership and no associates in Dundee or Aberdeen was doomed to failure. Yet it did raise a certain interest in nationalist sentiment which was to last, more or less unchanged for most of the century. No one, inside or outside the movement, contemplated the ending of the Union of 1707. Lord Eglinton, a leading member, said, "Nothing shall ever induce me to lend my aid to anything which shall sow dissension - to anything which can have the effect of sowing dissension between the two countries," and even the North British Review which was more sympathetic than most towards the Association was nigh to eulogistic about the Union: "Increased quiet, increased commerce and wealth, increased liberty, increased civilization - these have been the consequences to Scotland of the once detested Union."⁵ While sentiment like this might be less expected in Scotland, in England the reaction was explicit. The Times dismissed it "as a parcel of trash

about Bannockburn and sticks of sulphur of which a schoolboy in his calmer moment might feel ashamed."⁶ Nor did their correspondents adopt a less forthright tone. A "Scotch by birth" writing in the Times, while agreeing that there were certain grievances, issued a warning to his fellow countrymen : "I trust that they are not now to become addicted to grumbling - it is a certain sign of decrepitude, dimness of vision, failing strength, and the other infirmities of old age."⁷

However the most brutal reaction towards the whole affair came in Parliament when Lord Panmure, in the course of discussion of the petition said, "he thought the less they drew attention to the position of Scotland and Scotchmen the better it would be for that country which had enjoyed its share of the leaves and fishes."⁸ In this he was supported by Lord Aberdeen who observed that "nowadays no one knew in Parliament who was English and who was Scotch."⁹

When all the talk of complaints is set aside, it is these last remarks which come nearest to the heart of the matter. Most Scotsmen were aware of the advantages which Scotland had gained from the Union and had no desire to break it. Because of this, and because of a realisation that perhaps they were not being given an equal share in the Union, they had to find some outlet for their national sentiment. Political independence was not the issue and any grievances could only be met through existing parliamentary procedures. How then could British interests be balanced against Scottish patriotism which had undoubtedly been given a boost by this movement? The answer was found,

to the satisfaction of most people, by concentrating on those aspects of life which were peculiarly Scottish and through which Scotland, while not compromising her position in the United Kingdom as mother of the Empire, could channel her patriotic fervour.

From the late 1850's onward there appeared in rapid succession many books concerned with what was usually termed "Scottish life and character." The avowed aim of these books was to present what the authors considered to be a true picture of the Scots as people - their attitudes and outlook. The idea was to present a picture of Scotland which, most were agreed, was rapidly disappearing. In the expansion of nineteenth century Britain a sudden desire to maintain something of Scotland's past manifested itself. The success of these books was remarkable, and interest in them was by no means confined to Scotland.

Interest was possibly never greater than in 1861, a year which illustrated the extremes this microscopic study of Scottish life could invoke: Scotland, the land o' cakes and rampant nationalism; Scotland, the land of dark, intolerant and forbidding religion with the people cowering under the retributive hand of the clergy; Scotland, a land of wit and humour with pawky servants, benign clerics and eccentric judges. All these pictures were presented with total seriousness by their respective authors in that year which saw not only the laying of the foundation stone of the monument to William Wallace, but also the publication of two of the most influential books on Scotland: the second series of Dean Ramsay's Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character and H.T. Buckle's History of the Civilization of England, Volume II.

The pattern to be followed by most writers on Scottish life was set by Ramsay. Edward Bannerman Ramsay was born in Scotland in 1793 but spent much of his childhood in England where he was educated. He was a curate in England before returning to Scotland to St. John's Church, Edinburgh. Although a minister of the Scottish Episcopal Church, he was a man of broad religious sympathy and numbered Dr. Chalmers among his friends. It is, however, his writings on Scottish life for which he is remembered. In 1857 he delivered two lectures on "Changes in Social Life and Habits" which he rewrote and enlarged into Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character. Success was immediate and long lasting. Twenty-one editions were printed before his death and others after it.

His aim and purpose was that his book "should depict a phase of national manners which was fast passing away, and thus, in however humble a department, contribute something to the materials of history, by exhibiting social customs and habits of thought which at a particular era were characteristic of a race."¹⁰ The book is a collection of stories and anecdotes which he takes to be representative of the various aspects of Scottish life. The divisions he makes were followed by other writers who were only too eager to show that their inspiration had come from Dean Ramsay. He did strive to relate characteristics of the people to their development. He describes religious changes over the years from the one time lack of church attendance by the upper classes to the new interest brought about by the Disruption. His stories then illustrate such features of life.

Drinking habits amongst the upper classes is the topic of one chapter while another is about "The Old Scottish Domestic Servant" who is depicted as extremely down to earth, familiar with the household for whom he worked, and often rude to the employer for whom, nevertheless, he felt a great deal of sympathy and affection. Great emphasis is put on the role of Scots language in the humour of the characteristics described. Ramsay is fully conscious of the passing of the language; of the social stigma attached to those speaking Scots and of its inherent humour. Individuality was dying with the language. Ramsay does not bemoan the passing of this world but hopes that the values it upheld will be maintained. Herein lies the secret of his success. He never suggests that the picture he is painting still exists but he does formulate the opinion that the underlying values and sentiments can still be retained. Values which are an integral part of patriotism: "Love of country must draw forth good feeling in men's minds, as it will tend to make them cherish a desire for its welfare and improvement... The love of country, then, we would advocate, not as a matter of pride or as a mere sentiment, but as a principle..."¹¹ Ramsay had succeeded in showing a true national spirit for what was essentially Scottish without in any way opposing the union. His work was greeted with universal compliments for he had illustrated to Scots what he saw as those peculiarly Scottish characteristics at a time when it was feared they no longer existed. His love for the past was linked to his hopes for the future.

Mrs. Oliphant writing in Blackwood's about Ramsay's book, could say, "the same current flows from Cornwall to Orkney, the same impulse moves the entire island,"¹² and at the same time praise Ramsay for preserving the world now gone; a past which she saw as the most important of national possessions. The North British Review which had earlier shown sympathy for the Statement of Grievances saw in Ramsay an appropriate expression of nationality for mid century Britain: "It is, therefore with much cordiality, though not in a spirit of narrow or illiberal nationality that we welcome these illustrations of Scottish life and character, and express our admiration of the patriotic spirit which prompts and pervades them."¹³ By reading the book, the article continues, it is easy to feel more "intensely" Scottish, "yet not less liberally Scottish."

A desire to "feel Scottish" at a time when those attributes traditionally associated with the nation were rapidly disappearing was the driving force behind all the attempts to delineate Scottish character. If Ramsay's books had been unique, then the effect might have been fleeting. But they were only one element, albeit the most popular, among many which were to influence the development of what was to be considered "Scottish." Ramsay's anecdotes of saintly and not so saintly clerics, of fierce and wise servants, of powerful old maids, all possessing in some degree or other a dry, often innocent sense of humour and speaking Scots, set off what developed into a mania for collecting "authenticated" stories of such people. All these stories were complimenting the Scots for their 'canniness',

sense of religion, and, above all, their humour (for Sydney Smith's statement that the Scots possessed no humour still rankled.) But this view was not undisputed.

In 1861, Henry Thomas Buckle published the second volume of his History of the Civilization of England which he planned as the magnum opus of his life. This volume, continuing the background to the main subject of his work and illustrating his historical method, was concerned with Spain and, particularly Scotland: the development of Scottish character in the seventeenth century and the effect on the Scottish people. His historical approach has similarities to the works of men like Ramsay. Buckle wished to classify each nation according to the nature of its thought and to move the discussion of national characteristics to a higher level than anecdotal reminiscence.¹⁴ The volume is almost totally dominated by the history of Scotland: an indication of the fascination which Scotland had for Englishmen like Buckle. The significance of this volume, however, for Scottish character in the nineteenth century lies not with Buckle's historical method but with his conclusions. Spain and Scotland he regarded as two countries dominated and cowed by intolerant religion which had irrevocably shaped the destiny of each. The philosophers of the eighteenth century had totally failed to make any impact on the people just as the literature of that century was equally without effect. The sense of superstition was too strong in the people. Moreover this state of mind persisted in the contemporary scene, according to Buckle. Scotland, he saw, as a country where individuals

were terrified to speak out against superstition and where, "toleration is so little understood and persecution so extensively diffused."¹⁵ As for religion; "The Churches are as crowded as they were in the Middle Ages, and are filled with devout and ignorant worshippers, who flock together to listen to opinions of which the Middle Ages alone were worthy. Those opinions they treasure up, and, when they return to their homes, or enter into the daily business of life, they put them in force."¹⁶ It was inevitable that Scots, busily engaged on assessing their country's role, would react to Buckle's views. And equally inevitable was the hostility of that reaction. In their defence Scots made use of the ideas described and praised by Ramsay and his coadjutors. One of the most objectionable remarks of Buckle had been his linking of Catholic Spain with Presbyterian Scotland. While Spain had declined, Scotland had rapidly advanced as part of the great British Empire. "The actual condition of Scotland," as Chambers pointed out, was "a country full of active, intelligent, industrious people."¹⁷ The North British Review which found the suggestion equally offensive, dismissed Buckle's claims as of "marked exaggeration, reaching to absurdity."¹⁸ The charge of the intolerance of religion was summarily dealt with. The Covenanters, it was pointed out, were fighting for their religion and were not being terrified by it. Besides, the Presbyterian form of religion by its very nature could not be priest dominated for, "of all the clergies on the face of the earth, the clergy of Scotland have been and are the most people-ridden."¹⁹ The result of Buckle's attack on

Scotland in an area of great sensitivity - her religion, was that as many generalisations were made in defence of Scotland as he had made in criticism. Opinions about Scotland were now being accepted as true, often without recourse to facts.

If Buckle represents one view of Scotland then those involved in the Wallace Monument escapade represent the other extreme, and further illustrate how an accepted view of Scottish culture and character was formulated. Unlike Buckle who saw contemporary Scotland formed from events in the seventeenth century, these people looked back to the fourteenth century when Scotland won independence, and to the glories personified by Robert the Bruce and William Wallace. On June 24th, 1856, a meeting was held to institute a committee to raise funds for a monument to Wallace on the Abbey Craig near Stirling. Meetings were held all over Scotland and after five years enough money had been raised to start building. On June 24th, 1861 the foundation stone was laid. The ceremony was on a grand scale with bands, banners, the sword of Bruce, accompanying many dignitaries in a procession to the Abbey Craig. It was an occasion when Scottish national feeling could be given visual expression. While many of the speeches at the dinner which followed, illustrate the more romantic, determinedly Scottish character, there was the curious split between the present represented by Empire and the past which was slipping further away. Dominating both views was the relationship to England which, for many, was the central issue in Scottish character. The most clearly anti-English feeling was represented by Professor John Stuart Blackie who saw Scotland's position declining: "They do all they can to swindle

us out of the soul which inspired those compositions, by insulting our national character, by trampling on our national institutions, by making a profane jest of our most sacred traditions, and by doing all they can to annihilate our national characteristics, and erase our name and superscription from the medalled history of the British island."²⁰ But in spite of this, he saw Scotland's character ensured by Scott and Burns who "stereotyped it for all ages."²¹ Blackie represents one view of Scotland which saw little fault and much good in the past which should continue to serve for the future. "We must always be Scotchmen, and grow out of our own Scottish root."²² This nationalistic attitude was not shared by all. Curiously, an attempt was made to link England and Scotland through the monument. The Earl of Elgin in 1856 at the inaugural meeting had stated that, "if the whole truth were to be told in this matter, we might show that England owes to Wallace and Bruce a debt of obligation only second to that which is due to them by Scotland."²³ Again at the laying of the foundation stone, the idea that Wallace had been for imperial good was emphasised because he had allowed Scotland to maintain her independence in order that union could come later by mutual consent and lead to success which could not have been achieved through force. The theme of amity between the two nations was echoed by an Englishman in his speech on Scottish Nationality, when he said, "Scottish Nationality, is not weakness, not jealousy, not dissension, but one of the main pillars and supports of the whole British empire."²⁴

Thus, once more, the duality in mid nineteenth century Scottish

thought is portrayed: the desire to be part of an increasingly affluent and powerful empire had to be reconciled with a desire to keep a national identity. Surprisingly few people reflected on this movement for identity in its various forms. Two periodicals - Blackwood's and Macmillan's made the attempt. In an article, "Scotland and her Accusers,"²⁵ Mrs. Oliphant discerned three pictures of Scotland. The first was a recognizable caricature of shrewd, clear-sighted people with no humour but a desire to make good and a fortune and then return to their native land. This, she wrote, had existed for over two centuries and contained some truth. The second picture was that presented by Buckle and the last the "rampant nationality" of Professor Blackie based upon the wars with England of earlier centuries. The inaccuracy of the last two pictures of Scotland was, in Mrs. Oliphant's opinion, obvious from the present state of the nation. She referred to the rapid growth of towns and increasingly modern methods in the country. As for literature, it was only necessary to refer to Edinburgh of fifty years earlier. It is, perhaps, significant, that Mrs. Oliphant, while praising modern methods in industry and commerce, saw no need to comment on the current state of literature but relied on the glories of a half century earlier. Like Mrs. Oliphant, David Masson in Macmillan's²⁶ adopts a clearer perspective in commenting on Buckle's thesis without concentrating on it as an attack upon Scotland. It is probably significant that both Scots were writing outside Scotland and could adopt a more thoughtful perspective avoiding the pitfalls of over-reaction.

Nevertheless the fact that Scotland's situation was considered a subject worthy of so much discussion (Masson spends three lengthy articles reviewing Buckle) is indicative of the high level of interest aroused. Not that interest at such a pitch was long maintained. The opening of the Wallace Monument in 1869 attracted hardly any attention nor had sufficient money even been collected. Demands for legislative changes lessened and, in the 1880's when the National Liberal Federation demanded home rule for Scotland, reaction was generally hostile and even supporters of home rule seemed lukewarm.

The events and publications of the late 1850's and early 60's show clearly the dilemma faced by many educated Scots over the true identity of their country. The ideas they were formulating about Scottish life and character need to be seen in perspective. These occurrences had resulted in certain images of Scotland becoming generally accepted not only inside the country, but also in England and the world at large. Views on Scots were fixed by the writings of Ramsay and of Buckle and by the reactions to Buckle's book. An image of Scotland was widely agreed upon. The future was to utilise the picture, to embellish it and to make it an accepted part of the Scottish ethos. However such a situation could not have been brought about and sustained merely by the reminiscences of an elderly cleric, nor the posturings of "rampant nationalism" nor the theoretical ideas of an English historian. They all served to direct thoughts in a certain direction, allowing later writers to mould them to late nineteenth century ideas and aims. But it must not be forgotten that Ramsay and others of this time were working from a stream of

thought about Scottish life which already existed.

To delineate 'authentic' pictures of Scottish life and character had always been a feature of Scottish literature. The nineteenth century, however, saw no need to go further back than Robert Burns. His poetry represented what was essential in Scottish life - or to be more accurate, the picture presented in "A Cotter's Saturday Night" was seen as the ideal of rural life in Scotland. The humour, the religiousness, the simple family life, the appeal to Scotland's past, the sentiment all symbolised what the trusty Scottish peasant stood for. Eighteenth century rural life was the ideal for nineteenth century industrial Scotland. Moreover, Burns was no local poet, but was revered furth of Scotland, so there was all the more reason to regard his picture as that of the 'Ur Scot'.

Inevitably linked with the name of Burns was that of Walter Scott. Writing at a time when changes in Scotland were becoming clear to many, he was, through his description of Scottish scenery and his delineation of Scottish characters, to confirm and add to the image of Scotland as she had been. Other writers in the early years of the century contributed to the picture of Scottish life. John Galt's novels set the pattern by which later authors determined the representative Scottish characters - the minister, the laird, the schoolmaster, the local worthy, the Scottish old maid and widow. Brands of humour by which the whole nation was judged and which formed the base of many fictional serials and series were established by Galt. The portrayal of the apparently innocent Scot who possesses much

sharpness of wit or the naive Scot in the face of sophistication can be found in many of Galt's novels - Annals of the Parish, The Provost, The Entail. These characteristics were used by Ramsay and others for anecdotes from real life. Images like this were developed in specifically humorous literature like D.M. Moir's Mansie Wauch and inspired many stories and serials in magazine literature of the latter part of the century.

Poverty of the lower classes (a theme frequently developed by John Leng & Co.) was the subject of Elizabeth Hamilton's much neglected novel, The Cottagers of Glenburnie written as early as 1808. Mrs. Hamilton exhibits many of the facets of life which were to be copied in later years. She is aware of the subtle distinctions of society: between the higher reaches of the gentry; Lord Langland, and the farmers represented by Mr. Stewart of Gowanbrae; and between the farmer and the cottagers such as Mrs. MacClarty, unaware of the squalor of her surroundings, or the Morrisons who represent the honest labourer who, by his own efforts, can improve his position in life. The didactic purpose of the novel is never far from the surface but the moral is traditional. The MacClartys, in spite of their filth, are a family who say grace before meals and are not unaffected by religion. The death scene of Mrs. MacClarty with the repentance of her wayward son illustrates the exalted position of the peasant - an often used theme of magazine fiction: "...That faith and that hope which transform the death-bed of the cottager into a scene of glory, on which kings and conquerors might look with envy, and in

comparison of which all the grandeur of the world is contemptible."²⁷

In the end, the MacClartys who will not help themselves must be doomed, just as on the next social level, Bell Stewart is wrong to strive for social position. The revelation that her husband is the son of a shoemaker and not from the upper classes is her punishment. People like this, concludes the author, "by giving a false bent to ambition, have undermined our national virtues, and destroyed our national character."²⁸ The ordinary cottagers, like Morrison who becomes a schoolmaster, who strive to improve the village and themselves are the heroes. Praise for the common people, showing their moral rectitude as opposed to the many frivolities of the upper classes; the idea of self-help and the realistic description of ordinary life in a small community were ideals which found their way not only into popular fiction in the second half of the century, but into the precepts of popular journals like the People's Friend. Sixty four years after its first publication, the People's Friend commented that, "a new generation is rising up, by whom it should be read and pondered,"²⁹ when a new edition was issued.

Ordinary people formed the central subject for descriptions of Scottish life and manners. Professor John Wilson's Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life, 1822, is about ordinary folk, mainly shepherds, and their lives and deaths. As a book it dwells upon death and funerals with much sentimentality. However it is the pervading religious influence which is most significant. Wilson's ministers are old men somewhat like Old Testament prophets who give stern but,

in their eyes, just punishment to the morally wayward. More often than not death is the only means for repentance. Wilson represents that side of Scottish life which Buckle was to condemn. The Covenanters are portrayed in a highly romanticised light, fighting bravely for their strong and stern religion. This religion is, in many of the stories, the keystone of family life. It sustains in bereavement and is never forgotten inwoe. Once again family life in the cottage is put forward as the ideal of Scottish life. It is a much more stern picture than Burns or Mrs. Hamilton presents. The Caledonian in Dundee commented, "The tales of sadness are deep and pathetic, - such as the genius of our country loves; while those of joy are mixed with soberness which becomes beings in whose lot there is so much sorrow."³⁰ Although presented in the garb of fiction, and almost forty years before the flourishing of anecdotes, it was regarded as a realistic, historical record of a manner of life now passing.

"It is a most interesting record of many habits and feelings, which, unfortunately for the country, are fast passing away. We are glad that such an author has appeared in Scotland; for we consider such writings as calculated to have the happiest effect, both upon the feelings of the public, and upon the literature of the day."³¹

In this comment can be seen the desire which Ramsay and others were to express later that a similar spirit should pervade contemporary life. Nor are such sentiments far removed from the aims of men like John Leng or William Robertson Nicoll. As happened so often

generalisations about life were to be made from a few instances, and not all saw Wilson's book as giving a true description. A later article in The Caledonian described them as "for the most part sketches from Fancy by refined taste, and not likenesses from life; scenes which the delicate mind of a good man delights to contemplate, - what might be, rather than what is."³² Real or not, Wilson's stories contributed to the continuing process of capturing Scottish life. Nor was success limited to the time of their first publication. They were republished in 1843 and over four thousand copies were sold in one month, "a much larger sale than even the first class original works usually command in Britain."³³ Galt's characters of humour and wit and Wilson's stern, deeply religious figures were both aspects of the final image of Scottish life. Extracts from Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life were still appearing in the columns of periodicals over twenty years after first publication.³⁴ Such contrasts between sadness and humour were never seen as incongruous in the portrayal of Scottish character, but as an inherent part of Scottish life. The contrast was apparent in Wilson himself - the author of much wit and satire in Noctes Ambrosianae and of religious sincerity in his Lights and Shadows.

The setting in which these 'characteristic' Scots were placed, was usually a country one. Elizabeth Hamilton had shown how a village could be improved and Wilson described what he saw as the ideal cottage: an ideal which was remarkably appealing. An article

in the Angus Album (1835), entitled "A Chapter on Kail-Yards" (singularly prophetic in view of the later literary development) illustrates the concept of the sanctity of the rural home. The author sees in the kail-yard attached to the cottage a scene perfect for the joys and sorrows of life, and a beauty which adds to the landscape. It is, "a city of peaceful refuge to thoughts that require to be soothed, and feelings that may be softened."³⁵ At a time of bereavement it can act as a shelter, or the place of worship. Of special importance to parents on the death of a child, "then is his kail-yard to him (and to her whose grief is deep and clamorous) the shelter of a rock in a weary land."³⁶ The similarity of these sentiments to those expressed by Ian Maclaren in "Domsie" in Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush is startling. The earlier article even quotes the poem, "There grows a bonny brier bush in that Kail-Yard." Man's spiritual comfort through communing with Nature is very apparent in this article. Wilson had touched on this in Lights and Shadows where it was often on the desolate hillside that the greatest of spiritual experiences would take place. City life could not be united with the "simplicity and sincerity of a kail-yard,"³⁷ for it was only there that one could come nearest to man's innocence before the Fall. Man must, therefore, "assume the life, the feelings, and the habits of the cottager, and quietly, contentedly, seat himself within the purer atmosphere, and more hallowed recesses of a cottager's 'kail-yard'... and there will man, resuming all that on earth can be resumed of his primeval happiness, be found conversing with his Maker."³⁸

This romantic vision written in 1833 is indicative of the disappearing rural society. The suspicion of cities is made apparent and the delight in country life, following the tradition of Burns is seen as a genuine sensation. Even later in the century when the majority of Scots lived in cities, the value of country life was maintained. The People's Friend often contained articles on the country as a place of rest and regeneration and much of its fiction is set against a country backdrop. The social structure of a country parish was destroyed in the new urban setting. It was not only in literature that the country idea was sustained. Dr. Chalmers, for example, saw the solution of the problems of the cities in the pattern of a country parish.³⁹ The sadness at the passing of the old social order was sincere, and many like Chalmers were only too aware of the polarisation of class in the cities. Chambers' Journal, as late as 1854, discusses the widening gap in class.⁴⁰ No longer was there social intercourse between farmer and servant; gone were the days of the Edinburgh tenement where all levels of society lived together. Now one class - the workers - was to be found in city centres, while the middle classes moved to the rapidly developing west end. The changing nature of the relationship between social classes as between master and servant formed an important part of the reminiscences of anecdoteists where stories of the familiarity between master and servant were a vital part of any book. This old order of mutual respect between classes often entered fiction where the 'lower' class had a dominant role. The People's Friend maintained

the idea of a relatively classless Scottish society where individual merit rose above social position.

The idea of change in the nation is the connecting theme between Burns, Scott and other early nineteenth century writers; the actions illustrated by the events of 1861 and later developments at the end of the century. While Burns was writing about contemporary life, writers from Scott onwards looked to what had passed or was passing. In the early years of the century the changing society was seen in works like Lights and Shadows or Hogg's Tales of the Ettrick Shepherd. Such books show what the authors believed were real life situations embodying the ideals of Scottish character. The grievances voiced in 1854 or in the Wallace Monument^{movement} highlight how a sense of unease at a changing world was given political and physical reality. Developing from this were the socio-historical studies and anecdotes which continued to the end of the century and beyond.

Not that such books were peculiar to the second half of the century. As early as 1825, a James Mitchell published a book entitled, The Scotsman's Library ; being a Collection of Anecdotes and Facts Illustrative of Scotland and Scotsmen. This was a book of short paragraphs and anecdotes on such diverse topics as historical characters, old laws and population statistics. The sentiment of the Preface however indicates a confidence in the present not shared by later writers. "Her present condition is the delight and admiration of her sons." To attempt to capture some of this lost identity was the aim of most later writers.

In 1841 The Laird of Logan, or Anecdotes and Tales Illustrative of the Wit and Humour of Scotland was published. Dedicated to Prince Albert, it was edited by three individuals, two of whom were journalists. Containing many so called humorous stories, the book contains 'typical' characters - the caustic, the naive humourist, the cleric as well as Scots language. The book was immensely popular and had sold over six thousand copies by 1845. Success like this is indicative of the appetite and market for material contained in these books. Ramsay's success was even greater ten years later when he developed the ideas and linked them to analysis of the true nature of the Scot. Great was the demand of Scots 'to know themselves'. Without a widespread desire on the part of the public, success would not have been achieved by the authors. The need to accept unique qualities in Scots would not have arisen solely from fiction. Only because many of the portraits illustrative of Scottish life and character were based on reality could acceptance readily occur. Fact and fiction was often united in the personality of the writer. Two men personifying what came to be regarded as inherently Scottish characteristics were Alexander and John Bethune. In 1838 and 1841 they published their Tales of the Scottish Peasantry in which are delineated many features of Scottish life. The fleetness of joy and acceptance of sorrow is reflected in "Margaret Clinton" while "The Covenanter's Grave" tells of the fortitude of those fighting for, as the nineteenth century saw it, their liberty. It is not, however, the stories which are so significant (the preface

to the 1884 edition is concerned not with their intrinsic merit but with their importance as illustrating the life of the peasantry at the beginning of the century) but the lives of the authors which were very much lived in shadow. Both brothers were self educated and remained in poverty all their lives. Yet it was this fact which formed their philosophy of life and gave them an aim in writing.

"What they wished to teach, above everything else, was truth, morality, and that self-dependence which was so very characteristic of their own lives."⁴¹ This was true of most self-made men who subsequently wrote, and as a sentiment it pervaded both fiction and publications. Alexander was, in spite of his poverty, highly independent. "I would prefer poverty and an obscure death, with an honest independence of thought and principle, to wealth and eminence procured by fawning upon the rich and flattering lordly patrons."⁴² Such sentiment confirmed the idealistic picture of Scottish life and pervaded periodical fiction produced by John Leng & Co.

The rapidity and ease with which the mid and late nineteenth century accepted an image of Scotland must be related to the spate of biography and autobiography of Scotsmen then produced. From 1860 onwards there were fewer and fewer men who could personally remember the Scotland of the eighteenth century and even those who had memories handed down to them by their parents were in late middle or old age. The relevance of their biographies is that they confirmed many of the earlier ideas embodied in fiction of the early nineteenth century. and the sentiments expressed publicly in the fifties and sixties.

It was at the height of the controversy over Scottish grievances in 1854 that Hugh Miller's My Schools and Schoolmasters appeared in book form. (It had first appeared in the pages of The Witness.) Miller describes the influences on his development and his life up to his appointment as editor of The Witness. His experiences at school and, later, his journeys as a mason to various parts of the country give him the opportunity to point out many moral dangers for the lower groups of society. The position of farm servants finds his particular attention. They are forced to live in bothies with the consequence, as he sees it, that, "the Scottish people will sink, to a certainty, in the agricultural districts, from being one of the most provident, intelligent, and moral in Europe, to be one of the most licentious, reckless, and ignorant."⁴³ Conscious of the changes affecting Scotland, it is the development of Miller himself, which gave encouragement to the description of Scottish character. Miller represents a perfect example of the 'lad o' pairts', oft regarded as one of Scotland's greatest achievements. A voracious reader as a child, he had the elements of religion instilled in him at an early age. His description of family worship in Gaelic at his uncle's home, highlights his developing religious sense. Later as a mason, resting in his barrack without candle light, "I was enabled, though sometimes at the expense of a headache, to prosecute a new tract of reading which had just opened to me, and in which, for a time, I found much amusement."⁴⁴ Determination to help oneself in the struggle against such odds was regarded as being available to

anyone in Scotland. H.G. Reid could write in 1871 that in the North intellectual activity could be found even in the humblest home and he used Hugh Miller as his prime example of the lowly rising to the heights, although there were many like him who might have done the same.⁴⁵ That Miller was aware that his book would have a place in the discussion about character can be adduced from his Preface where he states the interest the book might have. "will be an interest chiefly derivable from the glimpses which it furnishes of the inner life of the Scottish people, and its bearing on what has been somewhat clumsily termed 'the condition-of-the-country' question."⁴⁶

Miller was but one of many then writing about life as it was at the turn of the century. In 1861, that productive year, there appeared not only Chambers' Domestic Annals of Scotland, but My Own Life and Times 1741-1814 by Thomas Somerville and the autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, each of which added to the detail of life in Scotland for which the demand was so great. The late appearance of these eighteenth century documents is symptomatic of the continuing revival of interest in a way of life which had passed or was passing by 1861. Six years later appeared a biography by the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod, Reminiscences of a Highland Parish in which he tells of his father's life as a parish minister. The whole essence of the book confirms the idea of the central role of the minister in a parish, of his spiritual relationship with parishioners and the centrality of religious experiences. We learn of the old man's farewell to his congregation and of his death

surrounded by his children. There is a chapter "Churchyards and Funerals" describing appropriate events and the reactions of the people witnessing them. Loyalty of old family retainers is not forgotten nor is the ideal pattern of rural life. The schoolmaster, another important character in delineating Scottish life, has a chapter devoted to him. "Take them all in all they were a singular body of men, their humble homes, and poor salaries and hard work, presenting a remarkable contrast to their manners, abilities, and literary culture."⁴⁷ Village fools are treated sympathetically and their position in the community is shown as a privileged one. The most moving chapter is that on "The Communion Sunday" when Macleod shows the importance attached by all to the event. The tone of the chapter is of the reverence and seriousness with which this event is received. Above all, he brings out the simplicity of the ceremony. The reverence for religion, shown earlier in fiction by Professor Wilson, is reflected here. It is a view which is very different from the boisterous, gay picture of an eighteenth century open air communion portrayed, for example, in Burns' "The Holy Fair." Religious influence on people's lives; the character of the aged and venerated minister had been confirmed from true examples. The process of describing Scottish character could continue drawing illustrations and strength from authenticated examples. Further evidence to back up the picture of true Scottishness was provided in 1872 with the publication of William Chambers, Memoir of my Brother. Here was another example of Scotsmen

overcoming their early difficulties and achieving a pre-eminent position. By their work, the Chambers brothers embodied the belief that the ideals of earlier generations could be carried on into the latter part of the century. They were living embodiments of true Scottish character.

The fund of material which anecdoteists could draw upon was immense. The search for identity which had flourished in the 1860's was sustained not only by the example of literature set by Burns and Scott and continued into the nineteenth century, but also by the appearance of these biographies. A pattern had grown out of the search for essentially Scottish characteristics, symbolised by the events of 1853-54 and the Wallace Monument. A view of Scottish life and manners acceptable to most Scots was forming. Books like Dean Ramsay's had shown how this impression could be presented and discussed. From this, later writers were to draw material, making changes in it as the years passed.

The same subjects were dealt with: humour, superstition, the Scottish minister, language, the ordinary man. The aim of many writers, however, was to find new anecdotes. Stories would be taken from sources like Macleod, Miller etc. but often such stories would be claimed, by the writers, as appearing for the first time. As the years passed, the desire to delineate and analyse Scottish character declined. Writers already had pre-conceived ideas on Scottish life and aimed only to find stories to fit the already established pattern. The passage of time

brought an inevitable difficulty. While Ramsay, writing in 1858 or 1861 could remember the events of fifty years earlier, by the 1880's books of anecdotes were being written at second or third hand. Consequently a blurring of the period being described occurred. Characteristics which had been contemporary in the 1820's or 1830's were slowly being extended to cover later years. So that, in 1884, one writer explained his reasons for his book thus: "I am convinced that many of the sayings and doings of our countrymen, thirty and forty years ago, deserve to be recorded, and this is the strongest reason I have for undertaking the issue of the present volume."⁴⁸ This meant that what had once been regarded as typical of 1820 was now typical of 1850. However, the quoting of old stories is not in itself important, but the idea that lay behind it: the moral nature of Scottish character. This aspect of life was vital whether in anecdotes, periodicals or fiction.

There was always a desire, whether explicitly stated or not, to say something about what the values and morals of contemporary nineteenth century Scottish society should be. The morality and sober life of the cottage family of those days when Scotland still had a national identity was held up as an example for all. The drunkenness and irreligiousness of the upper classes was always condemned and the upholding by the middle classes of the nineteenth century of a highly moral and, at least, externally religious life was always praised. There was, however, a problem with the lower classes. Drunkenness was rife; (which The Times

pointed to with relish as a Scottish characteristic) the morality of many country districts was doubtful and housing, especially in the towns, was atrocious. These were aspects of contemporary Scotland of which the delineators of Scottish character were all too painfully aware. While men like Chalmers, Begg and Guthrie tried to do something practical, the maintenance of values associated with the ideal picture of family life in the cottage, were regarded as having contemporary relevance. The authors of the Laird of Logan and Dean Ramsay were conscious of a moral purpose. "I have omitted every story which I conceived might possibly give offence, whether from . . . trespassing upon delicacy and moral propriety, or trenching upon the reverence due to sacred things."⁴⁹ Later authors like Dr. Charles Rogers or H.G. Reid saw their books as "a stimulus to individual culture and collective progress."⁵⁰ To this end views of eighteenth century life and literature could be turned to suit their purposes. Hence the praise of "A Cottar's Saturday Night" at the expense of Burns' other poetry. Thus Mrs. Hugh Miller in her Preface to her husband's Tales and Sketches sees in Burns a danger to the lower classes who are not yet "refined and elevated" but where "mid-night orgies continue to prevail, and where every idea of pleasure is connected with libertinism and the bottle."⁵¹ Charles Rogers, who had no small faith in nineteenth century civilization in Scotland which since 1800 had "marched onward with a steady pace,"⁵² saw Burns as one who had "depicted the simple joys of rural life

with a naturalness which comes home to every bosom."⁵³ By continually showing the moral worth of the past they were attempting to influence the present and future - an aim identical to that of John Leng.

One man representative of nearly all the inter-relating movements connected with Scottish character was Dr. Charles Rogers. The son of the minister at Dunino, near St. Andrews, he was himself a minister of the established Church of Scotland. Rogers embodies many of the ideas current at the time. He was the founder of the Wallace Monument movement and exhibited that intense interest in Scotland's past which the Wars of Independence evoked in so many. It was an interest he had had since childhood, and he looked at this period as a romantic; "... a country which cast off foreign domination as the mid-day sun rejects the clouds which, in morning hours envelop the peaks of Ben Nevis and Schiehallion."⁵⁴ At the same time he believed firmly in the civilizing influence of England. "The civilization of Scotland is largely due to the genial influences of her English neighbours."⁵⁵ This, he saw, as originating in the marriage of Margaret and Malcolm and reaching its zenith in 1707. He was able to share in the belief that Scotland in the nineteenth century was a morally civilized place and found this in no way contradictory with his belief in her past. He was a voracious writer, founding the short lived Stirling Gazette, and composing several Tracts. He had a passion for founding committees and societies, all of which he had to leave

because of rumours - a persecution he believed - that he was using the funds for his own purposes. He also liked to raise monuments to Scotland's figures of the past and brought about the erection of a statue to James Hogg as well as William Wallace.

By 1857 he had published his Modern Scottish Minstrel in six volumes and many more works were to follow. A belief in the glory of Scotland's past was his guiding light. "Patriotism animated my whole being." He produced a series of books on Scottish life and character. In 1861 he published Familiar Illustrations of Scottish Life which was followed by Scotland, Social and Domestic in 1869, A Century of Scottish Life, 1871, and his three volume Social Life in Scotland in 1886. His books in 1869 and 1881 were published by the Grampian Club which he himself had founded.

These books, each of which is, in effect, an expansion of its predecessor, contain examples illustrating Scottish life and customs. Many are taken from the acquaintances of his father at the University of St. Andrews, and he also uses old manuscripts for examples of ancient customs. His writings illustrate how the fashion of writing on Scottish character could lead to mere trivia and the exploitation of his chosen theme. Whereas Ramsay gave reminiscences to illustrate a point, Rogers indulges in anecdotes for their own sake. As had become the custom, he invariably divides his works into sections on humour, the Church, etc. More often than not the anecdotes are unrelated to any theme, as in his Century of Scottish Life. However when he does make statements on Scottish character,

it can be seen how certain ideas were now accepted belief. The Scottish peasantry is characterised by its "hearty generosity and abounding benevolence;"⁵⁶ while education "to a native of the North" will drive him to great attainment. The blurring of the time scale is a failing of Rogers. In his Social Life in Scotland it is difficult to decide whether the features described belong to the past or the time of writing. Nor was his judgment always sound. In his attitude towards the language he shows some ambivalence. The use of Scots by the clergy in years past led, said Rogers, to merriment rather than devotion among the congregation.⁵⁷ There is here more than a hint of nineteenth century embarrassment at Scots, for how else could he imagine that the use of the vernacular, which was common to pastor and flock, induce merriment? A similar attitude is reflected in his comment on Hugh Miller, "he spoke in the Cromarty dialect, and his pronunciation was most faulty."⁵⁸ Rogers is very much a man of his time with a strong faith in the civilizing power of the British Empire mixed with his love for Scotland and her past, which is at times an uneasy combination. His writings are symptomatic of the time and represent the continual search to capture and preserve what was Scottish, not only for its own sake, but also for its relevance to the process of nineteenth century enlightenment.

Dr. Rogers' view of the current state of Scotland was not shared by all. Sir Hugh Gilzean Reid's book, Past and Present or Social and Religious Life in the North (1871) paints a far less glowing picture of contemporary Scotland. The relationship between Church

and people he saw as one in which "a narrow and intolerant spirit"⁵⁹ was to be found everywhere. The fact that many of the working classes were outside the pale of the Church did not escape his notice and for this he blamed, to a large extent, the clergy who sought larger stipends while speaking of the 'call' of the ministry. They were licensed to "sell [their] spiritual and intellectual wares in the best market,"⁶⁰ and many a one was a "worldly, narrow-minded, grasping man, with no heart-interest in his work, and little care for the spiritual well-being of those over whom he is placed."⁶¹ Criticism like this was not common; enough had been heard ten years earlier from Buckle.

Reid also attempts to look realistically at the difficulties of farm labourers. His philosophy for improvement lay in the 'refining influence' which union had on Scotland. He recognised a loss in Scottish individuality over the preceding twenty-five years, but with the mixing of Scots and English in the service of the Empire, "the intellectual and social advancement [was] an adequate and enduring compensation."⁶²

In spite of this apparently candid view of Scotland, he still pursues the usual view of the nation. Each aspect of Scottish life with which he deals, is illustrated by a short story and in them contradictory views appear. The chapter on "Church and People" is linked with the story "Margaret Linwood," the heroine of which story looks after the child of her best friend who had died, and then marries the father whom she had always loved. She is the daughter

of the manse and her father is portrayed as a saintly, old man - the popular image. Reid's sweeping condemnation of the clergy is not easily reconciled to this piece of fiction.

"Robert Gray" is about a poor boy who works as a farm labourer and is in love with a farmer's daughter but is socially unacceptable. He studies in his spare time for the ministry (the calling for which Reid had so much contempt), is successful and consequently finds himself in a position to marry his sweetheart. The whole story revolves round the idea of the "lad o' pairts" and the availability of education for all sections of society. The story lets the author eulogise this accepted tenet of Scottish life: "and down through the varying grades of rural life in Scotland, may be seen many such examples of heroic toil."⁶³ As for Scottish universities, "they lie open to all without respect to rank, creed or money."⁶⁴ The country which he condemned as full of bigotry and owing her success to English influence, is forgotten in works of fiction. There the widely acceptable view of Scottish life and character triumphs. But this contradiction was not seen by the writer. He was linking the Victorian ideal of self-help: the labourer should understand that for "class elevation . . . individual reformation"⁶⁵ is required, with the purely Scottish faith that education was without class boundaries and that it would probably lead to an end goal - the ministry.

The interpretation of the varying facets of Scottish life was fixed. It had been established, to the satisfaction of all, that

Scotland did have her own identity. Distinctions could be made about those ways of life e.g. the drunken laird, the old maid, which had disappeared, but which still had a place in fiction, and others which had a direct bearing on the Scotland of the late nineteenth century. The maintenance of family worship; the ability, through learning, to overcome lowly birth; the emphasis on the social importance of the minister; the propagation through character and language of Scottish humour; the continuation of a rural parish society - all this was seen as relevant to the times. Thus, all sections of the community were satisfied. British unity was not jeopardised; praise could be bestowed on historical Scotland; national characteristics could proudly be displayed: a Scottish identity could be preserved in the modern world.

The acceptability of this identity found expression in a review of Reid's book in the People's Friend - itself partly the outcome of this search for identity. The reviewer saw the book in direct line of descent from the Waverley Novels, to Hogg, Bethune, Chambers, and Ramsay to Charles Rogers. But this one he saw as more valuable in its relevance to the present. Here the interest both in the past and future is linked and a Scottish identity defined. The reviewer attacks those who saw no connection between the past and the present.

"Scotland's present . . . bears a very decided and easily traceable relation to its past; and through certain grand events have occurred - notably the Union - to change the characteristics of a former time, and make it impossible

that these should ever return, yet the Scottish nature remains essentially the same, upon which the past must ever remain as an influence to assist in moulding and shaping alike the present and the future."⁶⁶

The affirmation of the essential sameness of Scottish character was the keystone to the bringing together of past and present. Continuity could be preserved and the days of Burns and Scott brought nearer to the present. The dichotomy between Scotland as an entity and as a part of the Empire could, by now, be confidently explained. Scotland did have a large presence in the rest of the world at all levels of life, and Scotsmen could be justly proud of this, for had the success of Scotsmen in positions of authority throughout the world not always been a distinctive national characteristic? It was a cause for pride and not fear at a weakening of Scottish identity. "Scotland, at home retains her own features, which cannot be confounded with those of England or Ireland, and her past, present and future must still be discussed on national grounds, and from a national point of view."⁶⁷ Gone is the querulous tone of doubt; here is confidence for the present and future. 'Scotland, at home' had been praised from Burns onward, and as the People's Friend realised, in this was a source for Scottish identity which would not change and where standards could be sustained no matter what social turmoil might prevail. The doubt and perplexity which had so concerned Scotsmen in the middle of the century had been resolved. The way lay open for the future. Without this confidence would the

literary developments of the last years of the century have taken place?

What must be remembered is that this concept of national identity was no upper class intellectual exercise without relevance to everyday life. It was essentially a striving by the middle classes to retain a Scottishness and was directed towards all levels of society. The desire to improve the working classes was inextricably linked to it and coloured many of the assumptions about identity which were made.

That the ideas were disseminated throughout society is the responsibility, to a great extent, of the press. As has already been seen, it was in the 1850's that the Scottish press was expanding rapidly. The Saturday weeklies with their mixture of news and entertainment were proving popular with the working class and among the middle classes, weeklies and monthlies were gaining ground. Furthermore, those men who contributed to the search for Scotland's identity contributed to the press. Two of the authors of The Laird of Logan were journalists; Charles Rogers was a contributor to the press; H.G. Reid's Past and Present had originally appeared as articles in magazines such as the Westminster Review, the Fortnightly, Tait's and the British Workman. Indeed, from the early years of the century works linked to Scottish identity had appeared in journals. Wilson's Lights and Shadows first appeared in Blackwood's while works of Galt, Hogg and Moir had also appeared in periodicals. The discussion of Scottish characteristics was a favourite topic of many magazines.

There were frequent contributions on this subject over the years in Blackwood's and other 'quality' magazines. Even The Times developed an interest in the subject - not always to Scotland's advantage. Many of the biographies which appeared were by men closely linked with the press - Miller's My School and Schoolmasters had first appeared in The Witness of which Miller was editor. Norman Macleod, author of Reminiscences of a Highland Parish was editor of Good Words while the publications of Chamber's were inevitably bound to the world of journalism. Thus, those to whom the formulation of Scottish character meant so much were the same men who provided the public with reading matter. Small wonder, therefore, that such a movement spread rapidly and became widely accepted, not only in Scotland but in England and the colonies. The publicity which the furore of the 1850's and 60's had generated, aroused the interest of the English public. Scotland, as a country, had been given little thought by them, but now interest had been stirred. A country with habits, a way of life, and, above all, a language different from their own was something which was bound to be appealing. Indeed, enlightening their southern neighbours was never far from the minds of authors. The Athenaeum in reviewing Paxton Hood's Scottish Characteristics⁶⁸ particularly recommended it to English readers "as have never made themselves acquainted with the peculiar humour of their northern neighbours."⁶⁹ The Scots language was an important item for English audiences. It was generally accepted that it was dying out: "Our beautiful Doric dialect of the general British

is, I am grieved to think, fast dying out, Destiny is too strong for us on this point."⁷⁰ So said Professor Blackie in 1861. And there was the growing social stigma attached to those using it. Nevertheless it was important to Scottish character. The 'curiosity' element of the language was for the later nineteenth century one of the main sources of humour. Frequently, (this had been true of Ramsay and his ilk) what was supposed to be Scots humour came rather from the 'quaintness' of the language rather than an intrinsic sense of wit or humour. But Scots was a visible sign of separate identity and was indispensable. The attitude towards the language is summed up by H.G. Reid who said, "as it ceases to be spoken, it seems to become more classic in its recognition and use, and to be increasingly attractive to English ears."⁷¹ The truth of this statement was made clear a few years later in the immense success of the 'kailyard' publications of the 1890's. The language was not only attractive to English ears, but also to those of Scots scattered over the Empire. They, who were seen as carrying on an old Scottish tradition, were an important audience. Between 1864 and 1870, 116,000 emigrated from the Clyde, two-thirds of whom were Scots. In 1891 it was estimated that in the U.S.A. there were 242,231 native Scots, in Canada 107,584, Australasia 175,734 and the Cape of Good Hope, 6,646.⁷² It has often been said that the Scot abroad is more Scottish than at home, and for him this flowering of the customs and literature of his native land must have been pleasing.

For fiction, the formulation of Scottish characteristics was

immensely important. Often those writing of the Scottish scene, like Norman Macleod or Mrs. Oliphant, were composing fiction at the same time or were editors of journals where Scottish fiction could be published. Although literary links between later nineteenth century fiction and the works of Burns, Scott and Galt do exist, they are too tenuous to have sustained the output of Scottish writing at the end of the century. Scott, Galt et al. were writing from the experience of their own age or one just passed. The writers of sixty or seventy years later were seeing Scotland and its past as it had been re-assessed during the century and as it related to their contemporary situation. Out of their current experience came the fiction of William Black, Mrs. Oliphant, Annie Swan, S.R. Crockett and the rest. It is too facile to say that George MacDonald is the link between Galt and those who are termed 'Kailyard' writers. Their writing which was partly fulfilling a psychological need but mainly a public demand, must be viewed in relation to the struggle for Scottish identity and character. The impetus of Ramsay and Buckle, the spirit of Scottish rights and Wallace, as well as a sense of debt to Scott and the authors created a climate in which fiction praising Scottish life could flourish. Set in the present or the past, the works of fiction reflect the influence of the general debate. The theme of adjustment of old Scottish society to modern life; the struggle against poverty; the power of education; the 'stock' Scottish figures - humorous philosopher, minister, servant etc.; the pressures of church and religion - all these themes

can be found in fiction and in the widespread discussion of what was truly Scottish.

Scotland in 1870 was a very different place from the Scotland of 1800. Society had changed and many of the problems were new. The gap was to some extent bridged by the preservation of an identity with values which had been proved by past experience and which would serve for the future. That these values, based upon rural life, had to be made acceptable to the now predominantly urban society was a problem overcome by one of the products of the new situation: the People's Friend begun by John Leng & Co. in 1869 as a monthly and as a weekly in 1870. Not only was 1870 appropriate in terms of the growth of journalism, but it was significant for a magazine with a distinctly Scottish ethos. Chambers literary staff had gone south in 1859 and had left a gap to be filled by a new Scottish popular magazine. By now a Scottish identity with definable boundaries and fixed ideals in keeping with the moral climate of Victorian Britain had been formed and this must have helped the People's Friend to develop successfully. It embodied a deliberately Scottish character embracing the historical past as well as upholding, through articles and fiction, those images of Scotland appropriate to the period. It upheld the Empire and adapted itself to the requirements of a popular weekly formulated by metropolitan magazines like the Family Herald. Most importantly, it made its standards, based on traditional Scottish life, apply to the cities. Where much Scottish fiction

avoided urban settings, the People's Friend attempted to combine ideals originating in a rural culture with the problems and settings of town life. Circulation figures indicate that this was done to the satisfaction of its readers, most of whom would live in towns. The vision of journalists like Leng in recognizing that a popular Scottish journal could be successful by emphasising its "Scottishness" in the late nineteenth century must be a major factor, if not the major factor, in the sustenance of popular Scottish fiction at the end of the century. Where John Leng began, William Robertson Nicoll followed years later. Without Leng's pioneering attempts and his established success it must seriously be questioned if Nicoll and his band of writers would have achieved such success or would have written at all. The style, content and morality of magazine fiction was peculiarly Scottish. The soul-searching for an identity resulted in a supremely confident literary outpouring concerned with Scottish life. Without this period of doubt and searching, Scottish writing would possibly have taken a different form: it might even have ceased to exist at all. However, by the end of the century, it certainly could not be argued that Scotland was unknown or neglected if the circulation of Scottish fiction and periodicals was to be the measure. For better or for worse, the nineteenth century had created an image of Scotland which has affected Scottish culture ever since.

Notes

- 1 One of the most bitter attacks was in T.W.H. Crosland's book, The Unspeakable Scot, published in 1902. Of William Robertson Nicoll and his writers he said, "Any author who is doing well - that is to say, any author whose record of sales entitles him to be considered a success - may always reckon on a large hospitality in Dr. Nicoll's journals, and will always find Dr. Nicoll and his merry men beaming round the corner and hat in hand." Chapter IV, "The Scot in Journalism", p.65.
- "One cannot help feeling that here is a commercial exploitation of a cheap whimsicality about bairnies and heroes in homespun." Kurt Wittig, The Scottish Tradition in Literature, Edinburgh and London, 1958, p.254.
- 2 "Old Scottish Society", Blackwood's Magazine, Vol.129, April 1881, p.518.
- 3 The religious element in Scottish writing at the end of the century was bemoaned by a writer in Blackwood's: "The true Stream of religious life in Scotland is lost to-day in the waters of 'Kirkiness' - and drumlier waters never were." "The Novels of John Galt", 159, 1896, p.874.
- 4 North British Review, XXI, 1854, pp.91-2.
- 5 Ibid., p.82.
- 6 The Times, 7th July, 1853.
- 7 Ibid., 8th July, 1853.
- 8 Ibid., 8th April, 1854.

- 9 Ibid.
- 10 E.B. Ramsay, Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character, Edinburgh, 1867, Preface to 21st edition, p.viii.
- 11 Ibid., pp.256-257.
- 12 "Scottish National Character", Blackwood's Magazine, 87, 1860, p.718.
- 13 "Scottish Humour", North British Review, XXXV, 1861, p.480.
- 14 See the Introduction to Henry Thomas Buckle, On Scotland and the Scotch Intellect, ed. H.J. Hanham, Chicago, 1970.
- 15 Ibid., p.394.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 "Mr. Buckle on Spain and Scotland", Chambers Journal, XV, 1861, p.405.
- 18 "Mr. Buckle on the Civilization of England", North British Review, XXXV, 1861, p.263.
- 19 "Mr. Buckle's Doctrine as to the Scotch and their History", Macmillan's Magazine, IV, 1861, p.322.
- 20 The Scotsman, 25th June, 1861.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Weekly News, 28th June, 1856.
- 24 Dr. Charles Rogers, Leaves From My Autobiography, London, 1876, p.176.
- 25 Blackwood's Magazine, 90, 1861, pp.267-283.
- 26 "Mr. Buckle's Doctrine As to the Scotch and Their History" by the Editor, IV, 1861, pp.177-189 and pp.309-322.
- 27 Elizabeth Hamilton, The Cottagers of Glenburnie - A Tale for the Farmer's Ingle-Nook, Edinburgh, 1808, p.108.
- 28 Ibid., p.260.

- 29 The People's Friend, III, 1872, p.796.
- 30 The Caledonian Magazine and Review, I, 1822, p.29.
- 31 Ibid., p.32.
- 32 Ibid., p.24.
- 33 Introduction to Noctes Ambrosianae, Vol.II, ed. R.Skelton Mackenzie, New York, 1860, p.XVII.
- 34 See Dundee, Perth and Arbroath Weekly Magazine, 21st April, 1843.
- 35 The Angus Album, 1833, p.84.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid., p.92.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 See Stewart Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development 1780-1870, London, 1960, Chapter4, "Social Policy of Thomas Chalmers".
- 40 "Social Polarisations", Chamber's Journal, New Series, I, 1854, pp. 273-275.
- 41 Biographical sketch of Brothers Bethune contained in Tales of the Scottish Peasantry, London, Glasgow, 1884, p.10.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Hugh Miller, My Schools and Schoolmasters, 13th edition, Edinburgh, 1869, p.241.
- 44 Ibid., p.242.
- 45 See H.G. Reid, Past and Present or Social and Religious Life in the North, Edinburgh, 1871, p.279.
- 46 Miller, My Schools and Schoolmasters, 13th edition, Preface p.x.
- 47 Norman Macleod, Reminiscences of a Highland Parish, London, 1867, p.209.
- 48 1st edition Scottish Anecdotes and Tales,
- 49 Ramsay, op. cit., Preface, p.xi, 6th edition.

- 50 Reid, op. cit., Preface.
- 51 Hugh Miller, Tales and Sketches, Edinburgh, 1863, Preface, p.viii.
- 52 Charles Rogers, Scotland Social and Domestic : Memorials of Life and Manners in North Britain, London, 1869, p.77.
- 53 Charles Rogers, Leaves From My Autobiography, London, 1876, p.260.
- 54 Ibid., p.259.
- 55 Rogers, Scotland, Social and Domestic, p.52.
- 56 Charles Rogers, A Century of Scottish Life, Edinburgh, 1871, Preface, xix.
- 57 See Rogers, A Century of Scottish Life, Preface.
- 58 Ibid., p.219.
- 59 Reid, Past and Present, p.14.
- 60 Ibid., pp.26-27.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Ibid., p.75.
- 63 Ibid., p.218.
- 64 Ibid., p.221.
- 65 Ibid., p.196.
- 66 People's Friend, II, 1871, p.710.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 London, 1883.
- 69 The Athenaeum, 1883, p.824.
- 70 Scotsman, 25th June, 1861.
- 71 Reid, Past and Present, p.291.
- 72 See Thomas Ferguson, Scottish Social Welfare 1864-1914, Edinburgh, 1958.

Chapter 3

The Rise and Development in Dundee
of a National Literary Miscellany, 1855-1900.

The pattern of journalism found in Scotland today was created, in no small measure, by the events of the 1850's. During that decade what are referred to as 'the taxes on knowledge' i.e. advertisement tax, stamp duty and the tax on paper were removed.¹ These taxes hindered the growth of newspapers and periodicals and prevented further developments. On their removal, journalism was able to leap ahead, with the introduction of cheap newspapers on a large scale leading to a rapid expansion in the circulation of both new and existing papers. It saw the arrival of a period of expansion and of consolidation: expansion through the founding of new newspapers, in particular Saturday weeklies catering for the information and entertainment of the population, particularly the working classes; consolidation of many existing papers published twice or three times weekly and now turned into dailies costing 1d. or $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

It was a time not of national papers but of the provincial press. The means were now available by which local areas, so long deprived of cheap papers, could develop an identifiably local image sustained by a large circulation and the income from advertisements. Many, however, were of an ephemeral nature. The survival rate was extremely low, particularly in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow where many new papers failed or, where they succeeded, ousted existing papers.

In 1854 Scotland had 85 newspapers and two years later after the removal of the stamp duty, the total had only increased by 20 to 105.² Most successful were those papers begun in areas which previously had had no paper of their own thus increasing the proportion of specifically local newspapers.

It brought about, too, a period of expansion in content and in audience. Before this time entertainment and news had generally been covered by separate publications. With the introduction of cheap weeklies these two elements were united - the entertainment being virtually synonymous with serial fiction. It was fiction written for an audience made up principally of the working and lower middle classes, for whom cheap newspapers were a revelation and a source of entertainment which they relished.

One of the first papers in Scotland to introduce serial fiction to its pages was the North Briton, a paper of four pages costing 1d. and first published on 2nd May, 1855.³ It was issued twice weekly on Wednesdays and Saturdays under the proprietorship of Peter Bell, a solicitor, and with J.B. Bertram as editor. The first serial fiction to appear on its pages was a tale, "Jessie Melville: or the Double Sacrifice" by David Pae, later to become the first editor of the People's Friend. The interest which this serial aroused amongst the readers of the North Briton and the Glasgow Penny Post where it was published simultaneously,⁴ boosted the circulation of both papers, so that within a year the North Briton boasted a circulation of 10,000.⁵

The success of the North Briton - at least initially - while not mirrored everywhere, could be matched and was excelled by developments in Dundee, where two of the papers founded as a result of the disappearance of stamp duty - the Weekly News and The People's Journal - are still flourishing over a century later. There was little active development in journalism in Dundee in the five years before abolition of the stamp duty. Attempts at cheap publications were still risky and all of an ephemeral nature, such as the short lasting and now forgotten Saturday penny paper with the incredible title The Gaberlunzie, or Tale-Teller of the North: Weekly Journal, devoted to Fact and Fiction, to Wit and Wisdom, to the Beautiful and the True.⁶ It did, however contain two features which were to be important for the future - serial fiction and literary competitions.⁷

In spite of the lessons learned from the valuable pioneer work of earlier local publications, the growth in the number of new papers after 1855 could not be sustained. It was to the offices of the established and professionally run journals that success with penny weeklies was to come. In the three years immediately after the abolition of the stamp duty seven new papers appeared in Dundee including both information and entertainment for the price of 1d. However such a large increase in available reading matter could not possibly be maintained over a long period. There were the inevitable failures so that within six years only two were still thriving - the Weekly News and the People's Journal.

What of the others? Some, probably brought out to exploit the new openings, lasted for only a few issues. One such was the Dundee Times of which there were only 17 issues from 30th June to 20th October 1855 and which is remembered only for introducing to Dundee the crying and selling of papers by boys in the streets.⁸ Another was the Weekly Express which contained such scurrilous material that the editor was sued and, as a result, fled from the town.⁹ Others like the Dundee and Perth Penny Post and the Dundee and Perth Saturday Post and General Advertiser for the midland counties of Scotland had slightly greater success, both of them lasting five years until 1860 before slipping into oblivion.

Why should these have failed while others succeeded? The fundamental reason would seem to lie with the proprietors and publishers. Those papers mentioned above came from offices with no history of newspaper production, while those which succeeded - the Weekly News 12th May, 1855, the People's Journal 3rd January, 1858, and the Telegraph¹⁰ 2nd October, 1858, were the products of the offices of the established papers, the Warder, Dundee Advertiser and Courier respectively. The leading Dundee paper was the liberal Advertiser founded in 1801 and with a circulation in 1853, based on stamp returns, of 149,350. It was followed by the Warder, originally the non-intrusion paper, with a circulation of 78,975 for the same year, with the tory Courier well behind with a circulation of 27,000.¹¹

It is to the 'youngest' of the three established papers, the Warder that credit must go for pioneering the first successful weekly penny

paper. Two main factors were at work in the starting of the Weekly News: the first an accident of history and the second the foresight of the printer and part proprietor. In 1854, in order to give as much news as possible about the Crimean War, a Saturday edition of the Warder was brought out. This was a remarkable success and no doubt influenced Robert Park in his desire to promote a Saturday newspaper for the working classes. However he did not see a Saturday edition of the existing paper as the ideal solution. Instead he thought, "it would be better to print a separate sheet, containing fresh articles, informing and entertaining matter, as well as the latest news, at a cheap rate."¹² The result was the first issue of the Weekly News on 12th May, 1855 at 2d. which price was reduced to a penny from 20th June on the abolition of the stamp duty.¹³

Early issues contained eight pages of four columns each. The first and last pages were devoted to advertisements, pages two and three to foreign and home news respectively, the latter being dealt with according to counties. Pages four to seven were mainly concerned with local activities and set articles such as 'From Our London Correspondent' and fiction. One of the earliest successes of the News was a series called "The Barber's Shop" - discussions and conversations in Doric, often humorous, on local affairs and personalities. From the beginning the contents reflected the interests of that section of the community towards whom the paper was aimed. Most of the fiction was set in Dundee and concerned

working people. Other non fiction series like "Daguerreotypes of Dundee Life", commenced in June 1857, had as their purpose the description of the activities and surroundings of the ordinary working people of Dundee as well as men of standing in the community. Behind all this was the moral purpose of 'elevating' the picture of the working man. One of the first serials in the News, "The Homes and Hearths of the Poor" makes this very point. Before beginning the story, the author, James Easson bemoans the lack of writing "on the lot of the labouring poor" and sets down his purpose in writing fiction. In writing of the poor,

"there also exist means which, if taken advantage of, might serve to turn the attention of the poor to merits of their own class - might dispel the impression which exists that there is not in the labouring man's life touches of the beautiful and poetic ... that in the family circle of the hard-working, and too-much neglected labourer, there are emotions, sentiments and incidents, which, if told by a skilful scribe, through the medium of fiction, might cause even the most stoical to pause with astonishment, and exclaim in the depths of their amazement:-

Can such things be,
And overcome us like a summer cloud -
Without our special wonder!"¹⁴

His own tale, he continues, will be about people of "homely simplicity and unpretending discourse" and will be set in "a locality by no means

foreign... and with tastes and associations in no degree strange or ambitious, with a tendency running in favour of the true elevation of the working classes."¹⁵ Nor was the praise of working men confined to fiction. In their competitions the strivings of working people was emphasised, first prize in one competition for an "Autobiography of a Working Man" being awarded to a James J. Hillocks who had once been a weaver and was now a teacher.¹⁶

With a steadily increasing circulation, it would seem that this approach met with the approval of the public. While not necessarily reflecting actual sales, some idea of its success can be deduced from the figures given of the number of impressions printed. One edition in late October 1856 had 6563 impressions,¹⁷ which figure had increased to 9,200 by April 1857.¹⁸ Two months later the proprietors were confidently claiming that "its circulation is more than double that of all other newspapers put together published in Dundee. It is more peculiarly the journal patronised and adopted by the middle and working classes."¹⁹ In these early days the Weekly News circulated almost entirely within the city boundaries. The total circulation for the issue of 29th March, 1856 was 4726 of which 3843 circulated in Dundee, Lochee and Broughty Ferry, the remainder in Perthshire and Angus. At this stage there were no agents for the paper south of the Tay.

Yet this type of newspaper was not popular with everyone. Mr. Thoms, a member of the Parochial Board which was involved in a dispute with the News over the non appearance of an advertisement,

believed that, "the News was not a proper advertising medium. The News was hawked through the town. They could not pass along the streets on the Saturday afternoon after two o'clock, when the public works were all closed without being annoyed every other step they took by little fellows bawling out, 'Buy the Weekly News.'"²⁰

In spite of this, the Weekly News flourished and soon expanded. In April 1857 it was enlarged in size and wood engravings of its popular series, "The Barber's Shop" were introduced. Although it was to be followed by similar papers, the pattern it established was to change little. It had proved that a compilation of news, fiction, competitions was a viable mixture in which the public delighted. But more than that it had geared itself to the moral and physical improvement of those who formed the bulk of its readers and it was this feature above all others which figured largely in future developments.

On the first Saturday in January 1858, the Weekly News and its less successful competitors were joined by yet another Saturday weekly - the People's Journal from the office of the Dundee Advertiser. It may fairly be asked why almost three years elapsed before Dundee's leading paper, the Advertiser produced a Saturday weekly. Prior to 1850, the Advertiser had been in a parlous state, rapidly losing ground since its heyday under Stephen Rintoul. In 1850, its new owners, Messrs Neish and Patullo, both lawyers, determined to appoint a professional journalist as editor and the young John Leng, sub-editor and principal reporter of the Hull Advertiser, was given

the position, becoming managing proprietor of the new firm of John Leng & Co. in the following year. Not surprisingly his immediate concern was the rehabilitation of the ailing Advertiser which left little time or energy for the creation of a new newspaper. As he himself later wrote: "I worked night & day for months & years after going to Dundee. I got new type & a new printing machine & soon put a new face on the paper & its prospects which from a down-going & struggling soon became a rising & prosperous concern. At first I was not only editor but sub-editor, reviewer & musical & dramatic critic all in one."²¹ Another factor in the delay probably lies with the personality of John Leng himself. A highly competent editor and shrewd businessman, it was not in his nature to rush into new ventures without carefully weighing up the situation. By 1858 the rush of new papers had died away leaving only the more successful. Thus he would be able to use the time in judging what were the necessary features for the new type of paper and what pitfalls ought to be avoided.

A glance at the prospectus of the new Dundee, Perth & Forfar People's Journal, printed on page two of the first number, explains the position which Leng and his company was to adopt towards the public a position which changed little as the century progressed. He shows a new awareness of, and skill in dealing with his audience, recognising that with Saturday weeklies as a fact of life only the best will succeed. Many of the new weeklies were, "utterly unworthy of the intelligence and character of the respectable portion of the working classes."²²

To remedy this,

"our aim will be not to write down, but to write up to the good sense of the working-classes, whose interests will be carefully considered, and a considerable portion of space devoted to the discussion of questions in which they are specially concerned. By freely publishing letters and communications from working-men, reporting their meetings, epitomizing the newly published biographies of men like Livingstone and Stephenson, who have raised themselves from poverty to lofty reputations, replying to the questions of correspondents on points beyond their information, and co-operating generally in every movement having for its end the intellectual and social advancement of the people, we hope to justify the honourable name of the People's Journal."²³

Such high minded sentiments were not, however, particularly unusual. What made the People's Journal different, and made Leng's publishing house a success, was his ability to understand and sympathise with the moods and wishes of the public. He never once compromised his principles for quick gain but presented them in such a way as would give no offence or appear as sententious preaching to the general public upon whom he ultimately had to rely:

"We shall not, however, confound discrimination with dullness, but shall endeavour to be both merry and wise. There are always tears more than enough; we shall join the laughing side, and laugh whenever we can do so, that those

we laugh at may also laugh with us. Private life shall be sacred from remark, but public foibles may fairly contribute to public fun."²⁴

What Leng was doing was giving the public a popular "quality" paper free from sensation which so often seemed to be thought a necessary adjunct to working class journalism particularly, according to the Journal, in new weeklies. "We get big pennyworths, it's verra true, but what we get in quantity we mair than lose in quality."²⁵ So pronounced "Sandy" in the first of his "letters" to the readers.

John Leng's awareness of what was necessary to attract readers was equalled by his realisation that the new paper had to be financially secure. Before the paper appeared, he had organised distribution by agents throughout the surrounding counties as well as in Dundee, the implications of which he did not fail to mention in the opening number: "Having made arrangements to secure for the Journal a large circulation throughout the County, it must prove an excellent medium for advertisements intended to meet the eye of many thousands of the working-classes both in town and county."²⁶

In the leader on April 3rd 1858, it was announced that what had been an experimental period was at an end. A circulation of 10,000 per week was necessary for it to be a viable concern. 5,000 had to be sold before the weekly outlay was covered and the only source of remuneration was from advertisements. The implications of this remarkably candid announcement were, as far as the readers were concerned, self evident. If those existing readers wanted a "high-class penny paper" then the onus was on them to help increase the

circulation. Leng can have had little doubt of the outcome of this appeal, for by October the readers were being told that with an average printing of 10,440 over the summer, no attempt was being made to increase circulation until new machinery was installed.²⁷ Again the readers were asked for their criticisms of the paper and their suggestions for improvements as it moved into the next stage of expansion. By 1860 John Leng & Co. had moved to new premises in Bank Street in Dundee and had installed a new steam engine and printing machine which allowed double to be printed.²⁸ The paper was also expanded in size in anticipation of the removal of the paper tax. From the magical 10,000, circulation had moved by the end of 1859 to just under 15,000²⁹ and by October 1860 was over 20,000.³⁰ Already there was talk of installing yet another machine which would print 4000 to 5000 copies per hour and would take the profit of the Journal for several years to come.³¹ It would seem that this rapid expansion caused more than a little rivalry with competitors so that once again the readers were taken into the proprietors' confidence. Hints of huge profits were vigorously denied and an explanation of where they went was given:

"Only fifteen copies were sold last Saturday to individual purchasers at our own office, all the rest being sold through local and country agents, hawkers, and street boys, who, so far as the circulation goes, have almost the whole profit. It is to advertisements we must look for a return upon the large capital invested in the office, types, and machinery required to produce such a paper."³²

A new dimension in journalism in Dundee was introduced with the People's Journal. Professional expertise and business acumen, so long absent, were brought to bear on the conduct of the paper, and undoubtedly were major factors in its success. However, in the long term the more deeply significant feature for Scottish journalism, and literature, was the manner in which the paper was conducted. It was in a literal sense the people's journal. In political and social matters, it consistently came out over the years in support of the people, one of the most notable occasions being its strenuous support for reform of the conditions of farm workers. "Scottish Radicalism had found a mouthpiece in the People's Journal."³³ But it was not simply written for the people but to a very great extent by them. Apart from items such as national news or parliamentary reports, most, if not all, of the other material from book reviews, to essays, fiction, and recipes was by people who were not professional journalists. From the beginning every encouragement was given particularly through literary competitions: "Knowing the gratification which is afforded to youthful and amateur writers by the opportunity of seeing their productions in print, and desiring to encourage literary tastes as much as possible, we purpose opening a column in the People's Journal for short essays or articles from our readers."³⁴

Regular competitions were run for essays or poems on such subjects as, "What Can I for My Neighbour Do?" or "On the Comparative Importance or Value of Political and Personal Reform." Occasionally

readers would send books of poetry or the like to be offered as prizes. All the non fiction competitions usually had a moral or didactic purpose and the same sentiments were reflected in story competitions which aroused the most interest. Such competitions were always to be a major feature of the People's Journal and from the first the special Christmas number was comprised entirely of readers' stories. Nor was it the case that Leng & Co. looked upon this as an easy method of filling their paper. Only the best they received was included³⁵ and continuous efforts were made to give encouragement and advice to would-be writers. They saw this aspect of their journal as vitally important to the intellectual development of their readers. On the semi-jubilee of his editorship of the paper, W.D. Latto looked back with pride on this side of his work, "by which our sons and daughters of toil have been encouraged to devote their leisure hours to mental culture and literary composition."³⁶ Nevertheless the place which competitions had in the Journal and were to have in the People's Friend must be seen in its true perspective. It might be thought from the sentiments expressed by the organisers that most of their readers were involved in the writing of articles and stories for the newspaper. In fact, very few entered. For one of their earliest competitions in April 1858 only ten entries were received, while a more ambitious competition in June 1859 in which the prize story was to be chosen by the readers, received only 31 entries. The response by the readers in voting was equally poor. The total number of votes received was 1011,³⁷ a remarkably small figure from

a readership which would be considerably in excess of the circulation of over 13,000. Even the paper was forced to admit its disappointment at the response. The lack of involvement by the readers in this area of the paper's activities should not necessarily be confused with a dislike of competition material, fiction or non fiction. Circulation continued to rise with the Christmas editions, which were entirely composed of readers' material, being particularly successful. It was a literature written for the readers which they could understand and enjoy and it formed the backbone of Leng's success particularly in the People's Friend.

The rapid rise and success of papers like the People's Journal and the Weekly News were the results of a changing climate in Scottish journalism. No longer was it meaningful to talk in terms of national publications in Edinburgh leading the way in new developments with the provinces following on a few years later. Now the provinces were in the van of changing events and often were found to be leading them. The dominance which they had gained is illustrated by the fortunes of the Weekly Scotsman. In 1860, already five years after the abolition of the stamp duty, a Weekly Scotsman was published, containing only news and no fiction. The proprietors disapproved of the inclusion of light reading and fiction in a newspaper. Consequently its circulation lagged well behind that of its competitors. The lesson had to be taken from the weeklies of Dundee and Glasgow who, "by their efforts to provide for the changed taste had obtained and immensely increased circulation for their respective journals."³⁸ Not until 1888 did the Weekly Scotsman "make arrangements

accordingly... Beginning 1889 a new departure was made by the introduction of tales, sketches, and miscellaneous original matter by authors of repute. This change had a powerful influence in improving the standing of the Weekly Scotsman among its various competitors..."³⁹

The problem of balancing local interest with items of national concern which had dogged provincial publications for years now resolved itself through the introduction of different editions of the paper. In 1859 a Fife edition of the People's Journal was introduced and in 1864 one for Aberdeen. Three more were added in 1866 and by 1890 eleven existed throughout Scotland and the north of England. A similar pattern was followed by the Weekly News with ten editions in 1890 covering Scotland, England and Ireland.⁴⁰ Gradually journalism in Dundee was gathering for itself an importance and influence which that of Edinburgh had never possessed.

This growing change in status reflects, too, the change in attitude towards control. Many earlier publications had failed through weak editorial control⁴¹ which allowed mediocre and often poor material to be published, presumably because there was none other available and because the editors lacked experience in the practicalities of running a newspaper or periodical. Like their predecessors, the organisers of the People's Journal relied on outside correspondents but with the difference that what they received did not automatically go into print. It had to reach a certain standard, albeit not very high, and had to fall into a

pre-determined pattern both of which were firmly controlled by the editors and their staff. John Leng & Co. never allowed their publications to be dictated by the material itself but through the repetition of their aims and ideals, their competitions and their frequent advice to correspondents, they could control what they received and what they allowed into print. No doubt much of what they received was poor, but they never tried to hide the fact. They had fulfilled one of their aims in getting the people to write at all. Their attitude is summed up in their remarks on reading entries to one of the story competitions:

"It would be sacrificing truth to politeness were we to assert that it was not, occasionally, provocative of ennui. Not a few of the stories were, in truth, very dull and very dreary, evidently the work of very "green" hands. Yet we would by no means wish to discourage the efforts of such inexperienced writers. Every attempt at composition, however unsatisfactory the result may be, ought to be encouraged, as a healthy mental exercise, which, by being persevered in, may conduce to something better..."⁴²

No longer was the conduct of journalism in Dundee dependent upon the vagaries of well meaning amateurs, but was well planned and professionally run. Journals flourished because those controlling them could recognise the demands of their public and in turn mould them to the image they wished to present.

The 1860's saw a period of steady growth. By the end of 1861,

the Journal was claiming, "The Largest Circulation of Any Weekly Paper Printed Out of London,"⁴³ and had for that year a circulation of nearly one and a half million. Four years later it had expanded in size to eight columns with a weekly circulation of not far off 100,000 per week. Impressive as these figures are, they do not show the real achievement of the Journal in its first decade. The days had long passed when it was an achievement if a new magazine or newspaper lasted as long as a year. What the People's Journal succeeded in doing during the 60's was to establish an identity for itself and a relationship with its readers both through its general policy and its contents. Basic to this was its determination never to talk down to the readers: "We resolved at the outset that if we were to succeed it should not be by unworthy means - not by pandering to low tastes, indulging in scurrilous personalities, setting class against class, or ridiculing virtue and religion."⁴⁴ From this was built up a very direct, almost family relationship, between the readers and the paper. One of its mainstays was the contact between individuals and the editorial staff through the competitions; another was in the encouragement of readers to air their own opinions through the column, "People's Opinions." Through this medium, many grievances, usually social, were published. Often, as in the case of farm servants, these grievances were taken up in leaders and campaigns launched by the paper.

By such methods, the readers were made to feel not only that the paper had a genuine interest in their welfare, but also that it was a medium in which they themselves could find expression. The strength

of this relationship is perhaps best illustrated by the appeal launched by the Journal editor, W.D. Latto, in July, 1856 for money to provide lifeboats at Arbroath and Peterhead. Within four to five weeks the paper had collected £800.⁴⁵ The fact that most of the money was collected in small amounts would appear to indicate that it was indeed the ordinary working class reader who was answering the appeal. Without this special relationship it might well be questioned if such a scheme could have been undertaken successfully.

The other great achievement of this decade was the building up of a specifically Scottish character in the paper. At a time of so much doubt over Scottish identity,⁴⁶ Leng was creating a haven for much that was held as truly Scottish. In the competitions, articles and serials, Scottish connections were never forgotten. Many of the competitions were limited to residents of Scotland and more often than not competition stories had to be set in Scotland. In this deliberately Scottish policy can be seen the general philosophy of having the readers identify with the contents. The fiction was almost exclusively Scottish and often dealt with urban situations as in "The Factory Girl; or The Dark Places of Glasgow".⁴⁷ For Scottish literature this use of an industrial setting was a new development. With this was blended the older strains of Scottish literature - tales of romance of covenanting times, and stories of ordinary people in country settings like "Jeannie Sinclair or the Lily of the Strath" by David Pae, and "Grace Glendenning: The Flower of Clydesdale." D.M. Moir's Mansie Wauch was serialised in 1862,⁴⁹

and it was to this work of the early nineteenth century that W.D. Latto had gone for his inspiration as author of "Tammas Bodkin". "Tammas Bodkin" was to be one of the great successes of the Journal and went through many editions when published in book form. In the writings of "Tammas Bodkin" are echoes of the satire and wit of the "Noctes" as well as the portrayal of the shrewd, oft times naive Scot who was famed for his 'pawky' comments and philosophy in the Doric and could be found in the pages of Galt as well as in the character of Mansie Wauch. Tammas would ridicule current events or simply comment on them in his own inimitable style as in his reports from the Paris Exhibition of 1867. In non fiction, too, Scottish subjects were pre-eminent. In 1868, the Rev. George Gilfillan began a series on "Eminent Scotchmen" in which Scotsmen who had 'made good' were described. By these methods the ordinary people of Scotland were made to realise that they had a heritage which was unique to Scotland and a character which was specifically their own.

Within the space of ten years, John Leng had succeeded in establishing a paper with a regular circulation of over 100,000, which figure would more than double before the end of the century⁵⁰ and, moreover, a paper whose influence extended over the greater part of Scotland. But what impressed Leng the most was the interest shown in the literary parts of the paper and above all, the fiction. With a successful paper behind him, an established reputation for fiction, particularly Scottish, and an eager audience, he embarked upon his next venture - a literary magazine.

The principle reason given by John Leng & Co. for creating the People's Friend was the immense success of the Christmas edition of the People's Journal. This number was made up entirely of tales and stories sent in by readers in response to the literary competition. The literary talent they displayed and the interest they gave, provoked Leng to give "a regular and suitable medium to call forth a wide manifestation of mental power which was lying dormant, and to provide literary entertainment which the masses of the people would welcome with eager avidity."⁵¹ Thus, The People's Friend - a Monthly Miscellany in connection with The People's Journal first appeared in January 1869.

However, there were other reasons for introducing a magazine at this time. Reading habits were changing. Daily papers were now common and at the price of a penny or a halfpenny could be purchased easily by working men. Evening papers, too, were beginning to flourish. These two developments changed the nature of the weekly paper. It was becoming more and more a medium for entertainment than one for news. The People's Journal had been created to find a balance between the two, and still had a part to play, particularly in rural areas where daily papers were not available. Notwithstanding, there was obviously a growing demand for entertainment which would only be satisfied by a purely literary magazine on the same level as the weekly papers, and Scotland did not possess such a magazine. With the Journal, Leng already had an organisation adept at giving entertainment; he had the practical means to produce a magazine efficiently;

and he had a network of agents through which the new magazine could be sold.

After a year, the People's Friend was turned into a weekly. From the first issue it was closely linked to the Journal by more than a similarity of name. The organisers were careful to utilise their existing audience and to ensure that the new periodical would not exist at the expense of the People's Journal. The readers of that paper were asked to support the new magazine which was to be seen as an adjunct to and not a replacement of the Journal which, "occupies a different sphere, and must always have the first place. We but want the Friend to be true to its name - to be indeed the Friend of the Journal, as well as the People's FRIEND."⁵²

The format of the People's Friend was similar to that of existing English penny magazines: Serial fiction, short tales, essays on diverse topics, biography, poetry, as well as "one column of Scientific Notes, two columns of Wit and Humour, two columns of carefully-selected Varieties, and a full page of Notices to Correspondents in all of which much valuable matter of permanent interest will be found."⁵³ As with the People's Journal, the Friend was conducted on certain strictly defined principles, reiterated time and again over the years. While the emphasis might change, the fundamental ideals were to remain the same. The overriding concern which coloured everything done was that of moral propriety and improvement. The stories were to be "healthful in tone and tendency", with nothing "false or injurious, but bearing at all times a clear testimony to the value of goodness and virtue."⁵⁴ This was to be as true of the non fiction as it was

of fiction. Throughout the century, but more especially in the early years, there were articles of simple philosophy urging the value of family life; the efficacy of hard work to self improvement; and the disaster which befalls those who do not follow such paths. Biographical essays, of which there were many, were to be about people, "calculated to inspire the heart, and form standards of attainment." Even in correspondence, "we shall not pay heed to trivial or silly questions, but all inquiries on interesting and instructive matters shall have our attention."⁵⁵ Practical methods of attaining such improvement were covered in Household Matters through recipes for inexpensive meals, hints on saving, health, hygiene etc. where the aim was to indicate how a reasonably comfortable life both physically and mentally could be achieved by even the poorest. As in the Journal, such aims went hand in hand with a desire to show the humour of life and ease its trials.⁵⁶

The second principle by which the magazine was run was that of fostering "literary talent which we know exists among the people." This had helped to make the Journal a success, but it is doubtful if even John Leng realised in 1870 just how important this was to be for the prosperity of the Friend. Men and women who, in their youth, had written articles or stories for the paper were, through its support turned into experienced journalists. Many, although now forgotten, were once household names - Alex Anderson - 'Surfaceman', the Rev. James Anderson - 'Fergus Mackenzie', Alexander Lamont - 'the Vicar of Deepdale', Adeline Sergeant, while Annie S. Swan,

the most famous of all, has earned a permanent place for herself in the annals of late nineteenth century Scottish literature. Not only did this policy of help to young writers furnish the Friend with writers and material, but it also brought about a new level of literary activity in Scotland long before the activities of the so called 'Kailyard' movement.

The third underlying principle was that it should be, above all, a Scottish magazine, reflecting views and aspirations of contemporary Scotland and at the same time fostering and sustaining an interest in the historical and literary past of the nation.

Contemporary Scottish writing was to be encouraged and would be guaranteed a place in its pages.

A glance at the contents for 1870 shows just how seriously these principles were adhered to. Besides the fiction, most of which was Scottish, are essays on Scotsmen such as Alexander Bethune, William and Robert Chambers, and Hugh Miller who had, through their own efforts, risen from humble beginnings to positions of some eminence in Scottish life. The inference behind such articles was, of course, to show the readers that it was possible for them to make a success of their lives. In "A word for the Working Man's Wife", a sympathetic account is given of the difficulties women may experience in maintaining a house and family and of the frequent lack of understanding shown either by their husbands or those socially above them.⁵⁷ The insight in articles like this and the genuine sympathy it showed for some of the real problems faced by

their readers must have gone a long way to popularising the magazine. Thus from the start, attempts were made to establish a rapport similar to that which existed between the People's Journal and the public.

At the end of its first year as a weekly, the editor reflected on "a most marked and most gratifying success [which] has attended the People's Friend from the issue of the first number until now."⁵⁸ The readership is talked of being only "tens and twenty thousands", although this is spread over "the length and breadth of Scotland, through a large portion of England and Ireland, and over the Atlantic and other oceans."⁵⁹ The circulation in the colonies and in America was one aspect of its development which was to increase in importance as the years passed. The immediate acceptance of a new magazine reflects the great desire of many people in Scotland for a literary periodical of this kind and it is indeed to the credit of the writers, most of whom were inexperienced, that it was a success. The proprietors had clearly stuck to their aim of encouraging new talent, for, "by far the greater portion of the contents of this volume have been supplied by writers from among the "people" and the papers we have been able to publish are but a tithe of the productions which have been sent to us..."⁶⁰ There were inherent dangers in relying too much on amateur material. In a highly competitive market, magazines employing known authors had a considerable advantage, and the People's Friend knew it. In April, 1870, it had reminded its readers that, "it is only by a large circulation that

we can procure brilliant and eminent writers."⁶¹ Eight months later it must have felt confident that it could compete in this too, for it promised that for 1871 the "service [of] professional authors of mark and standing" had been acquired.⁶²

The efforts in its second year were directed at achieving a wider circulation. It attempted to attract more readers by giving handbills to its subscribers to distribute amongst potential readers.⁶³ An indication of its growing circulation can be found from the list of agents outside Scotland given for the first time in May. Apart from agents in London, Belfast and Manchester they were all confined to the north of England where the Friend was always to have a solid circulation. More effort was being put in to the advertising of forthcoming attractions, particularly in the autumn and winter months which the magazine called the 'Reading Season'. Although still anonymous, it was now advertising serial fiction as written specifically for the Friend, and by writers whose tales "have been eagerly read and admired."⁶⁴ In non fiction, too, there were fewer single articles and many more series on specific subjects such as "Strathmore; Its scenes and legends" or "Papers from Deepdale" - a series of essays on philosophy and morality. Fiction, however, always had pride of place, and was used as the major feature for advertising with new tales being publicised weeks before they began so that copies could be ordered, "for though a very large quantity will be printed, the Extra Demand will be great."⁶⁵ Another feature

which was used increasingly to help extend circulation was the setting of stories in one particular area as in "Harold Northland, or The Wizard of Tarluff's Tower, A Shetland Story".⁶⁶ This allowed the Friend to appeal to existing readers in such areas to spread news of the new story so that circulation in that area would increase.

Through this combination of advertising and forward planning the Friend progressed. In 1872, in his annual greeting, the Editor, David Pae, announced that "the circulation was never so large as at this moment."⁶⁷ However, the Friend was hampered by practical problems of printing. It had, since its inception been printed on a newspaper press which was not adapted to a sixteen page sheet. The result was that the printing was often uneven and the pages badly cut. In 1874, John Leng & Co. embarked upon another stage of expansion. A three storey third section was added to their Bank Street premises and stereotyping and web printing, which greatly increased speed and capacity, were introduced giving to the firm a printing capacity "unequalled in Scotland".⁶⁸ As a consequence of this, a third series of the People's Friend was begun in March 1874. It was slightly narrower in size than the previous series but in much clearer print. The opportunity was also taken to make some changes to the format of the magazine. The columns on "Household" and "Scientific and Useful" were given slightly less prominence by being printed in smaller type, and from July 1874 an extension was made to the Questions and Answers section which had become one of the popular features of the Friend. At the end of 1874, the Editor

could reflect on five years of his magazine's life, "During the five years of its existence as a weekly publication it has maintained a steady growth in the various respects which characterise a popular publication, and it never was at a higher point than at present."⁶⁹

The achievements of the magazine over the first five years were considerable. The greatest was that it had survived at all. Without the support of an already established publishing house and the expertise gained from the development of the People's Journal, it might have had a less secure future. There is no doubt that the proprietors regarded it as a well established magazine. As early as 1872 they were comparing it to Chambers' Journal: "...there is none, perhaps, which more resembles the Journal in the excellent and varied character of its literary matter than our own miscellany the Friend."⁷⁰ It had remained constant to its aims as first pronounced. A Scottish emphasis had been given to the fiction and the other articles. The appearance of named authors, nationally established as writers in popular magazines, like M.E. Braddon or Florence Marryat, indicates the growing acceptance of the Friend as an established periodical. The other major aim of helping literary aspirants was also bearing fruit. Many were being recognised as 'Friend authors' and their reputations and popularity used as an aid to circulation. By 1874 many of them were having their work published either as it had first appeared in the Friend or new material published on the strength of a reputation gained

from writing in the Friend. Among the first of the Friend writers to have their work published were Alex Lamont, "Wayside Wells or Thoughts from Deepdale" and Alex. G. Murdoch, "Sandy M'Tartan's Hogmanay Haggis".

Yet there still appear to have been doubts as to how successful the Friend could actually become. What would seem to have been the real problem lay with its avowed aim of helping young would-be writers. It was inevitable that the writing of these people would only achieve a standard equal to that of professional journalists through time and experience and only then if they had talent. Meanwhile a magazine had to establish itself during a period of intense competition from periodicals of long-standing. Not that the People's Friend was blind to the shortcomings of some of its contributors. In 1871 it hopefully told its readers, "... it is to be expected that study and practice will enable them [contributors] to produce what is even more worthy of perusal."⁷¹ Two years later in 1873 it was exhorting its "friends everywhere [to] bestir themselves to obtain new readers and... promise that their efforts shall be rewarded by the improvement of the Friend both in outward appearance and in the tone and quality of the contents!"⁷² There was in many of the early articles a certain intensity of tone and lack of humour typical of an enthusiastic but inexperienced amateur. Particularly was this true of articles exhorting the public to improve their material and spiritual place in life. Articles, with titles like "Labour and Reward" proclaiming that

happiness is only to be found "in knowing our work and doing it,"⁷³ or "Hearts and Hands - on Discipline of Labour", were not of a type to encourage would-be readers to buy the Friend for their leisure hours. In a review of "Wayside Wells", by Alex Lamont, one of the Friends own writers, the author criticises the book's melancholy and points out that, "it is, after all, a fact that the joys and pleasures of life are more numerous than its dark death-shadows, and, on the whole, man has been made to sing more than to mourn."⁷⁵ The need "to sing more than to mourn" was a lesson which the People's Friend had to learn as well, and it resolved in 1875 "to give a lively tone to the domestic value of the Friend"⁷⁶ by the publication of songs in future numbers.

At the end of 1875 the Editor candidly admitted that the literary level had improved. One reason he gave was the increased experience of early contributors; The second was that 'eminent' writers could now be persuaded to write for the magazine now "that the 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."⁷⁷ The acceptance by the public, and by those involved in writing for the highly competitive world of penny magazines, which these remarks imply made the carrying out of their aims that much easier. A balance was struck between what was Scottish fiction and that of more general interest, included no doubt to attract well known writers and cater for the growing

non-Scottish audience. In other features the magazine used writers who had grown in experience in the Friend over the years and who were popular with the public. At the same time it encouraged young aspirants, safe in the knowledge that any shortcomings which they initially might have would in no way harm the magazine which was coming into contact, it was claimed in 1876, with "hundreds of thousands of minds".

By the end of the 1870's John Leng & Co. had probably become the single most influential publishing house in Scotland. Besides the daily Dundee Advertiser, they now published an evening paper, the Evening Telegraph (1874). Nor should the People's Journal be forgotten. By now it was being issued in several editions and continued to appeal to a growing audience by maintaining the identity it had so carefully built up for itself. Leng's had also begun to publish books in a small way, mainly by their own writers and employees. Typical was The Scottish Cookery Book published in 1877. Aimed at the same audience as their papers and periodicals, it was described as "Guid Plain Rules for Makin' Guid Plain Meats, suitable for Sma' Purses, Big Families, and Scotch Stamachs."⁷⁸ Its success was remarkable. By November 1878, it had sold 25,000 copies; was being sold in a pirated edition in New York in 1880; and in 1883 the 12th edition had sold 35,000.

The Friend continued on its course of providing lively and informative material. Poetry, songs and music, mainly Scottish, became more frequent. More numerous too, were series of non fiction

articles such as "Fireside Talks" by 'Willie Graham' (James Cromb, sub-editor of the Evening Telegraph) or the many series on Scottish history such as "The Story of Queen Mary" or the "History of Rob Roy" by A.H. Miller. There was generally, as had been promised, more liveliness about the magazine. Much of this was supplied by 'Standard Readings' - pieces of prose usually in the Doric on some humorous subjects which could be delivered in public or at a family entertainment. Besides charades, puzzles, jokes etc., humour was a main ingredient in the frequent selections of anecdotes which were provided from the never ending source of books on "Scottish Life and Character".

In 1879 a new page for the young was introduced in keeping with the policy of catering for all ages, and improvements were made in the Notes and Queries column by adding a section for those who wished to exchange goods, in the hope that this would raise the quality of the column.⁷⁹ A glance at the New Year's greetings to readers in the late 1870's shows the confidence with which the magazine was now conducted. No longer are there references to the hoped for improvement of contributors. The emphasis has turned back to the utter conviction first shown with the re-affirmation every year of the magazine's aims. In 1878 it had reached its greatest ever circulation⁸⁰ and would go forward giving, "the best of everything, by which means we are sure not only to deserve, but to command success."⁸¹ If the best could be judged by the stature of writers, then the People's Friend had every right to this claim with Wilkie Collins

writing in the Christmas number for 1879, and a serial, "Ayala's Angel" by Anthony Trollope running for ten months in 1881. For some inexplicable reason there was an upsurge in the number of serials towards the end of 1879 with, at one period, four running simultaneously as well as short stories and fictional series. This resulted in a drastic diminution of other material, a situation which the Friend promised to remedy in 1880. In spite of the success, those conducting the magazine felt at the end of the first decade in 1879 that their aim had only been partly accomplished, "but the ideal itself we have not forsaken. Our purpose now is the same that it was when we started, and in entering on the eleventh year we renew it with equal earnestness, believing that the experiences we have gained in the past will assist us in the future. To be helpful in the production of happy homes, pure hearts, and bright lives, is the steady resolution with which we continue our labours."⁸²

From about this time to the end of the century, the pattern of each issue varied very little. There were usually two series running at the one time, each lasting anything from four to six months. Seven or eight serials would appear in any one year. In addition, there was always at least one short story per issue and an episode from a fictional series such as the immensely popular detective series by 'James M'Gowan' or the "Cruisie Sketches" of the 1890's. At least one non fictional series was continually running, sometimes on a historical theme or on some

instructive matter like "How to Play the Violin" or "Popular Lectures on Chemistry". The contents of any issue were completed with regular columns on household matters, scientific notes, humour, Civil Service column (1885 onwards), notes and queries as well as poetry, songs and music.

With the coming of a new decade the People's Friend moved perceptibly into a new mould. In 1881 for the first time the masthead included the words, "Scottish National Miscellany". What the Friend had, in effect, been for many years was now to be made known to all. It was national not only in that it circulated throughout Scotland, but also in that to many people outside Scotland, particularly in the Empire and America, it was regarded as representing the aspirations, talents and characteristics of the whole nation. As if to emphasise its growing importance and influence, from 1882 each issue and the annual volumes were enumerated, not according to the third series, but chronologically from the beginning in 1869, making the volume for 1882 volume XIV.

Public taste had changed since 1869, and the Friend if it was to continue to expand had to face up to the new situation. Fortunately it had in the Managing Proprietor, a man who knew how to move with the times. "Sir John felt ever anxious that the Friend should advance with the times; should adapt itself to change in public taste."⁸³ From a spate of articles by the 'quality' periodicals of the time, it is apparent that, at last, the extent and influence of the vast reading public had been generally recognized. In 1890, the

Quarterly Review described the situation as it then existed:

"There is probably no family of the classes rather absurdly described as 'working' and 'lower middle' in which one at least of these prints [penny weekly papers] is not bought as regularly as Saturday night comes round. In many such families three, four, and even more are taken by various members and lent from one to another."⁸⁴

With this growth, the gap between the sensational penny magazines and the 'better quality' family papers like the Friend grew increasingly large. But what was common to them all was fiction. Serials sold magazines, and fierce was the competition for the best writers. With typical foresight and planning, the Friend announced its 1882 Programme that, "... as Serial Tales must form the leading feature of a Popular Literary Miscellany, special efforts have been made for publication in the Friend of a succession of Splendid New Stories, by authors of established popularity."⁸⁵ Furthermore it was organizing a serial story competition with a prize of £100. Even in the address to the readers there is a slight, but nevertheless important, shift of emphasis away from what was thought suitable for the readers to what they most definitely wanted: "Especially do we anticipate that the Serial Tales will be unusually attractive, because their writers well understand the requirements of weekly issue, and the character of story suitable to the tastes of a large popular constituency."⁸⁶

The changes wrought at this time manifested themselves not

through an increase in fiction but in an intensified publicity for the fiction and particularly the authors around whom it was centred for years to come - Andrew Stewart, editor from 1884, Mrs. J.K. Lawson, Adeline Sergeant and Annie S. Swan. There was also a diminution of distinctly Scottish fiction in serial tales, and in general a slight weakening of the Scottish emphasis. This is not to say that the People's Friend by any means lost its Scottish bias; there continued to be Scottish fiction, articles on Scotland and its people, support for Scottish literature etc., but more emphasis was put on articles of general interest which might appeal more to the non-Scottish reader.

As far as the fortunes of the People's Friend itself were concerned, one of the greatest successes was the introduction of competitions. Competitions, an integral part of the Journal, had never played a significant role in the Friend. There had, since the beginning, been Christmas and New Year competitions of puzzles, charades, conundrums and the like, but never any others. The competitions which they introduced in the 80's fell into two main types: those which were connected with charitable works and those for literary and other activities in the magazine. Until well into the 1880's the latter type of competition was in line with moral and instructive policy of the Friend. With the start of the Civil Service Column in 1885, educational competitions on subjects in the civil service entrance examination were introduced; a competition in the same year for the best letter on household

management allowed the Friend to deliver a homily based on the resulting entries: "... the letters as a whole show that the tender, loving, devout spirit, and the anxious care to train up the young in habits of industry and frugality - in faithfulness alike to God and to man - exist not only in Burn's poems, but are enshrined in the hearts of Scottish and English mothers."⁸⁷

Another competition for a song, "On the goodwill of the Colonies towards the Mother Country, as shown in their offer of military assistance in the Soudan Campaign" reflects the contemporary interests of the nation.⁸⁸ Competitions like these, including many for children, increased in numbers with the years and reached a peak in the 90's with regular competitions for the best photograph or the best holiday essay. In the case of the photographic competitions, the entries were utilised to start a scheme by which the Friend lent sets of lantern slides eg. Burns Country or the Lake District, to subscribers to be used for entertaining in clubs etc. during the winter months. As the century came to its close there were more and more trivial competitions on subjects such as, "Who is the most popular novelist?" or "What is the best feature in this volume?"

Of more significance is the group of charity competitions begun in 1882. The place which the People's Friend had found for itself in Scotland can be measured in part by the competitions - the Wildflower Exhibitions of 1882, 1885, 1887, 1892, the Grand Bazaar of 1886, and the Christmas Knitting Competitions or Love-

Dargs, as they became, from 1887 onwards. The idea behind them was that children should make collections of wildflowers, or in the knitting competitions, knitted articles which, after being judged and prizes awarded, could be sold or distributed for the benefit of children in hospital. Not only did these competitions fulfil the ideals of the Friend but were excellent publicity and no doubt helped to increase circulation. Each exhibition (a wild-flower exhibition was held in each of the Scottish cities and the Grand Bazaar in Dundee) and the Christmas knitting competitions was written about for weeks before the event when details would be given of how preparations were proceeding, the names of the entrants, and how the judging would be done. Results were always published in the Advertiser and in the Journal which no doubt was meant as an incentive to all entrants to buy a copy to see if they had been successful. The interest these exhibitions aroused was considerable. At the last wildflower exhibition they received 1642 exhibits, more than ever before, and over 3000 visitors to the exhibition itself. However the importance of these particular exhibitions does not lie so much in their relative success (by the 1890's the numbers sending to the Love-Darg was declining) but in the significance they have for the place the People's Friend had in the lives of its readers. After the 1892 Wildflower Exhibition, "a well-known writer to the Friend said on looking around, that he was proud to think he was a contributor to a miscellany whose influence over the young could call forth such a beautiful display."⁸⁹

When the effort involved in collecting and sending bouquets of flowers to such an exhibition is remembered, then this can well be regarded as fair comment. The Friend, to many, was not just another magazine, but was a living entity and an important part of their lives.

£700 was made at the Bazaar in 1886, as a result of which, three cots were endowed in the children's ward of Dundee Royal Infirmary. It was more than simple publicity in having two of the stalls at the bazaar run by Annie Swan and Adeline Sergeant. These writers were regarded by the readers not just as novelists but as personal friends and it was this close relationship, begun in the Journal and symbolised by these competitions, which formed one of the main supports of the Friend. The essence of this union was summed up by a reader in his entry for a competition for the best feature in the Friend:

"The feature of the Friend is not a feature, and yet, in my opinion, it is the feature. That feature (or rather attribute) is its 'Homeliness'. Doubtless a great deal depends upon the class of writers and standard of literature as to the success of any paper, but the hold which the People's Friend has upon the hearts of the people is founded, not so much upon the standard of literature, as in the manner in which the various writers treat their subjects."⁹⁰

'Homeliness' which the Friend created and disseminated in its subject matter and style, became an attribute not only of its own literature but extended to Scottish character in general. The vehicle, created to portray Scottish life, was itself becoming an integral part of that life in the eyes of many.

The public appetite for fiction grew at an enormous rate throughout the 80's and 90's, and with it an insatiable desire for information on the authors and their methods of writing. In 1882, the £100 prize winning serial, "Jacobi's Wife" by an English governess, Adeline Sergeant, was published. From that year until her death, at least one of her serials appeared in the pages of the Friend.
Annie S. Swan
A year earlier, a serial, "Wrongs Righted" by the winner of Christmas competitions in the Journal, appeared in the pages of the People's Friend. Round these two novelists the Friend's and Sir John Leng's reputation as an aid to literary aspirants was finally confirmed. Within a few years both Swan and Sergeant had established themselves nationally as writers of popular fiction. For many years to come the Friend built much of its publicity and its circulation around them. They were both for periods contracted to write solely for the People's Friend, "so that those who wish to read her (Annie S. Swan) newest Stories, can only do so by becoming subscribers to the People's Friend."⁹¹ From 1885 until 1887 Adeline Sergeant worked on the staff of John Leng & Co. writing for the Advertiser and Telegraph as well as the Friend.⁹² Hardly a year passed without some article on their private lives or on their methods of writing, and they were held up as examples of how ordinary people could become successes. As if to underline the lesson Annie S. Swan wrote an article "On Success in Life" in 1890.

It was, by now, regular practice to give details of personalities closely connected with the magazine. The editor, Andrew Stewart

was featured in an article in 1892 based on a profile which had appeared the year before in the British Workman. By the mid 90's it was common for even the writers of non fiction to be regarded as worthy of publicity like the Rev. Peter Anton, a contributor of long standing noted for his biographical essays in the series, "Heroes in Strife", "Risen from the Ranks" and others; or the venerable John Stuart Blackie who wrote for the Friend in his last years when, "editors of more important monthlies and quarterlies sometimes forgot in the pride of their high station to remember that the labourer was worthy of his hire."⁹³

Conjoined with the move to promote individual writers was a distinct shift of emphasis towards the educational and literary merits of the Friend as opposed to moral improvement. Articles on literary criticism and on poets and novelists from Wordsworth and Goethe to Emerson and Thoreau became more frequent with the passing of the years. The process was begun to some extent in 1883 with the introduction of an occasional series "Literary Gossip". By 1885 it was "with a desire to encourage the taste for literature and develop the powers of composition among the readers"⁹⁴ that competitions were being encouraged. "Literary merits alone" were said to be responsible for the rise in circulation and its growing popularity in 1890. "...During the long course of the Friend's existence it has sought to please by maintaining the highest literary merit possible, and it is for the public to judge how far this has been attained."⁹⁵ Perhaps the people for whom the magazine had first

begun did not now need instruction, or more likely it was thought impolite by this time to emphasise these particular aims. Not that the Friend had by any means abandoned its original ideals. The fiction remained highly moral and there was just as much encouragement to moral and material improvement in other articles. Yet there seemed, particularly as the century drew to a close, to be a feeling that the Friend was becoming more isolated in the midst of competitors, "who by the inducement of money prizes and other dodges, try to gain subscribers."⁹⁶ In their programme for 1893, they promised to continue on the same track in spite of "artful devices" by the "purveyors of popular literature to secure the favour of the public."⁹⁷ For many, however, this was the appeal of the Friend. "I cannot find a paper in all America like it, with all their smart literature. It seems to me like the touch of a vanished hand."⁹⁸ So said Miss Robertson of Philadelphia.

Closely linked with the shift towards literary merit was the new emphasis in its educational value. In 1885 the highly successful Civil Service column was begun in which information was given on forthcoming examinations for the Civil Service as well as examples of previous examination papers. Many competitions, such as the wild-flower competitions were regarded as having special value in encouraging children in study - in this case the study of botany. No doubt this increasing emphasis on education was influenced by the establishment of compulsory education as well as the obvious place it had in the philosophy of self improvement. The civil

service was regarded as a suitable career for both young men and women who wished to improve their station in life. Articles on the benefits fo a university education and on methods of entry to the professions inevitably found a place in the pages of the Friend. School children were not neglected either with the appearance of a "School Corner" in 1892 containing puzzles, games, hints on pets etc. as well as the now usual competitions. The proprietors saw it as a particularly suitable vehicle for education, not simply because of its circulation and 'healthy tone' but for the reason that "school teachers, recognizing these facts, have in numerous instances adopted it as a reading text-book in their schools, while we know of School Inspectors who have both approved and recommended it for this purpose."⁹⁹

Social change was reflected in more than just education. The nature of the readership was ever of prime concern. In the household columns, for example, careful notice had always been taken of the financial limitations of many of the readers in the choice of recipes and in ways of improving the home. But as the social conditions of many improved so did their affluence. In 1881 the Friend introduced holiday numbers - a special issue each year comprised entirely of fiction. The stories were always set in favourite holiday resorts particularly in the firth of Clyde, to which thousands of Glaswegians flocked each summer. The changing habits of the population were reflected too in the growing number of articles during the summer months on resorts both in Scotland and abroad. Tours undertaken by the editor, Andrew Stewart to Norway

and Switzerland served as a basis for two series of articles on these countries. Even now the relatively less well off were not neglected. Part of the publicity given to summer holidays was in the competitions where popular holiday resorts would have to be described. The best of these essays were then published for the benefit of the readers. Often these competitions were directed towards the poorer readers as in the holiday competition in 1893 when the subject was the best and cheapest method of spending a week in London.

At the end of 1893, the People's Friend completed its semi-jubilee. It had changed from a magazine created as a minor adjunct of the People's Journal with a circulation of about 20,000 to a periodical covering the United Kingdom and overseas with a weekly circulation of more than 200,000 per week.¹⁰⁰ It had now reached a position of equality with major popular periodicals. The press, too, recognised its popularity. As early as 1883 the editor talked of "warmly - eulogistical notices which it has received from the press." Typical of the praise it received are the comments of the Scotsman: "A Scottish magazine of great merit is the People's Friend. There is not extant a better collection of stories, verse, essays, useful information, and all that is likely to be prized in a household. The continued stories are excellent. The completed tales are in every case thoroughly readable."¹⁰¹ Further evidence of its popularity was found in the report of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, for 1887. In a

survey carried out to find the most frequently used of the periodicals available in the reading room, the Friend topped the list.¹⁰²

With the passing of the years, the circulation outside Scotland assumed an ever increasing importance, particularly in the Empire where the Friend represented home for so many exiled Scots. One of the earliest serials, "Maggie Woodburn; or the Massacre of Cloudy Bay" (1870) was concerned with the adventures of Scottish emigrants to New Zealand. No doubt the inclusion of an "Australian Story" in the holiday number of 1882 was for the benefit of the colonial readers, the Friend being, "largely subscribed for by the Scot abroad, as a cherished reminder of his 'Ain Countrie'."¹⁰³

The rise in emigration from Scotland to 16,000 per annum in the 1890's¹⁰⁴ is reflected in the increase of references to the colonial subscribers and articles on the empire. In 1889 there was "Hints to Emigrants Crossing the Atlantic" and "a reader of the Friend" wrote in an article "A Day in Hindustan", "...there is no more popular literature than the pages of the Friend. It is passed from hand to hand while it holds together, and has often helped to beguile the weary hours of hospital."¹⁰⁵

The most common method by which exiles received the Friend was by post probably from friends or relatives, and great was the public outcry when postage was raised to a penny in 1897: "... it must be remembered that there are perhaps more People's Friends posted to friends in other parts of the country and abroad than is the case with any other periodical."¹⁰⁶ No doubt

once the family copy had been read it was then posted to friends abroad. It could, however, be bought overseas. In 1894 an arrangement was made with the export newsagents R.A. Thompson & Co. Ltd. so that the Friend could be obtained "in our Australasian, African and Canadian Colonies as easily as at home."¹⁰⁷ Canada was particularly well catered for. Mrs. J.K. Lawson, one of their foremost serial authors lived in Canada and many of her stories were set there as well as in Scotland. In 1897 Andrew Stewart undertook a trip to Canada, resulting in a series in the Friend, "The Editor's Trip Across Canada". The Friend served as a link for those exiled from their native land and for those at home provided information on the lands they had never seen.

Consuming ten tons of paper per week, the People's Friend commenced its second twenty five years with a different shape and cover. It was now slightly shorter and broader with a coloured cover for advertisements. The reason for this was the purchase by John Leng & Co. of a Hoe printing machine which printed the Friend at a rate of 20,000 per hour and was, they claimed, the only one of its kind outside London.¹⁰⁸ At the same time the monthly issue of the Friend was discontinued. As a magazine it was probably under more pressure than ever before from periodicals like Tit-Bits and Pearson's Weekly, with massive circulations, and a "policy ... to fill their papers with anecdotes, jokes, excerpts, riddles - nothing which required sustained attention on the part of their readers, let alone concentration."¹⁰⁹ Needless to say such publications came under attack from the Friend: "...it stands today a

wholesome protest against that pernicious class of penny periodicals which under the disguise of a literary miscellany is little less than a lottery ticket. With such it is not 'Where shall we find the best writers 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?' "¹¹⁰

The Friend reacted to the challenge by adaptation and intense self advertisement. They introduced more competitions of a lighter nature and in 1896 introduced the offer of dress patterns of the latest fashions as well as increasing considerably the material on womens' fashions in its pages. The best features of both the Friend and the Journal were continuously advertised and compliments from readers were assiduously published. Often they resulted from competitions directly concerned with the Friend itself and its writers eg. the best feature in the Friend or the best anecdote about Annie S. Swan. They also began to introduce free supplements with photographs on their writers, such as the Annie Swan supplement, or supplements comprising Friend poetry or fiction. No doubt this was aimed at maintaining its position in a rapidly changing market and there seems no reason to doubt that it succeeded. So much had it evolved that in 1896 Mrs. J.K. Lawson was describing it, not entirely accurately, as "essentially a woman's paper". In spite of pressure it had not changed in any essential aspect and played to the full its

role as a purveyor of what was now known as 'Kailyard' literature. More new Friend writers appeared like 'Fergus Mackenzie' with his "Humours of Glenbruuar" and "Cruisie Sketches" and "Halliday Rogers" with her "Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae". Nor was it backward in crossing swords with the redoubtable British Weekly over the respective merits of their 'Kailyard' writers. Throughout its existence the People's Friend had adapted to a changing world without compromising its principles and continued to enjoy public support and affection. It was no coincidence that as it faced a new century, it should have chosen as the winning motto in a competition, the words of the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod, "Trust in God, and do the right."¹¹¹

Notes

- 1 Advertisement tax 1853, stamp duty 1855, paper tax 1861.
- 2 R.M.W. Cowan, The Newspaper In Scotland, Glasgow, 1946, p.274.
- 3 Scottish Notes & Queries, IV 2nd Series, 1903, p.138.
- 4 See obituary of David Pae, People's Friend, XVI, 1884, p.333.
- 5 Wm. Norrie, Edinburgh Newspapers - Past and Present, Earlston, 1891, p.24, and Scottish Notes & Queries, op. cit.
- 6 A.C. Lamb, "Bibliography of Dundee Periodicals", Scottish Notes & Queries, IV, 1890, p.12.
- 7 Money prizes of £5 and £3 were offered for the two best essays on, "The Domestic Condition of Women, what it is, and what it might be."
- 8 Lamb, op.cit., p.29.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Both the Telegraph and Warder disappeared in 1861 on amalgamation with the Weekly News and Courier respectively.
- 11 Dundee Advertiser, 7th April, 1854.
- 12 T.Y. Miller, The Dundee Courier Historical Narrative, 1816-87, [Dundee], 1911, p.10.
- 13 The Weekly News was said to be the first penny weekly in Scotland.
- 14 Weekly News, 10th May, 1856.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid., 25th October, 1856.
- 17 Ibid., 18th October, 1856.
- 18 Ibid., 25th April, 1857.
- 19 Ibid., 27th June, 1857.

- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Leng Papers, (Dundee Reference Library), Script of Speech by Sir John Leng handwritten on House of Commons notepaper, n.d.
- 22 People's Journal, 2nd January, 1858.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.,
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 op.cit., 2nd October, 1858.
- 28 op.cit., 21st January, 1860.
- 29 op.cit., 10th December, 1859.
- 30 op.cit., 20th October, 1860
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 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, [1891?], p.19.
- 34 People's Journal, 2nd January, 1858.
- 35 In the number of 30th June, 1860, they requested a halt to new material coming in as they had so much in hand and could not print it.
- 36 Speech by W.D. Latto reprinted in "A Silver and A Golden Wedding" Celebration of Mr. Latto's 25th Anniversary as Editor of the People's Journal, [Dundee, 1885]".
- 37 People's Journal, 10th September, 1859.

- 38 Norrie, op.cit., p.34.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Lamb, op.cit., IV, 1890, p.13.
- 41 See chapter
- 42 People's Journal, 20th December, 1862.
- 43 Ibid., 7th September, 1861.
- 44 Ibid., 4th January, 1862.
- 45 Ibid., 22nd July, 1865.
- 46 See chapter 2.
- 47 Commenced 5th September, 1863.
- 48 "Jeannie Sinclair" began on 23rd May, 1868, and "Grace Glendenning" on 28th January, 1860.
- 49 It was in the People's Journal that Wm. Robertson Nicoll first read Mansie Wauch.
- 50 The average weekly circulation between October and December 1890 was 219,545 and they claimed it to be, "the largest certified circulation of any Scottish newspaper for a continuous period." (How a Newspaper is Printed, p.10).
- 51 People's Friend, I, 1870, p.1.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Ibid., p.573.

- 58 "Our Hogmanay", p.817.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Ibid., p.224.
- 62 Ibid., p.817.
- 63 op.cit., II, 1871, p.240.
- 64 Ibid., p.576.
- 65 Ibid., III, 1872, p.656.
- 66 Commenced IV, 1873, p.112.
- 67 op.cit., III, 1872, p.816.
- 68 How a Newspaper is Printed, p.23ff.
- 69 "The Editor's New Year Address", op.cit., 3rd Series, 1874, p.673.
- 70 III, 1872, p.197.
- 71 "New Year's Address to Our Readers", II, 1871, p.817.
- 72 Own italics, IV, 1873-4, p.944.
- 73 Ibid., p.533.
- 74 Published Hodder & Stoughton, 1874.
- 75 People's Friend, I 3rd Ser., 1874, p.119.
- 76 Ibid., p.673.
- 77 "To Our Readers", II, 3rd Ser., 1875, p.817.
- 78 IV, 3rd Ser., 1877, p.592.
- 79 VI, 3rd Ser., 1879, p.96.
- 80 V, 3rd Ser., 1878, p.817.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 VI, 3rd Ser., 1879, p.833.

- 83 "Obituary of Sir John Leng", XXXVIII, 1906, p.548.
- 84 "Penny Fiction", Quarterly Review, CLXXI, 1890, p.156.
- 85 People's Friend, VIII, 3rd Ser., 1881, p.816.
- 86 Ibid., p.817.
- 87 XVII, 1885, p.749.
- 88 Ibid., p.160.
- 89 XXIV, 1892, p.509.
- 90 XXXI, 1899, p.504.
- 91 XXII, 1890, p.432.
- 92 Winifred Stephens, Life of Adeline Sergeant, London, 1905, p.170ff.
- 93 Alex Anderson, "John Stuart Blackie", XXVII, 1895, p.163-4.
- 94 XVII, 1885, p.639.
- 95 Christmas Number, XXII, 1890.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 XXIV, 1892, p.833.
- 98 XXVI, 1894, p.12.
- 99 "Special Notice to Teachers and Scholars", XXIV, 1892, p.384.
- 100 XXV, 1893, p.800.
- 101 Scotsman, 4th October, 1886.
- 102 Quoted in People's Friend, XX, 1888, p.288.
- 103 XIV, 1882, p.384.
- 104 Thomas Ferguson, Scottish Social Welfare 1864-1914, Edinburgh, 1958, p.217.
- 105 People's Friend, XXVII, 1895, p.523.
- 106 XXXI, 1899, p.99.

- 107 XXVI, 1894, p.288.
- 108 XXV, 1893, p.800.
- 109 Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader, Chicago, 1957, pp.363-4.
- 110 People's Friend, XXVIII, 1896, pp.67-8.
- 111 Ibid., XXXI, 1899, p.107.

Chapter 4

People's Friend Serial Fiction 1870-1900

A time of change.

The study of serial fiction poses, for the literary student, a major dilemma. Upon what criteria can it be judged? To use the standards by which "great literature" is normally evaluated would lead to almost totally negative criticism on the grounds of paucity of thought and expression, implausibility of plot, weakness of character and many other criticisms. It would result in a completely negative account and would fail as an approach to the subject.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, fiction was the major literary product with cheap fiction being read by millions, bringing with it new problems of literary merit and attitudes to culture. The blackest condemnation of much of the fiction and its readers would be pointless. It is a fact that this literature existed and was read and enjoyed. To understand this it must be seen primarily for what it was; normal literary standards cannot be employed. Serial fiction is a major means through which the outlook, attitudes and social climate of a large section of society can be viewed. It illuminates a portion of society hitherto neglected. Only when this has been done, can it be put into the wide perspective of literature in general.

Nineteenth century writers themselves were conscious of the dilemma which faced them with regard to fiction. In the early years of

the century fiction itself was seen as a dangerous debasement of literature while, in later years the purpose and aim of fiction, by now an established part of the literary scene, caused much heart searching. It was a problem which exercised the minds of writers both in England and in Scotland for it was a problem affecting both nations irrespective of tradition. However, the solution and the nature of fiction was eventually to differ in many respects.¹

Nor was it an issue confined to major periodicals. Many of the periodicals published in Dundee in the first half of the nineteenth century found in fiction an unending source for articles. The objection to fiction was, at this time, based not upon the implications of literary merit and good taste but upon the intrinsic moral dangers to be found in the purveyance of fiction at all. A "learned and highly-respected gentleman" writing in the Dundee Miscellany saw fiction as the cause for the failure of so many periodicals: "The great defect of most of our lately projected periodicals is, that they are too much devoted to the record of tales of fiction both in poetry and in prose, and that they substitute the vagaries of an unbridled imagination and the mere amusement of their readers, for substantial knowledge and the moral and intellectual improvement of mankind."² The moral danger had exercised the mind of a writer in an earlier magazine who saw in novel reading a danger especially for young ladies.³ Such bias against fiction continued throughout the earlier decades of the century particularly amongst those who saw in fiction the antithesis of the

desire for knowledge and understanding of man. Many of the ephemeral magazines dabbled with fiction in the form of short stories and the occasional serial lasting for a few episodes. However the content shows a simple desire to tell a story without any attempt to give a moral lesson to the reader which so much identified the People's Friend and much of other later fiction. Even a later magazine like Taylor's Weekly published when in England cheap fictional magazines were beginning to gain a wide circulation, still maintained the idea of the inherent danger of fiction while itself publishing an occasional moral tale. In an article entitled, "The Means of Advancing Moral Science Reading" fiction was again made the whipping boy and cast in the role of enemy of truth:

"During the pupilage of the human race, - that is when the reins of reason are surrendered to the sway of imagination, - when the science of man is little cultivated, and little understood, - works of fiction abound; and some have imagined that the ingenious nonsense, - containing less or more of truth, which is the staple of the works of fiction - is necessary by gratifying unenlightened curiosity, to present men from falling into a universal disgust with life. It must be a very pitiable state of society that, where fiction is more entertaining and has a greater circle of votaries than truth."⁴

Yet by 1843 it was too late for such blanket condemnation of fiction. Fiction was already established, particularly in England,

and was to make rapid expansion in Scotland in the near future. It no longer made sense to regard all fiction as simply means of amusement and the enemy to truth and moral values. The emphasis moved to fiction which was a compromise between the public's wish for entertainment and the determination of writers and publishers to propound moral truths. Such an aim and presentation was one of deep significance for Victorian Britain and the accepted attitudes and conventions by which it supposedly lived. Fiction and its publication grew into a vast network through which it began to create views itself and grew away from direct reflection of existing society. So voracious did the public appetite for fiction become, that as the century proceeded it became more and more difficult to distinguish in fiction what was the real state of society and what was the state which publishers and writers would have liked it to be. The latter view was often blindly accepted by the readers particularly at those levels in society with which they were not conversant.

Blackwood's as early as 1859, recognised the new forces at work in literature and the inherent dangers of the new position which it occupied. "Literature ... is not only the expression of public opinion and the index of contemporary history, it is itself a great force that reacts on the life it represents, half creating what it professes only to reflect."⁵ The first element in this process was as the article points out, the growth of new fiction writers by means of literary competitions. For possibly the first

time writers were creating stories not simply from creative impulse but from an external motivation i.e. a prize, or even their name in print, and were for the most part willing and ready to create 'literature' to a predetermined mould. The purpose of this "prize literature" as Maga calls it, "is partly to get an effective book on the theme proposed, but chiefly to stimulate an interest in a foregone conclusion. Under this head it is natural to inquire what must be the effect of such amateur writing up to a predetermined issue, and how far the principle of such competitions is congenial to the English mind?"⁶

The dangers to privacy and of unwanted publicity the writer foresaw were not issues which occupied the attention of future writers. What they saw as more important were the issues of literary merit and public taste. Most robust condemnation was reserved for the "trash" of fiction, the successor to "penny dreadfuls" of the 1840's.

"Scarcely any of them are absolutely vicious in character... but there are not a few which trench on the border land of vice; while of the great majority which remain, the principle characteristic is a senile imbecility on the one hand, or an irrational sensationalism on the other, equally destructive to anything like masculine vigour of thought."⁷

At worst the "penny dreadfuls" were seen as an encouragement to juvenile crime,⁸ while the general opinion of writers in the "qualities" was that most of cheap popular fiction was causing the decline and eventual disappearance of literary and cultural standards.

The most the Edinburgh Review could say of penny weeklies was that they were "dyspeptic ... The indisputable fact remains that the worst of modern novels are too often among the most popular. Pure, healthy fiction is indeed to be had, and in fair abundance, but public taste seems to devour unhealthy trash of every kind, with a higher relish than it can find for the good gifts of the most gifted artists."⁹

The danger to public taste was seen as further intensified with the increase in the literate public through compulsory education. It was good that more people could read, but would they read what was good for them? To many, the foundations of culture seemed about to crumble. The newly educated, if they read, were not reading that which would induce a sense of culture. It would only come through reading, "high class novels" in which most gifted minds put forth their thoughts and teachings, and as the embodiment of such thoughts and teachings the works of the great masters of fiction must refine and elevate - ay, and inform too ... Culture would not only give them (the masses) new and higher pleasures, it would make them better men, better husbands and fathers and citizens; by enlarging their minds it would, while refining, strengthen their shrewd commonsense."¹⁰

In the event, the dangers of this new literature were not as great as might be thought from many contemporary comments nor would the solution to such problems as did exist have been as simple as the Contemporary would lead us to believe. The reality

was that most of the fiction written was of a very standard nature with a strict code of practice and was enjoyed as entertainment by a large section of the population. The actual situation is summed up by the Quarterly: "The fact remains ... that popular literature of today is singularly pure in tone, and that any violation of decency would inevitably lead to such a falling off of circulation as would practically amount to the ruin of the paper guilty of it."¹¹

A situation did exist in which a type and style of literature was being sold which fell well below normal literary standards. Much of the criticism was directed specifically at London publications and was not meant to be general comment on the content of the periodical press. The People's Friend was a publication free from metropolitan influences which gained a deep hold on the people of Scotland and abroad. Its fiction is an example of material fitting to the pattern of its publishers, John Leng & Co., and yet much is remembered as the work of individual authors. As the years passed it developed its own identity and can be seen as a reflection of what has been accepted as one image of late nineteenth century Scotland.

Qualms and doubts over the purpose or effect of fiction were unknown to the People's Friend. From its inception it carved out its path and followed it unwaveringly. The guiding light was twofold and had been voiced by the editor, David Pae, years before in one of his first novels, Lucy, The Factory Girl.

"It is the province of the novelist to instruct as well as to amuse,

and when he neglects to aim at the fulfilment of his twofold duty, he fails to accomplish that good which the sphere and character of his labour are intended to effect."¹² It was this basically didactic aim which motivated the fiction even although society and contemporary values changed. The Friend and John Leng & Co. had no illusions about what they saw as their role in society and of the press in general - a role even greater than that of the Church. "As the soft wax receives the figure of a seal, the moral heart of the population is receiving the impress of our journals. We seriously believe that newspapers have a wider influence in moulding the moral character of a population than all the pulpits put together."¹³ Thus at no point could an individual author expect to write anything which would not fit the preconceived mould of the publisher, for Leng & Co. were aware that if their power for doing good was great, so was the power of the press for evil, as they saw it, equally considerable.

Within this framework of improving and entertaining, the Friend built up its own concept of what its fiction should be like and what it considered that its readers demanded from it. The writer of an article on "The Study of English Literature" saw no limits to the part fiction could play in the lives of the people.

"No limit, however, should be set to the combinations of imagination save one - that no obscene or noxious quality is allowed ... Anything increasing the sum of human enjoyment - pleasing to the feelings and raising sympathetic emotions in the breast, enlightening and elevating the sentiments of the heart, expanding the thoughts, influencing

the will, ennobling the desires and actuating to duty, inspiring almost passively a higher degree of justice, and moulding a clearer conception of right, leading towards the full measure of possible happiness - surely whatever tends to this is lawful and commendable. In this hard and often cold world, our joys are not so great that we can willingly afford to lose any of them."¹⁴

To expect fiction to achieve such noble aims was to stretch optimism to remarkable lengths. However it does summarise the attitude which the magazine adopted. Its view of everyday life was one in which the lack of joy for many was a recurring theme, and its hope was that in fiction a glimpse might be given of another life to which they, particularly younger readers, could attain. The defence of this approach was characteristically confident. In 1873 a correspondent had written criticising the conventional characters of fiction for setting up "an ideal moral rectitude and purity in human life which it is impossible for erring humanity to carry out."¹⁵ In a reply by, presumably, the editor, a classic defence was made for this type of fiction:

Granting ^{that} as a rule the heroes and heroines of fiction, as depicted in novels, are far above womanly perfection or manly strength and grace the ordinary run of mortals, the reason is not far to seek why this is so. In a person we are called upon to love and admire, the nearer he approaches to perfection in all that is good and noble, the better

instinctively we like him; and instead of being repelled from such, as you seem to think people are, they are drawn towards such characters in spite of themselves, and novelists but take advantage of this innate desire of the human heart after all that is noble and good by abstaining from showing up their weaknesses, and their villains by ordinary bad by making the evil of their natures the outstanding feature of their characters. Novels in general, are but scenes and incidents of real life seen, through the magnifying glass of the author's mind, in which, the character and incidents are not distorted, but just slightly enlarged, and a poetic film of rich warm language thrown over all that charms and enchains the reader."¹⁶

The ramifications of this statement on the purpose of fiction are immense and obvious. This is a factual statement of the Friend's method and all the fiction it contains must be seen in this light. It is but another way by which is illustrated an essentially romantic view of life, and was a convenient way of smoothing over the inevitable ills of many living in nineteenth century Britain. It was not simply a convention of fiction but was seen as a pattern for everyday life. The nineteenth century was epitomised as an age of hard, stern, matter-of-fact practicality with the moral danger that people would become obsessed with "gross and selfish materialism" - a view which was a recurring theme of many stories. An antidote to this could be found in romance and in emphasising the finer

points in life. "Is it not better to raise the surroundings of your daily life to the elevation of the romantic than to debase them to the meanness of the prosaic and the distasteful? ... Is it not better to make a temple and a refuge of your home, to find in it 'the shadow of a great rock in a weary land' than to make it but a shed to eat and sleep in?"¹⁷

For the People's Friend, therefore, there was no conflict between its ideal in fiction and the ideal by which it hoped people would live. In the fiction was an example of how the ideal might be achieved. It was inevitable, as Maga, had foreseen in 1859, that a magazine with such a firmly entrenched view of what its fiction must be, would fall into the inevitable trap of becoming self perpetuating. This became more and more noticeable in the 1880's and 90's. Fiction writing had become throughout Britain something of an industry, and in the case of the Friend it coincided with the establishment of individuals recognised as Friend authors who could turn out serials with appropriate sentiment to order. In a sense the story had taken over. Moral propriety and education were still indispensable, but what is seen as more interesting is not the intrinsic merit of the story but the mechanics by which it was written and the method the author uses. The attitude appears to have become one in which complexity of plot and time taken in the story's composition were criteria for judging merit rather than more conventional standards. Mrs. C.L. Pirkis was introduced as a new Friend novelist in 1896 in such a manner. Her forte was plot. She possessed, "a gift that is truly wonderful in the

construction of a plot and unravelling in a most artistic manner the skein of the most tangled web of fiction ever woven by the mind of a novelist."¹⁸ So wonderful was this seen to be that, "the most experienced readers of fiction" would find it difficult to guess the denouement. This is fiction brought to the level of the parlour game. But the talents of Mrs. Pirkis did not end here. "Sometimes under pressure she has sat for nine, eleven, or thirteen hours at a time at her writing table without once stirring from it. This enables one to judge not only of the strength of her constitution, but also the fertility of her inventive faculty."¹⁹ It is easy to agree with the first of these conclusions but it indicates a sad decline that such grounds were being used to judge the 'inventive faculty'.

It would not be entirely accurate, however to deduce from such methods of self advertisement that the aims or essential nature of People's Friend fiction had changed. Just as the periodical magazines in general were changing towards the end of the century, so too was fiction. "Morally elevating" fiction was not necessarily so widely accepted, much to the regret of the Friend and its authors. Mrs. J.K. Lawson, a Friend author bitterly attacked the changing fashions:

"The fine reserve which is the charm alike of books and women, is totally discarded; privacy has been slain on the threshold; every door in the houses has been thrown wide, and every skeleton rearticulated, the novel writer has become

a demonstrator in mental and physical anatomy, and human souls walk abroad naked and are not ashamed."²⁰

Consequently serial fiction in the Friend and elsewhere received more and more praise not for the ways in which it dealt with moral and 'elevating' life but for the morality itself. Thus writers such as Annie S. Swan, Ian Maclaren, Barrie et al found themselves praised for opposing new ideas in fiction rather than for any merits which their work itself contained.

Despite, then, the narrow confines which the Friend imposed upon its authors, its popularity never failed and through its pages many authors achieved some fame, albeit short lived. What were the stories like which captured the minds of so many and gave to the Friend one of the most loyal of audiences?

It must always be remembered that this was serial fiction which in the last analysis would only be successful if it sold magazines. No matter how much the People's Friend desired to improve its readers, it had to ensure that its serials were so written that readers would eagerly await the next episode. Some hint as to features which readers demanded can be gleaned from the advertisements for forthcoming stories. Almost every story was highlighted for either plot, exciting incidents, setting, character or message. Depending upon the author one feature might be emphasised before another, "Wee Gow Glentie" (1876) was described as possessing "in a very marked degree those features of strong incident, quiet humour, and delineation of Scottish character which so delighted the readers of the Friend in

"The Changeling" and other stories by the same author."²¹ "Strong interest attaching to the heroine and her surrounding circumstances"²² was the feature before others in "Lily the Lintwhite" (1878), while Annie S. Swan's "Sundered Hearts" (1885) was said to be worthy for the "bright, pure, elevating"²³ tone. However, in "A Trust Betrayed" by John K. Leys plot was supreme. "Its plot at once lay hold upon the mind of the Reader, and compels him to follow its intricate mazes through all their singular convolutions and surprising complications."²⁴

A plot or plots was the sine qua non for all stories. In some it would be of a simple nature and only sufficient to illustrate the actions of the characters. Such a story was "The Tryst of Arranmore" by Robert Buchanan which appeared in 1880. The only purpose served by the plot is the bringing about of marriage between Mina, the heroine and Lord Arranmore, the landlord of an estate in the north of Scotland where Mina's guardian is parish minister. The only twist in the plot is the disguise which Lord Arranmore takes up as an artist and under which he falls in love with Mina. The main theme of the story is the working out of difficulties when Mina learns his true identity. Minor plot diversions do appear but with no intrinsic bearing on the story. They illustrate more the necessities of serial fiction. The rescue of the English Ethel Sedley from a fast flowing river; the description of a Fair in the village of Storport during the herring fishing season bear no relevance to the plot but do, of course, expand the length of the serial and are admirable features with which to end a particular episode. Will Ethel be successfully rescued? To find out

the next copy of the Friend would need to be purchased.

On the other hand, the proliferation of plots within one story could be considerable. "The Sport of Fortune" (1875) contained at least three main plots with many minor ones thrown in for good measure. Set in late eighteenth century Glasgow it concerned the story of a young lawyer transported for taking part in protest for Reform. The basic plot is how he will come to marry the heroine. However this is complicated by a rival lover, the Provost's son. From this develop many schemes to keep them apart not least the hero's transportation to Australia. Parallel to the main plot is the love story between Archie, the honest workman and hero's companion and a maid in the house of the heroine. Other plots linked to this are the attempt of the Provost to ruin Mr. Sinclair his rival in business and the heroine's father. To sustain the serial's length and no doubt to include "thrilling incidents" to encourage sales of the Friend, gratuitous plots are introduced of adventure of the two heroes in Australia, ranging from attempted murder while on their way, to the story of their escape on an American naval vessel, shipwreck and adventures amongst savage Indians, before the final denouement. In this type of story, there is little room for character development. Situations are created in which the participants act in a particular, preconceived manner. They do not react and grow from the situation in which they find themselves. Their characters are set in a mould. The interest in such stories lies principally with the complication of plot and the inevitable interest which would be aroused in the

reader from the multitude of situations and method of plot unravelling. The authors recognised the intricate structure of their work, and the difficulty of maintaining the multifarious plots. Andrew Stewart, author of the "Sport of Fortune" likened it to the weaving of cloth. "... it is necessary that we go back a little, and bring up a few disconnected threads, and place them in the weft of the story."²⁵ The use of such complicated plots brought with it many pitfalls the negotiation of which was often unsuccessful.

Problems often developed in the attempt to tell of different characters in different places, but using the same time scale. The interlude in Australia, in "The Sport of Fortune" lasted several years. However it was necessary that the characters in Glasgow should still remain in the story. To try to resolve the difficulty the author used the somewhat clumsy device of interposing himself between the story and the reader. "The course of our story now leads us back to Glasgow from which city perhaps our readers will think we have been too long absent."²⁶ A similar incident occurred in a much later story, "Milly's Inheritance" (1892) where the intervention was even more apparent: "It is necessary now, for the preservation of the unity of this story, that we trace for a little the fate and fortunes of George Hepburn, the young whaler."²⁷ Such interventions do little for the artistic structure of the stories and indicate that in certain instances the use of excessively complicated plots was not matched by an equivalent skill in construction. Generally this was a failing of earlier serials and in particular in those of Andrew Stewart, sub editor and later

editor of the Friend, who frequently interspersed his own comments in the course of his stories. One explanation of this curious device might lie outside the field of artistic skill. In many instances stories appeared in print before the author had completed them and it may have been that in those with particular tortuous plots, some element may have been forgotten, thus forcing the author to tie up all ends as best he could before the conclusion. (Such comments could also apply to Charles Dickens, for example.)

Basically, there were few differences in plot in spite of the passage of time and different authors. Common to them all was the ultimate goal - marriage of the hero and heroine. The substance of plots might vary in the events leading up to this goal. What made for variety was not the eventual outcome, but the manner in which it would be arrived at. Most common was the prevention of either hero or heroine or both from marriage. One of the most popular plots here was the lost inheritance either through the machinations of bad characters, or through loss of identity which most popularly came about through orphans or the fostering of infants. Again these accepted plots were common whether in the 1870's or 1890's. In 1873 "The Changling or The Claimant with the Cross" is concerned with proving the identity of the hero who had been switched at birth and whose identity and inheritance of an estate hinges on a birthmark shaped like a cross. A similar plot is found in 1882, when the "villain" substitutes an illegitimate sister in place of the true heiress.²⁸ Where substitution of a character is not used, then there

is the theme of the lost will, which forces, usually hero or heroine, to suffer deprivation before the ultimate outcome.

The other major theme round which a plot could be built was that of social disgrace. For heroines this took the most common form of illegitimacy either in their own birth or through their own seduction. The heiress in "Heiress of Dunfordle" (1874) is deprived of her status and inheritance through supposed illegitimacy. Lily, the heroine of "Lily the Lintwhite" is forced from home for taking upon herself the stain of her sister, and in the process nearly loses the love of the hero. The same fate almost befalls the heroine of "Oor Margaret" (1889) who is also thought to have an illegitimate child, or Euphie Lyn in the story of that name in 1892. In this latter case, Euphie is genuinely married but through the development of the plot is thought by others to be single.

For the hero, disgrace often came through wrongful accusation of theft, or some other crime, usually deliberately planted by another. This was a favourite device of Andrew Stewart which he used in "James Harebell" (1871), and again in "One False Step" (1886). Often such devices were changed to fit either sex. In "Rob Lochcote" (1877), it is the hero who falls under the taint of illegitimacy and is charged with a murder he did not commit. While in "One False Step" the heroine and not the hero is made to suffer wrongful accusation. Variations on such devices for furthering the plot are found in those stories which hinge on the presentation of a moral dilemma. This is particularly true of those stories in which greater emphasis is put

upon characters and their reaction to a given situation. For the hero and heroine in "Twice Tried" (1886) the dilemma is one in which they are presented with the fact of having committed bigamy, albeit innocently. Round this they act out the author's message. In "A Fair Norwegian" (1894) the hero, a married man with a drunkard wife, falls in love. For him and for the readers the theme is how he reacts to the situation and the inevitable consequences which come from putting oneself in a false position.

The place of the plot and themes built round it is central to all fiction of this type. In these serials could be found the means of fulfilling both the authors' and the publisher's aims. A story of theft, for example, provided material for reader interest and excitement by means of a subsequent trial scene; it enabled the author to show how characters good and bad act in such a predicament; and it gave ample scope for moral comment on both the weaknesses of the hero and heroine and how they overcame them; and on the essential moral failures of villainous characters. The same is true of more social topics. Reader interest was guaranteed by mention, however veiled, of seduction and illegitimacy and in it was a theme overflowing with possibilities for character reaction and implied social and moral comment.

If the plots were conceived with much gusto, so too was the manner in which they were worked out to the inevitable happy conclusion. Characters and themes with no apparent connection are suddenly found to have some inextricable link. In "Euphie Lyn" (1892)

the heroine leaves her Fife fishing village home to avoid a marriage she does not wish. She falls asleep on the road and is found by a German woman and her son, on holiday in Scotland. Of course, it turns out after she has 'adopted' Euphie that the woman is in fact her grandmother and so the heroine is given a name and her inheritance. Coincidence in the "Heiress of Dunfordle" (1874) helps to bring about the right conclusion. Lottie Lennox, working as a book folder in Edinburgh having lost her position as an heiress, helps a starving woman, whom she finds in the Canongate. The woman is a gypsy who knows her story and because of her help tells the truth and so allows Lottie to return to the life she knows. More often than not such coincidences stretch the reader's credulity to its full extent and often beyond. But within the framework of Friend fiction it can be found to be quite permissible. Time and again it makes the point that truth is stranger than fiction. Coincidences do occur in real life and in its stories, which by its own admission "are but scenes and incidents of real life seen through the magnifying glass of the author's mind,"²⁹ they take their place in the overall scheme.

But overriding all such explanations is the general philosophy of life adopted by all Friend writers and which has a direct bearing upon all aspects of their fiction. The view of life was distinctly Christian without any particular emphasis on any one denomination. God, from whom all men may receive goodness if they seek it, is supreme and to Him they will ultimately have to render account of their actions if they choose the path of error.

"Let man spin out the thread of his existence as he may, he is still linked by it to the great First Cause from whence he came, and the current of his Creator's will still flashes through the silver cord guiding, though unseen, and regulating, though unfelt, all his actions."³⁰ But if the will and goal to be good is strong, so is the power of evil, and the choice lies entirely with the individual, " ... there is present the human heart, with its power of passion and emotion to love and hate, to be, to do, to suffer, and to enjoy."³¹ There is, in this concept of man's existence, much that looks like passive inevitability, where man must be content with his lot in life. It finds expression in "Wee Gow Glentie" (1876). The author, musing on Providence, expresses the opinion that whether men suffer or have happiness, "both conditions tend to one end - that is, the ultimate good of the party concerned."³² That "ultimate good" however will not come about without the exertion of the individual, and if he or she falls in with the forces of evil then the result is equally inevitable - a point of view summed up by many authors in the quotation "as ye sow, so shall ye also reap." Such a clear cut picture of human life enabled the authors to cast their characters strictly within the moral limitations, and it explains how the good survive in critical situations where their weaker brethren fail. Alice Leigh, the heroine of "One False Step" goes to prison for a crime she did not commit so that her friend, Nettie Cameron might be saved. Even when incarcerated in a prison cell Alice does not despair for she knows that she is not alone.

"With a deeply grateful heart she could trace God in her life - out of 'seeming evil, still educating good,' and thus making 'all things work together for good.' "³³ This sustains her in the first trial of her life. Later in her second great trial, having left her husband for fear he may find out that she was once in prison, she accidentally hears the Bible being read aloud, "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee." She immediately recognises that she has done wrong in fleeing. "She had been trusting too much in herself, and forgetting the source of all true strength."³⁴ Here then is the intrinsically good character who has done wrong firstly in taking upon herself the crime and then not being at all times open. Having done wrong she has suffered, but because she is essentially aware of how she should live, Alice eventually leads her happy life. Nettie, on the other hand, is a weak character. She allows her friend to submit to punishment for a crime she did not commit. Having started on a false course she attempts suicide in a fit of remorse - a course that Alice would never have followed. Saved by the villain, she goes to his lodgings and is inevitably seduced. Just as inevitably must be the punishment of Nettie. Cast from her home she takes ill in meanest lodgings and eventually dies, but not before her repentance and confession to the crime. Any other end would, within the moral bounds of the story, have been impossible. Virtue must be rewarded and sin must be punished. However, a distinction is made between those who do wrong. There is always hope for them in repentance. They must pay for their errors but can have some hope if they repent.

in time. George Caxton leads a life of leisure and seduces the sister of the hero. He steals from his father and flees to London. Unable to find work he is forced to wander the streets attempting to live from day to day. But there is within George an ability to recognise that this is but just retribution. "There is hope always for man, however low he may have fallen, so long as the sense of shame remains; but when that period has passed - when the conscience dead and dull, refuses to sting in however feeble manner - then human effort for that man's salvation to society is exhausted, and the victim must be left to that miraculous saving power beyond all human comprehension, instances of which are occurring continually around us."³⁵

With the support of James Harebell, the hero, he is forgiven by his father and marries Maggie. But without repentance, "retribution follows in the wake of guilt like a shadow, and wreaks a silent, it may be, but awful vengeance at last."³⁶ Major Lochcote who denies his son's existence; plots for his downfall; strikes his own wife, had no fear of "the dread of divine displeasure and retribution."³⁷ His end comes with suicide and burial among strangers and not his ancestors. What further punishment may have awaited him on the other side of the grave was left to the imagination of the reader.

With the passing of the years, rigid application of the moral code became more muted. The basic premise did not change, but direct condemnation was not so apparent, nor was the power of God, although it had not disappeared. Hamilton Mackenzie in "A Fair Norwegian" who

allowed himself to fall in love while still married recognises his fault in time, "... he had allowed his fettered fancy to stray into forbidden fields, and had done a great and grievous wrong to Miss Olsen, to his wife, to society, and to himself."³⁸ His fault is as explicitly stated as in earlier stories, but the source of his spiritual regeneration is different. Not for him the direct prayer to God or solace in the Bible. In the depths of his despair he turns to the "Imitation of Christ" of Thomas a Kempis and its "literary piquancy" strikes home and gives him strength. The reader is told quite clearly that he would not have thought of turning to the Bible.

In "The Guinea Stamp" by Annie S. Swan there is, too, a softening of approach. George Fordyce is the "villain" who seduces a working class girl. His punishment is only described in the contempt shown to him by the heroine whom he had wanted to marry. "He was, indeed, a creature to be pitied even more than despised."³⁹ Gone are the dire warnings of divine retribution. Nor is the woman he seduced condemned. Her punishment still comes through death, but she dies with a fear for the after life, so there is hope for her. But more surprisingly, the readers are told not to condemn her and are reminded of the text, "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her."⁴⁰

While one's life is guided in the main by the rules of right or wrong in the eyes of God, and by the direct link of a being calling upon his God, this is but a part of the general pattern which men's lives may take. At the base are the inherent qualities which each

possesses and which the characters display, dependent upon their role within a particular story. Much effort is expended at the start of a story to describe the physical appearance of the character which was indicative to a great extent of the kind of person he or she was. Those who were heroes fell broadly into two categories: those who were strong and "manly" and those of a more spiritual nature who usually were writers or aspiring to become such. Edgar Morley, hero of "The Heiress of Dunfordle" is typical of the first type. His "manly form, his free erect bearing, his frank, good-humoured, handsome face, his clustering masses of rich brown hair" would "inspire confidence in man, and produce a sense of protection in women."⁴¹ The twin virtues of confidence and protection were what this type of hero exemplified most. When confronted with a situation he was not bothered with any spiritual dilemma but would act in a positive way. Frank Gordon, "fair-haired, ruddy-complexioned, blue-eyed" exemplified this in his action. At his trial for taking part in a riot in favour of parliamentary reform, he withstands his fate in appropriately ringing terms. Having spoken for three hours he ends: "I can look danger; I can look death in the face, for I am shielded by the consciousness of my own rectitude. I may be condemned to languish in a dungeon, I may be doomed to ascend the scaffold still nothing can deprive me of the recollection of the past - nothing can destroy my inward peace of mind, arising from the remembrance of discharging my duty."⁴² He also thwarts attempts to murder him on the ship to Australia

and by reading the Bible to the "mutineers" brings them to their senses so that they beg his forgiveness. To him also goes the credit for his eventual escape. It is this combination of strong physical appearance and inner strength of spirit which typifies him as a hero. His companion in travail Archie, the workers' champion, shares his physical attributes of blue eyes, fair hair etc. and the author takes no small pains to indicate this quality to the reader, "... we only wish we could as favourably impress the reader with him as we ourselves are,"⁴³ but the essential difference lies in their inner qualities. Archie is strong and brave but does not possess the qualities of initiative of Frank. On the ship it is Archie who despairs and is only sustained because he looks up to Frank as a "superior being".

External beauty without inner strength distinguishes the true man from his weaker brother. Duncan Halliday possesses heroic appearance but without character. When the boat in which he is rowing with the heroine, capsizes, he saves himself while the true hero dashes to the rescue of the heroine.⁴⁴ More frequently, however, defects in character are reflected in the appearance. Lord Arranmore, although he marries the heroine, lacks certain qualities of which the best men are made. Having spent most of his time in "Society" this defect is to be expected and is put to rights by the influence of the unspoilt heroine. Although he is described as having a "rather handsome style of face", the reader is left in no doubt about the type he initially is. His mouth is "proud and sarcastic"

and "his expression was marred by audacity and superciliousness, and his laugh had not the ringing clearness of youth, but sounded hollow at times, with a sort of spasmodic gaiety his face did not share."⁴⁵ Such a picture approaches caricature of what might be considered a 'standard upper-class type'.

More complex is the other category of hero. Not cast in the strong physical mould, he is usually much more introspective and his role is one in which he comes through trial to a fuller inner life. Again his physical appearance indicates something of his nature. Paleness of complexion and intensity of the eyes are the most common indicators. James Harebell, a member of the working classes, who has to spend his spare time reading and writing in order to live was "...of pale complexion, with large, dark, brilliant eyes that flashed at times into an almost speaking vivacity, and then sunk into a hazy, dream-like state, as if the soul had fled from them away on the wings of fancy."⁴⁶

Willie Gentle, a would be poet is "fair-haired, delicate, blue-eyed" whose face shows a "rare sweetness, with spirituality stamped in every line."⁴⁷ What makes heroes like these different is that they all come through times of stress in order to become complete. They illustrate the point that the spiritual and artistic temperament is not enough in itself. James Harebell has to suffer the iniquity of accusation of theft and face the realities of social injustice in London before becoming entirely self-sufficient. The result is that his inherent strength of character asserts itself and he finds

it possible to support others. The "black and dreamy-eyed" Adam Gray in "When He Came To Himself" is a man innocent in the ways of the world. He is a man of extremes, "either gay with rosy hope, or oppressed with a sense of his own deficiencies." He is exposed to the vices of the world and falls into their traps taking to drink and ignoring his former passion for learning. However because he has the seeds for good within him he is able, with the help of a friend in mission work, to reassert himself and to become successful in business - the antidote to his purely artistic pursuits. Walter, the hero of "A Guinea Stamp" exhibits too, the value of tenacity and inner strength. He overcomes the disadvantages of drunkard parents and builds up his own business so that at the end, "he had emerged from the shadow of blighted home and frustrated ambition a gentler, humbler, ay, a holier man than he had yet been."⁴⁸

Goodness was not confined to the heroes. Often they were supported by those who without the physical attributes of a hero, nevertheless possessed in their inner self the same high standard of behaviour or action. Their roles usually were in support of the hero or heroine and they would give advice, serving as another source for the pattern of living being propounded. Such a character was Allan, the foster father of the hero in "Rob Lochcote". He it was who tells Rob, "Nae man is repentant till he mak's amends, and nae man is just till, tae be sure he is, he turns the scale against himsel,"⁴⁹ advice which the hero remembered to his advantage "when greed and injustice were oppressing him."⁵⁰ More usual is their

supportive role to the heroine, as with Old David in "Oor Margaret" the only person who believes in Margaret's goodness when she returns to her native town with a baby and is still unmarried. Practical support as well as moral support was an indication of their goodness. Dr. Mackay, in "One False Step" actively helps Alice to a new life as a nurse when she is released from prison and Halley, in "Lily the Lintwhite" looks after Lily when she is in London and arranges her singing engagements in Paris. Such types as these are portrayed as utterly honourable, and are often cast as unrequited lovers. Both Halley, and Dr. Mackay are in love with the respective heroines but on hearing that their feelings lie elsewhere immediately withdraw their attentions but still assist the heroine as brothers.

A feature of all the fiction in the People's Friend throughout the nineteenth century was the vigour of its heroines. Unlike other popular magazines such as London Journal or Family Herald or in earlier fiction,⁵¹ they do not simply sit back and assume the passive role of the weak woman, but show their individual strength of character when the occasion arises. Lily Sinclair, in spite of her sheltered and luxurious upbringing and her "inherent and womanly weakness" faces up to the transportation of her lover and the ruination of her father. "Let me see my duty, and strengthen me for all the trials that are in store for me."⁵² So self reliant does she become that she is her father's main comfort and she is willing to marry a man she despises to save her father. Minnie Olsen who starts as a "diffident sensitive girl" becomes by the end "a self-reliant woman". When the hero is in need of help it is she who rises to the

occasion and supports him, even going to the length nursing his drunkard wife in her final illness.⁵³ Such self sacrifice, of course is rewarded. The Friend saw it as important to show their heroines suffering hardship and poverty either before their recovery and marriage or after a fall from comfort before finding eventual solace. Lottie in "The Heiress of Dunfordle" works among the poor, and Milly who takes hysterics when the wife of the usurper of her inheritance snaps her fingers at her, finds strength, when at the nadir of her fortunes, to pawn her jewellery and work quite happily as a jute weaver.⁵⁴ The girl who had apparently been so sheltered now finds herself in a position to influence those round about her.

Physical appearance again is an index to the inherent nature of the person. Lily is "gentle" and has a "sweet face"; Bella in "Wee Gow Glentie" has "a face so full of witching beauty"; Lottie's face indicates the sum of her whole character:

"Its singular clearness and freshness, its richness of bloom, enhanced as their natural charms were by a radiant and joyous aspect, proclaimed a pure, free-souled, richly endowed, warm-hearted girl, whose life had known no care, to whom health and happiness had always been everyday possessions, whose natural strength of soul had been well developed by judicious culture, and whose mental powers, originally quick and active had been trained with a wise moderation, which brought them into harmonious relation with the attractive endowments of her person and her heart."⁵⁵

Beauty was not an absolute necessity for the heroine. Much more important were her inner qualities which might be indicated without reference to conventional ideas of beauty. This aspect became more and more apparent in the 1880's and 90's when women generally were playing a more effective role in society. Amongst Friend authors, particularly Mrs. J.K. Lawson and Annie S. Swan, there was a desire to contrast the essential innocence and perfection of their heroines with the artificial standards and character of what was termed "society". Edith, heroine of "When He Came to Himself" is a high-souled, self-reliant woman⁵⁶; Alice in "One False Step" is a working girl with "clear intellect and force of character", not with any great beauty, but "a gentle and lovable nature, emitting a wisdom beyond her years to a bewitching artlessness that concealed from the superficial eye the richness of her mind."⁵⁷ Gladys Graham, heroine of "The Guinea Stamp" has not the beauty which appeals to "the vulgar eye." "A pure soul, to which all things seemed lovely and of good report, looked out from her grave eyes, and gave an expression of gentle sweetness to her lips."⁵⁸

Heroines like these, are the dominant characters of later stories. Their role is much more dominant than that of the hero and the development of the heroine as an individual is as important as her eventual marriage. As with the more 'spiritual' heroes, they possess the basic qualities which will sustain them throughout life, but they lack those finishing touches which make for the perfect character. Lintie Lowrie has inherent sincerity but yearns for "a new life, a soul life, where there could be interchange of thought and mutual understanding."⁵⁹

This she receives through travel and from the example of Mme. Hartzmann. In a like fashion, Mary Barron, with her "open fascinating frankness" which appeals so much to the hero, is completed by assimilating cultivation, for "without some such outward and visible index one was apt to be misjudged and underrated."⁶⁰ For Gladys Graham, the company of the worldly but good Fordyces completes her as a character. Only the possession of natural innocence and humility makes such developments proper, otherwise there is simply appearance without reality which would be against the code of conduct which the characters had to exhibit and maintain.

Positive virtues were shown in the characters representing good. Conversely, those who stray from the true path of virtue are recognised by certain intrinsic features, which indicate to the reader the role they have to play. As with the hero or heroine, an incredible amount is deduced from their physical appearance and no distinction is made between those who are real villains such as Provost Fairbairn and his son who deliberately plot to murder and bring the ruin of others,⁶¹ and those such as Samuel Laird, the lecherous kirk elder who, while representing all that the author sees as bad, does not bring any real evil to bear upon the story.⁶² Provost Fairbairn is an ugly, "vulgar-minded" man; his son Nicholas speaks with a "soft, insinuating, oily tongue". Laird's mouth is "ugly" and his "complexion so smooth and so white as to be repulsive in a man."⁶³ But the greatest number of "villains" are found among men of business, either factors of estates who do the work of their masters, as in

"Barnbaugh Mystery" (1870) or "Rob Lochcote", (1877); or lawyers and businessmen who seek their own ends, by falsification of wills - "Milly's Inheritance" (1892) "Fortunes of Elsie Macdonald" (1882) "The Heir of Gryffe" (1888); or by financial exploitation as in "Wee Gow Glentie" (1876) or "Base Coin" (1879). The eyes of Quill, the murder plotting factor in "Rob Lochcote" are "small and cunning"; David Macdonald, the lawyer in "Elsie Macdonald" who attempts to gain the estate which really is his cousin's has the classic lawyer's face: "He had a rather handsome, but decidedly shrewd face. His eyes were small and keen, and quick-glancing."⁶⁴

Although such physical features are important, they are but indices to their essential weaknesses - those of their inner being. For all who take the wrong road in life have an essential weakness and it is no small part of a Friend story to point out why they have gone astray. A basic flaw is selfishness of character with no thought for others which is seen particularly in those in business. Gartland, a stockbroker and the villain in "Base Coin", began on the road to financial success through falsification of property. He stands for the self-made man who has only one concern - to make money. He manipulates people to gain his own ends and will go to any lengths to prevent disclosure of his crimes. He is presented as having an essentially selfish outlook and it is this which brings his eventual downfall. David Macdonald who was always selfish turns into "a very complete scoundrel" because his is a character "predisposed to wrong-doing."⁶⁵

The flaw in men which is seen as "selfishness" is often reflected

in the women in another guise, that of passion. Flora, in "Lily the Lintwhite" who allows her sister to take her child and suffer the vilification of others is flawed because she is "intensely human and passionate". Her's is not a "perfect nature". Nettie Cameron in "One False Step" is flawed in the same way for allowing Alice to accept blame for her crime. The quality which these two, like many others, lack is termed by Annie S. Swan "the inner loveliness of mind and heart."⁶⁶ She is referring to Amy Burnett who marries without love, then elopes only to turn up again to find her husband married. He thought Amy had drowned. In these women this selfish passion in their character is nearly always accompanied by a type of beauty not shared by the true heroines. Amy is childishly pretty, while Flora has a surface prettiness got from fashionable clothes and fashionable education. Nettie too is deficient in appearance. Blonde with a "wax doll beauty" she lacks "intelligent expression".⁶⁷ Not all "bad" characters have their moral weaknesses described. Some are simply stock characters. Foreigners are usually in this category - Mouchoir in "Lily the Lintwhite" or the money-seeking Brabants in "Fettered Yet Free" (1895). In describing such people there is occasionally blind prejudice totally at odds with the moral views of the magazines. Geoffrey Garstang is a money speculator who brings about the ruin of innocent people. However his fault, it would seem, lies in his being a Jew. "If not a German Jew, as his name implied, Geoffrey Garstang must have sprung from the money-making race. His physiognomy was essentially that of the Hebrew, with a dull, heavy, lowering expression in it, which the dark eyes, keen and penetrating

as they were, did little to redeem."⁶⁸ Others are slotted into their roles, and play them out without any further comment. Mrs. Maitland in "Milly's Inheritance" is an ex-actress (with all that it implies) and with her sallow and faded skin and thin cruel lips, serves only to assist her husband in his machinations and comes to her inevitable death. Charles Bell in "When He Came To Himself" helps in the education of the hero, but finishes up as a drunk and beggar. No attempt is made to indicate where he has failed. He had, the readers are told, inherited family weaknesses and with that he is left to his inevitable fate.

Qualities of character possessed by people in serial fiction did not exist in a rarified atmosphere but were made to work within society. The presentation of society as seen by Friend authors was inextricably linked to those characters who peopled it. It was in this area more than any other that the aim of the People's Friend of presenting an ideal in life attainable by all their readers was united with fiction. Many of the essays and articles in the Friend exhorted self-improvement in their readers. Constantly the theme of improving one's place in society recurred - by self education, recreation, hard work and sobriety. The same can be said of the fiction. One of the favourite topics was on the success both financial and social which a character from humble beginnings could achieve if the precepts urged by the Friend were adhered to. One such is the hero James Harebell of the story of that name published in 1871. Born in the Gallowgate in Glasgow the son of poor parents,

he spends all his spare time in reading and writing. His determination to do well was instilled at an early age when he stood by his father's grave and he began almost at once to struggle out of his background, proud that he had progressed "without teacher and without help, except from my Heavenly Father."⁶⁹ The position which he has attained at the beginning of the story is that of cashier to a printing and publishing firm - an office position of the kind highly esteemed by the Friend. This job enables him to mix socially with his employer's son and to spend time at his country house where he meets his employer's daughter with whom he inevitably falls in love. Although he has already improved his position socially, he still has not advanced sufficiently for him to declare his love. He "did not dare to think of the infinitude of distance in worldly rank that divided him from the object of his thoughts."⁷⁰ This situation enables the hero to have a direct objective for his strivings - a necessary prerequisite - and also serves as the source for his tribulations. Falsely accused of theft from his employer, he leaves for London where he finds a use for his ability as a writer and becomes a journalist. He works for a paper which supports the plight of the poor and as time passes makes a success for himself so that he gradually approaches Agnes, the heroine, in worldly wealth. Eventually he returns to Glasgow in a position to marry Agnes and is finally made a partner in her father's firm. The story ends several years later when they are married with a family and James is firmly established as a well-to-do businessman. The essential features of

this story were repeated time and again over the years.⁷¹ The hero, from a poor background, is shown by his own efforts to have improved his place in society and thus to have proved himself worthy of the woman he wishes to marry. Of course, without the intrinsic qualities of goodness to start with he would have been unsuccessful and never would have overcome the vicissitudes which he inevitably has to face.

Nor was this method of improvement confined to the heroes. Particularly towards the end of the century the heroines showed how self-improvement could help them in the world. A classic example of ambition is Alice Leigh, heroine of "One False Step". Orphaned at seven she was a "self-contained" little girl who determined to become a telegraph clerk in the Post Office. She passed the necessary exams "by the help of a clear intellect and force of character." With "refined and elegant tastes" she spent all her spare money on French and music lessons and by twenty was in charge under the Postmaster. It is this mixture of self-help and ambition combined with her inherent good qualities which bring her through her trials and eventually lead to her marriage with a wealthy landowner. Independent heroines were the mark also of Mrs. J.K. Lawson's serials: Margaret, heroine of "Oor Margaret" spends her time studying and wishes to be a teacher, an ambition in which she is encouraged by the hero. "Progress and development of character were his hobby";⁷² Lintie Lowrie, lives in a fishing village and yearns for "a new life, a soul life, where there could be interchange of thought and mutual understanding." The arrival of her long lost father who is a

millionaire gives her the opportunity to indulge in an intellectual life for which she had hoped so long.

The message for the reader in such stories was implicit. No matter what one's background might be, with the appropriate self-reliance, ideas of right and wrong, the desire for learning and ambition, the way was open for everyone to achieve success in life - a success which was measured to a large extent in terms of monetary gain.

But if it was the case that the trials of poverty led to eventual happiness, the obverse was equally true. Characters who were born to a life of wealth and ease had to suffer physical deprivation without loss of spirit if they were to be worthy of the Friend's praise. Lottie, heroine of "The Heiress of Dunfordle" is brought up with wealth and ease. She is accused of being illegitimate and has her estate taken away. However she has inner strength which sustains her. She goes to Edinburgh and sees for the first time scenes of horror and poverty "such as her pure soul never imagined."⁷³ She comes through these experiences and eventually is reinstated to her estate. Her "adherence to truth and duty" has been rewarded. Sufferings of a like nature are undergone by Milly in "Milly's Inheritance" when she works in a Dundee jute mill and by Gladys Graham in Swan's "A Guinea Stamp" who suffers from great poverty before finally inheriting a fortune. What had to be true for all the heroes and heroines of Friend stories was that they experienced and sympathised with all levels of society and did not remain isolated

in an ivory tower.

Nevertheless on closer examination, this attitude is found to be not so straightforward. Praiseworthy though the efforts of the character in suffering are made to be, it is made plain that this is a transitory state and that his or her lot in life is firmly entrenched in what might be called an upper class or middle class background. Their rewards in life are either as mistresses of country mansions or estates, or owners of large and successful business concerns. Their days of suffering are distinctly in the past. Out of working class background they may have come, but to leave it behind as quickly as possible was the aim.

From detailed study of those stories which take as their theme the rise of the hero or heroine from poverty to riches, it becomes apparent that the factor of birth may be the more significant.

Willie Gentle, the hero of "Base Coin" is brought up as the son of a shipyard worker who suffers along with others the inevitable tribulations of poverty. In the end however, it turns out that Willie is in fact the son of a landowner who was deprived of his rights by the villain of the story. Thus Willie in the end is placed according to his position in society. This pattern is repeated time and again. Felix, a child brought up in the Gallowgate turns out to be an earl;⁷⁴ Adam Gray, who strives from a lowly background to become a writer, in the end becomes an employer commuting from his home on the Clyde coast to his office in Glasgow - a position which he attained through his being his employer's son.⁷⁵ Euphie Lyn is not a simple child

of fisher folk, but the wealthy granddaughter of a European lady Mme. Hartzmann; Lintie Lowrie finally takes her rightful place as a millionaire's daughter presiding with ease over a London drawing room; Gladys Graham who suffered extreme hardship in Glasgow finds herself mistress of an Ayrshire estate. The apparent contradiction in all the stories is that the characters come to their success directly through their birth and not as a result of their struggle. They all fulfil the requirement of having suffered and appreciated the hardships which was the lot of so many, but nevertheless they do not rise above them directly through their own efforts but because of their birth. Adam Gray, hero of "When He Came To Himself" strives hard to improve himself but fails as a writer and succeeds in business not because he had proved himself entirely through his own efforts but essentially because he was the son of a wealthy employer.

Although the People's Friend made much of the aims of self-help and improvement it accepted with little question the divisions within society. The society to which all the heroes and heroines strived to belong was a moneyed if not landowning society. Reflecting the changing pattern of Victorian society, the serials came to put less direct emphasis on the landowner who had been the representative of society in earlier periodical fiction. The estate was still an important element. It could be central in a plot of lost inheritance or simply a necessary adjunct to the prospective husband of the heroine as in "One False Step". Often the description of the estate or country house would be idyllic: "the air is filled with harmony

and fragrance - with the song of birds and the hum of insects - with the incense of wild flowers, and the odours of birch and pine which the gentle breeze wafts along the vale."⁷⁶ The importance of ancestry and rightful inheritance was always important where an estate was concerned and to belong to this group of landowners was to have reached the pinnacle of society. It brought with it the inevitable responsibility for guarding the rightful succession of the estate and ensuring its maintenance but, above all, for the care of the tenants and servants. The owner, of course, had to possess those inner qualities which would make him or her worthy of the position.

Many of the authors did recognise the growing difficulties which were facing many landowners, difficulties which usually involved finance. In "Wee Gow Glentie" the ancient estate of Tullybreck is in danger of being taken from the rightful owners because of the high mortgage. The solution to such problems often came through marriage to the "nouveau riche": those who had made money through the rapidly expanding industrial society. This group of self made men formed the other group to which a hero or heroine might quite respectably belong. However they did not have quite the same aura about them as the landed gentry. In describing the ancient house of Tullybreck, the author commented: "It was solid, substantial, and without any of that ostentation which invariably mark, the residences of those nestling gentry - the plutocracy, who owe their position more to the length of their purse than their pedigree."⁷⁷ This group often provided the villains who would use whatever means they could to get

an estate to which they were not entitled by birth. Geoffrey Garstang, the Jewish businessman, is the one who threatens the Tullybreck estate. The very fact that he lacks the Laird's pedigree is made a reason for his attempt to gain his estate. In a similar fashion Gartland, villain of "Base Coin" has taken over an estate which does not rightfully belong to him. Such people as well as being unscrupulous are shown to lack the taste and finesse of the landowner. The home of the Gartlands is one befitting someone of his station - "a comfortable main-door house in a spacious street on the skirts of Kelvin, with a dank and black-earthed flower plot in front, upon which the sun never shone, and in which no flowers had ever been able to do anything but die bravely."⁷⁸ The interior also indicates their aspirations. The furniture is old so as to appear as if it had been in the family for a long time. They did not think it necessary to mention that his mother had been a washerwoman at one shilling per day. The vulgarity of their drawing room further distinguishes them from the true gentry: "...every chair, and corner, and sofa, and soft place was made untidy with tidies - stiff, and hard, and knubbly under the ear - while heavy curtains in lace, or netting, or crotchet work did their best to exclude the sun, as far too vulgar to be allowed to shine on the sacred glories within."⁷⁹ Vulgarity is the key word in the treatment of such people: vulgarity in appearance and surroundings and in their single-minded desire for wealth as a means of social advancement. "No very elevated rank of society ...merely a few merchants and their wives and families, not very far advanced as yet in the

"race for riches"⁸⁰ sums up the view of Gartland and his like. Mrs. Fordyce, wife of a wealthy Glasgow lawyer, is equally flawed. The possession of riches is her one weakness which is shown to have warped her whole outlook on life. "She had worshipped at the shrine of wealth and social position so long that all her views of life were centred upon a solitary goal, and consequently ran a narrow and distorted groove."⁸¹

Such views however were not general throughout fiction. Self made men were often the cause for success of characters. The pattern of life which they led was not that of the country squire but of the businessman who had a house in Glasgow and a country house or one on the Clyde coast. They never, unless cast in the role of villain, had any pretension to hereditary estates. Fordyce the lawyer spent summers in a house at Troon; Beechgrove, the country house of Wm. Caxton was only a few miles from Glasgow; James Macdonald, retired colliery owner, share dealer and speculator lived in his house on the shores of one of the lochs of the Clyde. In "Milly's Inheritance" the scene is one of the mansions "overlooking the Sidlaws" and built by one of the Dundee jute barons. This section of society which was more and more dominant in the late nineteenth century, was one which would be recognised by most of the readers of these serials. They lived and had their roots in the urban situation which was the main source of the Friend circulation. It is perhaps significant that the self-made man is not by himself greatly prized by Friend authors. Frequently they show that their riches have brought them little joy

for they lack that inner power which sustains the heroes and heroines and which makes them worthy to preside over great wealth. They are not portrayed as bad people but are often treated with pity. Wm. Caxton in "James Harebell" has to suffer the indignity of a wastrel son who seduces the sister of an employee. It is implied that if a little more time had been spent on his family this disgrace might have been avoided. Mr. Graham, the businessman in "When He Came To Himself", while a good employee, has at the end to acknowledge with "sublime humility" that Adam, the hero is his illegitimate son. James Macdonald suffers a lonely old age as a result of his search for wealth, "...old age found him rich, but broken down, friendless, and childless." His only son had left with his father's curse. Loneliness was the lot of many such men. Hathaway, a wealthy old man, is left at the mercy of an unscrupulous woman in "Base Coin" and Abel Graham, the "lust for gold" paramount in his mind, leads a miserable existence although the wealth he accumulates is of use to his niece, the heroine.⁸² Even men who themselves are not condemned have some drawback. Fordyce the lawyer has to suffer a vulgar wife and wastrel son although he himself is honest enough.

This insistence on the dangers of rising in society or not standing up to responsibilities which might devolve by birth ("Rob Lochcote", "The Heiress of Dunfordle") were in line with the general view of life portrayed by the Friend. The inner qualities which could belong to all irrespective of rank or wealth had to be present before any material reward could be given. Thus the readers were presented with a picture of life to which they might attain

but were comforted with the fact that without it they could still possess the spiritual gifts.

One section of Victorian life for which the People's Friend and its authors had little time was "Society" and the aristocracy. In this it differed considerably from its English equivalents like the Family Herald or London Journal for whom the lives of earls and society people was the breath of life. The basis for this dislike may have rested in the belief that a diet of such fiction would turn the heads of their readers. Teenie and Liz, two ordinary girls in Swan's "The Guinea Stamp" indulge in such fiction. Liz who spends her time daydreaming speculates that she too could become a lady, finds support from one such story. "Lord Bellew's bride in the story, was only the gatekeeper's daughter, an that's her on the horse, look, after she was my Lady Bellew."⁸³ Of course such ideas lead to Liz's downfall at the hands of an unscrupulous man and the realisation, too late, of life's reality is eventually brought to her. Later on, the story of Lord Bellew being mentioned to her she replies, "eh, sic lees there is in the papers. It shouldn't be printed. Things like yon never happen in real life, never! never!"⁸⁴ The author explains that the reading of such material was to alleviate the monotony of their existence.

What the fiction of the People's Friend sought to portray was that there was no need, given the correct outlook on life, for such monotony. If this attitude discouraged description of "society" life so too did their belief in the lack of understanding of the

aristocrat of ordinary people. Sir Charles Sedley and his daughter Ethel, friends of the Earl of Arranmore, are described as the epitome of the British aristocrat. They despise the children of the local minister as being "common" and Sir Charles uses "that stony stare which is the special prerogative of the British aristocrat."⁸⁵ Even the Earl, who is the hero, lacks something of the perfection of his non aristocratic contemporaries with the "audacity and superciliousness" of his expression. What the writers so disapproved of, was what they regarded as the external show of society. The guiding light of all characters in Friend fiction was that they should look at real people and not appearance. True worth was to be found in character and not in one's rank. Lintie Lowrie once she finds herself the daughter of a millionaire and mistress of his London house does not take part in "society" which she found "utterly hollow and unsatisfying". Mrs. Fitzroy the "socialite" who had helped prepare Lintie for her new life will not marry Lintie's widowed father because he helps the poor and has a friend an ordinary Scottish fisherwoman, "that impossible woman Traill, whom they insisted on calling a friend."⁸⁶ The only society which was regarded as suitable was that of the "intellectual" - the writers and philanthropists of whom the People's Friend authors were so fond.

In writing of the life of the better off, the authors were describing a section of society of which their readers would have, at the best, a slight and rather hazy knowledge. With ordinary people it was different. Here they were writing of people like their

readers and this brought with it far more complex problems. To write of people not known to the readers was one thing but to write of what they knew intimately was quite another. The periodical and its fiction had to balance the picture of real life with what they saw as the ideal. To have given a diet of fiction composed of total reality would not have appealed to the public and consequently would have had an adverse effect on circulation. At the same time to have idealised working life and avoided its difficulties would have brought the ridicule of the readers. What they had to do was present a balance. The ordinary people in their fiction who succeeded against overwhelming odds were central. In them the writer could show that he or she appreciated the hardship faced but could also point out, by means of the behaviour and action of their characters, that such hardships could be overcome. The message was clear: No matter what may befall you, take courage, all will be well. The words of one of Annie Swan's heroines sum this up: "...in the end it will be for good. Everything is, you know, to them that love God." The effect of this was that portrayal of the poor tended to be in very definite terms of black or white. If they did not fall into the pattern just described then they were condemned and shown to be unworthy of any help either in this world or the next.

It was stated quite clearly that ordinary men and women had nothing to be ashamed of in being working class. Their position in society was recognised as one of paramount importance: "The working class - now the leading power of the three estates - the helm of

the State ship, the engine of the Government machinery, the heart of the body politic"⁸⁷ although, as the author continued, it had to be admitted that the equality of the artisan with the "peer or landed proprietor" was not looked on with favour by the majority of the aristocracy or the middle class. As the author of this was Andrew Stewart, an editor of the Friend it is reasonable to suppose that this attitude represents more than the views of a single author. In fiction such attitudes were usually represented through characters e.g. Archie Armstrong, foreman in Sinclair's tannery in "Sport of Fortune". He is a strong supporter of reform (the subject of the story) and exhibits loyalty to his employer and his family in good and bad times. His speech to his fellow workers is one of "native dignity and eloquence." Another is John Gentle, a man of forty-five, who works in a Glasgow shipyard. Although beset with poverty and the effect of bad management he embodies the image which the Friend portrayed of the honest workman and no character makes such a vigorous defence of the working man:

"Well, isn't that something to glory in? Aren't the working men the kings of the earth? Doesn't the whole world depend on working men; and aren't all others but drones and devourers of their money? We can't all be geniuses, but we can all be good. Some must be toilers with the hand, while others toil with the brain, but there are none so lowly that they may not be honest, and none so poor - bless God for it - that they need live a loveless life. Riches is given to only a few, but love is as boundless as God's mercy."⁸⁸

This picture of the working man was completed in the context of the home - linking once again with the aim of the People's Friend and their views on domestic bliss. Although Gentle lived in a typical Glasgow tenement where "so many crowded... fierce of tongue and mild, drunken and sober, pugnacious and peaceable, but generally noisy and voluble", the interior of his home was one of cleanliness, tidiness and comfort albeit poor. It "bristled with dishes and shining pans, and a chest of drawers and some framed pictures, and other curious combinations."⁸⁹ To complete the picture of domestic bliss a welcome from his daughter awaited him. This picture of tranquility is repeated time and again. The house of Mrs. Harebell who scrapes a living by "Ironing and Dressing" stands out from the dark and drab surroundings of Glasgow's Gallowgate:

"The kitchen was of small dimensions, but the red and sparkling fire within the grate, and the cheery gaslight and the mantelpiece, made all things bright and radiant with their influence. The shelves were thickly packed with crockery of every description; while brass or clear tin utensils placed in tasteful regularity upon the walls, lent their brightness to heighten if possible the cheery aspect of the house. There was a home-air of cosy comfort all about that was irresistible. It glowed in the fire, it sparkled along the walls, it beamed from the glossy leather stuffing of the great easy-chair, and made one feel at ease the moment the foot had crossed the threshold."⁹⁰

This picture of domestic bliss was common to both town and country. Whether a Glasgow tenement or a country cottage the same attributes attended the lives of ordinary people. Necessary as this background was, the lives of the characters were of greatest significance. In their lives they displayed a loyalty and warmth which overcame any disadvantages. The strength and security which such people had created for themselves enabled them to sustain others. Gentle is the one to whom the neighbours turn in times of stress.

"Tell us not of the generosity and goodness of the rich alone - the real helpers of the suffering, and starving, and helpless, and struggling have ever been found by the poor at their own doors. The scene we have sketched is no fancy picture, but drawn from life, and only one out of hundreds which might be cited."⁹¹

A similar sentiment was expressed by Swan in "Guinea Stamp": "It is among the very poor we find the rarest instances of disinterested and sympathetic kindness; deeds of true neighbourliness, performed without thought or expectation of reward."⁹² Mrs. Raeburn and her daughter Jessie live in abject poverty in Edinburgh. Jessie earns her living by folding Bibles, yet in spite of their poverty they help the heroine when in trouble and give her lodgings although she is unable to pay them.⁹³

It is this type of ordinary person who forms the link between the classes in the eyes of the Friend. Recognition of such people no doubt had great appeal for many readers, but more importantly,

for the fiction, it served as a link with success for the hero and heroine. It was from people like these that a hero or heroine could emerge or be prepared by them for his or her eventual role in life.

Mrs. Harebell's kitchen is a suitable background for her son James; the household of John Gentle is the perfect training ground for Willie, son of a landowner; the extreme poverty of John Sinclair's house "...the worn shoes, the threadbare garments, the children going ill-clad to school, the cupboard bare, the hungry mouths with nothing to feed them"⁹⁴ is seen as a suitable environment for Felix to be brought up in, because there is also honesty and love: Felix turns out to be an earl. Such homes provided the essential ingredients for character building and the characters from them could support the hero or heroine in times of distress. In such a way the People's Friend bridged the gap between the two parts of society. One was made dependent on the other and a means to improve one's lot in life was indicated.

While the emphasis was placed on working people just described, most authors acknowledged that there was another side to the picture. The poverty of many people was acknowledged and the great effort that went into scraping a living. Annie Swan describes the life of a young girl in a tenement who suffers from the hardness of her life sewing canvas jackets until her fingers bleed. For the heroine, "the realism of city life [was] borne in upon her troubled soul."⁹⁵ However, although mention is made of the squalor and poverty of many,

it is seldom mentioned in detail. The people themselves are often condemned for squandering whatever they earn particularly on drink. One exception to this is "Base Coin" where the hopelessness and brutality of the poor is for once plainly stated. The author observing a back court in a Glasgow tenement sees it as a "living history of starvation, suffering, self-denial, and devoted love." The haggard faces of men and women are described, as is the decline which comes to many of the young women and the regular visits of the doctors to the dying children.⁹⁶

The key to the view of British society of both the People's Friend and its authors was based on mutual respect and responsibility between different social groups within society. The employer or landowner had duties towards those for whom he was responsible. If he did not carry out these duties properly then he was condemned. It did not cross the minds of the authors that anyone other than someone from a wealthy background could fill the role properly. Trivett, in "Base Coin" had once been a workman and became a shipyard owner. He adopts a tone of "affability and condescension" to the clerk and is "without the fine airs and language of a gentleman."⁹⁷ On the other hand, Walter, the hero of "A Guinea Stamp" becomes a "gentleman" because of his innate qualities and thus will make a good employer because he is aware of his responsibilities. He fully accepts the advice of the heroine that when he is rich he will use his money to help the poor; advice which "awakened in him the highest aspirations which can touch a human soul."⁹⁸ This responsibility

and duty to help those in poverty was completely in keeping with the liberal paternalism of the age and fitted into the pattern portrayed by serial fiction. The responsibilities of the rich were matched by those of the poor. It was equally their duty to work for a fair employer. Walter, the workman turned employer, is shocked by his father's attitude to work. He tells his son that they have a slack gaffer and so the men are not bothering to work a full day. Walter's answer to this kind of attitude is to dismiss the man at once. John Gentle, in "Base Coin" is vociferous in his belief in Trade Unions but nevertheless shows responsibility in not striking because he believes that the strike will not force wages up. For this belief he is willing to be called a traitor by his contemporaries. But if there was in the eyes of the Friend, a mutual respect and responsibility between classes, it believed just as much in the rigorous division into social class. Although occasionally a member of the lower orders succeeds in moving his or her social position, it is never until he or she has proved his worth either in business or happens to be of higher birth. There is here a note of equivocation in much of the writing. Although the working class is held in high esteem, whenever it comes to marriage, the man is considered unworthy if he deems to marry someone above his station. Walter Hepburn cannot marry until he has made his fortune and obtained the appropriate social graces. It is this which guides his life.⁹⁹ Adam Gray is prevented from marrying Edith Drysdale because he is working class. It is only when Edith's step-mother is found to be a drunkard that the gap between them is narrowed.

She and her family have little to be proud of. Even then she will wait until he has become successful.¹⁰⁰ The greatest dilemma facing the self-made man or the one on his way to success was how he could marry someone with money. Only after much heart searching does the hero of "Fortunes of Elsie Macdonald" decide to see the one he loves because he is an impoverished lawyer and she a woman of means. However they throw caution to the wind and marry in spite of what people might think. For Alec, the hero of "Lintie Lowrie" the dilemma is only solved when Lintie gives up her fortune to help the poor. Now that she has become "respectable bourgeois" he feels he morally can marry her. In situations like this no clear cut rule exists. If within the terms of the plot both hero and heroine from different social backgrounds can be made compatible both in social attributes and money then all is well. If not, then the problem is never met head on but avoided as in "Lintie Lowrie".

The same situation exists for women where they marry into another class. Here money is not the major drawback but social position. It is the whole theme of "Wrongs Righted" by Annie Swan where a landowner marries a fishergirl and in "The Heiress of Dunfordle" where the heroine renounces her lover because their marriage would ruin his position in society as there is a "stain" on her birth. Such social distinctions are not in themselves criticised and it is fully accepted that when they are bridged it is because the character rising in society is capable of adapting to the social requirements of his or her new position. Any social differences which are not

overcome by the convenient explanation of actual good birth are explained away by terms such as a "true lady" or one of "Nature's gentlemen". Rob Lochcote, the laird's son remarks that, "the relative social stations"¹⁰¹ of himself and Kate, a villager's daughter has never crossed his mind. Nevertheless she is a "lady" just as Ailie Bonner, fisherman's daughter "looked like a lady",¹⁰² Adam Gray is worthy of Edith's love because she thought of him as "one of Nature's gentlemen, though but a working-man."¹⁰³

But rising in social status was strictly limited to hero or heroine. Those who assisted them in times of trial and trouble received their rewards but were kept firmly in their place. In "Sport of Fortune" Archie, the loyal foreman, suffers all sorts of hardships along with the hero but only when chained together on a convict ship are they seen to be symbolically equal. Archie's reward when Frank has become a landed gentleman is to become a grocer, "and a prosperous one too...he was as welcome a guest out at Frank's mansion as Tom Hunter"¹⁰⁴ (an advocate). This would seem small reward for what he had done. In the same way Willie, the bosom pal of Felix in "Heir of Gryffe" because he is "one of nature's gentlemen" is brought up with Felix and later becomes his factor. Although as children they had been regarded as equals, once Felix is known to be an earl only the master servant relationship is regarded as proper. Rewards for those honest people was always in the alleviation of poverty or the gift of the position of a faithful servant on the estate with a comfortable cottage. In this way the appropriate

social distinctions were maintained while the responsibilities of the wealthy were seen to have been carried out.

Although this liberal paternalists' attitude was usually carefully sustained, there is nevertheless, more than a hint of patronising the poorer people or of unsympathetic dismissal. If those in poverty did not attempt to help themselves then they were left to suffer. No attempt is made to alleviate their actual conditions.

The neighbours of Mrs. Harebell are allowed to get on with their visits to the pawnshop on Saturday nights and their bouts of drinking. A working class "Free and Easy" full of "dirty debauched men" and women feeding their babies is condemned while women who spend money helping those who are capable of work are simply helping "moral idiots". Self-help had always been the watchword of the People's Friend and of the paternalist attitude but it became more marked towards the end of the century and particularly in the stories of Annie S. Swan and Mrs. J.K. Lawson.

Although adhering to the principles governing serial fiction Swan at times appears to be not totally in sympathy. She recognises the difficulties faced by many working people but seems to have little idea of how they might be overcome. The heroine, Gladys Graham, in "Guinea Stamp" suffers much in her early years but, although recognising her duty to help the poor, is very glib in her attitude towards them. "We never have more to bear than we are able. God takes care of that always."¹⁰⁵ "Heaven helps those who help themselves."¹⁰⁶ Such stern advice and her sweeping dismissal of

force of circumstances, "there is no such thing ...that is a phrase with which people console themselves in misfortunes they often bring upon themselves,"¹⁰⁷ indicate perhaps less than sympathy towards the plight of so many. Gladys believes that her wealth - an estate and £10,000 per annum "is a strong responsibility for her." She was eager to take up the charge she believed God had entrusted to her - the stewardship of wealth to be used for His glory.¹⁰⁸ She plans to start a club for working girls, yet when she marries Walter no further mention is made of the charity. The serial ends with Walter successful in business and installed in her Ayrshire estate. This trivialisation of class differences and patronising attitude did nothing to improve the level of fiction. The dangers of having too strong a moral and didactic purpose to the fiction inevitably resulted in implausible situations. One such occurs in "Milly's Inheritance". Milly finds herself forced to work in a jute mill where the effect of her presence on her fellow-workers is little short of miraculous. Here there is no tone of nobility in the working class nor of real concern on Milly's part. The scene is simply presented in terms of the upper class lady by her position improving those around her. Milly finds herself unpopular to begin with. Her "refinement of manners and the correctness and purity of her speech" prejudiced the mill girls against her but gradually her "sweet, obliging disposition" makes her popular. She soon stops their use of bad language by pointing out its "vulgarity", and in time the girls feel pride that she should work beside them. "She had

found the work more pleasant than she had expected, and had been able not only to preserve her own self-respect, but to win the respect and esteem of her fellow-workers, many of whom she had learned to respect for the purity of their lives and the brave struggle they were making to maintain dear ones at home by the fruits of their industry."¹⁰⁹ When her lover is finally re-united with her in the mill their display of "genuine love" made the girls feel, "that their humble calling had been dignified and made noble by what had passed before them."¹¹⁰ Such trite comments were rare in the People's Friend serial fiction but they do suggest that far from maintaining the honour of the ordinary people there was a belief in the intrinsic superiority of the landed or the wealthy classes. The tone adopted here is that the working girls must automatically feel pride in someone like Milly working beside them. From our time, comments like this seem somewhat comic, but the Friend is completely serious. Possibly a lack of knowledge or sympathy on the author's part of characters and their environments led to such vague generalisations.

It may be significant that this kind of tone and emphasis on the externals of class and position became more marked in the last decade of the century. Society itself was changing. As has been shown, new pressures were affecting the People's Friend. Its public, as affluence increased, was becoming more concerned with belonging to the growing middle class than heretofore and may not have wanted to be reminded of their origins. One of the consequences was that

authors, while not in any sense casting aside the long held views of their publisher, came to put more emphasis on external signs of affluence and the trivia of society.

One such indication was a growing emphasis not on intrinsic worth, but on dress, manners and the furnishing of houses. This kind of material was the forte of Annie S. Swan. She adopted a tone which implied that her readers were familiar with the life of a comfortably off middle class family. For Gladys Graham, removal from poverty does not mean an opportunity to do good with her money, although she must of necessity say so, but rather does it signify her arrival into a comfortable setting and into the routine of middle class life with such pursuits as "discussing the pleasant gossip of the day, which always seems to gather round the table at five o'clock tea."¹¹¹ Her enjoyment came not through musing with her intellectual equals but through the opportunity given to her to see "the beautiful side of life" i.e. a well-to-do middle class home: "It was a very real pleasure to her to tread upon the soft carpets, breathe a pure air, only sweetened by the breath of flowers, rest her eyes with delicate combinations of colour and the treasures of art to be found in the lawyer's sumptuous house."¹¹²

It would have been surprising for an author to have emphasised these signs of wealth a few years earlier just as it would have been unknown for the heroine to comment upon manners of the hero as Gladys does. She decides when she first sees Walter to tell him of his faults on knowing him better: "For one thing, he had no

manners, he sat rather far back from the table, and leaned forward till his head was almost on a level with his plate. Then he made a loud noise in his eating, which disturbed Gladys very much ..." ¹¹³
Again this comment is made in all seriousness.

All of Annie Swan's novels are firmly middle class and contain the assumption that the reader shares not only the values of such people but recognises the milieu. In "Twice Tried" the author takes for granted that the standing and taste of the inhabitants of Bank House of Auchengray will be judged by the fact that, "there were no plated articles in the Bank House of Auchengray." ¹¹⁴ Just as she is concerned with appearance so, social position has a greater importance. Robert Angus, the hero, brings Ransome, his stepmother's brother, to visit the local factor and his family. He is, however, annoyed at having to do this as "she [Mrs. Burnet] has not been accustomed to receive the bank clerk into the family circle." ¹¹⁵ Such crass snobbery was unusual in People's Friend fiction and would in the past have merited condemnation and would certainly not have passed without comment.

It would be misleading to suggest that the inclusion of such trivia was common to all serial fiction in the later years of the nineteenth century. The magazine was just as firm in its avoidance of "society" as a topic. There was, however, a shift from the landed gentry and the world of industry and commerce to that of what might be termed the intelligentsia - the world of writers, journalists, artists and 'blue stockings'. The setting of Andrew Stewart's

"A Fair Norwegian" is the house of a Miss Webster in Glasgow who gives "Bohemian" parties for young artists, sculptors, journalists etc. The trappings of what Miss Swan might have considered "good taste" were cast aside. The guests did not wear evening dress "and the utmost freedom compatible with good manners and gentlemanly behaviour was the rule regarding them."¹¹⁶ When Mary Barron, brought up in a fishing village, goes to London to train as a singer she does not become the rage of society but has conversations on Browning much to the astonishment of her English acquaintances.¹¹⁷

The heroine who undertakes some work on her own had become very popular, perhaps because of the increasing emancipation of women and because they appealed to the authors who were themselves among the first women to be financially independent. Mary Barron creates a life for herself as a singer and even Annie Swan makes use of the independent woman. Joan Lawrence heroine of "Twice Tried" makes a name for herself as a novelist, not a popular one but, "one whose words would be read by the few, never by the many." Is this perhaps a hint of Annie S. Swan's own literary aspirations? Such characters developed out of the women of earlier stories who had shown initiative and intelligence and form part of the continual process of development and adaptation to contemporary ideas which was the success of the People's Friend.

Their views on popular "society" did not change. John Sinclair, a poor workman was waiting for Lady Anne to collect Felix whom his wife and he had brought up. He is concerned about the method of

addressing such a person of rank and is relieved that his wife knows.

"Ye'll hae mixed wi' a' thae kin' o' folk in yer readin';
an' are accustomed, as the papers say to the usage o'
guid society."

"I'd pit guid commonsense, John afore a'yer usages o' guid
society,"¹¹⁸ is the confident reply of his wife.

Female emancipation may have become popular but the end result was always the same - marriage and with it the implicit assumption that female independence should cease. Robert, hero of "Fettered Yet Free"¹¹⁹ falls in love with Frances, a lady journalist. The departure from stories of the past is evident in the fact that she makes him wait a year before marriage. However in spite of this show of independence, Frances is willing to adopt the role of the landed gentleman's wife in the end.

The necessity of having to adapt all the stories to a required moral framework was the major drawback in the serial fiction. Plot, character, situation had all to be fitted into the pattern. The result was that in dealing with certain issues, authors took up positions which were often less than totally honest. The most frequent dilemma introduced in the fiction was that of seduction and illegitimacy. The treatment of this question indicates many contradictions. Whenever the heroine is involved it is either through the belief - always erroneous - that she is herself illegitimate or that she is the mother of an illegitimate child. In such situations the suffering which she must withstand from others is always considerable and it often appears that this blanket condemnation is

in fact being attacked. In "The Heiress of Dunfordle" - Lottie, the heroine, is thought to be illegitimate and her lover's aunt persuades her to give him up. The hero, Edgar Morley, is furious when he hears and in proper fashion explains that he is not concerned. "Confound her pride, and her false, antiquated notions of family honour."¹²⁰ From such a statement it might be thought that illegitimacy was being treated as no great social drawback and that a sympathetic view was being adopted. However in the end Lottie is found not to be illegitimate and, in fact, Edgar's Aunt Dorothy is never condemned for having protected the family honour in the first place. The stating of an enlightened view is one thing, but it is never put to the test. The same is true when the dilemma is even more obvious. Both Mrs. Lawson and Annie S. Swan make use of the double marriage situation. In "Euphie Lyn", Euphie is happily married when a woman appears from Australia and announces that she is married to Euphie's husband. Without waiting for him to return Euphie walks out leaving the other "wife" with the words, "Your husband will be home at half-past five; he likes his dinner then."¹²¹ Euphie, of course, is pregnant and has to suffer the indignities of being regarded as an unmarried mother. Of course it turns out that she is in fact legally married as the "wife" had been married to someone of the same name. "She Euphie had resolutely set her foot upon her trouble, had risen above it..."¹²² The dodging of the central issue of how she might have existed on her own with a child makes for a major structural flaw artistically, and leaves

the moral attitude towards the problem unresolved. In "Twice Tried" a similar situation arises when a wife who was thought to be dead re-appears. Joan Lawrence, the novelist, is the second wife and had thought herself happily married. She, of course leaves her husband and lives in France with her in-laws. The first wife conveniently dies and then Joan and her "husband" are legally married. On first hearing of her situation Joan's only thought is to thank God that her child had died. The possibilities for the development of the story if this "escape" had not been used, are immense, but again it would have meant facing up to a situation and dealing with it honestly and this it fails to do, in spite of fine sentiments.

The demands which serial fiction imposed upon the author led to contradictions in the attitudes towards a subject like illegitimacy. In "Lintie Lowrie" Lintie is promised in marriage to a fisherman. She does not love him and in order to remove her from this predicament a mother and child are introduced. That her intended has seduced a young girl with the promise of marriage is enough to make him unworthy of Lintie. However the treatment given to the girl is at odds with the usual position. She is described as "a slum type, the offspring of generations of poverty neglect and vice."¹²³

Although nearly always sympathetic towards those seduced it is towards their situation and not the deed. If it involves the hero or heroine any taint must be removed, as in the case of Adam Gray, by his parents' marriage when he is an adult. He has made his way in life not knowing of his illegitimacy and it is only when he has

become successful that the accepted view must be shown to have been adhered to. With lesser characters it is different. Again sympathy is shown towards them. It may have been force of circumstances which has driven them towards some unscrupulous man or a desire for a materially better place in life. However, no matter how "liberal" the reasons given for their predicament, they are invariably brought to poverty and death usually with a deathbed repentance. The equivocation and contradictions in the treatment of such subjects must be seen as a major flaw in the fiction.

It is, of course, from the viewpoint of the second half of the twentieth century all too easy to attack the moral stance taken up in such pieces of fiction. If, in the context of the nineteenth century society, a magazine had adopted relatively extreme ideas on morals the effect on sales would have been disastrous. The People's Friend was proud of its position as a family magazine and could not have done anything other than conform to the accepted views of the day. It did try within the confines of its market to present a fair and liberal view of life and in spite of the rather equivocal attitude towards illegitimacy, it did deal with the subject, avoiding melodrama and presenting, on the whole, a moderate picture.

If there was on the part of John Leng & Co. and its authors a policy to sweep aside certain controversial and 'dangerous' areas, they did not attempt in their fiction to show life in more than simple externals. Although, by strictly literary standards, it falls far short of perfection, it is superior to much of the melodrama of its

rivals and contemporaries. Human life is seen to be more than simple existence. In their characters the authors always attempt to present the inner man and the means of spiritual as well as physical improvement are always apparent. The overall view of life is one of confidence and hope. Basic to this was the belief in God, Religion is presented in a surprisingly realistic manner. In accordance with the policy of appealing to all people, no one denomination is put above the other. Rather, organised religion is viewed with scepticism if not downright disapproval. As in other spheres of life, the attendance at church is too often associated with form and not belief. The conditions of the Canongate in Edinburgh are contrasted with the New Town and its inhabitants who "built gorgeous churches, in which they sat every Sunday arrayed in purple and fine linen listening to learned discourses on the duty of Christians, while close by these neglected children, their future citizens, grew up to criminal man and womanhood."¹²⁴ It was this lack of practical Christianity which was so frequently attacked.

Men like Gartland, in "Base Coin", vicious businessman and Kirk elder, or Samuel Laird, drunkard, lecher and Kirk elder are roundly condemned. So too are the strict Calvinists who have "gloomy views of the Christian life" and who often bring unhappiness to their families. Nettie Cameron's father, elder in the Cameronian Church does not escape some of the blame for his daughter's downfall. At her death he finds no comfort from his texts and a "still small voice" tells him of his faults.¹²⁵ While the limitations of organised religion were

recognised the power of the individual in matters spiritual was made supreme. "... The Almichty 'at sees the heart needs naebody to explain to Him hoo things is wi's a'."¹²⁶ This attitude was one which could apply to everyone and give hope to all. God was seen as the First Cause, guiding men in their lives and a belief in this and a life helping one's fellow men were all the religion that was necessary. Closely linked to this was the power of Nature.

In Nature could be seen the power of God and a source of comfort and regeneration. This was an area of spiritual experience available to all readers. In the country they were surrounded by Nature and in the cities parks, if visits to the country were not possible. The link between God and Nature as found in the People's Friend is summed up in the words of Thomas Mathers an old man and poet:

"The maist half o' the folk in this world are like moles,
 burrowin' an' borin' i' the earth, wi' een but nae e'esicht,
 an' the blue an' silver o' the day, an' the purple and gold
 o' the e'enins, an' the glory o' the Lord in His holy temple
 o' Nature they canna see ava, for ye ken there's nae siller
 in a' the like o' that. But waes me! what they miss! what
 they miss!"¹²⁷

Nature was a source of comfort to those in trouble. The peace and tranquility of Morningside gives reassurance and strength to Ellen Mullins who has fled from the moral dangers of seduction; to Lottie, the Heiress of Dunfordle, a glimpse of the hills of her native Perthshire gives her strength when her fortunes are at their lowest and she is living in the poverty of Edinburgh's Canongate.

Without the parks, life for the workers in Glasgow would become unbearable. "Oh, the happiness of these brief breathing spaces to the toilers of the earth - the sky assumes to them a deeper blue, the sun a more heavenly brightness, and the tender green of the fields becomes vivid enough to be burned into the memory for a life time."¹²⁸

Whether or not such examples of the means for spiritual uplift were recognised by the readers will never be known. It does show however, that the authors were concerned not just to give entertainment but to attempt, through a simple code for living, to show their readers the means by which they could make their lives better. That the fiction was popular and that it brought fame to many of the authors is undeniable. Within the limitations of magazine fiction it can be regarded as very successful. It would be wrong to say that the serials were of equal quality. Many were inferior by any standards and there was a tendency to exploit popular themes. If frequently implausible, there was always enough of the real world and everyday situations for it to be understood and appreciated by its public. It was the product of an age of transition when the long held beliefs of the past were beginning to be questioned. The lives of the characters in the fiction often centred in this new world and were the creations of men and women who were themselves a new literary phenomenon. To understand their fiction, we must understand them. Was their fiction part of their own belief or cold calculated exploitation? To answer this, their own lives and beliefs must be studied.

Notes

- 1 Articles which reflect contemporary concern are [Francis Hitchman], "Penny Press", Macmillan's Magazine, XLIII, 1881, pp.385-398; [Thomas Wright], "On a Possible Popular Culture", Contemporary Review, XL, 1881, pp.25-44.
- 2 "Notes", Dundee Miscellany, No.1, 1829, p.16.
- 3 The Independent, No.2, 1816, p.150.
- 4 "The Means of Advancing Moral Science Reading", Taylor's Weekly, No.5, 8th July, 1843.
- 5 [E.S. Dallas], "Popular Literature - The Periodical Press", Blackwood's, 85, 1859, p.98.
- 6 Ibid., p.100.
- 7 "Penny Press", Macmillan's, XLIII, p.881, p.388.
- 8 [Francis Hitchman], "Penny Press", Quarterly Review, CLXXI, 1890, p.154.
- 9 [B.G. Johns], "Literature of the Streets", Edinburgh Review, CLXV, 1887, p.65.
- 10 [Thomas Wright], "On a Possible Popular Culture", Contemporary Review, XL, 1881, p.29.
- 11 Quarterly Review, op.cit., p.161.
- 12 "Lucy the Factory Girl - Advertisement", People's Friend, XVII, 1885, p.543.
- 13 Willie Grahame, "Fireside Talk", IV, 3rd Series, 1877, p.55.
- 14 III, 1872, p.21.
- 15 IV, 1873, p.464.

- 16 Ibid.
- 17 "Romance and the Romantic", VI, 3rd Ser., 1879, p.69.
- 18 "A New Friend Novelist", XXVIII, 1896, pp.664-5.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 "Semi Jubilee of People's Friend", XXVIII, 1896, pp.67-68.
- 21 III, 3rd Ser., 1876, p.128.
- 22 V, 3rd Ser., 1878, p.560.
- 23 XVII, 1885, p.96.
- 24 Ibid., p.592.
- 25 II, 3rd Ser., 1875, p.505.
- 26 Ibid., p.697.
- 27 XXIV, 1892, p.529.
- 28 "The Fortunes of Elsie MacDonald" by Aaron Watson and Allan Gordon, XIV, 1882.
- 29 See Footnote 15.
- 30 Andrew Stewart, "James Harebell", II, 1871, p.37.
- 31 "The Heiress of Dunfordle", I, 3rd Ser., 1874, p.6.
- 32 III, 3rd Ser., 1876, p.273.
- 33 XVIII, 1886, p.573.
- 34 Ibid., p.776.
- 35 "James Harebell", III, 1872, p.66.
- 36 Ibid., p.69.
- 37 IV, 3rd Ser., 1877, p.490.
- 38 XXVI, 1894, p.185.
- 39 XXIV, 1892, p.363.

- 40 Ibid., p.345.
- 41 I, 3rd Ser., 1874, p.89.
- 42 Andrew Stewart, "The Sport of Fortune", II, 3rd Ser., 1875, p.570.
- 43 Ibid., p.418.
- 44 "The Heiress of Dunfordle", I, 3rd Ser., 1874.
- 45 Robert Buchanan, "The Tryst of Arranmore" VII, 3rd Ser., 1880, p.561.
- 46 II, 1871, p.754.
- 47 Wm. C. Honeyman, "Base Coin", VI, 3rd Ser., 1879, p.227.
- 48 XXIV, 1892, p.380.
- 49 IV, 3rd Ser., 1877, p.322.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 See, Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago, Chap.2, p.16.
- 52 "Sport of Fortune", II, 3rd Ser., 1875, p.585.
- 53 Andrew Stewart, "A Fair Norwegian", XXVI, 1894.
- 54 Andrew Stewart, "Milly's Inheritance", XXIV, 1892,
- 55 "The Heiress of Dunfordle", I, 3rd Ser., 1874, p.73.
- 56 XXX, 1898, p.128.
- 57 XVIII, 1886, p.498.
- 58 XXIV, 1892, p.3.
- 59 WM. C. Honeyman, "Lily the Lintwhite", XVIII, 1896, p.421.
- 60 Mrs. J.K. Lawson, "A Millionaire Matchmaker", XXXI, 1899, p.336.
- 61 "Sport of Fortune", 1875.
- 62 Mrs. J.K. Lawson, "Oor Margaret", XXI, 1889.
- 63 p.467.

- 64 XIV, 1882, p.594.
- 65 "Fortunes of Elsie Macdonald", 1882.
- 66 Swan, Twice Tried, Edinburgh, n.d., Chap.2, p.15, Appeared in Friend in 1886.
- 67 Andrew Stewart, "One False Step", VIII, 1886, p.498.
- 68 "Wee Gow Glentie", III, 3rd Ser., 1876, p.210.
- 69 II, 1871, p.754.
- 70 Ibid., p.769.
- 71 "Sport of Fortune", 1875, "Base Coin" 1879, "One False Step" 1886, "Guinea Stamp" 1892.
- 72 XXI, 1889, p.497.
- 73 I, 3rd Ser., 1874, p.186.
- 74 Andrew Stewart, "The Heir of Gryffe", XX, 1888.
- 75 Andrew Stewart, "When He Comes to Himself", XXX, 1898.
- 76 "The Heiress of Dunfordle", I, 3rd Ser., 1874, p.6.
- 77 III, 3rd Ser., 1876, p.177.
- 78 VI, 3rd Ser., 1879, p223.
- 79 Ibid., p.225.
- 80 Ibid., p.289.
- 81 Annie S. Swan, "The Guinea Stamp", XXIV, 1892, p.280.
- 82 "The Guinea Stamp".
- 83 Ibid., p.35.
- 84 Ibid., p.265.
- 85 VII, 3rd Ser., 1880, p.713.
- 86 "Lily the Lintwhite", XXVIII, 1896, p.709.

- 87 "Sport of Fortune", 1875, p.570.
- 88 "Base Coin", VI, 3rd Ser., 1879, p.211.
- 89 Ibid., p.242.
- 90 "James Harebell", 1871, p.753.
- 91 "Base Coin", 1879, p.410.
- 92 XXIV, 1892, p.105.
- 93 "The Heiress of Dunfordle", 1874.
- 94 "Heir of Gryffe", XX, 1888, p.515.
- 95 "Guinea Stamp", 1892, p.35.
- 96 "Base Coin", 1879.
- 97 VI, 3rd Ser., 1879, p.209.
- 98 XXIV, 1892, p.35.
- 99 "Guinea Stamp",
- 100 "When He Came to Himself".
- 101 IV, 3rd Ser., 1877, p.394.
- 102 Annie S. Swan, "Wrongs Righted", VIII, 3rd Ser., 1881, p.738.
- 103 "When He Came to Himself", XXX, 1898, p.164.
- 104 "Sport of Fortune", II, 3rd Ser., 1875, p.746.
- 105 XXIV, 1892, p.50.
- 106 Ibid., p.91.
- 107 p.217.
- 108 p.169.
- 109 XXIV, 1892, p.744.
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 "Guinea Stamp", 1892, p.121.

- 112 Ibid., p.136.
- 113 Ibid., p.19.
- 114 Twice Tried, Chap.I, p.7.
- 115 Ibid., p.24.
- 116 XXVI, 1894, p.1.
- 117 "A Millionaire Matchmaker", XXXI, 1899, Chap.15.
- 118 "The Heir of Gryffe", XX, 1888, p.792.
- 119 XXVII, 1895.
- 120 I, 3rd Ser., 1874, p.266.
- 121 XXIV, 1892, p.290.
- 122 Ibid., p.321.
- 123 XXVIII, 1896, p.452.
- 124 "Oor Margaret", XXI, 1889, p.547.
- 125 "One False Step", XVIII, 1886, p.760.
- 126 "Euphie Lyn", XXIV, 1892, p.209.
- 127 Ibid., p.177.
- 128 "Base Coin", VI, 3rd Ser., 1879, p.361.

Chapter 5

Personalities Behind The Magazines

and Their Fiction 1850-1900.

"It is not easy to appreciate fully the immense work Sir John Leng performed, and the influence he exerted. There was hardly a Scottish home that was not more or less affected by his powerful individuality."¹ So wrote Cladius Clear in The British Weekly after the death of John Leng. The success of the publications of John Leng & Co. during the nineteenth century grew directly from the guiding hand and ever-watchful eye of the founder, John Leng. Every aspect of the business from editorial policy and plant machinery to serial fiction was supervised by Leng himself. To understand the unique nature of his organization requires, therefore, some understanding of the man.

John Leng was born in Hull, on the 10th April, 1828, the younger son of Adam Leng, a one time R.N. officer and Mary Luccock. As a child Leng was delicate and the favourite of both his father and mother. By his own admission he was a precocious child, "...I cannot remember the time when I could not read and I knew the size of my forehead was often remarked upon."²

There appears never to have been a time, even in childhood, when he did not know success. He first attended a private school where he was a monitor and would read the prayers and write the register when the master was late. From there he moved to Hull Grammar School.

On leaving school, he joined an estate office which he disliked

and so took up teaching. It was while he was teaching that he wrote letters to The Hull Advertiser which so impressed the editor that he asked Leng to join the paper as assistant to the sub-editor. Now he found work congenial to him. "I had now found my proper sphere. I delighted in the work, and set myself to it with might and main."³

When he was nineteen, he was appointed sub-editor and reporter. Under the guidance of the editor E.F. Collins, Leng gained his initial experience as a professional journalist. He found himself undertaking all aspects of the organisation of a newspaper and began to develop his interests which were to be the basis of his work in Dundee. He wrote on the conditions of the working classes in Hull; read a paper on "Rank" to the Athenaeum and established a system of district correspondence for the Hull Advertiser "which has done much to advance the circulation."⁴

It is impossible to judge the extent to which the formulation of Leng's social and political views were influenced by the editor of The Hull Advertiser, E.F. Collins. Collins was a Radical and knew men like Daniel O'Connell, John Bright and Richard Cobden. He had been for many years a sub-editor on a London paper and this metropolitan experience was no doubt passed on to the young Leng. The sincerity of tone in Collins's letter to Leng on the latter's departure to Dundee suggests that Collins may well have looked in a fatherly way on his young sub-editor.

"But what made you so invaluable to me was your untiring industry; your quiet persevering zeal; your habits of

unimpeachable veracity in the smallest matters equally with the greatest; your regular, moral, temperate, and gentlemanly deportment;... and the force of your discrimination when circumstances obliged me to leave the entire management of the paper in your hands."⁵

At any rate, the proprietors of The Advertiser obviously valued Leng's work for he was offered in 1851 a contract with the paper for seven years. However Leng was ambitious for better things. Feeling that he had learnt all he could in Hull, he began to look for a more responsible job. He had experience in reporting, in editing, in leader writing and had amassed a library "of nearly 200 vols. of first class works of reference."⁶

Early in 1851 he applied for a post with the Inverness Advertiser but was unsuccessful, apparently as he was not a member of the Free Church. The editor, George France, complimented him on his articles and wished him "heartily a higher appointment to which I have no doubt you will soon arrive."⁷

About the same time a friend of Leng's in Edinburgh drew his attention to an advertisement in the Times for an editor for the Dundee Advertiser. There then followed a correspondence between John Leng and one of the proprietors, James Patullo, which culminated in Leng's appointment as editor. In these letters of Leng to Patullo there is a confidence of tone which almost borders upon the arrogant in one so young. Only twenty-three years old, Leng must have realised that his youth might well be a disadvantage.

In his initial letter of enquiry to Patullo he raises this issue and dismisses it. "If my youth should be considered objectionable I should be glad to refer to the proprietors for their opinion as to my ability and character. Should you desire it I would also send testimonials from all the leading men of the town."⁸ Nor is Leng's business accumen lacking in this letter. "My remuneration at present is £120 a year and therefore I should only be tempted to change my post for some advance which would sufficiently compensate me. I should nor however object to £150 with [----] increase. I may perhaps further state that I have just had offered to me a seven year engagement which however I have declined from the desire to become the entire[?] conductor of some influential organ of public opinion."⁹

The subsequent correspondence shows that John Leng was a man who quite clearly recognised his own abilities and his capacity for utilising them for the good of his employer. He explained in a letter of June 6th that the specimens of his writing which he had sent Patullo were not recent. "I do not send you any very recent specimen having been for some time a hard reader and reserving my pen for future efforts. What I have done hitherto I regard as disciplinary exercises than as specimens of what I can now do."¹⁰ Nor did he have any doubts about his ability to succeed in his new undertaking: a task made more difficult by the precarious position of the Dundee Advertiser. "I thank you for the frank statement of the position of your paper ... Whatever I have done

through life I have done with all my strength and in becoming associated with you I should consider my interests as identified with your own . . . Nor should I rest satisfied until the Dundee Advertiser became indisputably the first or one of the first provincial papers in Scotland."¹¹

The task facing John Leng when he arrived in Dundee in the late summer of 1851 was a daunting one. The Dundee Advertiser, one of the oldest Scottish papers, was in a parlous condition. Since the departure of Stephen Rintoul the paper had declined. About 1850 it was sold by auction to Messrs Neish and Patullo, two young solicitors, who paid £800 for it. Associated with them was a bookseller, a Mr. Shaw who was to help in selling the paper.¹² What however they lacked was a journalist. For a time they attempted to edit the paper themselves until they applied for an editor and appointed Leng.

For a paper in that condition, a man like Leng was ideal. He was a practical journalist with experience of running a provincial newspaper but, more importantly, he had the ideas and vision for improvement allied with good business sense. It was in Hull that these ideas had been formulated and in Dundee they were put into practice. Even before his arrival Leng had sketched out his plans for running the paper. "Reform . . . in all political matters would have in me an earnest advocate but my sympathy would rather be with the consideration and discussion of questions connected with the trade of your port, social tendencies, agricultural improvements etc.."¹³

Such questions aired in the Advertiser were also to be an integral part of the People's Journal, in particular, problems concerning agriculture.

Since no other journalists were employed the production of the paper devolved entirely upon Leng. Now he showed his capacity for hard work and his determination to succeed. "I worked night and day for months and years after going to Dundee."¹⁴ He had to undertake all aspects of the paper's production including the printing - an interest he was to maintain even when his firm was a vast and complex business. "After coming to Dundee I for years made a rule of standing by the up-maker, and afterwards seeing the first copy of each paper printed."¹⁵ This attention to detail enabled Leng to maintain a close watch on his papers long after he had given up daily control of them to others.

Within a year of coming to Dundee, Leng's position was made secure. He was made a partner and became Managing Proprietor of the firm, John Leng & Co. He found himself managing a paper at a time of great change in journalism. He was a strong advocate of the removal of the stamp duty and was the first to admit that this enabled him to establish both the People's Journal and later the People's Friend. Leng recognised at once the implications for the future of journalism which the removal of duty would bring about. "As soon as the abolition of stamp and paper duties led to the establishment of penny papers, and the multiplication of readers by hundreds and thousands, I saw the expediency of cultivating

the interest of women and young people, not excluding children, in
in popular publications."¹⁶

In these early years Leng established a principle which was firmly adhered to in all his later ventures: identification with the area and people which his papers were to serve. Leng had said in one of his letters to Patullo that his interest lay in the broad field of social affairs. His decision to become immersed in the life of Dundee and its area seems to have been a deliberate one. "After deciding to settle in Dundee, I resolved that I would identify myself with its interests, and do whatever I could to further and develop them."¹⁷ This interest was not confined to a superficial knowledge of the problems of the time but was very much part of his personal involvement. He took part in dinners with the professional and businessmen of the town, ". . . nights with these were real Noctes Ambrosianae"¹⁸ where he became familiar with "intensely interesting and [some] weird stories of Scottish life in the early part of the century."¹⁹ Perhaps these early memories had a strong influence on the development of identity both in the Journal and Friend and in their fiction. But his interest was not confined to the middle class establishment of the town. His liberal outlook - social and political - led him to take an active part in social improvement in Dundee. He sat on committees for the relief of the unemployed and became Convener of the committee agitating for a free Library. The latter position was at the request of "a number of intelligent working men. . . [who] took the

most active part in initiating the Free Library movement."²⁰ The combination of self help and the means for intellectual improvement which this illustrates could almost fit into the plot of much of the future fiction of his periodicals. In a wider sense Leng indicated his approval of the spirit of freedom and liberty rampant in Europe at the time. He was instrumental in arranging for the visit of Kossuth, the Hungarian nationalist, to Dundee and "was in personal correspondence with Garibaldi."²¹

However Leng was no dreamer caught up on the tide of aspirations for national liberty. He was fully conscious that ideas needed a sound financial base and that, to push forward new ideas without this security, was a certain road to failure. "He was the Englishman of brains and of business . . . He had hardly a grain of impulsiveness, did nothing at a dash."²²

As with any successful businessman he could see ahead and was in the forefront of technical change. Within a few years he built new premises in Bank Street in Dundee next to the office of Neish & Patullo and as the century progressed these buildings spread to both sides of the street. Time and again he emphasised the need for good premises and machinery. In a letter written in March, 1884 to his son listing the points which should be followed by him on becoming Managing Proprietor, no less than four deal with these technical points - paper quality, the type, maintenance of the building and care of machinery. "Carefully look to maintaining the quality of paper used and [check] from time to time the prices paid, the makers, the offers received etc. . . . Keep up the type.

Don't use any old type but get new. Don't change the style of type points to which readers are accustomed. . . , Keep the premises cheerful, in mint and healthy condition but have the painting etc. done altogether when it is done."²³ He was further advised to employ a "thorough bred mechanic" to maintain the machinery the premises in "cheerful and healthy condition."²⁴ This last piece of advice is illustrative of his belief that good working conditions not only were necessary commercially but were a prerequisite for his employees. He himself attributed part of his success to good working facilities²⁵ and believed that liberal expenditure of money on them "always provided the most profitable investment."²⁶ John Leng was always in the forefront in adopting new methods of printing and production techniques. He was one of the first to use illustrations in newspapers and created a photographic studio when this medium was still in its infancy. By the time of his death, his company had control of subsidiary companies to supply paper and ink and were thus self sufficient.²⁷

All this gives a picture of a progressive man of business and if that had been the total of Leng's achievement it would have been worthy of praise. However the well run business was for him as for many of the businessmen in serial fiction - only a means to an end, for he regarded this practical side as a part of his general philosophy of life and it is in this personal side of his character that the secret of his success can be found.

From his early days as a young reporter in Hull he had a desire

to improve the lot of ordinary people. His observations of the destitution and poverty of so many affected him so that, "the iron entered into 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."²⁸ This led him to become a staunch liberal in politics and as with many nineteenth century men of business he believed that his work had an overriding purpose and this guided all his actions. His creed was based upon a firm belief in God (he was a Congregationalist) and upon the ability of individuals to improve their own lot and that of society. It was with this sense of mission that he approached his work, for he believed that his publications could assist in this process. The leader in the Dundee Advertiser on the death of Sir John Leng summed up his outlook on life: "Most of all, he took pleasure in thinking that his journalism had made for human advancement and the increase of happiness; that by the dissemination of popular literature he had lit up a multitude of homes with wholesome and cheering influences. The exercise of his power was never divorced from the sense of moral responsibility."²⁹

His sense of moral responsibility governed all his decisions in his business life. He wrote in his journalistic autobiography in the Bookman that his aim had never been mere financial success but to issue publications "mentally educative and morally clean." To have pandered to the worst tastes would, he said, have made him feel "morally degraded."³⁰

His belief in God was strong and in the hope of a life hereafter.

The vicissitudes of this life could be faced if God was allowed to guide our course. In times of trouble solace could be found in the Bible. Thoughts like these were often transmitted to young people for whom Leng had a great liking and with whom he achieved good rapport. They indicate the personal belief of one man but it is impossible not to observe the similarity between such thoughts and those of many characters in the fiction which he published. A sustained belief in the goodness of God and in being true to one's ideals were the guiding lights for the heroes and heroines in serial fiction and it eventually brought them through the trials of life. In real life John Leng was advocating the same doctrine.

However it must not be thought that this was vague advice without relevance to everyday events. For Leng two things were of paramount importance: the individual and the family. ". . . to every individual the most valuable possession is himself - the right and power to apply his own intellect, energy, and talents in such a manner as he thinks proper."³¹ Here Leng could speak with authority for he, in his terms, was proof of the truth of this statement. He had started from relatively little and had achieved much. The power of the press could be used to present these views to people in their own homes and thus lead them to recognise their own potential.

Early in his career Leng recognised the power of the family and of women in the family. Hence his publications always emphasised the areas in which improvement could take place - whether in providing

good wholesome meals, or in studying for civil service exams or in being admitted to the world of fiction where people could achieve a happiness and success beyond the dreams of many of the readers.

The personal philosophy of John Leng was thus imprinted firmly throughout his business life both upon his organisation and upon the attitude of the publications. That this was possible when his business was small is easily understood but that it continued when it had expanded to a vast publishing empire is indicative of the power and personality of the man. Times had changed dramatically from the mid nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, yet on his death in 1906, the editor of the People's Friend could state that the aims of the magazine were still those of John Leng. Two years later on the Jubilee of the People's Journal that paper emphasised that Leng's original aim was being maintained.

But if the moral tone and purpose of Leng publications were established by John Leng so too was the Scottish nature of the journals which made them readily identifiable in most parts of the world.

It is ironic that Leng, an Englishman, should have created and followed a deliberate policy of fostering the Scottish dimension of his publications. He had formed the belief while still a reporter in Hull that it was important to foster the local elements in any paper in order that it should appeal to, and reflect the nature of the readers. When he moved to Dundee, it was therefore inevitable that this idea should be extended.

"An Englishman in Scotland, it seemed to me prudent to adapt myself to the latitude and longitude in which I found myself. . . I specially considered the requirements of the town, district, and country in which I was placed, and wrote and wrought for them as of supreme importance. In this way I made the reputation of journals which have secured not merely local, but national and especially Scottish repute."³²

The obvious success of this venture is a tribute to the insight and sensitivity of John Leng in understanding the nature of Scotland and her heritage at a time when it was imperfectly realised.

While there was undoubtedly more than a little business acumen in adopting such a policy, as in other aspects of his business life, the Scottish element was an extension of his own personality. As with other non Scots, Leng delighted in much of the Scottish tradition and culture and his strong support when M.P. for Dundee for the home rule policies of Gladstone may have stemmed from his sympathy for national identity. "There was no more ardent admirer of the poet Burns, no more diligent student of the Scottish song, no more enthusiastic lover of the Scottish scenery, no better exponent of Scottish feeling and sentiment."³³

In this too, Leng deliberately extended the interest to his organisation. He made it part of his policy to employ as heads of department and literary assistants men who were Scots and he positively discouraged Englishmen from working for him after the failure of two or three whom he had employed. At his semi-jubilee he made this observation: ". . . one conclusion of my 25 years' experience

here is that for ability, fidelity and steadiness I would prefer a hundred Scotchmen to a hundred men of any other country I have seen."³⁴

In the employment of authors, Leng was equally deliberate in following this Scottish policy. One of the regular contributors, Adeline Sergeant an Englishwoman who, like many others, first achieved success in the pages of the People's Friend was for a time employed full time in Dundee. She was initially employed on the understanding that she would write Scottish fiction only. However this failed to materialise. It does illustrate the strength of the company's policy in following the ideas of the owner John Leng.

But ideas and aims are only of value if they are put into practice and Leng's success here resulted from his method of organising his publishing house. As an employer he created a concern for its own unique identity which was fostered by the employees who shared the hopes and aspirations of their employer whose presence dominated every aspect of their work.

The two ingredients in the approach to his business life were hard work and teetotalism and while there is no evidence that he demanded the latter from his employees he certainly asked the former. In the conduct of his business and his attitude to his employees he put into practice those ideals which he held so dear. What he achieved was an organisation which mirrored his own views and ideas in the conduct of his various journals. This inevitably became more vital as the business expanded and he became more removed from the

day to day running of his papers and magazines. His method was always that of ensuring that the heads of various departments were "competent and trustworthy" men and women and this advice he passed on to his son.

"The vital condition of good management is to have good men at the head of each department; having got them keep them and do not change lightly. When practicable promote men from inside only introducing outsiders when the advantage of doing so is manifest to all."³⁵

Here we have a glimpse of the method used by Leng to create a publishing house which would be strong in its own identity. Having once found men suitable i.e. those who shared his outlook, then they were to be kept and could be replaced by others brought up in the house tradition. The success of this is seen in the appointment of editors to both the Journal and Friend.

W.D. Latto, the first editor of the People's Journal, was appointed ad vitam aut culpam, while, in the People's Friend, Andrew Stewart, sub-editor, succeeded the first editor, David Pae and Stewart was in his turn succeeded by Pae's son. The personal contribution of these three men will be seen later but the continuity achieved by such appointments accounts for the perpetuation of the basic aims of the magazines over many decades.

While making allowances for the inevitable slant of tributes paid to Leng on anniversaries or on his death, it would appear that he was a good and fair employer. Of course, this would be an

intrinsic part of his philosophy of life. He admitted in a speech on the jubilee of his arrival in Dundee to running his business on paternal lines. He had created a "family" atmosphere within his own establishment just as he had created a similar feeling with the readers of his magazines. Illustrations of this family feeling are revealed in the many occasions of celebration either for the anniversaries of the publications or of employees. Each year a staff outing took place which was an occasion for further speeches from Sir John Leng and his employees. One such occasion was in 1880 when the first excursion train on the Caledonian and Oban Railway was run with Dundee Advertiser employees. As well as providing excellent working facilities he also provided an office library for his employees. As time progressed second generations entered the business - sons and daughters of employees. From the beginning Leng had encouraged the employment of women particularly on the literary and clerical side and their position was one of importance. This too, was reflected in the fiction where heroines were frequently employed in similar positions.

His concern for his employees was genuine and although his influence permeated all his aspects of his business it was by no means a dictatorship but a relationship based on mutual respect. Leng was well aware of the importance of having reliable men run each publication while he himself adopted a supervisory role. That he could do this resulted from his determination to have no outside interests.

"Do not undertake any work whatever outside the office. The establishment is now so large and has so many departments that the general supervising and control is enough for any one man."³⁶

Having given someone a job to do, he was allowed to get on with it. "Don't interfere in minute details, but give kindly suggestions when they occur to you and let it be felt that you . . . appreciate good conscientious work."³⁷

This understanding approach to those he employed evoked in turn a sense of loyalty on the part of the employees. Their attitude is summed up in a speech by one employee on Leng's jubilee.

"Sir John Leng I look upon as a democrat like most of us, and as one who would no more think of us as being under obligation to him because he had given us employment than he would think himself under obligation to us merely because we had entered his service."³⁸

John Leng had the ability to understand people - a point made by both A.H. Millar and William Robertson Nicoll in obituary notices; but what is more, he could gain their loyalty and support in his great enterprise. He had the fortune to be able to put into practice his ideas of life and through his publications to make available not only his moral aims but practical methods by which others could improve their position in society. John Leng & Co. may have been monolithic in structure but it was this structure which enabled the image portrayed by the Friend and its fiction to succeed and to have continuity. Leng established this but could not have sustained it on his own. It was the men who ran the magazine who formed the

link between the proprietor's aim and the readership. Their contribution was central to the perpetuation of the ideas and in their own right they embodied, as did John Leng, many of the characteristics of fictional characters.

Three individuals, Wm. D. Latto, first editor of the People's Journal, David Pae, editor of the People's Friend, and Andrew Stewart, sub-editor and then editor of the People's Friend, dominated the development of Leng papers and magazines and their fiction throughout the nineteenth century. Each joined John Leng & Co. within a few years of one another and they shared much the same outlook on life and approach to their profession. Significantly, all three were themselves involved in fiction writing as well as editorial control and consequently were able to practice the philosophy permeating the establishment.

Not one of the three began his career in journalism but entered it after experience of other trades. With the exception of David Pae, each was given a first opportunity by John Leng through the pages of the People's Journal and his perception of their journalistic ability led to jobs with the company. Even Pae, who had some success prior to joining Leng, owed his real success to the security of a contract with John Leng which subsequently led to editorship of the People's Friend.

The philosophy of self-help leading to success which was a central feature of the magazine and fiction was exemplified by the early lives of these three men. David Pae began his working life,

while still a youth, as a warehouseman with a printer and publisher in Edinburgh and it was this which served as a springboard for his journalistic career. He was brought up by his widowed mother, his father having died when Pae was six weeks old. His father, a millar, at Amulree in Perthshire was drowned while attempting to ford the River Almond during a storm. The dramatic nature of this tragedy is itself worthy of the fiction his son was to control and write.

William Latto and Andrew Stewart exemplify even more clearly the ideal of self help. Latto was born in Ceres, Fife on the 27th June, 1823 and began life as a handloom weaver. He educated himself and eventually saved enough money to attend the Free Church Normal School. He became a schoolmaster and was appointed to the Free Church School at Johnshaven, and from there he began to write articles for the papers which led to his appointment in 1860 as editor of the People's Journal.

Andrew Stewart was born in 1842 in the Gallowgate, Glasgow. Like Latto he was self taught. "He had risen from the ranks, and was not ashamed of it."³⁹ He would carry on his job feeding a paper-ruling machine with a book propped up beside him.⁴⁰ His education continued at Spoutmouth Bible Institute, founded by Sir Michael Connel where the instruction given on Sunday evenings "deepened and elevated his spiritual nature."⁴¹ He rose to become foreman of the firm while spending his spare time as a contributor to the People's Journal. As with Latto and Pae, this led to an

invitation from John Leng to come to Dundee, which he did in 1869 as sub-editor of the People's Friend.

It does not require much imagination to see in the way in which they joined Leng, similarities to the works of fiction. Latto and Pae had their roots in the Scottish countryside, Latto fulfilling the traditional job of a weaver leading to the great task of "a teacher of youth". Pae experienced life in the city of Edinburgh, while Stewart, from the background of industrial Glasgow succeeded by his own efforts. Supported indirectly by the beneficence of magnates like Connal, he was able to improve his education, and succeed to a position of responsibility as foreman for Wm. Collins and finally consummate his hard won success by becoming one of the leading Scottish editors of his day. Of such stuff romance is made.

Nor was John Leng & Co. unaware of the lesson this gave to others. At the silver jubilee celebrations of Latto's editorship of the Journal, Alex. Westwood, a Cupar publisher, spoke of his life in these terms:

"In a weaver's shop I found the embryo editor propelling the shuttle and at the same time intently studying a copy of Lennie's Grammar, the volume being spread out before him so that he could learn and inwardly digest its content while he at the same time plied the shuttle. I never from that time lost sight of the young student, who amidst depressing circumstances, took every opportunity to educate himself and increase his store of knowledge."⁴²

The tone and style of such remarks casts something of a romantic gloss over the facts, reminiscent of the serial fiction.

James Harebell, hero of one of Andrew Stewart's earliest serials, was self taught, "without teacher and without help, except from my Heavenly Father."⁴³ No doubt much the same could be said of the young Stewart, teaching himself while working on his machine.

But, this man had experienced life in this fashion and had succeeded. Therefore, the frequency and intensity with which they, as writers and editors, advocated self help may be regarded as a genuine attempt to express to others what they themselves had experienced.

They were proof. Moreover, as they had been helped in their careers by Leng, so did they exert themselves to help others either as contributors to Leng publications or in their editorial control.

It was easy from the security and success of the 1880's and 1890's for these men to write and talk like this about their early years. It would be naive to assume that such an idealistic approach was adopted by John Leng when they were appointed. For what is most significant is that Leng personally appointed these three men to the key positions. That two of them were without any practical experience in the running of a newspaper or magazine when appointed says much for Leng's flair and insight into character. However they were not totally unknown to Leng and the method which led to their appointment stemmed from his aim of letting the people write. Latto, Pae and Stewart had all written for the People's Journal and it was from this writing that Leng's attention was drawn to them. Wm. Latto's

success with "Jack Clodpole" in the Journal led to Leng inviting him to undertake some reviewing and sub-editing while still retaining his post as a schoolmaster. Andrew Stewart also contributed articles to the Journal for several years before being asked to become sub-editor of the People's Friend in 1869. Careful not to make mistakes, Latto was asked by Leng to join the staff of the Journal on a trial basis in 1860 and provided that he proved suitable to Leng and that he himself was satisfied, then the appointment was made permanent; and how permanent. Latto was appointed editor ad vitam aut culpam.⁴⁴ Nor is there any reason to suppose that other editorial appointments were made any differently.

Such appointments were central to the growth and expansion of Leng's company and were undoubtedly the most important. The permanency of such positions, established early on in the growth of his papers, guaranteed the continuity of ideas and outlook which typified the Journal and the Friend throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. John Leng chose men in whom he could place an implicit trust to carry out his plans and who themselves shared a similar outlook and could develop the aims in the individual publications. They, in turn, were in positions to recruit others and so the process continued and developed.

In the case of David Pae, first editor of the People's Friend, John Leng appointed an already established journalist. His journalistic career began in Edinburgh where he was for a brief time editor of a magazine, the Theatre. His real claim to fame

however, lay with his fictional stories. He is credited by several papers⁴⁵ as having introduced fiction into Scottish newspapers. In 1854, the North Briton and the Penny Post published simultaneously the serial "Jessie Melville or The Double Sacrifice". As a result, the circulation of both papers soared. For the next nine years he remained a writer for these two papers as well as becoming a contributor to the People's Journal after its foundation in 1858. Whether or not he was the first, he certainly was a pioneer in the writing of serial fiction in Scotland, but he did not confine himself to this. He wrote semi religious treatises on Britain's involvement in the Crimean War; a treatise on "Mesmerism and Animal Magnetism" and even a "History of America". He spent a year as editor of the Dunfermline Press. Here then was a man equalled by few, if any, in his knowledge of the requirements for serial fiction and with some editorial experience. No wonder then that Leng set about acquiring his services for his organisation. In 1863 he gave his services exclusively to John Leng & Co.. His serials were to appear in the People's Journal and only after that were they syndicated and published in anything up to a dozen other papers.

Here we have an example of John Leng's method: he had acquired a highly experienced writer and had gained a lead over any possible rivals so that by the time Pae became editor of the Friend, he would be thoroughly confident in his ability to start this new venture in journalism.

These three appointments were the first and most important for

upon these men fell the task of developing the journals under their care. That they were successful is seen not only in the rapid expansion of the papers but in the fact that no other external appointments were made. Under their guidance, others were trained within the organisation to take their place and a type of dynasty established: Andrew Stewart succeeded Pae as editor of the People's Friend and was himself succeeded by Pae's son; D.L. Cromb became editor of the People's Journal. His father Jas. Cromb had been sub-editor of the Evening Telegraph and a frequent contributor to the People's Friend.

Every aspect of the production and content of the magazines was under the jurisdiction of these men. They were themselves writing the fiction and were selecting fiction by others for the inclusion in the publications. The overall tone and attitude of every aspect of the contents was under their guidance with "Mr. Leng's wise, discriminating, and paternal rule"⁴⁶ directing the whole affair. One result of this was that there remained a unified approach in aim and outlook irrespective of the individual publication. Thus David Pae, although editor of the Friend continued to write fiction for the Journal up until the time of his death. The purpose of the journals may have differed but the interaction of writers and contents undoubtedly enabled Leng to create a total image for all the organs within the organisation.

Just as John Leng himself had a clear moral outlook which governed both his choice of staff and his editorial policy, so too did

the men of his choice. It would have been impossible for the People's Friend to have consistently sustained its philosophical approach if the editors themselves had not been men of strong moral outlook.

David Pae was a deeply religious man. He wrote sermons and could quote from those he had heard preached by men like Gilfillan and Guthrie.⁴⁷ In an obituary by Wm. Honeyman, a friend and colleague, printed in the Dundee Advertiser, Honeyman recalls an occasion when he asked Pae why he had not become a clergyman and received the answer that he had a larger weekly audience than any clergyman. Such a remark reveals much. It shows yet again the zeal with which such men placed before their readers a strict moral code. Honeyman continues by recalling an occasion when Pae read to him one of his own sermons while both sat in an old graveyard. "It was a calm, sunny Sabbath evening, and the place lovely and secluded, so the sermon was finished without interruption, and when the last page was reached the red light of the setting sun was falling on the book. "A glory gilds the sacred page," was the writer's remark, as with deep emotion he closed the volume. . ."⁴⁸

We have the writer's word for it that this was an actual occasion and yet, without any difficulty it is possible to imagine this as an incident in a tale of serial fiction. A sense of religious reverence and the beauty of Nature are both present as they are in so much of the fiction. In the obituary in the People's Friend Pae's delight in Nature is recalled. "In the beauties of Nature [sic] he saw with feeling of reverence the evidences of design

and was able with devout spirit to look 'from Nature up to Nature's God'."⁴⁹

The reality of the moral and religious life was similarly true for Andrew Stewart. The effects of religion on his early life has been noted and it was reflected in his own life in later years. He was chairman of the Children's Church in Dundee and was an elder and Sabbath school teacher. As with Pae his personal beliefs were at one with his fictional writings and his conduct of the magazine. He regarded his job as "a great trust, and with God's help I try to make the paper, as far as I can, a beneficial influence with the people."⁵⁰ The sense of vocation as editor, comparable to that of a minister of religion, was one which Stewart shared with David Pae.

In a portrait of Andrew Stewart which appeared as one in a series of "Ink Portraits" in The Scottish Pulpit, the writer notes that Mr. Stewart held that his job was an effective for good as that of the ministry. The intimate relationship between Andrew Stewart and the magazine is summed up in his obituary printed in the Friend: "His relation to the paper was more than a mere literary one. He loved it, worked for it, and thought of it as if it were his own flesh and blood."⁵¹ Their personal lives therefore were patterns which they could use in their own fiction and guidelines for their roles as editors in choosing other writers and their work.

The approach, bordering on the evangelical, to the moral purpose of their work as writers and editors guaranteed that one of Leng's central commitments would be adhered to. His other commitment -

to support all things Scottish and to foster Scottish culture - was the other area where he had the active help of his editors.

By background and upbringing each was a part of that picture of Scottish life which Leng wanted portrayed - Latto had the background of rural communities, shared, to some extent by David Pae who also through his early working life in Edinburgh was as conscious of the new urban society with its strengths and weaknesses in which Andrew Stewart had himself been brought up and which was to form a background to much of his fiction.

William Latto was the typical "lad o'pairts"⁵² who, in his own work, took for his themes, "matters specially related to rural life, and clothing . . . thoughts and fancies in the homely Scottish Doric."⁵³ He also combined his interest in what was peculiarly Scottish with the benefits of the union. It is perhaps, not surprising that at training college he had gained 1st prize for an essay entitled, "The advantages which Scotland has gained from the Union".⁵⁴

It was in their writing that they were best able to expound their Scottish outlook. William Latto in particular devoted most of his time to the "pawky" fiction embodied in "Tammas Bodkin" and by the end of the century he took his place as a figure in the "kailyard" literature. He was, said one speaker, "a lad o'pairts who flourished before Ian Maclaren planted bonnie briar bushes for the edification of Cockney readers."⁵⁵ His Bodkin papers were described as full of "unaffected, and unforced humour," and Tammas, "a man of the people, in full sympathy with the people."⁵⁶

Thus, the democratic element in the ordinariness of Tammas was united with his "pawky humour and characteristic wisdom" and use of Scots, bringing together many of the strands of what John Leng & Co. regarded as typically Scottish.

Both David Pae and Andrew Stewart made use of the industrial background of Scotland and the hard working industrious Scot. In one of his early works George Sandford or The Draper's Assistant, Pae describes a serious minded Scots lad who is sent to work in London. In the course of the book, Pae attacks the lack of morality in England and in particular failure of church attendance and his hero, George Sandford, is determined to set an example.⁵⁷ He makes a similar attack in Jessie Melville on Sunday behaviour which is combined with praise for Scotland on the Sabbath.⁵⁸ No doubt such attitudes stemmed from his own religious beliefs but they do exhibit the centrality of religion - in particular non-conformism which was seen as one of Scotland's best attributes.

Andrew Stewart more than Latto or Pae was involved in supporting the Scottish elements in his writing. As well as his serial fiction he wrote many humorous readings in Scots for public performance⁵⁹ and was the author of an immensely successful Scottish cookery book. He would write articles on trips to different parts of Scotland and was instrumental in organising collections of lantern slides which his magazine would hire out to various organisations.

Their personal involvement in expressing their ideas of things Scottish ensured that contributions from others would be in a

similar vein, helping to create that sense of identity which was so important in all Leng's activities. The lessons to be learned from the editor's own life and philosophy were, by themselves insufficient to create successful journalistic enterprises. With or without the guidance of the managing proprietor, Pae or Stewart or Latto had the task of making the paper for which each was responsible a commercial success. Like so many other nineteenth century journalists they possessed the correct blend of moral fervour with a clear-sighted awareness of what would be popular with the reader. Their own involvement as writers meant that they could set the standards which other contributors would follow. Their own opinions on the requirements of fiction which was the mainstay of all the magazines may be regarded therefore, as a fair reflection of the policy pursued by John Leng & Company. What above all else, is noteworthy is that they recognised the special nature and demands of serial fiction as an ingredient in a commercial enterprise. That it should be seen as literature was not a major consideration. In a comment on Pae's work in an obituary notice in the People's Friend (which it is reasonable to assume would be written by his successor, Andrew Stewart) the writer said, "... he wrote for a purpose, to supply a demand for serial stories in weekly newspapers. He discovered the vein that best pleases newspaper readers, and with unflagging energy supplied the demand for upwards of a quarter of a century writing sometimes two stories simultaneously."⁶⁰

This very revealing statement shows that artistic creativity

was not the basic requirement but an awareness of public demand and workmanlike approach to the craft.⁶¹ The "vein that best pleases" was the key to success as was the correct combination of ingredients. If after that, quality could be achieved then nothing more mattered. "Striking plot and well worked out situations,"⁶² "series of stories of the most brilliant and pleasing kind - bold and subtle in plot, powerful in incident, rich in imaginative qualities, and graphic in their descriptions of character and scenery."⁶³

The analytical concept of their writing which such comments reveal, surely reflects the total approach to serial fiction. In the case of Leng and his editors this, of necessity, had to be allied to a strong moral content in which right and wrong could be clearly differentiated. William Latto in his appreciation of Pae praised him for his moral tone:

"Few writers of fiction have been more scrupulously careful than he to adorn his tales by the inculcation of sound religious principles. If he painted vice it was always in the blackest and most repulsive colours, while virtues were by him invariably set forth in the most attractive colours."⁶⁴

Excitement, interest, skill in plot were what was praised; intrinsic literary merit not at all. "There was no attempt at fine writing",⁶⁵ was the candid comment made about Lat to's Tammas Bodkin on its publication by Hodder & Stoughton. The author's avowed aim was simply "to afford his readers a little harmless amusement."⁶⁶ The judgement of the success or failure of a piece of fiction was

best summed up by the Glasgow Evening Times in a comment on Pae's work: "[the majority of his] work possessed the cardinal virtue of being eminently readable."

The writing of this fiction should not be regarded as a simple, straightforward task. For, in the end, if it was not varied and entertaining it would be rejected by the readers. Skill and experience in sustaining accepted fiction over many years required ability on the part of the writers. It was in this field that Leng's editors drew upon their own personal experiences and beliefs. Many of the stories owed much to biographical elements. In "Jessie Melville", the heroine is a book-folder for Chambers in Edinburgh. Here of course, is a similarity to David Pae's early life when he worked for Grant, another Edinburgh publisher and printer. In Stewart's stories, the setting of industrial Glasgow and the background of the heroes bear many resemblances to his own life. "James Harebell" (1871), is obviously partly autobiographical: the hero comes from the Gallowgate and is an aspiring journalist. Adam Gray, hero of "When He Came To Himself" (1898) works as a finisher for a printing and publishing firm and is a leading light in the movement for self improvement. Again there is the resemblance with the author who began work with Wm. Collins and who owed his education, in part, to an institute established for self improvement.

The need for variety of setting was another obvious requirement for any producer of serial fiction. "A Fair Norwegian" by Andrew Stewart appeared in 1894. Earlier he had visited Norway with other

journalists and, as well as an account of his visit for his magazine, it provided him with a fresh setting for a new serial story.

It would be foolish to pretend that all fiction had such a direct basis in reality. But the path to success in life trod by the editors; the personal knowledge of the difficulties of poverty in youth; acceptance of the benefits of self help and the acquisition of a deep and abiding religious faith led them to write within a fictional framework with a zeal and authenticity which must have contributed to the success of the magazines. The saying that truth is stranger than fiction appeared more than once in the pages of the People's Friend and it seems that in their endeavour to present to the readership a mode of living, these men blurred the division between the fact and fiction. As the magazine became established and they gained some personal fame it is possible to wonder to what extent their own lives had become encased within a romantic mould.

William Latto by 1908 was being eulogised thus, "He was a son of the soil, who from the dreary round had worked himself, after the manner of high-souled Scottish youth into a position of dignity and congenial labour."⁶⁸

For Andrew Stewart and William Latto personal fame within Leng's publications at least, became part of their lives. They had consciously or unconsciously created an "ideal image" which in retrospect, their own lives fulfilled. They were at the centre of a circle of men and women with similar outlook all of whom were engaged in producing papers and magazines along the lines laid down by the proprietor. Out of John Leng's ideas had been created a living reality.

The editors were at the centre of this world guiding and directing those other men and women who contributed to the magazine and upon whom so much of their success depended. On occasions such contributors were brought on to the staff at Leng's. James Whitelaw had been a compositor and was brought from there to become sub-editor of the People's Friend. As with so many, he was almost entirely self taught.⁶⁹ Others like Wm. Honeyman were of value for their experience of life. Born in New Zealand, Honeyman came to Europe and worked as a leader of an orchestra. Such a background provided ample material for the "romance of life" which was an essential ingredient of the magazine's vitality.

However it would have been both impossible and self-defeating to have employed on a full time basis all those who contributed. The continued variety of material depended on those who led different lives and who could draw upon their widely differing experiences for articles and stories in Leng's papers. Even with such a disparate group a loyalty to the papers and a sense of belonging was maintained. As with so many of the full time employees, and in line with Leng's stated philosophy, many of the contributors came from lowly backgrounds. James Nicholson a Friend poet and author of articles on botany and geology, had started as a factory worker, tailor's assistant and shepherd who taught himself by reading while watching the sheep; Alec Murdoch, poet and writer of Scotch readings began in poverty and saved money as an apprentice to buy a book of Burn's poetry. But the greatest success among contributors was that of

the Friend poet, Alex. Anderson. He began as a surfaceman on the railways, a job, as the magazine informed its readers, which was inappropriate to his temperament.⁷⁰ He moved from this in 1880 to become a sub-librarian at Edinburgh University and five years later became Secretary of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institute. His success in life and in the pages of the People's Friend served once more to illustrate the virtues which the magazine propounded.

The sense of unity which contributors like these felt is illustrated by reports of dinners which would take place periodically when they would meet together. On occasions drawings of the authors at one of these social occasions would appear in the pages of the magazine itself. In this way their identity was kept before the readers and the idea of a "family" carefully cultivated.

But most important of all, was the relationship between John Leng & Co. and their major serial writers like Adeline Sergeant, Mrs. J.K. Lawson and Annie S. Swan. They were the personalities called upon to visit Friend exhibitions; whose private lives were a source of interest to readers and who provided the fiction. They belonged to a wider world - Swan and Sergeant to the literary world of London, Mrs. Lawson in Canada - and their experiences of the world provided them with material for their fiction. They had an independence and yet were very much a part of Leng's world, both commercially and morally. It was a kind of mutual dependence. The nature of this relationship is partly revealed in the biography of Adeline Sergeant.⁷¹ The daughter of a Wesleyan minister, she

was educated in the south of England and worked for a time as a governess. She won the People's Friend competition with "Jacobi's Wife" and was invited to Dundee to join the literary staff which she did in 1885. She wrote mainly for the Friend but also contributed paragraphs and verses to the Advertiser and the Evening Telegraph. The aim on her coming to Dundee, was that she should write only Scottish fiction⁷² but this remained unfulfilled. (It is curious that such a demand should have been made of a writer to whom Scotland was totally strange. However it throws an interesting sidelight on the conscious policy of supporting and developing Scottish fiction.) However she used Scottish settings for many of her stories although she "never took kindly to the Doric."⁷³ The artificiality of her attitude to Scots, which was one of the less pleasing sides of much Scottish fiction of the time, is found in her approach to the language. "The dialect also took hold upon her and is frequently introduced into her novels, one of her favourite Scots expressions being 'dree his own wierd'."⁷⁴

Her period in Dundee was brief - two years and, while perhaps less than totally successful, did not break her relationship with John Leng. The contract agreed with him on her departure indicates something of the total involvement of a popular writer with the publisher. "She was to receive a fixed salary for the serial rights in one long serial story, to last five months, for the People's Friend, four short stories, paragraphs, and occasional prize adjudications, guaranteed for three years, after which there was to be three months' notice on either side."⁷⁵

Some years later it was replaced by an agreement, which lasted to her death for two serials stories every year for the People's Friend.

The sense of security which such long term contracts must have given to those who lived by their writing no doubt contributed to the loyalty felt by the writers and conversely gave to the publisher a continuity which he so clearly desired.

Nevertheless such relationships were more than commercial. Her time in Dundee was a watershed for Adeline Sergeant. "In the history of Adeline Sergeant's spiritual, mental and literary development no period was more important than the two years she spent in Scotland: in Dundee and its neighbourhood."⁷⁶

Coming to Dundee as an outsider and as an English woman with a different background from other contributors, her description of the life she found in the city and in John Leng & Co. helps us to see something of the atmosphere surrounding those engaged in the enterprise. It reveals something of the confidence of Leng & Co. and their utter independence. She was astonished by the intellectual life of the town and the lack of attention paid to London. "... The citizens of Dundee knew little of and cared less for the great London which was to her 'the hub of the universe'. It was of little importance to them what the Spectator, the Times, the Standard and the Daily News were saying. They were great politicians; but they read parliamentary debates and the speeches of great men in their own local newspapers, and formed their own opinions from them."⁷⁷ If this was true of the world of politics, then it was true of magazine journalism as well.

Her own mental powers were intensified during her stay for she found it easier to be reflective than in London. Her social life was happy and she became friends with those who employed her and her fellow employees. John Leng's family is described as among her most "intimate friends" and also within her social circle were Andrew Stewart and his wife and other Leng employees.

In this account of her life, Adeline Sergeant's biographer reveals something of the nature of the relationship between the writer and John Leng & Co. Founded on a business partnership, it involved both the professional and private lives of employer and employee, reminiscent of the relationship often described in the serial fiction where the lives of the heroes and heroines were so often linked to those of the employer.

Yet it would be absurd to suggest that the lives of the authors were synonymous with those led by the many characters in many serial stories. Ideas for settings, plots and moral tone might reflect the authors' own lives, but the final product was a professionally 'manufactured' story made according to firmly established rules. Adeline Sergeant took plots from real life or from suggestions of friends.⁷⁸ Annie Swan, too, used events in her own life and those around her. ". . . there was no need to seek for imaginary plots. Nothing the imagination can conceive can equal in poignancy the happenings going on around us everyday."⁷⁹

The details of the minutiae of society which frequently enter Swan stories⁸⁰ were part of her own life. She delighted in the

social intercourse of life in Hampstead and later in Hertford where she was highly gratified by the sensation caused by her daughter's presentation at Court. "We were entertained a lot and entertained ourselves on a considerable scale. . . Hostesses vied with one another in securing something new and startling both in food and decorations. . . I plunged into the dinner game with real zest."⁸¹ She adds that this gave her first hand knowledge of what she portrayed as a writer, which indicated something of the link between the lives of the authors and their fiction.

But it was in moral tone that the link was closest. In an article in the People's Friend in 1895,⁸² the editor commented that it was her "tenderness" which was her chief charm and that her moral purpose was to make the readers better after they had read her stories. It was a sentiment echoed by Miss Swan in her autobiography some forty years later. Her philosophy of life was "a supreme and immovable faith in the inherent and ultimate goodness of human nature"⁸³ and this, she said, was mirrored in her work.

A similar tone for improvement found support from Mrs. J.K. Lawson. ". . . with whom could my sympathies possibly be but with the strugglers and toilers, the strong swimmers in the sea of life especially with those who never reach land, but go down doing their bravest? In many such defects there is a success too lofty to be measured by the world's money standards, but recognised and endorsed by the highest."⁸⁴

Sustained by their firm moral precepts these ladies easily fitted into the pattern established by Leng. They were part of the family. Friendly with each other, (Annie Swan introduced Mrs. Lawson to Leng & Co.) they all developed a social relationship with their employer over and above their commercial links. Just as Leng and his editors were skilled in their trade, so did these authors bring a skill. Each was quite clear that serial writing was a business. Adeline Sergeant adopted a mechanical approach to her writing. She would allow half a page for description of the heroine, conversation one page and so on.⁸⁵ Often a story would have appeared before she had completed it and she listened to editorial criticism of those areas where a serial had been judged deficient by the reader.⁸⁶ This constant concern for the reader was a feature of their writing that they always bore in mind and none more so than Annie S. Swan. She never considered that what she wrote was art⁸⁷ (nor did Mrs. Lawson) but recognised that serial writing was a skill and served an important purpose.

"Serial writing is a branch, almost a profession, by itself... 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. . . Yet through magazines and newspapers a wider public can be reached, a great public which cannot afford, or which has never been educated to buy books, but which nevertheless must be fed."⁸⁸

Such a statement is important for an understanding of, and critical

approach to, the work of such writers. It is possible to criticise the approach adopted by Swan and others of presenting an idealised world but if seen in the context of the social climate of the time, it is not out of the ordinary. Swan was not unaware of the criticism which was levelled at her and her reply presents an appealing point of view:

"It (serial fiction) satisfies the primal need for happiness. Denied to the reader, possibly he, or more likely she, finds some assuagement in contemplating the happiness of others in an imaginary world. So everything must be sorted up, the undeserving receive their just deserts, and the good, even if tried beyond human endurance, rewarded at the end. I have never had any difficulty in adjusting myself to this demand. Because, as it happens, I feel just that way myself. The world is so full of a "number of things", many of them sad, that it does not want its burden added to by the woes of a lot of imaginary people."⁸⁹

The personal testimony given by Annie Swan in the above quotation is at the centre of the approach of those involved in the writing and publication of these magazines. Their business acumen and skill in writing could have been excellent but, without this deep, personal commitment, success might well have eluded them. Leng, his staff and authors were pioneers, they could not pay lip service to already established forms and ideas. The philosophy of Sir John Leng was the driving force and he attracted those of a like mind. Annie Swan's

description of the People's Friend sums up this achievement:

"The People's Friend has always been ably edited by men who knew their public, its limitations, and its quality. I have fitted in - that is all: and much of my best work has appeared in its pages."⁹⁰

The best was what John Leng demanded and received in everything. For all who were in some way involved in the writing and publication of his newspapers and magazines, their working relationship was not separate from their own private lives. Personal and professional success, financial security was bound up with Leng & Co. But more than that, they shared hopes and aims and a belief in the rightness of what they were doing which Sir John Leng had first formulated in his youth. The totality of this personal involvement and dedication is reflected in the tone of the fiction where completeness of human life is so confidently displayed. It is but an extension of much of their own human experience and thus reveals a great deal of the creative processes of Scottish magazine writing in the late nineteenth century.

Notes

- 1 "In Memoriam" Sir John Leng LL.D., Dundee, 1906, p.26.
- 2 Leng Papers, Handwritten account of his early life by Sir John Leng, undated.
- 3 "In Memoriam", p.35.
- 4 Leng Papers, Letter, John Leng to James Patullo, 4th June, 1851.
- 5 Ibid., Letter, E.F. Collins to John Leng, 13th June, 1851.
- 6 Ibid., Letter, John Leng to James Patullo, 4th June, 1851.
- 7 Ibid., Letter, George France to John Leng, 29th March, 1851.
- 8 Ibid., Letter, John Leng to James Patullo, 24th March, 1851.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Letter, John Leng to James Patullo, 4th June, 1851.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Leng Papers, typewritten account of his father's early life by his son, W.C. Leng.
- 13 Ibid., Letter, John Leng to James Patullo, 4th June, 1851.
- 14 Ibid., Speech by Sir John Leng handwritten on House of Commons notepaper, undated.
- 15 "Journalistic Autobiography", The Bookman, February, 1901, p.157.
- 16 Ibid., p.158.
- 17 Supplement to Dundee Year Book 1901, p.12.
- 18 Ibid., p.14.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid., p.16.

- 21 Ibid., p.15.
- 22 "In Memoriam", pp. 27-28.
- 23 Leng Papers, Letter, John Leng to Mr. C. Leng, March, 1884.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 See "Journalistic Autobiography", The Bookman, February, 1901, pp. 157-158.
- 26 "In Memoriam" Reprint of a speech of Leng's on his semi-jubilee as head of the Dundee Advertiser, p.37.
- 27 D.N.B., Supplement II, p.453.
- 28 "In Memoriam", p.8.
- 29 Dundee Advertiser, 13th June, 1906.
- 30 Bookman, op.cit., p.157.
- 31 John Leng, Nationalisation : The Dream of the Socialist Labour Party, Dundee, 1895.
- 32 Bookman, p.157.
- 33 Evening Telegraph & Post, 13th December, 1906.
- 34 "In Memoriam", p.36.
- 35 Leng Papers, Letter, John Leng to Mr. C. Leng, March, 1884.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Dundee Year Book 1901, p.24.
- 39 "In Memoriam - Andrew Stewart", People's Friend, XXXII, 1900, p.114.
- 40 See "Andrew Stewart-Editor", Friend, XXIV, 1892, p.52.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 A Silver and Golden Wedding: Celebration of W.Latto's 25th Anniversary as Editor of the People's Journal, December 12th, 1885, Dundee, 1885.

- 43 People's Friend, II, 1871, p.754.
- 44 See, A Silver and Golden Wedding.
- 45 Mentioned by People's Friend, the Literary World and East Lancashire Echo.
- 46 Speech of W.D.Latto in A Silver and Golden Wedding.
- 47 Pae's Obituary, People's Friend, XVI, 1884, p.333.
- 48 Dundee Advertiser, 14th May, 1884.
- 49 Friend, XVI, 1884, p.333.
- 50 Ibid., XXIV, 1892, p.52.
- 51 Ibid., XXXII, 1900, p.114.
- 52 He is referred to as a 'lad o'pairts' in A Silver and Golden Wedding.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 See article "W.D.Latto" by J.A.Foote, winner of a guinea prize for an article on "Well Known Men", People's Journal, 5th December, 1891.
- 55 Jubilee of People's Journal, Dundee, 1908, p.5.
- 56 "William D. Latto", People's Friend, XXVI, 1894, p.707.
- 57 See, David Pae, George Sandford, Edinburgh, 1853, Chap.3.
- 58 See Pae, Jessie Melville, Edinburgh, 1856, Chap.2.
- 59 By 1892, he had published and sold over 40,000.
- 60 People's Friend, XVI, 1884, p.333.
- 61 The same type of comment was made about Stewart's writing when he died: "...he never tried to be brilliant; but his literary work, as all else of his, was thoroughly sound." Friend, XXXII, 1900, p.114.

- 62 Friend, XVI, 1884, p.333.
- 63 Memorial Papers by James Cromb in Evening Telegraph, Reprinted in Eustace the Outcast, Dundee, 188⁴, p.393.
- 64 People's Journal, 10th May, 1884.
- 65 People's Friend, XXVI, 1894, p.707.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 From "Opinions of the Press" following p.396 of Eustace the Outcast.
- 68 Jubilee of People's journal, p.5.
- 69 "James Whitelaw-Obituary", People's Friend, XIX, 1887, p.285.
- 70 VII, 1880, p.703.
- 71 Winifred Stephens, The Life of Adeline Sergeant, London, 1905.
- 72 Ibid., p.189.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Ibid., pp.193-194.
- 76 Ibid., p.169, See first copy .
- 77 Ibid., p.171.
- 78 See "Miss Adeline Sergeant" Interview by the Editor, People's Friend, XXIX, 1897,p.456.
- 79 Annie S. Swan, My Life, London, 1937, p.97.
- 80 See, Chapter 4, pp.212-3.
- 81 Swan, My Life, p.97.
- 82 "Annie S. Swan", XXVII, 1895, p.3.
- 83 Swan, My Life, p.13.
- 84 "Mrs. J.K. Lawson", People's Friend, XXIX, 1897, p.289.

- 85 Ibid., "Miss Adeline Sergeant", p.456.
- 86 Stephens, p.219.
- 87 "Of course it is not art, not even true to life, in which there are so many loose ends." Swan, My Life, p.286.
- 88 Ibid., p.283.
- 89 Ibid., p.286.
- 90 Ibid., p.284.

Chapter 6

The People's Friend and the 'Kailyard Movement'.

"As seen in say, 1880, there seemed no future for a distinct Scottish utterance in poetry or prose. Those who had something to say catered (whatever the disadvantages) for the British public: those who did not catered for provincial quaintness and tartan-hungry holidamakers; and in their case the sweeter (and sicklier), the better."¹ Thus does Kurt Wittig comment on the last decades of the nineteenth century during which was established what has become known as "The Kailyard Movement" in Scottish literature. It is inappropriate to give here a detailed discussion of this movement which has angered, mystified, and embarrassed critics and writers of Scottish literature ever since. Understanding of this period has been hindered by the coining of the phrase, 'Kailyard Movement' for it implies a relatively homogeneous corpus of work with a clear line of development. Yet it has been used to embrace novels and sketches which contain Scots dialect, sentimental scenes, pictures of idyllic country life, characters who are 'couthy' or 'pawky' and Scottish religious practice. Sometimes only one of these elements is present; sometimes a combination, and often these features have no relationship other than a Scottish setting. A clearer awareness can be achieved by studying the method by which Barrie,^{and} Maclaren, two of the main proponents of

this writing, first came to prominence. Their immense popularity was the result of journalistic enterprise. Under the guidance of William Robertson Nicoll their pictures of Scottish life captured the attention of the literary and publishing world of London. For the first time the power of mass readership was brought to bear upon Scottish writing and writers. The novelty of their work and the power of Scottish interests in the journalistic and publishing world of London ensured their success.

North of the border such a development was by no means new. In Dundee, John Leng & Co. had used such methods for many years with success. The impact of Barrie and Maclaren on the national scene had an effect on Leng's publications. For the first time writing and ideas very similar to that supported and published by Leng was accepted and praised by the metropolitan press. The values of moral probity, family life, Scottish humour, trials of poverty, Scots language had for long been the kernel of Leng's publications and, particularly of the People's Friend. Small wonder then that this new 'movement' should find a firm supporter in the Dundee firm. Leng & Co. found themselves attracting some attention from London, particularly in the pages of The British Weekly. The People's Friend was mentioned favourably; Robertson Nicoll supported Leng writers such as Annie S. Swan and later Halliday Rogers; Hodder & Stoughton republished in 1894 W.D. Latto's early work for Leng, Bodkin Papers after Nicoll had written to Latto suggesting a re-issue,² It is for its involvement in the Kailyard Movement that the People's Friend is

still remembered by modern critics.³

But in spite of the similarity of interest and purpose between the publishers in London and Dundee it would be wrong to see the People's Friend as a mere imitator of London fashion. It had for long been a pioneer and its reaction to the fame and success of Barrie and the others was qualified, at least, in the early years. The writing in the Friend which can be regarded as 'Kailyard' retains an identity separate from its English produced counterparts. While both were the results of journalistic enterprise of amazing similarity, Leng's 'Kailyard' stemmed from years of experience of Scottish life and was based on already established forms of writing. People's Friend sketches of Scottish life are parallel to those published in London and are not poor imitations. The differences are revealed in the attitude adopted by the People's Friend towards Barrie and the others and in the writings of Leng's 'kailyarders' - Fergus Mackenzie, W.G. Tarbet and Halliday Rogers.

Throughout the 1890's hardly a year passed without at least one article in the People's Friend on some aspect of the currently popular Scottish fiction or its authors. It is not difficult to detect in the comments made a certain tone of criticism of material which has been published in England combined with a defence, strong at times, of its own writers. Paradoxically, the hesitancy to accept these new works was often combined with fervent praise of the Kailyard and an eagerness for Friend writers to be seen as an important part of such a movement.

The first comment appeared in 1891 in a biographical account of J.M. Barrie. While praising Barrie's ability, as the author of the article saw it, to present men and women as they really are, stripped of what is unessential, the article ends on a cautionary note. "They suggest that he may be able to make some permanent additions to our national Scottish literature. But that, to use words that he himself has used of another writer, can only be if in filling his notebook with these little comedies and tragedies he is preparing for efforts more sustained."⁴

This qualified praise gave way to direct criticism of Barrie's work by the Editor in a major article in 1893⁵ when the Friend author, Fergus Mackenzie, is vigorously defended from criticism voiced in the British Weekly. A perceptible undercurrent of jealousy creeps into the article and was to reappear from time to time as the years passed. A detailed comparison of Barrie's Window in Thrums and Mackenzie's, Cruisie Sketches is given, in which Mackenzie is judged Barrie's equal, if not, in some respects his superior. The article ends on a note of grievance rather than literary criticism:

"We consider the critic who can find no language strong enough in which to sound the praises of Mr. Barrie has a mental squint who cannot perceive the genuine literary artist in Fergus Mackenzie. Both are writers that any country may well be proud of. The one with a metropolitan training has exhibited, as might have been expected, a

more cosmopolitan range, though his best work lies in his Thrums sketches. We trust he has a long and a brilliant career yet before him, both as a novelist and a dramatist; but he is none the worse of a little plain speaking, for no one more than an author should pray to be delivered from his friends."⁶

Nor, initially, did Ian Maclaren escape censure. In a review of Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush, the writer, while praising it and placing Maclaren amongst "the three mighty", observes that, "the wine has not been kept till this last."⁷ In the following years, on the publication of Days of Auld Langsyne the reviewer had to admit that "the general quality shows signs of a general falling off, as if the vein was almost becoming exhausted."⁸

Such apparent criticism was allied to a sensitivity towards, and mild envy of, the London based critics and publishers. The aside on Barries' deliverance from his English based friends and the apparent advantages of a metropolitan training have already been noted. There was an obvious sense of satisfaction in the reaction to Hodder & Stoughton's re-issue of Tammas Bodkin. "It is pleasing to see an English firm of publishers thus recognise his genius in voluntarily undertaking the issue in this elegant form of a new edition of Tammas Bodkin."⁹ The significant word is "voluntarily" implying that such an influential publisher should be eager without persuasion to re-publish such a book.

It was one thing for writers in the Friend to utter occasional

criticism of Barrie and company. However when attacked by outsiders, especially from England, then the People's Friend readily defended the new popularity of Scottish fiction. In 1896 the Editor returned to the theme of Kailyard fiction in a defiant mood.

"It must be rather annoying to those London scribes who, partly in derision, but largely in spleen, have dubbed the writings of that brilliant band, which includes J.M. Barrie, Ian Maclaren, S.R. Crockett etc., "Kailyard Literature", to note the popularity to which such literature has attained. We are not ashamed to say that the Friend has done all in its power to foster such literature."¹⁰

He continued by praising his own authors while, at the same time, attacking critics.

"There may be writers who, through the caprice of public favour, have a wider reputation, but there is not one of them who has delineated Scottish life and character with a truer touch, . . . The title we gave to the series of sketches by Mr. W.G. Tarbet, "In Oor Kailyard", was deliberately chosen to show that the Friend regarded with supreme indifference the ipse dixit of those critics who sought to throw ridicule on a class of writing they either could not or would not appreciate, but which the general public undoubtedly do appreciate."¹¹

This article reveals the equivocal attitude of the People's Friend to this new phenomenon. On the one hand it was pleased

that Scottish life should be such a popular subject and that Scottish literature was receiving so much attention from the literary world. On the other hand, there can be detected a note of irritation, even frustration, that such topics, so long an integral part of the People's Friend were regarded as the invention of London based writers and publishers who received the praise as well as criticism. It was as if the field of journalistic literature, which had been their own, had been taken over by those who were as a consequence receiving the attention and status accorded to the leaders of literature, an accolade never awarded to the People's Friend. For once they appeared imitators and did not like it.

Yet in spite of this underlying attitude, the People's Friend recognised in this reawakening of interest in Scottish literature potential for development within its own pages. When ever it found common grounds with mainstream 'Kailyard' it was fulsome in its praise and eager to see its writers on a par with Barrie and Maclaren who were used as the final comparisons for all such writing. When W.G. Tarbet's In Oor Kailyard was published in book form in 1897 it was praised "for quaint, yet true, humour, tender, yet genuine, pathos and life-like portrayal of Scottish village life and character, which would be hard to find surpassed in the pages of even Barrie or Ian Maclaren."¹² and in the following year an article commented on Annie Swan: "Although not a writer of "Kailyard" literature, her stories of Scottish life can compare favourably with the best works of Barrie, Crockett, and Ian Maclaren."¹³

The reservations concerning Barrie's work voiced in 1891 have been forgotten. Besides self-congratulation was an eagerness to refer to compliments voiced by the powerful journals of William Robertson Nicoll. In the "Annie S. Swan Supplement", published by the People's Friend in February, 1896, mention is made of comments by Claudio Clear in the British Weekly on the importance of the People's Friend and People's Journal to the literary life of Scotland¹⁴ and their comments on the issue in book form of Halliday Rogers' Meggotsbrae Papers include reference to compliments paid by the Bookman and the British Weekly.¹⁵

It would have been out of character, however, for John Leng's firm to have been satisfied with occasional compliments from any other magazine albeit a London one. Adaptable as ever, the People's Friend developed its own Kailyard Literature not as an offshoot of London centred writing but parallel to it with its roots in the house tradition for there was much about 'Kailyard' literature which the Friend could praise.

This new found popularity for Scottish literature came at an opportune moment. Magazines like the Friend and its writers were finding a new opposition from sensational magazines and novels of the 1890's. Frequent reference was made in the Friend to this new development. At the dinner to celebrate the semi-jubilee of the People's Friend in 1896, Mrs. J.K. Lawson launched a bitter attack on current literary movements: "...The novel writer has become a demonstrator in mental and physical anatomy, and human souls walk abroad naked and are not ashamed."¹⁶

Three years later, a writer of an article entitled, "The Literature of Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow" stated that all that could be got from current popular magazines and periodicals would be "a stock of sensation and slang."¹⁷ The only bright side, the writer concluded, was that "at the present time, when the cry is always or something new, we have such writers as J.M. Barrie, S.R. Crockett, Ian Maclaren etc. whose works are now issued so cheaply that they are quite within the reach of the poor."¹⁸

To see these authors as standing against a changing tide in accepted standards found support from other quarters. The works of Barrie and others were praised by the Edinburgh Review for contrasting with new novels which "outrage old-fashioned notions of decency."¹⁹ Such sentiment was echoed in the Scottish Review which praised Barrie and Swan for seeking "in the face of a rebellion which is essentially artificial, to perpetuate the tradition and enforce the sanctions of morality based upon piety."²⁰ The article concluded, that such writers had no truck with "works of fin de siècle Decadence [but] keep ever flying the standard of purity and simplicity."²¹ Such sentiments had always been part of People's Friend philosophy and to find support from the wider literary and periodical world was an added bonus at a time when opposition to such magazines was increasing.

But it was not only in opposing new values that the People's Friend could make common cause with the Kailyard Movement; the presentation of what the authors saw as best in Scottish life was

at the centre of the Friend approach. Barrie, the Friend commented, could show sympathy for his fellow man and by his observation give to his characters "the illusion of nature."²² The attitude was summed up in the review of Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush. "We are proud of all who glorify what is truly great in peasant Scotch life. No one who reads the sketches before us but will rise from the perusal - if a Scotchman - a nobler and greater man, with an increased love for his country."²³

Thus, the approach was to increase in Scotsmen and women pride in what was essentially Scottish and to educate the English. "It seems as if sketches of Scottish rural life are giving the English people a taste of a new pleasure, and letting them have a peep into an undreamt of Arcadia in the humble joys and sorrows of the Scottish peasantry."²⁴

The presentation of such a picture had been an aim of John Leng from the beginning. What was done now was to adapt the sketch - used by Barrie and later Maclaren - to fit the readership of the People's Friend and its philosophy. What then was the nature of the "Kailyard" sketches presented in the People's Friend?

The sketch as a vehicle for fiction was not new to the People's Friend. As early as 1870 series of short sketches or tales had appeared with such titles as "Tales from the Note-Book of a Parish Officer" (1870) or "Life On The Line; or Romances of a Railway Guard" (1879). The basis for these series was not one particular town or village but the job or profession of the narrator whether a parish

officer, nurse as in "Mrs. M'Crowdy's Recollections, or 'The Stories of an Auld Scotch Nurse" (1877-78) or minister as in "Memories of My Ministry; or Incidents In The Life of a Scottish Pastor" (1876).

Such series did not have deep character observation at their centre but the story; particularly romance, or drama. Tales of jilted lovers, murder, bigamy, rescues at sea were the basic ingredients, each, however, containing an appropriate moral message. The setting would vary: the main Edinburgh to London railway line in "Life on the Line", the city of Glasgow in "Mrs. M'Crowdy's Recollections" or a fishing village in "Memories of My Ministry".

These series were not Scottish in the sense that they were designed specifically to illustrate Scottish life and character. However they do contain many traits which were apparent in series of sketches during the 1890's. In the first sketch of "Memories of My Ministry" the author relates how, having overcome his grief at his father's death, he works all night at his sermon having been inspired by the sight of a poor American playing 'Home Sweet Home'. On the Sunday he preaches on the text, "Our Father which art in Heaven" with such feeling that most of the congregation, including the laird are reduced to tears.²⁵ Such sentiment would not have been out of place in the pages of the Friend twenty years later or in a sketch of Ian Maclaren's.

In the same series are represented the 'pawky' Scots character like Abel Janders, the betheral, who finds himself in many farcical situations but who is, behind the sharp exterior, a very gentle soul.

There are the morals drawn at the end of stories which are similar to the religious sentiments of later works. At the conclusion of the series the author ends with the comment that the readers and he have met in joy and in sunshine and in the depths and have risen to that higher sphere where all will meet.²⁶

Closer to the work of the last decade of the century was "Mrs. M'Crowdy's Recollections" where the style is described as "homely [and] pithy into which much of the Doric enters."²⁷ To use the Doric as a point in praise of the series is again to pre-date 'Kailyard' by many years. The narrator here is given a more positive character by the use of Scots.

"I'll no say, however, that my stories will be what ye ca' correct in grammar, and what not, but they will hae at least ae recommendation - they are a' true."²⁸

The atmosphere is often one of humour as in the story of Mysie, the old village 'howdie', who pinches food when possible and eats it before the owner appeared. The result was that "she was aye sookin' at peppermint drops to kill the smell, or as she said to ease that awfu' trouble, wind on the stomach."²⁹

However she gets her punishment when, having pinched some butter, she is forced to hide in a cupboard and, hearing herself discussed, in fury strokes her hair forgetting she is holding the butter.

As the story progresses, Mrs. M'Crowdy reveals herself through her philosophy of life and comments on the follies of others. While a butt for those who regard her speech and behaviour as a

source of amusement, she is portrayed as one who is a fine judge of character. One old woman was summed up as one "who was aye dee, deeing, wi' her way o't, yet never an inch nearer the coffin. She was what they ca' a hippiecondrick, which is a long-nebbit word for a fule."³⁰

While the stories all revolve round some entertaining plot such as robbery in London, even divorce, the series is given cohesion by the narrator and the romantic thread of her husband who had gone to California twenty five years earlier to search for gold and who returns in the final story.

The setting for most of the stories is Glasgow and the dangers of the city. There are occasional glimpses of the reality of the anonymity in city life in comments like, "In Shawburn, where every second hoose was a howf for clacking sauld wives, it was very different from here in Glesca, where a body might lie deid in their bed for six months afore their next door neighbour wad think o' speiring hoo they were getting on..."³¹

Mrs. M'Crowdy is often used as a vehicle for the farcical misunderstandings of those who are unfamiliar with the language. The humour lies in her innocence in the face of confusion - unconscious humour through a character's naivety was a feature used by most Kailyarders. Nevertheless she is never ridiculed and reveals her sensitivity when faced with death.

"Eh, me! but that's the sairest poog of a' - it's hard, hard to see love and tenderness in the Hand that robs ye o' yer ain loved anes, and leaves yer hearth lonely and silent in a' things but the memories of the past."³²

Her final comment sums up the philosophy of the Friend of 1878 and of later years, "all things work together for good unto them that love God, however imperfectly."³³

The series combined the traditional elements of the honest, well meaning working Scot who spoke Scots, with the traditional elements of Victorian popular taste in magazine fiction. Had it appeared fifteen to twenty years later it might well have been labelled 'Kailyard'. There is not the conscious effort to create typical Scottish characters or scenes that was to come later. The Scots elements are accepted for what they are and blend into the background which in most cases is not rural. There was, at this stage, no attempt to emphasise deliberately the ideal or idyllic which was an integral part of 'kailyard'.

During the 1880's the Friend concentrated on serial fiction, much of it containing those Scottish elements. It was not until the success of Barrie that Scottish sketches reappeared, but based upon the existing tradition of People's Friend fiction.

In 1890 the first of the Friend 'kailyard' series appeared under the title "Tales and Sketches of Scottish Life and Character". The writer was Fergus Mackenzie, the pseudonym for the Rev. James Anderson of Dyce who was the main contributor of this type of fiction. With the exception of 1895 he had a series of sketches running each year until the turn of the century. In 1896 two other writers joined the Friend, Halliday Rogers with her "Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae" which appeared in 1896 and 1897 and again in 1900,

and W.G. Tarbet, author of "In Oor Kailyard" 1896.

None of these authors was a professional writer; each made his or her debut in the Friend. Miss Rogers (her real name was Harriet Read) was a teacher who was offered a post on The Bookman by Robertson Nicoll who had noticed her Meggotsbrae sketches.³⁴ W.G. Tarbet was only twenty-five years old and superintendent of a chemical factory in Ayrshire. He had written two stories on the Covenanters which had appeared in the Friend and Pall Mall Gazette. He was also author of the 'Cain Proctor, Detective' series in the Friend and had written several one act plays and a short novel in the winter of 1895 after a breakdown the previous year.³⁵

With this group of writers, Leng was maintaining his policy of using amateurs and, at a time of high competition amongst writers of this type of fiction, had remarkable success. Each of them had selections of their sketches published in book form and each was noted by William Robertson Nicoll and the magazines in which he had influence. That three unknown writers should have been successful in this way reflects the voracious appetite of publishers and public for 'kailyard' fiction.

All three writers set their tales against the background of a small village. Fergus Mackenzie had his Glenbruuar or Cruisie, based upon the small village of Friockheim in Angus; Halliday Rogers had her Meggotsbrae and W.G. Tarbet, Cessnock, in his native Ayrshire.

Little attempt was made to create more than a general impression of the particular setting. Mackenzie, more than the other two,

used the background for his stories. The villagers were nearly all employed in a nearby quarry; and the moor near the village was used as a setting for many stories and sketches. Thus he was able to use the daily lives of the villagers as a base for the stories. Nevertheless little space was taken up by descriptive passages of the setting and such description as there was, is more reminiscent of a gazetteer:

". . . it [Glenbruar] lies in a plain; and the uplands around rise gently and at some considerable distance from it. True, there is elevated ground to the North and South, while the sea view is cut off by rising ground to the Eastward. . . . The village spreads out like a triangle - the two leading thoroughfares breaking off at a sharp angle, with the chapel-of-ease in the apex. . ."³⁶

Nor is Tarbet any more forthcoming about Cessnock. It possesses a factory and "white-washed thatched houses, broken here and there by a kirk or public-house."³⁷

The overall purpose, of course, of presenting examples of Scottish life and character, presupposes that the emphasis be placed upon people and the observation of their way of life and their beliefs and outlook. Consequently setting is less important. It is noteworthy, however, that Glenbruar in the East, Cessnock in the West and Meggotsbrae which appears to be in central Scotland, cover the whole country thus satisfying, no doubt, the regional interests of the readers.

In all serial fiction, the policy of the People's Friend had been to ensure a good plot. The same was true of the sketches and stories. The reader may have been invited to observe character, but it was nearly always character as seen through plot or incident. The nature of the sketches, which lasted perhaps for less than one page, obviously limited plot development and frequently this was overcome by returning to a story in later issues. The interest and entertainment of the reader was thus guaranteed. On occasions it was left to the reader to observe the behaviour of a character in a situation. Such a case occurs in a sketch, 'Mixing the Twins'³⁸ where the father spends two hours attempting to distinguish the two babies so that a mix up at the christening may be avoided. However blue and pink ribbons on the bootees of the boy and girl are mixed with the inevitable farcical results. Here, the reader's attention is held by the improbable situation and the attempts of the characters to resolve it. The observation of inner feeling and sentiment is not the main object.

On the other hand, situations could be established where the reader was left to observe the way in which a character, by his or her own efforts either resolved the problem or came to terms with it.

In "Easie's Fuschia" from Pen Portraits From Meggotsbrae³⁹ a bad tempered old man is helped by Auntie Ann, one of the central characters. He lovingly looks after his flowers. Ann learns that his wife had died forty-eight years earlier and that the flowers were descended from one she had tended. In this story the plot -

the learning of the man's background - serves to illustrate the tenderness of the old man and to show how character can be misunderstood.

Similarly, in a series of sketches from "Sprays of Northern Pine" (1896) the author builds the story round the approaching death of a wife. Both husband and wife are aware of the facts but think the other is not. This device enables Fergus Mackenzie to have his characters behave to each other normally in spite of the burden they have. Tammas tells his wife of his plans for her birthday present which she listens to with apparent pleasure although she knows she will be dead before then.⁴⁰

Situations presented were dominated by two main topics: marriage and courtship or some trial or tribulation usually involving poverty or death.

The first category presented the general picture of the restrained yet passionate Scot who preferred not to show his feelings. There are sketches where the man is portrayed as being less than normal, 'saft', but who, in fact, is shrewd underneath. Geordie Donnat in "I'll Warrant"⁴¹ is in love with the farmer's daughter. He never says anything but, "I'll Warrant" and is treated badly by his employer's wife and daughter. He eventually leaves for more money. The farmer and his family find that there is no one who is as good and Bell, the daughter, begs him to return which he eventually does and then marries her.

The hesitant lover is portrayed by W.G. Tarbet. Eggy is in love

and eventually summons up the courage to visit the girl's parents - He goes on a terrible night of rain and in his nervousness comments that it is a fine night, not very wet. This allows the father some fun at the young man's expense: a fact which the author ensures will not be missed by his audience:

"No, it's no quite a flood," said Tammas, quietly, with a grin across to Janet to make her see the full subtlety of the joke."⁴²

There are, too, the tales of reluctant love, such as the two in "Proud Maisie"⁴³ who had quarrelled and not spoken for forty years. Their love for each other still exists but now it is too late. This sentimental approach is used also by Halliday Rogers in "An Old Maid's Love Story" where the central character had renounced her only love, a minister, to look after her father.⁴⁴

But as well as the sentimental approach, there is the more humorous side of the reluctant marriage where the assumed Scots characteristic of practicality is illustrated. In "Johnny Reerie", Widow Nicol marries him thinking he is dying and she will gain his money. After the marriage he recovers and she locks him out. This allows the author the opportunity for some typically Scottish 'flyting':

" 'Aff wi' ye this meenit, ye vermin; for gin ye dinna, I'll brak' your oxter-staves ower the crookit back o' ye.'

'Open the door, gudewife, or I'll tell the minister on ye. Mind ye I can mak' a will yet an' leave ye no as muckle as buy a bawbee's worth o' hairpins.'

'Be aff wi' ye, ye graceless scoundrel, an' order your coffin,' she retorted."⁴⁵

Bob Herschell, in "A Slight Misunderstanding" when asked how he likes marriage, replies ". . . gin she had been a coo, I wad hae changed her afore the week was oot."⁴⁶

Generally in dealing with marriage the authors were at pains to present a picture of true understanding and affection as revealed by the Scottish character. Under the rough exterior of the Scot, the authors saw affection which was only expressed in times of distress or trouble. Auntie Ann kissed her husband for only the second time in her forty years of married life on the day of his death.⁴⁷

Mackenzie paints a picture of genuine tenderness in his portrayal of the old gardener, Simon Dacre, who mourns the death of his young wife,⁴⁸ or in the description of the tears in the eyes of Hughie Finlay's wife as he kisses her in an unusual show of affection at the memory of their dead child.⁴⁹

Affection and devotion in marriage was part of the wider picture of family life where the ideal was frequently represented. Such sketches revealed the upbringing of the children through images of family worship. It is the observation of his future father-in-law at family devotions which shows the rogue Sam Kneland the error of his ways.⁵⁰ There was a tendency to idealise such elements of family life. A mother taking her son to pray before going to bed is likened to the High Priest drawing aside the veil and entering the Holy of Holies.⁵¹ Nevertheless such idealistic images are balanced by down to earth realism. In the sketch just mentioned the rest of the family will not take part in family worship and it

is left up to the mother to train her younger son.

The other benefit from family life was education and again it is the mother who is seen as the driving force. The idea, dominant in much of the kailyard, that the 'lad o'pairts' is destined for the ministry is not central in the People's Friend. It is mentioned on a few occasions but does not dominate the sketches, rather is it in the form of a passing comment.

In a typical 'Kailyard' situation the dominie tells the mother her son could go to university. "Gin he hae grace granted him I wad fain see him a minister o' the Gospel; an' gin he dinna, he may e'en be a dominie like yoursel'."⁵²

In another story "How Jean Ford Made Her Son a Minister" a woman who was a beggar, slaves to send her son to college where he became a minister. However she returns to begging and admits, while dying of starvation, that her son had demanded more and more money from her until she was driven back to begging. However she dies with the words, "It's something to hae made a minister after a'."⁵³ What is most curious about this is that no criticism whatsoever is made of the son who presumably was by then a successful minister. In no case where the mother hopes for her son to become a minister is that hope fulfilled. In "Dominie Will" his success at university is destroyed by drink and he returns home a beggar to find his mother dead. The prayer of another mother that "it might be the Lord's will to make one of them her sons a minister of the word"⁵⁴ had failed her and her youngest son, a boy of six was her last hope.

The sketch ends with his telling his mother he wants to be an organ grinder. This is as far as the idea progresses and is not part of the story's main development.

This lack of emphasis on what was accepted as a typical part of 'Kailyard' fiction is not surprising. The People's Friend was always mindful of its readership. The need was for them to identify in some way with the fictional characters. The number of readers whose aim would be for their sons to become ministers would, in all probability, be small. Therefore to have made such desires central in any fictional series would have been inappropriate. Far better then to mention this as an accepted part of the view of Scottish life without over-emphasising it. The ideal for education more appropriate for the readership is summarised by Jean Davidson in "New Lairds Make New Laws" from Mackenzie's "Farm Kitchen to Croft" where she uses the example of old Granny Duke as a hope for her own children.

"She (Jean) reverenced old Granny Duke, the venerable lady who ruled in her thatched cottage with the dignity of a duchess, and who received her son, Sir Jeems, as though the 'but and ben' were a palace. Jean reverenced Sir Jeems, too, for had he not herded his mother's cows on those rough moors, and now had done signal service for his country."⁵⁵

Saunders, an ordinary boy from Meggotsbrae who returns famous to the village and who visits his mother's grave as his first act as she had not been spared to see his fame is⁵⁶ another who is greatly praised. Here are combined the Scot, the lad o' pairts who can be successful

from lowly beginnings, and the Scot who never loses his love for his roots and can be equally at ease in the company of the great or of ordinary people. But the dignity of Scottish character was most frequently revealed in times of personal difficulty. Then, courage, religious belief and personal dignity could be combined to best advantage.

Illness and death were often used to illustrate the bonds holding families and husbands and wives together. When Simon Dacre's young wife dies, his pathetic efforts to bring up his child alone paint a picture of total dedication. It is in such situations that the authors could allow themselves to indulge in, to modern eyes, excessive sentiment. When after a lengthy illness Peter Reid dies, his wife Maggie, "took her dead in her arms. With one hand under his head, with the other stroking the still warm cheek and brow, from which the deep wrinkles had been erased, she smiled in answer to his smile. . . She had loved him passionately living; dead, there was an awe and sanctity about him which made him gracious, wonderful."⁵⁷

Of a similar nature is the description of the death of Auntie Ann's husband: "moonlight streamed through the cottage casement, and shone upon the old toilworn face, and there, in the stillness of the lovely night, while she leant over him and watched him with agonised eyes, Auntie Ann's gudeman slippit away."⁵⁸

But in spite of this indulgence of sentiment, it is kept strictly within bounds, in the People's Friend and is often balanced by humour

thus reducing any potential sense of tragedy.

Several stories in Mackenzie's "Sprays of Northern Pine" deal with the story of Peter Reid, the quarryman who falls and breaks his ribs. He seems to be recovering very slowly but is still dangerously ill. One of his sons had given him a coat and umbrella which he had not yet used. When his wife is out the children prevail upon him to try them on. "Peter entered into the jest, and was as eager for haste as the others.

'Ye maun hae your arms in,' Andra said, and with care, but not care enough the coat was got on.

'Noo, up wi' your umbrella,' and Peter Reid, leaning on a staff, walked across the floor with Andra's coat on and the umbrella up. There was laughter in the home, and when Annie piped out -

'Oh father, gin ye had Andra's gun, an' a Parrot an' a goat ye wad do for Robinson Crusoe.'

Peter coughed, and the haemorrhage which Maggie had fought against for months returned worse than ever.⁵⁹

The final tragedy is not lessened by such an approach when a balance between humour and sadness is maintained. Nor was death or its oncoming always treated with excessive sentiment. It could be done with a tenderness apparent in the brevity of the remarks.

When the doctor has told Peter Third that his wife is dying he goes into her room.

"'Peter,' she said.

'Ye're no' sleepin, Mag?'

'No'

'An' I'm to tine ye.'

'It's God's will, Peter.' "⁶⁰

What is revealed in this extract is the stoical acceptance of the situations - a praiseworthy reaction in the eyes of the writers - and also the implicit belief in God, that whatever may befall, there is some overall purpose.

The desire to assure the reader that there was some overall purpose in life was common to all People's Friend fiction and not just this series of sketches. Here, however, more frequent reference to this was made, particularly in the sketches of Fergus Mackenzie. The settings he used and his characters were ones where poverty was an accepted part of life. The life of a quarrier or weaver was difficult as was that of the crofter attempting to find a living from a piece of poor land.

It was their struggle against this which was regarded as praiseworthy as was the helping hand given by a neighbour in times of stress. Thus Saunders Allan whose own life "had been a long struggle with distress and poverty"⁶¹ was able, in his old age, to use a small inheritance to help those less fortunate. He aided his neighbour's wife who was dying and needed nourishing food which he could not afford, or Annie, daughter of his old master who lived in a garret with a fire of cinders and the lid of a soap box as her only possessions.

As well as being entertaining stories for the drama of the content, these examples of poverty allowed Mackenzie to paint the moral.

Annie asks forgiveness for losing hope: "Lord forgie me for thinkin' ye culd do nae ither wi' me than let me die. Thou preparest a table for me in the wilderness: my cup runneth over."⁶²

For Saunders, the use of his money in this way bring its own happiness and he can die content.

But the majority of stories with this theme is concerned with crofters as in "Tales From The Moorlands" 1894 or "Farm Kitchen to Croft" 1898. The latter was concerned entirely with the life of a farm worker pointing out the failures of the system of employment and his suffering at the hands of an unscrupulous landlord when he becomes a crofter after his marriage. These sketches contain long passages in which the tenancy system and its faults are attacked. Against these odds, the central characters Jean and Geordie struggle heroically and their praises are sung in ringing tones. Their life is one of "stern and niggard support" where they become old before their time. Nevertheless they are eulogised by their friend who tells the factor who has suggested that they should emigrate: "Thae are oor workers, the bread-winners o' the nation, its strength an glory. Emigrate them! Ye waddruin oor country. Emigrate the workers! That's madness. No, but emigrate the idlers gin ye like. Emigrate the Duke o' Dubton, his flunkeys an' gamekeepers, an' the country'll be weel quit o' them . . ."⁶³

One's inner will to overcome misery which is given great prominence. There are the "exquisite joys of fatherhood and motherhood"⁶⁴ and a life lived with "reverence for God, for law, for those in authority" and a home where "Bible and Burns were universally read."⁶⁵

This generalised picture of their lives fits in with the image of an idyll and is not specifically related to any particular story. Jean is determined for justice and after reading the Book of Amos every night sets out to see an Edinburgh lawyer. For once, the story has no happy ending: they leave their croft and Jean dies leaving her husband to bring up their children.

"Nobility" is a word used to describe the people and their struggle. The shepherd's widow who offers hospitality is described as one of the "noble of the land".⁶⁶ Unable to offer any practical solution to poverty, praise of character is the next best thing. By maintaining personal dignity and a strong belief in God, all could come right in the next world if not in this. Such people are portrayed as the most important element of society far outweighing the upper classes. In one of the most direct comments in any of the sketches the local doctor says, "The wife taken out of a poor man's home, where there are children and an uncertain income, is a greater loss than the death of a countess."⁶⁷

Poverty would be a part of life for many of the readers of the People's Friend who would readily accept and understand the situations described and who would, at the same time, find entertainment and some comfort (or so the magazine publishers believed) from the solutions given.

While family life and an inner strength were praised, weakness was clearly condemned. Those most frequently attacked were the purveyors of drink and their customers. Lucky Sutherland, keeper of

the Teuchet's Nest in Cruisie, was "the most hateful wumman...she grows fat an' is increased wi' goods as ither are impoverished. . . she has made mair siller an' spent mair, dune mair hairm, an' haen mair trouble than ony ither body in Cruisie."⁶⁸

Yet all was not lost and even the most drunken reprobate was given the chance to redeem himself such as Dominie Will or Sandy Dempster, a ne'er-do-weel who hears a fire and brimstone preacher who impresses him so much that he repents and becomes an upstanding family man.⁶⁹

There is no condemnation for such as those and even those who do not reform are treated with sympathy by the community. Tom Japp's mother is a drunkard yet the bond of affection between the two remains. When she returns from prison the villagers help her. However she drinks again and is killed in a fire.⁷⁰ No doubt this is seen as a just punishment.

The moralistic tone is blended with comedy and intoxication treated with humour. Sandy Nicoll goes to market and returns very late. The 'cow' he is bringing home, charges off in fright and tosses him. Of course he has taken the bull by mistake because he was drunk. He explains to his wife, "It's the air, Jess, or the stir o' the market that plays thae tricks on us."⁷¹

In spite of such light-hearted treatment of the subject of drink, the general tone is one of morality and implicitly a religious morality. Unlike Barrie and, particularly Ian Maclaren, the treatment of religion and the Church is general. There is little reference

to specific churches and no theological content such as was found in Beside The Bonnie Brier Bush. Certainly there is mention of Auld Lichts and of ministers but such subjects are not central. In this the People's Friend was remaining true to its policy of appealing to all sections of society. Whereas the British Weekly was specifically a Free Church magazine and could thus appeal to those of like mind who had an awareness of theological debate. The Friend was not and never had been a religious magazine and so its contribution to the so called 'Kailyard' was different in this respect as well.

Fergus Mackenzie himself a minister, surprisingly made little reference to the difference between churches and on the few occasions he did it was the rivalry of the Auld Kirk and the Evangelical Union. He never indicated a preference for any one group and treated such subjects light-heartedly as in his sketch "How Peter Reid Became E.U." 1892. Peter Reid's wife cannot get him to go to church so they strike a bargain. They will listen to the new minister at the Auld Kirk and then the preaching of the Evangelical Union which his wife prefers. No attempt is made to indicate any theological difference; in fact, at the Auld Kirk, Peter falls asleep during the sermon the boredom of which pleased the Free Kirkers and the E.U.'s "while the faces of the Auld Kirkers grew blacker."⁷² As his wife Maggie commented, "I hae seen mony a better thing than that object left ahent a flittin'."⁷³

On listening to the E.U. Peter again falls asleep. That is as far as the author goes in any church distinction. In the end Peter goes with his wife to the E.U. and finds himself a better man for

church attendance. The point the author is making is not involved with any one church but with the principle of church attendance being for the good of the individual.

In Halliday Rogers' Pen Portraits of Meggotsbrae more reference is made to the church but specifically on the level of the minister's role in society. Again theological differences play no part at all. The 'conflict' supposed to exist between the Auld and Free Kirks is only referred to once when it is learned that the Free minister is teaching a boy to play the organ so he can play for the Auld Kirk. "There's no mony Frees wad dae as muckle for the Auld Kirk the noo,"⁷⁴ remarks one individual.

Specific religious comment was usually confined to personal worship through the reading of the Bible or prayer and the image of the family at worship in the home. In time of difficulty an appropriate Biblical quotation would be spoken by a character or the narrator. The sad tale of Dominie Will, full of contrition for his past misdeeds ends with the reflection, "Blessed are they that mourn for they shall be comforted," and surely it included Dominie Will.⁷⁵

On occasions Mackenzie would write a sketch which included visions of the hereafter as in "The Millionaire" who, searching for gold, has a vision of real gold - the Temple and New Jerusalem which "lit up his imagination and thrilled him to the depths."⁷⁶ At times this fervour was out of keeping in its intensity. A small boy of six who shouts at the organ grinder is heard by his mother who chides

and gives him three strokes of the tawse. "Wee Peter saw his mother look significantly at him and he remembered his guilt, much as that other Peter must have done when a tender voice said to him, 'Lovest thou me more than these?'"⁷⁷ Such sentiments were from the lips of children no doubt to emphasise depth of feeling and childlike innocence. "A Dream of Two Lives" (1899), a slight tale of a widow who takes in washing and her five year old son, is concerned with his desire to see his mother a lady and wealthy. He dreams that they are "wandering along wide streets all of gold, with one hand clasped in His who is the Friend of little children, while his other was hot in his mother's palm."⁷⁸ Incredulity is stretched to imagine a child of five with such a vision. Nevertheless it was designed to evoke a suitable response in the reader by the excessive sentimentality of the image.

The portrayal of the minister in People's Friend sketches, is remarkably free from reverence and, at times respect, which was current in other sketches of the time. Mackenzie, perhaps because he was a minister, frequently lets his characters treat the minister without any awe whatsoever, thus balancing excessive sentimentality in other respects. Maggie Reid, whose aim was to have a son a minister, is brought firmly down to earth by the comment of one of her older sons, Bob, who says of young Peter, "We maun mak' him a minister, mither; he's ower great a calfie to be ony ither thing."⁷⁹ A similar remark on the clergy is made by another character who comments on a 'fire and brimstone' preacher,

"That chield's michty rough on a body; he maun be shure o' his stipend, that ane."⁸⁰ Such comments about ministers are not made in a bitter fashion but are humorous for the down to earth spirit revealed by the speaker and also for creating humour at the expense of those who occupied important positions in society.

Halliday Rogers shows a more restrained attitude to the ministry and an awareness of their role in society more akin to that of Maclarens. Her minister is held in respect and awe by the community who are deeply concerned about his welfare. "'Saunders,' she said, 'div ye ken it's the minister? Can ye no stand up ye muckle nowt? He's a wee carried the nicht, sir Ye'll hae till excuse him!'"⁸¹ These ministers are clearly middle or upper class and occupy positions which require them to be tolerant of the naivety of their parishioners. Their characters owe more to the image of the traditional upper class hero of magazine fiction. "Maister Douglas" the beloved minister of Meggotsbrae leaves to go to the Presbyterian Church in Florence and it is Auntie Ann who has to tell him of the decline of the young lady he loves. This leads him to marriage and so he can go happily.

His successor is portrayed as a most unlikely Scottish cleric. He is young, egoistic and inexperienced and has just completed his education at Oxford. He causes concern to his congregation for wearing a signet ring and a deputation is sent to see him. They are shown as ill at ease in the manse and the minister's reaction to them and the language he uses is inappropriate to his role. "It's a beastly nuisance, anyway. Proper cheek I call it."⁸² It is the honest

down to earth Auntie Ann who gives him advice. "Div ye no think we're heedin' as muckle for oor ain as folk as the gentry's fit to dae, though we haena the words to mak' a palaver aboot it. Ye hae a lot to learn aboot us yet, lad, but ye'll come on."⁸³

The explanation is that it was his mother's ring given to him on her death. He breaks down as he tells the story. By doing this he has shown consideration for the feelings of his congregation and they, in turn, can sympathise with the young man. One of the leading elders shakes his hand: "it was the firmest grip that could be given by an Oxford athlete and a country butcher."⁸⁴

There is more than a hint of patronising ordinary folk which was not commonly a feature of the Friend. It contains the necessary respect shown by the minister and the intrinsic wisdom displayed by the plain speaking Scot. It is similar to Maclaren's story "A Grand Inquisitor" in Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush where Marget Howe gives advice to the young minister in conflict with an elder. The essential difference however is that in the Friend the conflict is about a ring whereas Maclaren deals with theological differences.

For Rogers there exists an apparent conflict between the role and the individual which leads to comments, "He's aye that jokey, Maister Douglas, . . . - speaks till ye juist like flesh and bluid."⁸⁵ or "'Look here,' said the minister - or rather it was the man that spoke."⁸⁶ Such an approach in some of her sketches tends to distance the subject from the reader. Both Barrie and Maclaren adopted the same posture. In their sketches, the narrator is not part of

the community but has a side role as an observer. The result of this is to create the impression of looking at Scottish life, as they revealed it, as an object for study. In the People's Friend this is not the case. The stories are not reported by the anonymous observer but the characters speak for themselves. The reader is taken into the community with no barrier between him and the characters. This is not to say that an accurate picture is always given. Some of the stories are absurd as in "The Mixing of Twins" already mentioned, or Tarbet's "Way O' the Warl"⁸⁷ where a man coming back from London rides into a funeral and knocks the coffin lid off. The corpse falls out and he lifts it up thinking it is the girl he loved when, in fact it is her mother. That is all there is to the story and from such we learn nothing. In others, however, because a knowledge of the manners and behaviour of Scots characters by the readers is assumed by the author, the situations sad or humorous are much more immediate.

Barrie in "On the Track of the Minister", or "Visitors at the Manse" in A Window in Thrums is much more concerned with revealing to those, to whom such people are unknown, the nature of their behaviour and their characteristics which he regards as part of their essential nature. The portrayal of the inner spirit distinguishes Friend fictional series. Its sketches do not dwell at length like those of Barrie or Maclaren on the inner feelings of a character, and may, in this respect, be seen as shallow. However the readership of the People's Friend would expect this approach. For them

there would be no interest in concentration on internal spiritual feeling.

In "The Son From London" when Jamie returns home and is greeted by his mother, the narrator says, "I went away to my attic."⁸⁸ No author in the People's Friend would have written this. The meeting of mother and son would have been a vital part of the story where the reunion would have been a means of strengthening the story. The feelings of the characters and their emotions would not have been regarded as meriting study but their existence would be taken for granted by their author who would assume the implicit understanding of the situation by the reader.

The greatest strength of Friend sketches lies in the use of Scots. It is this more than anything else which gives credibility to the stories. Undoubtedly the works of Barrie and Maclaren owed their popularity, in part at least, to the use of 'Doric'. It was certainly a feature referred to by critics at the time as a drawback and an advantage. The Athenaeum commented that Auld Licht Idylls would be interesting to "the esoteric circle who can follow the frequent dialogues,"⁸⁹ while those "who have a sense of fun and some knowledge of Old English" would enjoy Day of Auld Lang Syne⁹⁰

Both comments imply a specialist knowledge of Scots to appreciate these works and the Edinburgh Review reflected similar doubts. Talking of A Window in Thrums, its reviewer remarked, "The Scotch is perhaps unnecessarily broad: possibly there is too much of it for purposes of effective art, although the extraordinary popularity of

the book in the South appears to dispose of that criticism as captious.⁹¹

For the People's Friend such doubts did not exist. It had always been its policy to foster Scots in its literary content and moreover it was, unlike Barrie and Maclaren, catering for a Scottish audience who it assumed were familiar with the Scots tongue. For the Friend there was no need to supply English translations for Scots words. That it was proud of its use of Scots is reflected in criticism of Maclaren. Praiseworthy though he was, exception was taken to his Scots usage. "It [Doric] may do well enough for English readers who know no better but it is a rock of offence to a Scot. We should like to know the author's reason and authority for writing the first personal pronoun thus - a'.⁹² The objection was that, other than context, this usage was indistinguishable from "a'" for the indefinite article or for " all ". The article concluded, "Phonetically, ' I'm ' is quite as near the general pronunciation as " a'm ", and it looks at least fifty per cent better."

What this article reflects is the jealousy with which the Friend regarded its right to speak on behalf of native Scots. The language was not to be regarded as a curiosity but an important and living part of national life.

It is seen at its best in dialogue where character and humour were frequently revealed particularly humour connected with human failing. In "Sandy Beenie's Will", (1892) Sandy addresses those he has known in life. His 'pooch' is to be cut out of his moleskin trousers and given to Jamie Will who stands at the plate in the Chapel of Ease "the object being that henceforth Jamie may say, wi' a gude conscience,

that no' a penny o' the kirk siller gets its way into his pouch."⁹³

The expression of noble sentiments were often brought down to earth through the use of Scots. Saunders Allan dreams he is in heaven, "but when I got there, there were awfu' croods jist like Glesca: no that I could say I saw ony Glesca folk there."⁹⁴ Such jokes reflect the familiarity which the readers would have with rivalries between different parts of Scotland, and highlights the contrast in readership between John Leng & Co. and that of the British Weekly.

Fergus Mackenzie often succeeded in creating a vivid picture of ordinary people through dialogue in a way that was reminiscent of John Galt. In "Miss Bell's Hero" Tam is questioned by his pals concerning the school teacher. The brief exchange brings out the sensitivity of the boy and the total lack of sympathy of his friends:

"'Is she daft?' the Cadger asked, pointing over his shoulder with his thumb in the direction of Miss Bell's retreating figure.

'Wha's daft?' Tam returned, sullenly.

'The wifie.'

'She ca's ye 'Thomas' ' Carrots said, jeeringly, casting his eyes upward, and tossing his head saucily.

'Wha is she?'

'She's my teacher.'

'Humph! She's your lass!' Carrots observed.

Instantly there was a cloud of dust and rags. Tam and Carrots had engaged in deadly combat.⁹⁵

What can be observed in this extract is the stilted nature of English. "Tossing his head saucily" and "engaged in deadly combat" are phrases which fit uneasily with Scots. This flaw was a common one. Often dialogue in English was flat and stilted. In "The Doctor's Bairn" (1890) Wattie sets off for the 'Big Hoose' for the doctor who is dining there. Before he goes he is advised, ". . . gie yoursel' a bit dicht up, for ye ken ye might be ta'en in to see the Laird himsel'."⁹⁶ The naturalness of this contrasts with similar advice given to the doctor by Miss Graham, the laird's daughter. The doctor has spent the night attending to the child: "Let me take your place, and perhaps - your personal appearance might be improved."⁹⁷ A contrast like this within a short sketch destroys the unity of the piece and detracts from some scenes where genuine tenderness is portrayed. Auntie Ann in "Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae" is portrayed as the sharp tongued old woman with the heart of gold. The feeling of Auntie Ann and her personality comes over very vividly as she recounts how her husband took ill.

"He had been failing for a gey while," said Auntie Ann. . .
 but I just aye thocht he was like mysel', no' gettin' ony younger, an' I never thocht o' onything like this - ay, it cam' on him awfu' sudden. He was stanin' there, where ye see that creepie reddin's hair for the kirk, an' I was rummlin' the kist for my muff. . . when I heard him gie a bit cry, an' here he is just fa'in doun an' haudin' on by the curtain to save hissel'. Ay, sirs, it was an' awfu' business."⁹⁸

The mood of sad memories is destroyed by the over imaginative description of his death as the "moonlight streamed through the cottage casement."⁹⁹

But there are moments when the language is more than reminiscent of Galt in what it reveals of the petty jealousies of a small community. Two worthies discuss the composition of Whinnyfauld School Board at the election to the good of none of the existing members but one.

". . . Then there's Tammy Tosh that rings the Auld Kirk bell, an' Peter Sim that rings the Free ane. We maun hae them on i the interests o' Denominationalism, an' they hae never agreed over onything an' never will. It wad be mair than their place is worth; so they too balance ane anither.

That's foor o' them paired, an' there's left only auld Banker Rodger, that fechts wi' naebody, tak's a'body's advice, an' syne gangs his ain gate, honest man! So Banker Rodger's the Buird."¹⁰⁰

There are occasions when the author, in true Friend style, takes the opportunity to praise Scots. Annie Dishart returns from boarding school where she has been unhappy among the refined young ladies. When she arrives home she relaxes, "I'm awfu' tired o' yon yatter o' English."¹⁰¹ This view sees English as an unnatural element in the Scot just as it is for the shopgirl whose "astonishingly superfine speech was only part of her professional stock-in-trade"¹⁰² or the old maid whose 'true thoughts' are in Scots and not in English which she speaks.¹⁰³

But if use of language was a strength of these sketches it has to be balanced against considerable weaknesses. The criticism levelled by the Friend against Maclaren for running out of ideas could well have been levelled at its own contributors. Mackenzie contributed sketches each year of the 1890's and within the narrow limits of the sketch it is small wonder that the quality varies. A major difficulty lay in the nature of a Friend sketch. The writers were attempting to tell a story and display character and the result often brought about major flaws in structure. Ideas or strands of plot would be introduced and never developed, as if material was being included to lengthen sketches. In some of Mackenzie's early sketches the adaptations which he had made from what originally had been a serial are obvious. The local doctor is in love with the laird's daughter and when the same characters appear in a later sketch the daughter has been dead many years. In "Miss Bell's Hero" while the childhood years are covered in detail forming a coherent section, as Tam grows up each succeeding sketch passes over sometimes six years of his life at once. The difficulty lay in adapting ideas more akin to a serial lasting six months to a simple sketch. Therefore the compression of embryo plots into one or two sketches inevitably failed.

Another flaw in structure, reflecting the writer's inexperience is the sudden switch in "Her Ae Bairnie" in Pen Portraits of Meggotsbrae (1896) from Auntie Ann as narrator to dialogue where she is spoken of in the third person. In "Cessnock" from W.G.Tarbet's

In Oor Kailyard there are two completely unrelated incidents which are described but without comments within a single sketch.¹⁰⁴ Tarbet's series is undoubtedly the weakest: a factor which may have been observed by the Editor as Tarbet did not, unlike Mackenzie or Rogers, write any more sketches. He has the village and characters but there is no real understanding. His plots are often weak and tinged with sensationalism as in "The Way o' the Warl" with the opening coffin or "How Jean Ford Made Her Son a Minister" where the minister is portrayed as totally heartless without the author giving any explanation for this characterisation.

When ideas are thin, then Mackenzie, the most prolific of the writers, falls back on stock situations and characters which have no relation to Scottish life and character - idyllic or otherwise.

In his Sprays of Northern Pine (1897), there are about three sketches entitled "A Crooked Thing" concerning the neer-do-well son of the laird. Algy, the son, indulges in the usual escapades of the Victorian romance: he spends his father's money to buy the Derby winner; goes to America; falls on bad times and returns home to find his mother dead of a broken heart and his father a white haired old man. Other stock characters - the crippled child and his sister living in poverty; the villainous laird, "tall and spare, with bloodless face and small restless eyes glancing like serpent's"¹⁰⁵ are found in the sketches.

Even in the otherwise well portrayed Auntie Ann, there are hints of romantic drama in reference to her lost son. The truth is revealed

in the final sketch. He had gone to Europe, married, and now that he was dying he was sending his daughter back home, bringing joy into Ann's life. In content and style, People's Friend sketches are related to the ideas found in serial fiction. Their 'Scottishness' is that which Leng & Co. had long portrayed with the difference that it now was given even greater significance in the light of the success of Scottish writing of the period.

What, then, is the relationship of the People's Friend to the wider field of 'Kailyard' writing of the late nineteenth century? Something of the editorial view is found in a remarkable article on Fergus Mackenzie published on 29th May, 1893 shortly after the publication of his Cruisie Sketches in book form. The article is further remarkable for its length - over a page - and the acknowledged authorship of the Editor. It is basically concerned with a vigorous defence of Cruisie Sketches and the author from a critical review published in the British Weekly which accused Mackenzie of imitation and lack of artistry.

"The author ventures on Mr. Barrie's ground, and he evidently knows it well. But he is not an artist. We have the Mags and and the Jesses, and the dialect, and the Auld Lichts, but the glamour, the genius, the enchantment - where are they? . . .

It shows how hollow much praise of Gavin Ogilvy is that some sapient cockneys have declared Fergus Mackenzie to be another Barrie!"¹⁰⁶

In reply, the People's Friend editor dealt both with the charge

of imitation - one might say plagiarism - and that of artistry. The charges he described restrainedly as ones of "misunderstanding if not misrepresentation."¹⁰⁷ The crux of his argument on imitation lay with the fact that he said the sketches had first been written years earlier, "before any one of J.M. Barrie's books were in type, and before the British Weekly existed."¹⁰⁸ Mackenzie, or Anderson as was his real name, had contributed to the Friend since his University days, and in 1884 he began a novel, Scenes from Mossburn. This novel, continued the editor, contained "an ancient Castle, an unhappy marriage, a mystery, a witless - heir to the Dalwhinny Woods - lovemaking, weavers, quarriers, Auld Lichts, Established Kirk ministers etc."¹⁰⁹ This he submitted to the Friend in 1885 to be told by letter in January, 1886 that it had to be rejected.

"It is written with fine taste and felicity, but the absence of plot injures it for Friend purposes."¹¹⁰

Mackenzie revised the manuscript, changed the name to Cruisie and re-submitted it as a series of sketches in 1887 when they were accepted. So, concluded the editor, "let it be noted that the British Weekly was not started till towards the close of 1886, and Barrie's Auld Licht Idylls and A Window in Thrums did not appear in book form till 1888, and it will be seen how baseless is the charge."¹¹¹

There is no reason to disbelieve the account given of the origins of Cruisie Sketches for it had long been part of People's Friend policy to include Scottish elements in their fiction, and there is evidence in many of Mackenzie's sketches of what were probably original

elements of serial plots which were not developed. It would further account for the emphasis on story which was always a feature of subsequent sketches in the Friend. However the possible influence of what Barrie had written cannot be dismissed quite so easily. Although both Auld Licht Idylls and A Window in Thrums were not in book form until 1888, the first of the sketches which later comprised Auld Licht Idylls had appeared in the Pall Mall Gazette as early as 1884 and others were to be found in the columns of the British Weekly from July 1887. There is therefore the possibility there was influence as regards the literary form which Mackenzie adopted. Furthermore, the coincidence of both authors using towns in Angus no doubt added to British Weekly irritation. It is also worth noting that it was 1890, by which time Barrie's success was plain to see, before the Friend published the sketches.

The other ground of criticism - lack of artistry - had not been developed by the British Weekly. However, the Friend compared sketches in A Window in Thrums and Cruisie Sketches picking out those which had similar incidents e.g. the suppression of true feeling in "Leeby and Jamie" and "An Unco Twa". The judgements made were in every case referred to the reader for judgement: ". . . if both sketches are searched for happy artistic touches, it will be singular to us if the palm is not awarded to "An Unco Twa"."¹¹² It was admitted that Barrie's "Jess Left Alone" and "Jamie's Homecoming" were his finest but in Mackenzie humour and pathos were more finely blended. The article continued to criticise Barrie's later works, My Lady Nicotine

and When a Man's Single and concluded with the comment that critics who appreciated Barrie and failed to appreciate Mackenzie must have a "mental squint."¹¹³

The arguing of the case of artistic merit is done vaguely by both the British Weekly and People's Friend. In the former, words like "glamour" "enchantment" are used, neither precise terms of literary appreciation while the Friend throws the case back to its readers whose sympathy it would expect to have in any case. The judgements are made on grounds of 'pathos', 'humour' and are not argued.

This curious exchange - the only one of its type involving the Friend - illustrates the true nature of what has become the 'Kailyard Movement'. Neither magazine was in business to justify only the literary merit of its protege but to sell magazines. It is misleading to judge or justify the 'Kailyard Movement' solely on literary merit without first recognising its journalistic roots. This is true of Barrie et al. as of Friend authors. The differences between the London and Dundee version are as important as their similarities for each had its source in commercially commissioned literature for specific audiences.

Barrie had come to Scottish sketches more or less by accident. As he admitted, "Greenwood invented me."¹¹⁴ It was Frederick Greenwood who was first attracted to sketches of Scots dialect and encouraged Barrie while William Robertson Nicoll was instrumental in having Hodder & Stoughton publish them.¹¹⁵ Ian Maclaren said of his own success, "The real reason why I wrote these sketches was that Nicoll

asked me to do so. So far as I know, I should never have written them without that request."¹¹⁶ This is not the spontaneous outpouring of the literary artist but the construction of works to order where literary skill or artistry may or may not be present and, in any case, is of subsidiary importance.¹¹⁷

Such an approach had a long tradition in John Leng & Co. The adoption by William Robertson Nicoll of an uncannily similar approach provides a key to an understanding of the nature of 'Kailyard' material.

Although by profession a minister of the Free Kirk, Robertson Nicoll turned to journalism as editor of the British Weekly and founder of the Bookman. As literary adviser to Hodder & Stoughton he wielded enormous influence. Although his importance as the guiding influence in the propagation of Scottish writing has been recognised by George Blake in his book, Barrie and the Kailyard School, as yet the full extent of William Robertson Nicoll's influence has not been studied. That the People's Friend at the time was aware of his influence is no coincidence but an indication of the judgement of the magazine and that of the editor, in recognising the Kailyard for what it was. "How much Scotland is indebted to him for his service in this respect time must fully tell, but that not a little of the writings of the brilliant band of writers whom he has stimulated into activity must live no one can for a moment doubt."¹¹⁸ This same article on Nicoll, gave an assessment of his success both as a journalist and propagator of Scottish fiction.

" He reads everything, and his eye is always ready to catch a good thing. Even the insignificant local weekly is not neglected. . . Then Dr. Nicoll has studied type, the arrangement of news, and the "making up" of papers. He has, too, his hand on the pulse of the public; he knows what journalistic diet his readers want, and above all he has 'the nose for news'."¹¹⁹

Such comments could well have been written about another journalist - Sir John Leng. The influence of Leng and his publications upon Nicoll's development and subsequent success must be, to a large extent, supposition. There is evidence that Nicoll was aware of the Dundee publisher from an early age. Brought up in Aberdeenshire, the People's Journal must have been familiar to him and the Friend certainly was as he began his career as a journalist in its pages. In one of the earliest editions, 4th August, 1869 he wrote an article on "Henry Fielding the Novelist" and another on Dickens in 1870.¹²⁰ Once he had embarked on the ministry he continued to write for both the Friend and Dundee Advertiser as well as other papers.¹²¹

No one can judge the extent to which his own approach to journalism was influenced by Leng's. Certainly he was aware of the Friend's success. The British Weekly praised the 1872 volume of the People's Friend for its "literary element. . . there could not be a more entertaining or more useful volume."¹²² It was Nicoll who established Annie Swan in London, giving her her own journal, The Woman at Home, which was subtitled Annie S. Swan's Journal.¹²³ Like Leng he became a personal friend of Annie Swan and her husband Dr. Burnett Smith was Nicoll's doctor.

Sir John Leng was also an "old friend"¹²⁴ who, in 1901, warned Nicoll not to overdo his work, "I know by experience how many things one can conceive and plan and, as long as in health, can accomplish."¹²⁵ Leng had succeeded by knowing his public; being competent in the mechanics of journalism and commerce; and by having a determination to put forward certain ideals. It is therefore, highly probable that William Robertson Nicoll's approach to journalism was coloured by the experience and example of John Leng.

Leng had succeeded by recognising his audience and then catering for its needs. Nicoll did the same. Sidney Dark, writing in the Bookman in October, 1921 said, "Nicoll had an acute realisation that the public also existed; that there were men and women in the street, in the shops and in the offices and in the back parlours, to whom the imaginative writer might have something to say that would brighten lives and make it easier to solve problems."¹²⁶

Where they differed was in the public each catered for: Leng's was a predominantly lower, middle class audience in Scotland without any particular religious label. Nicoll was dealing with an entirely different group. He was a Free Church minister and the British Weekly was predominantly a magazine with strong religious influences. Where Nicoll's skill was seen, was in his aim of making it popular. "We are popularizing it as much as we can, while keeping up its character."¹²⁷

His audience was not limited by nationality; it was educated and middle class and towards this group was the writing of Barrie and Maclaren aimed. Barrie's sketches appealed to Nicoll for the echoes

of his own childhood. He was the son of a minister and schoolmaster in Aberdeenshire. Moreover, for Nicoll's readers these sketches were new and popular to an extent that became clear with book publication, and the commercial and financial considerations of this cannot have escaped his notice.

The publication of sketches of Scottish life throughout the 1890's was a calculated commercial venture by Nicoll combined with a desire to provide entertaining and morally sound literature at a time of changing public taste. The readers of Barrie and Maclaren were unfamiliar with the peculiarly Scottish background; it was new and "quaint". The sketches were essentially observations of what was seen as typical Scottish life; it was an essence, not real, and a deliberate portrayal of what was good. Ian Maclaren admitted as much in comments in the People's Friend article of 1899¹²⁸ and they are repeated by Robertson Nicoll in his biography of Dr. Watson, ". . . it was his avowed aim and end to bring out the idyllic element in life, and he thus helped to slake the eternal thirst of our nature for those waters of the ideal."¹²⁹

This explains the concentration on feeling and man's essential nature in the work of Barrie and Maclaren: the exquisite joys of sadness or happiness are what made their works popular. With its religious overtones it appealed to late Victorian sentiment as well as satisfying a curiosity at the way of life of the hitherto unknown Scottish 'peasant'. As a consequence, praise of these works dwelt upon such elements. Claudio Clear could say of A Window in

Thrums that "it gave solemn and moving expression to thoughts that lay deep in the mind of the writers."¹³⁰ Excessive plaudits were given to Maclareen in a leader article on Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush: ". . . his distinction is his gift of temperate yet most moving pathos. In this he is unsurpassed by any living writer.. ."¹³¹ Nicoll was not only supplying the writers but his own literary criticism, something Leng had done for over forty years.

The People's Friend was not a side shoot of this vast publishing phenomena. The differences in its fictional series lay with its readership. It was not the middle class with a particular religious bent but the wider Scottish public. The demand of this audience was primarily for entertainment and a good story. Sentiment there must be but in a more judicious balance. The Friend editor is right when he says of Mackenzie's stories that there was a better blend of humour and pathos than in Barrie and this is generally true. The atmosphere of Friend fiction is more down to earth and the characters generally more 'robust'. It was what the reader demanded. It is illustrated in their approach to humour. The readers of Barrie are left to see for themselves the humour in Leeby or Jess. A Friend author makes sure his reader sees it either by the description of most obvious circumstances or by pushing the point home so that the most simple reader would understand. When John Elder asks what the chief composition of a school board member is he is told "'Timmer, John, Timmer'" to which he replies, "'In that case I wadna say but we micht easily get anither nineteen suitable candidates. . . There's nae want o' material.' He was sarcastic at times."¹³²

It is the last sentence which typifies the Friend approach.

Admittedly similarities in situation - the group of villagers congregating for a gossip - did exist, and the development of relationships was often too close for coincidence. The feelings of Auntie Ann and her husband bear more than a passing resemblance to Henry and Leaby. Nor is Halliday Roger's choice of the surname Dishart for some characters anything other than a borrowing from Barrie.

But in essentials, to regard the People's Friend contribution to so called 'Kailyard' fiction as a direct copy is to ignore the whole history of the magazine from its inception and the philosophy of John Leng. The fostering of things Scottish had always existed as had the distinct moral tone. The elements peculiarly Scottish in the sketches had been an intrinsic part of the serial fiction from the beginning. The minister was portrayed in "Rob Lochcote" in 1877; village characters in "Wee Gow Glentie" 1876; the innocent Scot in "James Harebell" in 1871. W.D. Latto's Bodkin Papers had, after all, first appeared in the People's Journal in the 1850's and 1860's. The Friend had no need to look to London for its ideas. The peculiar emphasis on the sketch and on village life in the 1890's certainly was influenced by Barrie's success and later Maclaren's, but the form belonged to the internal tradition of the People's Friend.

As yet, literary critics have not fully appreciated the significance of the journalistic background and opinions have been based on purely literary grounds which have ignored the dimension of popular

culture which was affecting Scottish literature for the first time. Neither Barrie nor Maclaren wrote their sketches as anything other than entertainment. They were put together in book form from what was ephemeral journalistic material, and this has to be taken into account in literary judgement. The charges that the books lack structure or are uneven in quality are examples of criticism which are laid at their door but such comments take on a new perspective seen against their origins.

Nevertheless their popularity inevitably meant that some literary evaluation was put upon them. Those like Nicoll who was directly involved did themselves harm by the vigorous attempts to justify high literary merit. Nicoll went so far as to justify Maclaren by placing him in the line of Rousseau and Richardson as a sentimental novelist,¹³³ where his impressionistic picture of life was regarded as true realism, with his treatment of love as "the highest and deepest manifestation of immortal being."¹³⁴

Such comments invested these sketches with a significance in literary history and criticism which they did not fully merit and, other contemporary critics generally regarded them as seriously. There were exceptions. At the other end of the scale were reviewers like J.H. Millar in New Review who said of Maclaren, "He is never really happy save when he is wringing your heart, and a plenteous distillation of plum-tree gum from the eyes, would, we suspect, be his dearest reward."¹³⁵

What such contemporary criticism - and much since - fails to

recognise is that demands are being made of those sketches which they could never fulfil. Maclaren said that he had idealised Scottish life but that it was due to his "high conception of the moral functions of literature."¹³⁶

The other major difficulty lay with their peculiarly Scottish flavour. Without a doubt all the writers were drawing to a greater or lesser degree on their own experiences of early life. Their work reflected this just as their absorption of literature of earlier years is present as well. However to attempt to trace a direct line of descent through such works as Johnny Gibb of Gusheyneuk and others, from Burns, Galt and Scott is to overestimate their literary importance. These sketches exhibit the general ethos of nineteenth century Scottish life in all its aspects - cultural, political, religious and social as viewed by exiled Scots from England.

To have dubbed these works "Kailyard" was the most misleading act. As a consequence all works which in any way presented an ideal picture of Scottish life have been termed 'Kailyard' with all that the word now implies. It includes novels such as those of S.R. Crockett which belong to the broader tradition of serial fiction. Nicoll himself said that, "There was in reality hardly anything in common among these writers save that they all wrote on Scottish life and character, and also on Scottish religion."¹³⁷ The flourishing of sketches and stories in the late 1880's and 1890's was a phenomenon of its time. They fulfilled a demand,

engineered by William Robertson Nicoll, and thrust Scottish literature back in the foreground of British literary life for the first time since Walter Scott. Their true position is best summed up by Ian Maclaren who said of his success with Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush, "a cheerful blaze while it lasts."¹³⁸

With the People's Friend it is different. Certainly their tales and sketches of this period reflect their contemporary popularity but they had developed from their own source. As representations of Scottish life by Scottish authors they fulfilled one of Leng's basic demands. No attempt was made to see them as anything but one part of the magazine's output. The Friend could link them to similar approaches in the past, as with Moir's Mansie Wauch. Moir was described as 'an eminent Kailyarder' a generation before the discovery, but no attempt was made to take the comparison further. No contemporary work was said to have equalled, far less surpassed Moir's book.¹³⁹

The Friend could take the 'Kailyard' in its stride because the 'movement' contained no elements in which the Friend was not skilled and had been for years. Their sketches integrated with the whole. Serial fiction was still the backbone of the magazine and so continuity was maintained when the first flush of Kailyard enthusiasm waned. Annie Swan continued with her successes. She was recognised, rightly, as "not a writer of Kailyard literature" but still one who could compare favourably with the best work of Barrie, Crockett, and Ian Maclaren.¹⁴⁰ It is ironic that Swan's association with Nicoll and Leng should have led critics to regard her books and the People's Friend as mere 'kailyard' imitators.

What Annie S. Swan and others like her wrote was a permanent element in popular Scottish culture in a way that accepted 'Kailyard' never was, for it stemmed from a strong base:¹⁴¹ proven popularity over many decades.

John Leng had always given his public what it wanted. He was a pioneer in journalistic enterprise in Scotland but had been careful never to lead the public where it did not want to go. By the end of the nineteenth century a popular culture for ordinary Scotsmen and Scotswomen had been created. The People's Friend was at the centre. By propagating what the owner and editors saw as good in Scottish life, the journalistic empire in Dundee had metamorphosed into part of that culture itself. Literary forms and public taste might change but Leng & Co. remained true to the traditional formula. Rather than mildly imitate a 'Kailyard' movement, the company had created and catered for a wider, and possibly truer picture of Scottish life both rural and urban. Their contribution to popular culture and taste in the latter half of nineteenth century Scotland and to the entertainment of generations of Scots men, women and children is a worthy memorial to John Leng and those who served him.

Notes

- 1 Kurt Wittig, The Scottish Tradition in Literature, Edinburgh and London, 1958, p.254.
- 2 People's Friend, XXVI, 1894, p.480.
- 3 See George Blake, Barrie and the Kailyard School.
- 4 "J.M. Barrie", People's Friend, XXIII, 1891, p.292.
- 5 "Fergus Mackenzie" by the Editor, XXV, 1893, pp.339-341.
- 6 Ibid., p.340.
- 7 XXVI, 1894, p.691.
- 8 XXVII, 1895, p.749.
- 9 XXVI, 1894, p.708.
- 10 "W.G. Tarbet - another new Friend Novelist", XXVIII, 1896, p.750.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 XXIX, 1897, p.87.
- 13 XXX, 1898, p.715.
- 14 Supplement to the issue of 3rd February, 1896, p.2.
- 15 XXXI, 1899, p.3.
- 16 Quoted in People's Friend, XXVIII, 1896, p.68.
- 17 XXXI, 1899, p.637.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 [Alex.I. Shand], "New Scottish Novelists", Edinburgh Review, CLXXXIV, 1896, p.37.
- 20 William Wallace, "Scottish Fiction Today", Scottish Review, XXIII, 1894, p.53.

- 21 Ibid.
- 22 People's Friend, XXIII, 1891, p.291.
- 23 Ibid., XXVI, 1894, p.691.
- 24 Ibid., p.707.
- 25 "Memories of My Ministry", III, 3rd Series, 1876, p.5.
- 26 Ibid., p.478.
- 27 IV, 3rd Series, 1877, p.560.
- 28 Ibid., p.564.
- 29 Ibid., p.565.
- 30 Ibid., p.693.
- 31 Ibid., p.645.
- 32 Ibid., p.778.
- 33 Ibid., V, 3rd Series, 1878, p.218.
- 34 XXXI, 1899, p.3.
- 35 "W.G. Tarbet", XXVIII, 1896, p.750.
- 36 Fergus Mackenzie, "The Humours of Glenbruar", XXIV, 1892, p.27.
- 37 W.G. Tarbet, "In Oor Kailyard", XXVIII, 1896, p.185.
- 38 "The Humours of Glenbruar", op. cit., p.117.
- 39 XXIX, 1897, p.747.
- 40 "A Birthday Gift", XXVIII, 1896, p.664.
- 41 Fergus Mackenzie, "Tales and Sketches of Scottish Life and Character", XXII, 1890, p.107.
- 42 W.G. Tarbet, "A Laggard in Love", XXVIII, 1896, p.284.
- 43 Mackenzie, "Tales and Sketches", XXII, 1890, p.75.
- 44 "Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae", XXIX, 1897, p.737.

- 45 Mackenzie, "Swatches o' Hamespun", XXIII, 1891, p.188.
- 46 Ibid., p.442.
- 47 Rogers, "Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae", XXVIII, 1896, p.6.
- 48 "Tales and Sketches", XXII, 1890, p.172.
- 49 "In Oor Kailyard", XXVIII, 1896, pp. 239-240.
- 50 Ibid., p.220.
- 51 Mackenzie, "Sprays of Northern Pine", XXIX, 1897, p.5.
- 52 Mackenzie, "Swatches o' Hamespun", XXIII, 1896, p.277.
- 53 "In Oor Kailyard", XXVIII, 1896, p.305.
- 54 "Sprays of Northern Pine", XXIX, 1897, p.5.
- 55 XXX, 1898, p.398.
- 56 "Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae" XXVIII, 1896, p.53.
- 57 "Sprays of Northern Pine", XXIX, 1897, p.113.
- 58 "Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae", XXVIII, 1896, p.6.
- 59 XXIX, 1897, p.112.
- 60 "Swatches o' Hamespun", XXIII, 1891, p.69.
- 61 "Tales and Sketches", XXII, 1890, p.11.
- 62 Ibid., p.44.
- 63 "From Farm Kitchen to Croft", XXX, 1898, p.345.
- 64 Ibid., p.361.
- 65 Ibid., p.362.
- 66 "Sprays of Northern Pine", XXIX, 1897, p.294.
- 67 "Swatches o' Hamespun", XXIII, 1891, p.379.
- 68 "Tales and Sketches", XXII, 1890, p.397.
- 69 "Humours of Glenbruar", XXIV, 1892, p.371.

- 70 Mackenzie, "Miss Bell's Hero", XXV, 1893.
- 71 "Tales and Sketches", XXII, p.615.
- 72 "Humours of Glenbruuar", XXIV, 1892, p.55.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 "Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae", XXVIII, 1896, p.22.
- 75 "Swatches o' Hamespun", XXIII, 1891, p.279.
- 76 "Humours of Glenbruuar", XXIV, 1892, p.261.
- 77 "Sprays of Northern Pine", XXIX, 1897, p.5.
- 78 XXXI, 1899, p.224.
- 79 "Sprays of Northern Pine", 1897, p.6.
- 80 "Humours of Glenbruuar", 1892, p.371.
- 81 "Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae", 1896, p.53.
- 82 Ibid., p.133.
- 83 Ibid., p.134.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 Ibid., p.37.
- 86 "Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae", 1897, p.801.
- 87 "In Oor Kailyard", 1896, pp.204-5.
- 88 J.M. Barrie, A Window in Thrums, uniform edition, London, n.d. p.160.
- 89 The Athenaeum, I, 1888, p.565.
- 90 Ibid., II, 1895, p.896.
- 91 "New Scottish Novelists", Edinburgh Review, CLXXIV, 1896, p.44.
- 92 "Days of Auld Lang Syne - Review", People's Friend, XXVII, 1895, pp.749-50.
- 93 "Humours of Glenbruuar", 1892, p.437.
- 94 "Tales and Sketches", 1890, p.44.

- 95 "Miss Bell's Hero", XXV, 1893, p.243.
- 96 "Tales and Sketches", 1890, p.5.
- 97 Ibid., p.6.
- 98 "Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae", 1896, p.6.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 "Tales from the Moorlands", XXVI, 1894, p.299.
- 101 "Pen Portraits from Meggotsbrae", 1897, p.783.
- 102 Ibid., p.800.
- 103 Ibid., p.737.
- 104 XXVIII, 1896, p.185.
- 105 "From Farm Kitchen to Croft", 1898, p.415.
- 106 "Paternoster Row - Cruisie Sketches", British Weekly, XIII, 1893,
p.414.
- 107 Andrew Stewart, "Fergus Mackenzie", People's Friend, XXV, 1893,
p.340.
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 Ibid., p.341.
- 113 Ibid.
- 114 Quoted in T.H. Darlow, W.R. Nicoll, Life and Letters, London, 1925.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 Ibid., p.331.
- 117 See Chapter 5, p.257, where the comments on the publication of
W.D. Latto's Tammas Bodkin illustrate the Leng attitude.

- 118 "A Great Modern Editor", People's Friend, XXIX, 1897, p.111.
- 119 Ibid.
- 120 Darlow, op.cit., p.22.
- 121 Ibid., p.26.
- 122 British Weekly, XIII, 1893, p.174.
- 123 Darlow, op.cit., p.111.
- 124 Ibid., p.175.
- 125 Ibid.
- 126 Quoted p.312.
- 127 Ibid., p.75.
- 128 "Ian Maclaren's Drumtochty", People's Friend, XXXI, 1899, p.552.
- 129 W.R. Nicoll, Life of Rev. John Watson D.D., London, 1908, p.180.
- 130 Review of Irish Idylls by Miss Barlow, British Weekly, XII, 1892
p.9.
- 131 Ibid., XVI, 1894, p.385.
- 132 Mackenzie;s "Tales from the Moorlands", People's Friend, 1894, p.299.
- 133 Nicoll, Life of Rev. John Watson D.D., p.175ff.
- 134 Ibid., p.178.
- 135 J.H. Millar, "Literature of the Kailyard", New Review, XII, 1895,
p.385.
- 136 Nicoll, op.cit., p.16.
- 137 Ibid., p.168.
- 138 Ibid., p.182.
- 139 "The Author of Mansie Wauch", People's Friend, XXX, 1898, p.3.
- 140 Ibid., p.715.

141 The significance of popular taste was noted by Blackwood's as early as 1889. Referring to Swan, the writer of "The Old Saloon" said, "We wonder whether he [Barrie] is as well known or as widely read in Scotland as the Sunday-school prize-books above mentioned. (Carlowrie, Aldersyde etc.). The public taste is inscrutable in its developments." Blackwood's, 146, 1889, p.266.

Conclusion

The success of the People's Friend and of much popular fiction in the nineteenth century was the success of Sir John Leng. It was he who had the vision of such a magazine; he set the standards and appointed men to run it who would maintain them; he had the foresight to build modern offices and equip them with the most up to date machinery; it was he who could adapt to the changing world of the late nineteenth century directing his business to meet every challenge.

"Turning easily from subject to subject, he acquired without impatience or weariness a grasp of fresh and often complicated details. . . he possessed the happy constitution of mind, which is able to apply itself promptly and vigorously to the most diverse kinds of business. Joined to this unstrained movement of the faculty was a native sagacity that pointed the way to sound, practicable conclusions. In forming decisions he could be both bold and prudent."¹

He was, in the words of Sir William Robertson Nicoll, "that brilliant youth."

His lasting monument, however, was the unique place the People's Friend and the People's Journal found for themselves in the very being of Scottish life and literature - a place still retained, to some extent, over a century later. The philosophy of the Friend - its ideas of self-help, of instruction, of support for the ordinary

man and woman, of moral rectitude - fitted exactly not only the mood of Victorian Britain, but the traditional ideas and precepts formulated in Scottish writing over the years. They were essentially the views portrayed by Professor Wilson's Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life, preached by the Church in Scotland, and supported by the lives of the 'lad o' pairts' like Hugh Miller or the brothers Bethune. Those ideas so consistently put forward over the years became assimilated into a general view of Scottish character which overcame many of the doubts and inadequacies of the nineteenth century Scot and have been transmitted to the twentieth century in no small measure through the People's Friend.

The essence of the Friend was built round the high ideal of family. The material was geared to suit all members of a family and to be read within the family circle. The image which it built up was that of the family of a skilled workman or small shopkeeper or clerk, although the magazine probably appealed to a much larger cross section of society. It was a family with enough education to appreciate articles on literature and history; one in which the man of the house would enjoy following the developments in science and engineering while his wife would appreciate the details of household management; a family in which education for the children would be highly prized; it was a family which would hold firm Christian principles² but would not despise entertainment from songs and music and would indulge in laughter at pawky "Standard Readings". The principles and beliefs of the family in Burns' "Cotters Saturday Night" were applicable to the Friend. What it had done was to replace the

agricultural setting with that of an urban and industrialised society in Victorian Scotland.

In the dramatically changed and changing world of the second half of the nineteenth century, the People's Friend made Scottish history, customs and literature meaningful to its readers.

For the first time the majority of the Scottish people were finding out about their cultural and historic past and were being shown its relevance to their present situation. At a time of many diverse opinions as to Scottish identity, Leng and his publications helped sustain Scottish life and character. His treatment of Scotland's past was deliberately aimed at the present - that which could be regarded as specifically Scottish without endangering her position in the Empire was always publicised. For example, strong support was given to the maintenance of the Scots language. In 1882 the Friend included an article on "Our Scotch Tongue" in which the case was put for its treatment as a language and not a dialect which caused ridicule and embarrassment.³ Two years later it carried correspondence on the purity of Scots and closed it with the words of one of the correspondents, 'W.W.': "To your Scotch writers I would say, write away in your mither tongue; whatever critics may say, there will always be many that can understand and appreciate you."⁴ This desire for the purity of the language was always sustained, so much so that even Ian Maclaren's use of Doric was sternly dismissed: "It may do well enough for English readers who know no better, but it is a rock of offence to a Scot."⁵

On issues like that the Friend could be intensely patriotic, but it never adopted the crass nationalism in the style of the Scottish Rights Movement. A reader, enquiring in 1871 as to why 'England' was used in place of Great Britain received scant sympathy:

"It would, indeed, be a pity if the Scottish nationality were to become lost by a too frequent use of the word England. But we have no fear of such a misfortune overtaking us, and it serves no better end than to display a national characteristic weakness - viz. pride, and a false pride, too - by insisting on the use of Gt. Britain in all cases where Scotland is included."⁶

The position adopted by John Leng & Co. on Scotland's place in the late nineteenth century is nowhere better expressed than in a review in the Friend of H.G. Reid's book, Past and Present:

"Scotland's present, therefore, bears a very decided and easily traceable relation to its past; and though certain grand events have occurred - notably the Union - to change the characteristics of a former time, and make it impossible that these should ever return, yet the Scottish nature remains essentially the same, upon which the past must ever remain as an influence to assist in moulding and shaping alike the present and the future."⁷

The essential sameness of the Scottish nature was the keystone in the presentation of Scottish character. Here general aims could be joined to a distinctly Scottish background. Stories of the exploits

of William Wallace, Robert the Bruce, Mary, Queen of Scots, Rob Roy were all featured in the Friend as indicative of the moral fibre and independence of the Scots character both then and now. Alongside this went a delight in anecdotes of Scotland's past mainly through the characters portrayed in books of anecdotes. In spite of being the product of the new industrial Scotland, the Friend did not avoid or object to the Scottish sentimental attitude to the past:

"And the cottage home was in all things the abode of simplicity. Luxury in eating, fastidiousness in plenishing, were both unknown. The porridge and oatcakes which had been good enough for their forbears were good enough for them. . . Reverence for the lairds and the minister was an article of faith, and there was little need for farther learning for any village youth than that which the parish school provided."⁸

How much happier were people then, the writer continues, without the roar of trains throughout the countryside.

Hand in hand with the sentiment expressed in articles like the above, but mainly in songs and poems, went a strong sense of patriotism. Vent could be given to this in stories of Scotland's past. The series on Robert the Bruce was graphically advertised as the story of the "Champion of Liberty" who saw, "upon the field of Bannockburn the ultimate triumph of that liberty for which he fought, and the utter humiliation of the oppressor who sought to enslave the people and subjugate the land." It was a story which "should appeal to the sympathies of every patriot Scot."⁹

There was in such series, as well as in other articles, more than a little of Scottish superiority, particularly when the English were concerned. In an article on Scottish thrift both porridge and haggis were seen as far superior to roast beef or Irish stew, "for cheapness or adaptability to the human system."¹⁰

But if it was the policy to display Scottish characteristics, so was it the aim to maintain an interest in Scottish literature. Frequent were the articles on the literature and authors of past centuries - Dunbar, Blind Harry, but particularly on the work of the nineteenth century. The Friend did much to encourage an interest not only in the great names of Burns and Scott but in the, by then, forgotten writers of the earlier part of the century. It was the Journal which had republished Mansie Wauch and the Friend played its part through articles and reviews. Readers were urged to "read and ponder" a new edition of Elizabeth Hamilton's, The Cottagers of Glenburnie¹¹ and in 1877 "A Neglected Scotch Classic" considered the work and worth of John Galt and of The Provost in particular. There was scarcely a Scottish writer of the immediate past or the present who did not find his work publicised in the People's Friend. Here was an area where Scotland could stand on her own and Leng & Co. saw it as their duty to present this to their readers.

The People's Friend was publicising a view of Scotland, its life and customs which was in keeping with the time. There was no other publication in Scotland to challenge its point of view so it

was inevitable that its interpretation should be accepted as the only one possible. But while in the beginning the Friend was presenting Scotland to the Scots, as the years progressed and its circulation outside Scotland increased, it became in the eyes of many both home and abroad the sole keeper of Scottish identity and literature both of the past and the present. Inevitably this led to generalising of what was Scottish. For the exiled Scot in particular it had an important place: "They looked upon it as a letter from home, and found Scottish life and character so truly portrayed within its pages that they felt themselves carried back in imagination to the very homes they had left behind them."¹² Thus did one writer describe it, and it was important for the People's Friend in maintaining its position to cater for their needs. A George Leith, writing from Pretoria summed up the feeling of many like him:

"...I should like to express the obligation that I, in common with thousands of other Scotsmen in the colonies, feel to the People's Friend for stirring up and keeping alive the native genius of our race and the best traditions of our country. Abroad we are more Scotch than at home, and our fellow-citizens honour us for it, while the denationalised Scots (fortunately they are few) are held in well-deserved contempt. We need the People's Friend and such like publications however, to keep us in touch with the "Auld Mitherland", and to familiarise our children with the spirit that has made her what she is."¹³

Holding such a unique position in Scottish life, it is no small wonder that its efforts to create Scottish literature within its pages have given it a place, albeit minor, in Scottish literature. Writers like Annie S. Swan or Andrew Stewart with his "real Doric side-splitters" or "Surfaceman" who expressed so much Scottish sentiment in his poetry, established a popular level of Scottish literature. It had begun in the 1850's with "Tammas Bodkin" and continued to grow apace. It was a literature written for the people by those who were often not professional writers but ordinary men carrying out everyday jobs. Within the broader tradition in Scottish literature, it fulfilled a need of the Scottish people at a time when the literary activity was in the south. Once more there was literary activity in Scotland, which was specifically Scottish. Lengs were perfectly clear in their own mind that it was a uniquely Scottish development. Wm. C. Leng, Sir John's son, said at a Friend social gathering, ". . . Scotland had a vitality enough of its own, and was far enough removed from the metropolis to be able to cherish its own aspirations and indulge in its own idiosyncracies."¹⁴ The Friend acted as a catalyst for the new literature, and bridged the gap between the old and new Scotland. Long before the appearance of the British Weekly or the 'kailyard' movement, John Leng & Co. had helped establish a literary centre in Scotland for the Scots, with a style of its own and its roots firmly embedded in the broad literary tradition of the nation.

Leng's popular fiction never was intended to be fine literature.

It was written for popular journals to satisfy the public. Nevertheless, for many Scots this was the only Scottish literary material they read and for that alone it deserves to be remembered. But if not great literature, it embodied many of the qualities unique to Scottish writing.

Generations of Scots, particularly women, have been entertained by and shown great loyalty towards this brand of Scottish fiction. That the magazine in which most of it appeared has become synonymous with one level of Scottish culture is surely a just measure of its place in the history of Scottish life and letters.

Notes

- 1 Obituary, Dundee Advertiser, 13th December, 1906.
- 2 It should be noted that the People's Friend did not support any one branch of the Christian church at the expense of another. To have done so would have been incompatible with their aim of appealing to all sections of the community.
- 3 People's Friend, XIV, 1882, p.683.
- 4 XVI, 1884, p.399.
- 5 "Review of Days of Auld Lang Syne", XXVII, 1895, p.749.
- 6 II, 1871, p.32.
- 7 "Scotland - Past and Present", pp. 710-1.
- 8 David Scot, "Looking Backward", XVI, 1884, p.823.
- 9 VI, 3rd Series, 1879, p.164.
- 10 "Scotch Thrift", XIV, 1882, p.59.
- 11 III, 1872, p.796.
- 12 "The New People's Friend", XXVI, 1894, p.12.
- 13 Ibid., p.528.
- 14 "Gathering for James Nicholson", XXVII, 1895, p.51.

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The bibliography is divided into five main sections:

- 1 Bibliographies and Works of Reference.
- 2 Fiction in Dundee periodicals or by authors connected with Dundee journalism.
- 3 Background material to Dundee journalism and fiction.
- 4 Other Fiction.
- 5 General Background.

As much of the magazine fiction appeared anonymously, all fictional serials and series are listed alphabetically under the title of the magazine in which they appeared. For purposes of cross reference an author list of People's Friend fiction has been included.

All periodicals consulted have been listed with the dates of the periods covered. Specific articles are arranged alphabetically by title under the periodicals in which they appeared. The anonymity of the vast majority of nineteenth century magazine material made an author list impractical. However where authorship is known the name is placed at the end of the entry. All articles from modern specialist and academic journals are listed alphabetically by author as are all published works of fiction and non-fiction.

Articles and items referred to incidentally will be found in the text or in the notes at the end of chapters.

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