

The Clubs of Glasgow: Shaping a new urban elite from c.1750 to c.1830.

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Introduction

In 1831, John Strang, a Scottish writer, published “Necropolis Glasguensis” addressed to the members of the Merchant’s House of Glasgow to encourage them to build a garden-cemetery in Glasgow. Inspired by a visit at the romantic cemetery of Père Lachaise in Paris, he underlined the importance of celebrating the distinguished people of Glasgow that contributed to make Glasgow the “Second city of the Empire” at the beginning of the 19th century. In addition of being a multi-faith cemetery, it is today one of the biggest European cemeteries. In 1836, it welcomed 100 of visitors per day and still is today an attraction and the symbol of the city. This determination of granting a central place of memory and celebration was indicative of the changing nature of Glaswegian society. John Strang dedicated his life to promote Glasgow and the people who contributed to build it. He hence wrote a book in 1857 that paid tribute to the past urban elite untitled “Glasgow and its clubs: Glimpses of the condition, manners, characters and oddities of the city, during the past and present centuries.” In this work, he sketched the evolution of the customs of the 18th century Glaswegians. He highlighted the upheavals in the city during this period and their impact on the social interactions between the citizens. Thus, this dissertation proposes to explore the restructuration of social encounters in the city and the formation of a civil society that aimed to organize themselves through the social practices of the clubs of Glasgow.

This dissertation will focus on the sociability of Glasgow clubs from 1750 to 1830. The changing nature of these clubs and their increasing variety determined this period. The number of club meetings was limited in 1750, however they increased around 1780 and spread all over the city. The informal character of these meetings makes it difficult to determine the actual proportion of people attending to the clubs of Glasgow in that period. However, through the different sources, I counted over 400 men participating to the clubs from c.1750 to c.1830, and John Strang retraced the origin of 28 clubs in the city through the period, which indicate the success of this form of sociability. Indeed, the period between 1750 and 1830 marks a deep change in the habits of the inhabitants but also in the structure of the city. It also embodied the change in the Glaswegian society 45 years after the Acts of Union between England and Scotland. The inhabitants seized the opportunity of the Union to access trade

with the Americas, which contributed to the city's wealth. The urban dweller took advantage of Glasgow position on the Atlantic Ocean to establish close ties with the British colonies and especially with Virginia by trading tobacco and then with the Caribbean for the sugar trade. Thus, at the beginning of the 19th century, Glasgow was qualified as the second city of the Empire after London, challenging it directly by carrying out important works on Glasgow port. Furthermore, the period from 1750 to 1830 was also a strong moment of urbanization in Scotland and especially in Glasgow. The city moved from 20 000 city dwellers in 1750 to 120 000 in 1820. The urbanization and industrial revolution of Glasgow was commented by contemporaries who, besides the impact on the landscape and the environment of the city, envisioned it as a redefinition of the social interactions between citizens. The clubs, are a particularly interesting lens to acknowledge these development because they adapted to the needs of a new urban elite. This dissertation aims to understand how the urban elite seized the club to gather, build a common experience and redefined themselves outside the structures of the Ancien Régime.

The club in the historiography: a specific form of sociability ?

The history of clubs in Scotland has most often been approached through its relationship to Scottish Enlightenment. The first publication about the eighteenth-century Scottish clubs was in 1951 by Davis Dunbar Mc Elroy for his Phd.¹ It was the first attempt to grasp the rich club life of Scotland of the 18th century. Mc Elroy underlined the diversity of profile within the clubs and therefore refused to classify the different clubs by social and economic factors. He preferred to establish a typology of the clubs based on their objectives. He distinguished convivial clubs from the debating clubs, fictitious clubs, literary ones, student clubs and unclassified clubs. However, this classification raise question since a club could have more than one purpose. He particularly underestimated the aim of Glasgow convivial clubs that could held debates too. Thus, as the title of the thesis suggested, his work focused mainly on the influence of the clubs in the literary production of the eighteenth century.

¹ McELROY, Davis Dunbar. « The literary clubs and societies of eighteenth century Scotland: and their influence on the literary productions of the period from 1700 to 1800 ». 1952.

More recently, in 2000, Peter Clark published his book entitled “British clubs and societies 1580-1800 : The origins of an Associational world.”² He argued the existence of a culture of association in Britain that emerged from the English revolution of 1642-1651 thanks to a growing political pluralism. He hence underlined the origin of the club emerging from the changing society from the 16th century to the 18th century rather than the consequence of the industrial revolution and the will of the elites to answer the issues it caused. He explained the success of the club from the urbanization of England but also by the capacity of the club to correspond to the leisure demand during the Stuart period in the eighteenth century. Its thesis of an “associational culture” in Britain is particularly stimulating. It implies that Britain had a special experience with individual choice and a strong civil society with a drive to organize themselves. However, he focused mainly on England and he suggested that Scotland only replicated English forms of sociability, overestimating the influence of England on the process. Thus, he mentioned briefly the particularities of Scotland and Glasgow which contained some differences from the English sociability.

Moreover, McElroy and Clark did not really mention the influence of the clubs on the urban elites, and focused more on the institutional aspect and the form of the club. On December 2020, Jane Rendall and Mark C. Wallace edited a book entitled “Association and enlightenment, Scottish clubs and societies, 1700-1830”.³ They offered new perspectives on the analysis of Scottish club life in the 18th century. They underlined Scottish particularities such as the expansion of Scottish clubs from 1720s to 1780s and the importance of sociability and variety of clubs’ purposes. They adopted an extensive definition of enlightenment, as they argued that clubs and societies contributed to the process of modernity in the 18th century. They explored the new pattern of sociability in 18th century not only on big cities but also in provincial towns. In addition, they highlighted the impact of clubs on aspect of the literary world of 18th century. For instance, Rhona Brown showed how a convivial club could have also contributed to the network of Scottish authors. Moreover, the book discussed gender dynamics within clubs. Rosalind Carr’s analysis of student societies serving as a rite of passage for young elites is particularly challenging. Finally, the book considered the impact of clubs on

² CLARK, Peter, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, OUP Oxford, January 2000

³ WALLACE, Mark C., Jane RENDALL, Christopher A. WHATLEY, et al. *Association and Enlightenment: Scottish Clubs and Societies, 1700-1830*. [s.l.] : Bucknell University Press, 2020. 275 p.

the profession of the 18th century. More specifically, Ralph Mclean explored the distinct context of Glasgow which allowed the association of professors of the University with the mercantile society. These new perspectives opened up new possible analysis for Glasgow clubs. However, these works tended to underestimate the notion of conviviality that could enrich the study of the 18th century Scottish sociability. If the chapter “soaping and “shaving” the public sphere” approached the notion of the class formation in club and the possibility of politicization within clubs, the work on British and Glasgow clubs tended to agree that clubs did not have a political purpose. Yet, it underrates the experience of the elites within the clubs.

The work on the British clubs showed the origin of an associative culture and the importance of understanding its impact on the 18th century. However, it did not analyze the extent on which social interactions can influence the creation of a group. Thus, it is useful to draw on other studies about sociability in 18th century to understand what sociability might mean for the elite and the social role of the club in Glasgow. Comparing the club with other form of sociability reveals its specificities but also its similarities. Since 1984, there has been a revival of sociability studies thanks to the work of Daniel Roche. He studied the academic sociability and invites us to examine the relationships in a group.⁴ Thus, analyzing social interactions allows to understand how individuals organized themselves in the 18th century. Moreover, Daniel Roche emphasized the organization of social relations within a given group influenced by the mobilization of norms and values, and the importance of following individual trajectories in order to understand the complexity of the sociable offer in the 18th century. Individuals did not frequent only one space of sociability, but adhered to several networks, which indicates the diversity of the offer and the increase of personal choices. If sociability has often been analyzed as a leisure, Daniel Roche and Maurice Agulhon before him, have shown the interest of studying the social profiles of members and their social practices within new or old structures such as freemasonry or academic sociability. The historiography of the 18th century sociability has hence highlighted that patterns of social life allowed the individual to challenge the structures of the Ancien Régime, the State, or the Churches. Thus, the allure of clubs laid not only in their cultural aspect but also in the social and political function they fulfilled. Studying their social life illuminates their importance in the production of a new

⁴ ROCHE Daniel, *Les Républicains des lettres: Gens de culture et Lumières au XVIIIe siècle*, Fayard, 1988

socio-cultural norms and values. Therefore, the club could bring a new culture, a new vision of the world for the urban elites.

Antoine Lilti emphasized this idea in his study of the French salons in 2005.⁵ As a student of Daniel Roche he followed his approach of the 18th century sociability by studying the social practices of the people within these circles. He underlined the importance of the salons in the construction of a reputation of one's individual and particularly writers in literary salons. The clubs were also an opportunity to social network. The most significant difference between salons and clubs in Glasgow was the meeting places. Salons were held in a domestic space where the rules of hospitality mattered, whereas clubs cannot be restricted to a place and most often took place in a public space in the tavern, hotel, restaurants and sometimes even the street. However, the study of the salons highlighted the importance of acquiring social norms in order to enter certain cercles such as the Salon or the club. In addition, it underlined the benefit of these forms of sociability for the aristocratic elites. They reappropriated the form of sociability to reinvent themselves. Thus, it allows some individuals to rise and join the ranks of the elite. In addition, Glasgow scene was not different from what took place in Paris: these places were particularly conservative.

Studies on Freemasonry are also useful to understand the organization of clubs. Thus, Mark C. Wallace as well as Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire in their studies have underlined the similarity between Freemasonry in the 18th century and clubs.⁶ Thus, both forms of sociability offered a convivial atmosphere, especially to urban elites. If the sociability seems similar in both forms of association, the construction of a ritualized space was also at the origin of their association. However, if Freemasonry used rituals to include individuals into a larger movement, the rituals of the club were designed more for local integration. The club tends to use unique rituals to create a singular universe. In addition, the club offered a more fluid sociability since people could come and go easily. Moreover, Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire has shown the changing nature of Freemasonry in the 18th century, which became conservative, which indicates that the club is placed in a similar sociability to other forms in the 18th century.

⁵ LILTI, Antoine. *Le monde des salons: Sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris : Fayard, 2005. 572 p.

⁶ WALLACE, Dr Mark C. *The Great Transformation: Scottish Freemasonry 1725-1810*. [s.l.] : Westphalia Press, 2018. 360 p. ; BEAUREPAIRE, Pierre-Yves. *L'espace des francs-maçons : Une sociabilité européenne au XVIIIème siècle*. Rennes : PU Rennes, 2003. 229 p.

Finally, in a review of the work around the concept of sociability, Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire underlined the work about sociability and public space. The concept of Jurgen Habermas developed in 1962 has been This is an opportunity for historians to work around the notion in order to understand the changes that took place in the 18th century, but also to deconstruct the concept. Indeed, Jurgen Habermas argued that 18th century discussion groups, such as clubs, are bourgeois spaces that allowed the emergence of public opinion later on. This space would be the link between the individual and the state and would allow to challenge the state. Nevertheless, this dissertation will deconstruct this narrative in underlining the conservative values conveyed in the clubs of Glasgow.

Brian Cowan has distinguished the “normative” public space and the “practical” one.⁷ He advanced that it existed in theory a proper conduct to adopt for people in the public space but they rarely followed it in the real public life. This is particularly relevant for studying Glasgow clubs as we would see in this work, members tried to impose themselves rules within clubs, but they rarely followed them. De plus, Habermas studied the emergence of a public sphere linking it with a specific place: the English coffeehouse. In his seminal work, Brian Cowan, reconsidered the emergence of civil society within coffeehouses in underlining the creation of new taste by the development of “new modes of social organizations”. His analysis of a new ‘civil society’ produced by the state of mind a gentleman and an urban commercial society seems particularly relevant for studying Glasgow’s clubs. This new urban elite sought to develop their social skills and debate with other individuals. The clubs completed their education in that sense. However, as Brian Cowan highlighted in his work, it was a slow process, as this place of sociability did not immediately produce a civil society. In that sense, the creation of a new urban elite in Glasgow needs to be understood as an evolution. Emma Spary, in considering the Parisian café scene, stressed the importance of studying the social space of individuals rather than just the place of sociability itself. She emphasized the interest of the neighborhood to study it.⁸ Although the places of sociability are an important feature to understand the environment of the new urban elite, they are not the structuring element themselves; the social dimension of the club is. My dissertation will follow the way paved by

⁷ COWAN, BRIAN. *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse*. [s.l.] : Yale University Press, 2005. En ligne : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1npc0p> [consulté le 6 mai 2021].

⁸ SPARY, E. C. *Eating the Enlightenment: Food and the Sciences in Paris, 1670-1760*. 1st ed edition. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 2012. 366 p.

Emma Spary and Brian Cowan in studying each social space of the clubs in its neighborhood and how they claimed social places within the city as theirs. By studying how the elites organized within Glasgow clubs, it was clear that the “public sphere” was not really opened to everyone, as Habermas suggested it, but on the contrary displayed a conservative environment.

Therefore, studying Glasgow clubs will allow to show how it served the urban elites by challenging the structures of the Old Regime, State and Church. However, it did not break the old structure but redefined it on their own terms.

What was a club ?

To understand the experience of the urban elites within clubs it is necessary to define what was a club in Glasgow in the 18th century and the beginning of 19th century. However, this concept is more complex to define as it first appears. Thus, it will be the aim of this dissertation to provide the most representative definition of it.

The word club is an English word that originally was used to talk about something assembled, a mass. Then in the 1660s, the author John Aubrey indicated the new use of it : he wrote that “We now use the word clubbe for a sodality in a tavern.”⁹ Thus, the word began to be associate to people and the gathering act. However, Anatoly Liberman, linguist, revealed the use of the word in the slang before the period in England.¹⁰ It would have been inspired by the Scandinavian term ‘cudgel’, meaning sticks that were passed on from house to house to invite people to share a drink or for military reasons. Thus, the club appealed to relationships between individuals, which invite us to explore the social interactions emerging from individuals without the state necessarily being included in the phenomenon. The term "club" was used throughout the 18th century and even more so in the 19th century. However, it does not have the same meaning in both centuries. Indeed, on one hand, the 19th century the club was associated with a building intended for the leisure of a very restricted elite. And yet, on another hand in the 18th century, the definition of the club was much more fluid and cannot

⁹ club | *Origin and meaning of club by Online Etymology Dictionary*. En ligne : <https://www.etymonline.com/word/club> [consulté le 24 mai 2021].

¹⁰ Club « an association ». 2011. En ligne : <https://blog.oup.com/2011/07/club-2/> [consulté le 24 mai 2021].

be limited to a building. It corresponded more to relational definition rather than a physical one. The club was not a fixed institution, it was a social practice which could change forms, rules according to the needs of the elites. It could adopt varied forms depending on the social spaces of the members and evolved throughout the century as this dissertation will intend to demonstrate. The nature of the club changed from 1750 to 1830. There was a tension between the fluidity of club sociability (one can enter and leave) and the restrictive social space of the club and its increased selectivity over time. This dissertation will contribute to understand the switch of this change by showing how the social space of the club changed over time to get closer to the spatial definition of the 19th century club.

The definition most often used to describe the club in the 18th century is the one from Dr Samuel Johnson who wrote the Dictionary of the English language in 1755. Fond of this form of sociability himself, he described the club as “[a]n assembly of good fellows, meeting under certain conditions.” This short definition seems to be vague, however it provides few elements. First, it focused on individuals and their will to gather. Therefore, a club in the 18th century was a group of people who decided to organize themselves together to promote social interaction. Second, Samuel Johnson’s definition implied that it was a practice favored by the elites with good manners. The members of the clubs of Glasgow were very diverse the urban elite that came from the landed elites, merchants, reverends, legal profession but also the professors of the University. The definition of the club can be enriched by the reasons of the elites to gather.

Reasons for going to a club

There were various reasons for going to a club in the 18th century. According to John Strang the members were

“ linked together by a cabalistic name or a common cordiality, met for politics, pastime, or pleasure, under the roof of some well-known hostelry — the only equivalent then known for the modern Club, Athenaeum, or News-room.”¹¹

The first reason for people to meet seemed to be convivial ones. In the mid-18th century, the Glaswegian elites had more leisure hours and especially merchants who finished their

¹¹ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs*: [s.l.] : London Glasgow : R. Griffin and co., 1857. 520 p. En ligne : <http://archive.org/details/glasgowitsclubs00stra> [consulté le 15 avril 2021].

businesses early in the day at the tavern. The elites started to gather to distract themselves. However, they also shared their points of views and discussed news. In 1750, there were few travelers in Glasgow and gathering was an opportunity to gossip about the town affairs but also the affairs of the empire. Furthermore, the diversity of the clubs membership, , gave also a way to network and take advantage of job opportunities to enhance an academic and business career. Moreover, Mark C. wallace advanced that the main reasons for people to go to a club in the 18th century was to improve themselves . Going to a club meant increasing its sociability and reinforcing specific norms and values.

Being clubbable

The change in the nature of the club in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries emerged from the social interactions of people. The main reason for elites to go to Glasgow clubs was to develop their « clubbability “. In 2016, Valérie Capdeville explored the notion of clubbability.¹² She explained the switch of the word meaning from the beginning of the 18th century to the end. At first, being clubbable was linked to be the perfect gentleman: having the proper social skills, a good education and the ability to adapt to different social circles. However, she underlined the increasing exclusiveness within the clubs at the turn of the 19th century. And yet, the more the club was selective the more the members were clubbable, it meant that they captured complex norms and values shared within a small circle of people. The members of 1750 Glasgow clubs could more easily go from club to club. However, while Valérie Capdeville's demonstration is particularly stimulating, she focused on distinguishing clubbable from sociability. She indicated that the term clubbable has no equivalent in other languages and should only be used in a British context. However, if the club is a form of sociability that had its own specificities, the dynamics and the will of individuals to organize themselves can be found elsewhere in Europe at this period.

According to David Hume in his *Essays, morals, political and literary* (1748) :

« The human mind is of a very imitative nature; nor is it possible for any set of men to converse often together, without acquiring a similitude° of manners, and communicating to each other their vices as well as virtues. The propensity to company and society is strong in all rational

¹² CAPDEVILLE, Valérie. « 'Clubbability': A Revolution in London Sociability? », *Lumen: Selected Proceedings from the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies / Lumen : travaux choisis de la Société canadienne d'étude du dix-huitième siècle*. 2016, vol.35. p. 63-80.

creatures; and the same disposition, which gives us this propensity, makes us enter deeply into each other's sentiments, and causes like passions and inclinations to run, as it were, by contagion, through the whole club or knot^o of companions. Where a number of men are united into one political body, the occasions of their intercourse must be so frequent, for defence, commerce, and government, that, together with the same speech or language, they must acquire a resemblance in their manners, and have a common or national character, as well as a personal one, peculiar to each individual. »

The clubs would hence be an answer to this primary need of the individuals to meet and to organize themselves between them, to increase their social skills. This passage also shows that a club was a common experience that encouraged individuals to cooperate with each other and to adapt to aristocratic values in order to be accepted to a club. This definition allows to narrow the club phenomenon to the other forms of sociability of the 18th century.

Nostalgic sources

My primary intention was to consult the archives of the city of Glasgow at the Mitchell Library, which contains the minutes of the 18th century clubs. However, due to sanitary conditions I was not able to go to Scotland. After an extensive research on archives.org I found the trace of the History of Glasgow clubs in the following century, celebrating the convivial spirit of the 18th century. Although these sources were biased, they offered an interesting vision of the clubs and revealed an elite seeking to return to its origins. Indeed, the striking character of these sources is the nostalgia of a lost sociability or at least one that has lost its substance. They represented a reflection of the elites on the previous century and constitutes a memory of the sociability of the 18th century. This could be explained by the change that occurred in Glasgow in the middle and late 19th century. The sources evoked the greatness of the city caught up in its expansion which distended the links between people. They also mentioned the leak of the aristocratic elite, members of the clubs, from the city they had helped to forge. In their purpose of celebrating the spirit of this elite, they can be considered as the first historians of the Glasgow clubs. My dissertation is based on three sources.

John Strang: Glasgow and its clubs

John Strang undertook the work of an historian to draw the history of the various clubs of 18th century Glasgow which he published in 1857 for the first time. He was born in 1795 and died

in 1863. He grew up in Glasgow, as the son of a wine merchant and inherited the business at his father death. However, after travelling in Europe and especially in France and Italy, he focused on his writing. In addition to his work on the Glasgow clubs, he distinguished himself as a journalist from 1826 to 1833 in newspapers such as *The Day*, *The Scots Time* and *The Scotsman*. He worked on city statistics and in particular on mortality in Glasgow as part of his position as City Chamberlain which he obtained in 1834 and in which he remained for the rest of his life. The interest about the city can be found in his description of the clubs of Glasgow in his book: "Glasgow and its clubs: Glimpses of the condition, manners, characters and oddities of the city, during the past and present centuries".¹³ The source that this dissertation will analyze is the second edition of 1857, which indicates that his work has been a great success. His book is still used by historians interested in Glasgow clubs. However, they have not analyzed Strang's insight on the city of Glasgow and the changing habits of its inhabitants in the 18th century. In the preface of the first edition (1855), he mentioned that he started to work on the clubs of Glasgow 30 years earlier but he decided to "remodel" his first work to associate the history of the clubs to the evolution of the dwellings' manners. His investigation was thorough since he based his work on different public documents, city documents when he mentioned certain systems or organization of the city, such as the creation of a Police Force in the city, but also private documents such as correspondence or club minutes. In addition, he was able to interview members of the clubs who were still alive at the time he was working on this story. This last point is even more interesting as it allows access to certain anecdotes from the clubs that reflected many dynamics of the social practices of individuals. John Strang displayed a vision of Glasgow clubs as a feature of the urban landscape that can evolve. He drew the history of 26 clubs from 1750 to 1832.

His main purpose was to introduce ancient traditions and customs to a wider audience. The editor of the book was "London and Glasgow: Richard Griffin and company: publishers to the University of Glasgow". It was originally a bookshop and a public library established by Charles Griffin in the 18th century and then his son Richard, started a publisher company.

¹³ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs*. *Op. cit.*

In contrast, the other two sources were published for a private audience. The editor, “James MacLehose and sons”, was still based in Glasgow and publisher of the University too. However, the book was ordered by the clubs or the descendants of the club members as a testimony to the greatness of their ancestors. Based on clubs archives, they wrote their history to be passed on to the memory for new members or because the club came to an end. In addition, both sources, mentioned to the first source as a reference in the history of Glasgow clubs, but point out the lack of details on the organization of the clubs they intend to present. The club minutes offered a more precise lens and more details that can lead to a thinner analysis of the social practices of the members.

Minutes of clubs published:

The following sources are minutes of the clubs published in the 19th century.

First, the “minutes of the Board of Green Cloath club 1809-1820” were published in 1891. The club was founded between 1780 and 1790. The source described it as a businessman's club and originally a whist club. The source is a compilation of the club's minutes from 1809 to 1820. The minutes were transmitted by Thomas Donald and the author was his son. His grandfather Colin Dunlop Donald, a famous Glasgow merchant, was the last secretary of the club. The book included the list of the members, the location of the meeting, the rules, the bets made by the members, the fines for absence of a meeting, the balance sheets of the suppers and dinners. The author added the notice of the members. He mentioned the help of his father on the realization of the profiles of most of the members which “Thomas Donald , had known many of the members personally”, and of men who were born at the end of the 18th century. These testimonies are particularly useful to establish the social space of the club thanks to the details provided on the profiles of the members. The club included 68 members, most of them merchants and from the burgher aristocracy. The author underlined the evolution of the Glaswegian society and the disappearance of this aristocracy in the city since only five descendants of the members lived in Glasgow in 1891. This source was a testimony of the institutionalization of the club at the beginning of the 19th century. It shows in detail the management of the club, its challenges but also the way individuals interacted within the club. Unfortunately, the minutes do not begin until 1809 because the previous ones were lost.

It would have been interesting to study the changes in the club from the beginning of its creation to the end of the club.

The third source allows to acknowledge this evolution over a long period of time since it extends from 1752 to 1900. These are the minutes of the Hodge Podge club one of Glasgow's most successful and longest running clubs. The book is a compilation from the Records of the club which aimed to present the club and its activities. The Hodge Podge was at the origin a small convivial club attended by professors of the University, merchants and surgeons, and included 91 members in 1826. The book was published by the will of T. F Donald, who was the last secretary in date of the club, for the "Hodge Podgers" of 1900. Thus, it induces a reflection on the history of their club since the nature of the club evolved. The book provided the origin of the club, some details about the first members and the list of members, the place and time of meetings, the rules of the club, the records of the clubs (including the debates, and some issues encountered during meetings), the bets, the role of the secretary and finally the list of the Toasts. Toasting was a common activity in 18th century clubs, but it had a major importance in the Hodge podge. The toast in this club was reserved to "ladies" elected by the members. This masculine performance will be developed furtherly in the second chapter. The minutes of the Hodge Podge are particularly useful to understand the evolution of the club in the 18th century and after in the 19 th century. They revealed the decline of the number of meeting after 1822.

Limits of the sources:

The sources tended to idealize the members of the Glasgow clubs as they missed the conviviality spirit that characterized the urban elite in the 18th century and 19th century. There are multiple clubs in the 19th century in Glasgow but they changed in purpose.

While they relied on the minutes of the clubs and the testimonies of some former members, they did not necessarily reflect on the activity of the clubs and the dynamics they instigated. Also, it would have been interesting to have access to the club minutes to compare what the authors have published or left out. However, the minutes would also have been biased. In fact, we only have what the clubs is willing to tell, we have very little access to the public disturbances they may have caused. In that sense, the police sources could allow to know about their non-political activities. In addition, the sources mentioned informal members of

the clubs but we do not always have their names and details about them. This would have enriched the study of the club's social space.

In addition, as the sources romanticize the clubs, they did not address the issue of exclusion and inclusion within the clubs. They conveyed an idea of a democratic sociability that anyone could have joined if they had the proper education. However, as early as 1750, although the entrance to the clubs was more fluid, not everyone could join these microsocial circles. It would hence be necessary to deconstruct the sources and to underline their limits in this dissertation. First, leisure hours were reserved to an elite. There were artisans in few Glasgow clubs but not working classes. Moreover, the sources were written in the 19th century and did not raise the question of the place of women in the clubs. The members of the clubs were only male, which is one of the characteristics of the British clubs in the 18th century. Yet women were present in some club activities. However, if these categories are absent from the club, it does not mean that they did not interact with members. This dissertation seeks to explore the variety of the places of sociability prevailed by the clubs and reconsider the clubs as an homosocial environments.

Finally, the sources did not comment on the behavior of members and ignored certain details. Indeed, most of the merchant members of the clubs built their wealth on the colonial trade and owned plantations in the United States and the Caribbean based on slave labor. While Glasgow engaged in the abolition of slavery movement later on in the 19th century, most club members did not take a stand and were rather against abolition as they benefited from slavery.

Methodology and statement

Statement:

The sources displayed the idea of Glasgow clubs as a friendly, democratic ideal where harmony stand within each meeting. They defined it as a fraternity that supported each other, challenged each other to fit into a circle of equal individuals. The sources were very informative of the social interaction in 18th century Glasgow and beginning of the 19th century. However, this dissertation will aim to reconsider the romantic fiction of 18th century Glasgow clubs built in the late 19th century. In addition, the archives and works on British clubs have emphasized the lack of political purpose of clubs from 1750 to 1830, and in

particular the convivial clubs. Yet, looking closer to the experience of the members allow to understand how deeply political it could have been. The club was a spontaneous organization of individuals that decided to set their own restrictions by allowing certain behaviors and forbidding others. This organization conveyed norms and values that one must have in order to be admitted to the group. The institutionalization of the clubs at the end of the 18th century permitted the emergence of more accomplished forms of organization approaching democratic practices. And yet, this dissertation will be an attempt to show that this experience was not a liberal one: the clubs were strongly conservative, which implies that this experience was an aristocratic democracy one.

Methodology:

To understand how individuals organized themselves in a changing society, the method of this dissertation will focus on studying the social practices of members within the clubs. The club is an interesting lens to investigate how social interactions structured and restructured. Thus, two generations of sociability can be identified within the Glasgow clubs from c.1750 to c.1830. They indicated the transition from an informal club to a more formal club. This evolution was not sudden, it was progressive. The passage from a fluid membership to a more restrictive one was due to the changing social space of the clubs. Therefore, it will be necessary to study the different social spaces of the clubs through an interdisciplinary method.

Social space

Social space is an interesting notion to study the club of Glasgow because it refers to a relational definition of the club instead of restricting it to a physical place. Thus, it will be an error to limit the club in a place or to their activities, it is necessary to extend the club to the social interactions between these individuals. The social space included the official members, but also the honorary members, and to some extent the individuals who were part of their direct environment as women. The concept of social space went back to the origins of sociology since the concept was first developed by Emile Durkheim, father of sociology, to talk about the composition of a society and its social life. The social space would be the place (which could be fictitious) where the different social groups interact. The more the individuals acquire social capital (according to the formula of Bourdieu) the more they have a rich social life.

It is therefore essential to approach the elites in the clubs from the point of view of sociability. This implies to reconsider the notion of the *homo economicus* that perceive the relations between individuals through economic reasons: studying the social relations allow to see that individual were bond by other dimensions. Thus, sociability is a crucial notion to acknowledge the formation of elites. It will be useful to analyze social practices to see how they organized themselves according to their interests and the formation of a collective identity. The difficulty of working on clubs, and in particular in the period of covid, is the lack of sources. However, the 19th century sources were highly informative about the behavior of individuals according to the social space of the club. Also, the anecdotes will be taken as a serious historical source. Antoine Lilti underlined their interest in his work on Parisian salons. Indeed, they are the vestiges of a significant event that took place within the club, which left a mark on people's minds, but which can also prove to be rich in terms of information.¹⁴ I will attempt to redraw the sociological profile of the members thanks to the name, occupation and information gathered in the sources

Urban Approach

The concept of social space suggest to look at the environment in which individuals evolved. The city environment was at the origin of the proliferation of clubs in the 18th century. It facilitated social interactions between individuals. Moreover, it is interesting to use an urban approach for studying the clubs of Glasgow because the city evolved substantially over the period. Scottish cities were subject to an intense urban expansion in the 18th century which invited the elites to adapt their social spaces. They used urban developments to evolve norms and values within their circles. Some sociologists and geographer such as Maximilien Sorre and Paul-Henri Chaubart de Lauwe have shown that social space can also be analyzed in a physical environment.¹⁵ Sorre highlighted the existence of spaces that facilitate social interactions, taverns, inns, restaurants in Glasgow case. He underlined that each social groups have their preference concerning the social places that reflected their values. Chaubert de Lauwe applied this concept to sociology. His theory of a "neighborhood space is useful to study the clubs of Glasgow. The notion includes studying people's daily movement, their habits and

¹⁴ LILTI, Antoine. *Le monde des salons. Op. cit.*

¹⁵ BUTTIMER, Anne. « Social Space in Interdisciplinary Perspective », *Geographical Review*. 1969, vol.59 n° 3. p. 417-426.

the networks they frequent in their environment which constitute an important dimension of their social space. Approaching the clubs through a urban history allows to see how the elites appropriated the urbanization space. It is necessary to follow the journeys and habits of members within the city to understand their experience of the club.

Material and Cultural Approach

In order to understand how the elites organized themselves, it is necessary to see how they spread out in the city, the street, the interiors and their experience in these places and during meetings. Thus, it will be useful to adopt a material approach to the practices of club members. The sources allow to understand the relationship of the elites with these places because the members of the clubs left traces during their reunion, such as objects serving their convivial spirit. Studying the convivial aspect of the gatherings will be fundamental to understand to what extent they build a collective identity. The material approach hence permitted to perceive the individual environment and the way in which culture develops. The objects share with us the culture of the individuals and thus their vision of the world. The material approach will also be developed to explore the relationship of the individuals with drinking and eating in community. Melissa Calaresu emphasized the importance of the material approach in the exhibition she co-curated *Feast & Fast: The Art of Food in Europe, 1500-1800*, which traces in an original way the relationship of Europeans to food during the Ancien Régime. This exhibition shows how feasting could bring people together or act as an object of distinction. We will see how important this approach is to understand the rituals of the clubs.

Anthropological approach

It will be interesting to use the development of anthropology and political science to examine how the members of the club used forms of organization outside the state. They adopted this form of sociability to organize, debate, and think about community differently. Thus, the work of William Godwin in the 18 th century, revealed interesting thoughts to rethink individuals outside a State framework. He was an 18th century philosopher, inspired by the spirit of the French Revolution wrote the “ *Enquiry concerning Political Justice*” in 1793. It rejected the structures offered by the state, from marriage to monarchy. He developed a theory of the society as micro groups that could encounter depending on their share interests and a

common culture. It was an anarchist plea that encouraged individuals to use their reason. His theory is particularly appealing to the analysis of the clubs of Glasgow because he suggested that political change and reflection were fostered by small group meetings. Moreover, Godwin pointed out that organizational systems are a gradual process, which fits with the idea that clubs took time to organize and adopt a mature organizational form. His critique of the institutions proposed by the state will be particularly useful in understanding the dynamics of organization within clubs. The work of political anthropologists such as James C. Scott. Scott will also be useful to rethink the notion of the structure of the club. In "Domination and the arts of resistance: hidden transcripts", he developed the concept of infrapolitical resistance, which encompasses behaviors that escape the control of the state and would be sanctioned if openly practiced in a larger community. His theory appears particularly relevant to explain the activity of the members within the club. However, applied to the clubs of Glasgow it was reserved to a certain group: an elite. The elite could have experienced a direct democracy within the clubs, but it remained an oligarchic organization and therefore it is more representative to talk about of an aristocratic democracy.

First, I will explore the profile of club members. The first part of the dissertation will question the historiography of the gentry and whether the elite of Glasgow's clubs can be defined in these terms.. I will try to reconstruct the different social spaces of the clubs within Glasgow in order to understand their evolution. I will hence first look at the diversity of professions within the clubs. Then, I will analyze the different places of sociability that individuals frequent in Glasgow according to the clubs. It will aim to provide a better definition of the 18th century club through its actors and its social practices.

Then the second part will show how clubs permitted elites to constitute themselves into communities and forge their identity. Thus, I will first study the pattern of sociability in the clubs of Glasgow and explore how the members developed a sense of fellowship in the clubs of Glasgow. It would rely on Antoine Lilti's work on occasional politeness. I will develop the notions of bawdiness and wit used by the members to highlight how their behaviors differed in diverse situations. This part will also be the opportunity to disrupt the narrative of a male public sphere and a women private sphere in the 18th century by restoring the place of women in the masculine fabric of the gentleman.

Finally, the last part of the dissertation will focus on the political experience of Glasgow elites in the clubs. Examining the structure of the clubs will allow to grasp how urban elite proposed another vision of governance, as small-scale organizations allowing them to adapt the club to their need. I will explore the institutionalization of the club to argue that their cooperation led to a learning political experience for them. This last chapter will aim to reconsider the notion of court society developed by Norbert Elias. It will highlight the existence of a social life outside the court and that the urban elites controlled the city. It will hence prove that the clubs of Glasgow shaped a civil society that displayed conservative values.

Part I: The formation of a new urban elite in the clubs of Glasgow

In 1977, Peter Borsay developed the idea there being a renaissance of the English town from c.1660 to c.1770. He explained that cities developed attractions that helped to shape a new middle and upper-class.¹⁶ According to him, British cities went through great transformations during this period both physically, with the development of new buildings, and in frequentation, as the society evolved. First, he demonstrated that the English city developed before the industrial revolution and established the required conditions to prepare this transformation. Secondly, he linked the emergence of a consumer revolution to the history of leisure that began to mingle with the demand of the urban elite in the 18th century. He put this emergent culture as the main drive of the English cities' renaissance in the 18th century. He went on further to say that the development of the cities contributed to redefine the categories of people; especially the notion of what it meant to be a gentleman. The developing urbanization allowed this social mobility to stretch thanks to the close proximity of people and the increase of these social interactions between the aristocratic elite and the middle-class.

¹⁶ BORSAY, Peter. *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770*. [s.l.] : Oxford University Press, En ligne : <https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198202554.001.0001/acprof-9780198202554> [consulté le 14 avril 2021].

Thus, the augmentation of leisure opportunities and forms of sociability, such as clubs, allowed new categories to enter the upper-class world with its codes and values.¹⁷

In addition, Peter Borsay emphasized the place of Edinburgh considered as the capital of Scotland in the 18th century which according to him explains it as the center of social life and also its position as the “enlightened city” of the country.¹⁸ After the Acts of Union of 1707, Edinburgh no longer had a parliament, although it remained the siege of justice in Scotland. However, historians such as Bob Harris and Tom Devine recognized the capital as having a rich cultural and political heart, they also explored the important process of urbanization in other Scottish cities. Therefore, Glasgow underwent a great transformation throughout this period.

In 1690, Glasgow’s municipal council obtained the right to elect their own burgh’s provost and bailies, meaning that the town was self-governed. The city was managed by a provost that assumed the position of representative of the city and also as chair of the board. The town council included three bailies that advised the Provost. The city affairs were also held by twelve representants of the Merchant’ House and eleven from the Trade’s House.¹⁹ Therefore, the urban elite played an important role in the city and controlled it politically. Even if Edinburgh remained the main city in Scotland and acted unofficially as a political center, Glasgow challenged it by its expansion during the long 18th century.

Thus, Tom Devine described the substantial expansion of Glasgow during the 18th century as an important factor in the development of the Kingdom of Scotland. Studying this expansion is essential to understand how the urban elite adapted through the second half of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century.²⁰ Tom Devine placed the start of a slow expansion at the beginning of the 17th century. However, the end of the century, 1660-1670, was a turning point in the expansion of the city and its population.²¹ It was due to the development of the transatlantic trade that Glasgow took part in and took advantage of its key position on the Atlantic Ocean. At the beginning of the 18th century and afterward, the city became a

¹⁷ BORSAY, Peter. *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770*. [s.l.] : Oxford University Press,

¹⁸ BORSAY, Peter. « Pouvoir et culture au sein de la métropole des Lumières : les Îles britanniques 1660-1800 », *Histoire urbaine*. 2005, n° 12 n° 1. p. 117-144.

¹⁹ *Glasgow Delineated: In Its Institutions, Manufactures, and Commerce: with a Map of the City, and Thirty-nine Engravings of Its Principal Public Buildings*. [s.l.] : Wardlaw & Cunninghame, 1826. 316 p. p 105

²⁰ BORSAY, Peter. « Pouvoir et culture au sein de la métropole des Lumières ». *Op. cit.*

²¹ DEVINE, T. M. *Glasgow: Beginnings to 1830*. Manchester ; New York : Manchester Univ Pr, 1995. p.6

commercial center but also as one of manufacturing, transforming the imported products from the Commonwealth (such as sugar and building distilleries). The economic advancement of Glasgow in this period allowed the town council to establish improvement such as schools, a prison, and a larger market. In the 18th century, Glasgow benefitted even more of the expansion of the international trade but also due to its connections with the interior market of the Highlands and Ireland. Moreover, it would be a mistake to underestimate Glasgow as an enlightened city since it attracted significant philosophers such as Adam Smith and noticed the development of innovations with the ideas of James Watt, the engineer who imagined the improved steam engine.



Perspective view of the City of Glasgow in the County of Clydesdale engraved for the Complete English Traveller, 1750. (Fig.1)

In 1750, as the image (fig.1) suggested, Glasgow was a small town with thatched houses, pre industrial, with only one bridge that connected the north side of the city and the south. In the foreground, the abandoned fields corresponded to the old village of Gorbals and were a testimony to how underdeveloped Glasgow was.



David Smith's Plan of the City of Glasgow, 1828 (fig. 2)

However, by 1828, the city underwent a great transformation. This 1828 map of Glasgow showed that in less than 80 years, the town pushed its limits particularly in the West end but also to the South with new neighborhoods in the south in Gorbals; while the East-End near Glasgow Green was characterized by textile production, the West end developed first pushed by the elite's drive of a residential neighborhood.

In 1755, Glasgow had 31 700 inhabitants and 147 000 in 1821²². The expansion of Glasgow and its emergence as a commercial center not only increased the population of Glasgow but attracted new strata of people. In 1750, the population of Glasgow was mainly university professors, merchants and manufacturer. By 1770s Glasgow population diversified to correspond to the demand of a new urban elite. John's Tait Directory of 1783 and Jones's Directory of 1787 showed the increase of artisans that made new products, of both a luxurious and fashionable nature, such as hat makers, wig-makers, bakers...²³ This new population

²² Scottish Population Statistics: Including Webster's Analysis of Population 1755 (Edinburgh: Printed by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1952)

²³ (11) Facsimile title page - Towns > Glasgow > 1783 - John Tait's directory for the City of Glasgow ... also for the towns of Paisley, Greenock, Port-Glasgow, and Kilmarnock, from the 15th May, 1783, to the 15th May 1784, etc. - Scottish Directories - National Library of Scotland. En ligne : <https://digital.nls.uk/directories/browse/archive/85274941> [consulté le 22 avril 2021].

cohabited daily with the urban elites and sometimes even interacted with them socially in the clubs of Glasgow. The redefinition of the urban population can be found in other European cities in the 18th century both in Northern and Southern Europe. Thus, it is necessary to understand who frequented the clubs and who can be considered as the urban elite from c.1750 to c.1830.

Chapter 1: Embracing the life of the gentleman.

The sociological definition of the gentleman evolved throughout the period. The first chapter will be an attempt to prove that the social practices of the clubs of Glasgow gave a better understanding of who was the Glaswegian gentleman.

In 1997, François-Joseph Ruggiu published a book on elites and medium-sized towns in the 17th and 18th centuries, which constituted a comparative study of the French nobility and the English gentry. By comparing the evolution of the society of the cities of Chester, Canterbury, Abbeville and Alençon, he nuanced Peter Borsay's analysis of the elites in British cities in the 17th and 18th centuries. François-Joseph Ruggiu has shown that Borsay's term of a "renaissance" to qualify the 18th century cities implied that they were in recession before the end of the 17th century. His work showed that the city had important activity even before the period and were frequented by aristocratic elites. He explored the category of the gentry and showed that the 18th century city was a driver of social mobility. He underlined the fluidity of the notion of gentry in Britain and thus showed the trajectories of individuals that joined the highest social classes. However, he underlined the disparity of these classes and the existence of sub-categories within this subset of the gentry.

François-Joseph Ruggiu looked back at the genesis of the urban elite and showed the importance of getting involved in the city affairs to uplift itself to the gentry in the 17th century. He underlined this activity especially for the merchants who used this strategy to assert their position and distinguished themselves from the middle group.²⁴ The commitments in the municipality of the town can be found in the families of the members of Glasgow clubs. For

(7) Title page - Towns > Glasgow > 1789 - Reprint of Jones's directory; or, Useful pocket companion for the year 1789 - Scottish Directories - National Library of Scotland. En ligne : <https://digital.nls.uk/directories/browse/archive/85273376> [consulté le 22 avril 2021].

²⁴ RUGGIU, François-Joseph. *Les élites et les villes moyennes en France et en Angleterre (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*. [s.l.] : L'Harmattan, 1997. 358 p. 137

instance, George Oswald (1735-1819) son of a reverend, was a tobacco merchant, he also assumed political commitment as he was appointed Lord rector of the University in 1797. This position abled him to control the policy within the University and confirmed his importance in the city. However, François-Joseph Ruggiu showed that getting involved in city affairs was no longer essential to be considered as gentry in the eighteenth century, and was rather defined to the extent in which individuals were able to sustain a certain and substantial lifestyle and the value of their profession. He built on Peter Borsay's assertion that British society distinguished itself by cultural practices, but he added that this shift from a civic to a more cultural gentility occurred more in the second half of the eighteenth century. This fluidity can be seen in the membership of Glasgow's clubs, but also that individuals continued to be relatively involved in the affairs of the city, and especially that the clubs were a way for them to continue to be involved in the affairs of the city, especially after 1780.

The term of "gentleman" underwent a semantic shift throughout the 18th century.²⁵ At the beginning of the 17th century the term of esquire was carried by the British nobility. However, in the 18th century, new profiles adopted this title in front of their name. Thus, in the 18th century, and particularly closer to the end of the century, the gentry was a large and complex group that had to be understood as a social status. It was not enough to have a title, to be born in a landed gentry family, or to be wealthy, the title was also attached to an enlightened education and the capacity to insert oneself into society. Thus, this enlarged definition allowed Ruggiu to include merchants, and liberal professions as a sub-category of the gentry, the pseudo-gentry. However, according to him they constituted a minority group in the category. Applying this definition to Glasgow during this period permits to take this definition even further. First, the commercial character of the city made the merchants the main group within the clubs. Second, the sources always used the term gentleman to describe the members of the clubs, even when the members did not officially bear the title. This invites, as Ruggiu suggested it, to reconsider the idea that only those who bear the title in official documents could be considered the urban elite in the period.²⁶ Thus, I will argue that the clubs of Glasgow from 1750 to 1830 participated in this redefinition of the gentry by allowing members to adopt a certain lifestyle. However, I will pay attention to two points: first that this definition changed

²⁵ PAUL, LANGFORD. A POLITE AND COMMERCIAL PEOPLE: ENGLAND 1727-1783}. REPRINT. OXFORD : OUP OXFORD, 1992. 840

²⁶ RUGGIU, François-Joseph. *Les élites et les villes moyennes en France et en Angleterre (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*. *Op. cit.*

over the course of the century by including new categories; and the second is that there were differences between the individuals who fit into this definition. Therefore, it is necessary to the social origins of the members of the clubs in order to determine in what way they constitute a diversified urban elite.

The members of Glasgow clubs

This chapter will adopt the methods of François-Joseph Ruggiu to establish a sociological profile of the gentry in Glasgow to determine in what extent the members of Glasgow clubs fitted in that definition. He has shown that the concept of gentry was fluid in Britain but complicated over time. My lack of access to the archives that could have informed in details the origins of the members, made it difficult to establish the evolution of the sociological profile, except for those of certain members and notably those of the Board of Green Cloath. However, each member used the clubs to expand their social skills but also fulfill their personal interests. I chose to approach the profile of the member by their occupation however there was social status distinction within the categories of each profession. It allows to account for the diversity of individuals in the clubs but also the disparity within the gentry category.

Professors

The first category of members were the professors of the University of Glasgow. The first club that John Strang described was the Anderston club that professors of the University founded in 1745-50. It was inspired by the long-standing academic sociability which corresponded to the inclination of professors to debate with their colleagues about various subjects. In 1750, the professors of the University of Glasgow lived on the campus and John Strang mentioned their daily debate within the walls of the college. And yet, they desired to recreate debate not only outside the formality of the university but outside the city boundaries. They met in the village of Anderston, which was a burgh of the local barony at that time. The professors therefore felt the need to meet in a different setting that allowed them to establish closer ties with their colleagues, a bond of friendship. And yet, they did not only meet among themselves, they also frequented other clubs during the whole period and therefore participated to make the associative life of the Glasgow clubs particularly prolific. The profiles of the professors were quite diverse, many of them like Thomas Hamilton, had fathers who were themselves professors. But others had fathers with different profiles such as Dr. Joseph Black who was the

son of a wine merchant. Most of the professors studied at the University of Glasgow or in Edinburgh. They came from many walks of life such as the landed gentry and even down to the simple gentleman of more modest origins. For instance, Dr. Robert Simson, professor of mathematics and leader of the Anderston Club (1745-?) was the son of John Simson of Kirton-Hall. Others such as Alexander Wilson (1714-1786), member of the Anderston club and the Literary society, professor of astronomy, born in St Andrews, was the son of Patrick Wilson a town clerk. In addition, his profile highlighted the variety of careers that could be held by the professors of the University and, in particular, business careers. Thus, before being a professor of astronomy Alexander Wilson was a surgeon, but he also built astronomy instruments and then oversaw a type foundry business.

Professors at the University of Glasgow could rely on the patronage system to help them rise in society. It also helped them to secure a position at the university as the selection of professors was very political at this time. It was thus essential for them to build a network that helped them advance their careers. These connections were built within the clubs of Glasgow. Thus, the Glasgow clubs were as much a means for them to gather among themselves, as in the case of the Anderston Club, or the Considerable Club, whose purpose was to improve or develop the university's courses by discussing them among professors, as to mixed with other social categories, such as the Literary Society, which welcomed professors, reverends and merchants.

Surgeon and physician

Linked to the professors of the University, other members of the clubs of Glasgow were the surgeons and physicians. At the end of the 18th century, the University of Glasgow has established itself as a center of medical studies in Scotland and in Britain. In 1794, the Glasgow Royal Infirmary was founded and used for the training of the future doctors that studied at the University of Glasgow. This context explained the large number of surgeons and physicians in the clubs. In addition, some of them were both in a medical career and professors at the university. The clubs were also an opportunity to exchange new ideas about science innovations. Thus, John Strang mentioned that the selective Medical club was the opportunity for the surgeons and doctors to discuss their opinions on improvement in medicine. Thus, one of the members, Dr William Nimmo was the first doctor to create a vaccine for a virus in 1800.

However, John Strang insisted on the convivial reason of these reunions and the various subjects mentioned within the club allowing them to be but “men of the world”.²⁷ Furthermore, Jacqueline Jenkinson showed that clubs gave the opportunity to physician and surgeon to gather instead of recreating the competition that existed between the two categories in the 18th century.²⁸ As a matter of fact, there was a status distinction between the two professions that led to resentment within the field. Adam Smith mentioned the struggle of the renown of surgeon within his correspondences.²⁹ In 18th century Glasgow, a physician completed his education at the university and received an MD while a surgeon engaged in apprenticeship and then got a license from the Faculty of the Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow. Scottish surgeon-apothecaries managed medical conditions, performed small operations on patients, and sold drugs.³⁰ Physicians were more renowned and could accomplish high risk operations. However, social mobility was possible for surgeon and, especially in Glasgow, since the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeon founded in 1599 granted them legitimacy.³¹ For instance, Dr John Moore (1729-1802) son of a minister, member of the Hodge Podge, and literary started as a surgeon with an education in Glasgow. He became renowned after being a surgeon for the Earl of Albermale, British ambassador. His skills and his special connections with the aristocratic milieu allowed him to advance his career and be admitted to the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow.

Officers

The clubs of Glasgow were also frequented by military officers. There were different military ranks frequenting the clubs from lieutenant to general. In the 18th century the British officer group recruited from the Scottish gentry classes and in particular from the sons of Highlanders.³² The Napoleonic wars diversified the recruitment of officers from the peers to the sons of the pseudo gentry. Stana Nenadic showed that there was an increase in the

²⁷ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.* P 249

²⁸ WALLACE, Mark C., Jane RENDALL, Christopher A. WHATLEY, et al. *Association and Enlightenment: Scottish Clubs and Societies, 1700-1830*. [s.l.] : Bucknell University Press, 2020. p 94 p.

²⁹ SMITH, Adam. *The Correspondence of Adam Smith*. New e. édition. Indianapolis : Liberty Fund Inc, 1987. 495 p. p176

³⁰ MULCAHY, Ursula Mary. « How Did Eighteenth-century Scottish Surgeons Earn a Living? », *Social History of Medicine*. 1 février 2021, vol.34 n° 1. p. 305-325.

³¹ KORDESCH. *Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow, 1599-1858: The History of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, Volume 1*. [s.l.] : A&C Black, 1999. 505 p.

³² COOKSON, J. E. et Reader in History and Head of Department J. E. COOKSON. *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815*. [s.l.] : Clarendon Press, 1997. 308 p.

attraction of a military career for the sons of the highland gentry.³³ The army was the guarantee of a successful career that did not require further education.³⁴ Those officers from the Highlands gathered in Glasgow clubs and especially Gaelic clubs, an association of Highlanders in Glasgow celebrating the Celtic culture. Officers frequented other clubs less honorable such as the what you please club, renowned for being frequented by “military gentlemen.”³⁵ It was common for officers to move to the city to lead the life of gentlemen. In addition, Stena Nenadic underlined that officers tend to keep their titles all their life. The social origins of officers were diversified even if it was required to pay for the highest grades, which favored the landed gentry at the highest positions of the British army. For instance, Archibald Campbell of Blythswood (1763-1838), member of the Hodge Podge and the Board of Green Cloath, he was the second son of James Campbell of Blythswood, an estate near Glasgow, and of Henrietta Dunlop of Garnkirk.³⁶ He started as a captain in 1790 and ended up lieutenant-colonel in 1803. He developed a political career to control Renfrew, a Glasgow borough that he represented at the Parliament. In contrast, James Grahame (?-1820), member of the what you please and the Board of Green Cloath, was the son of the minister of Bonhill. He was a lieutenant-colonel who married the daughter of John Buchanan of Ardoch, Member of Parliament for Dumbartonshire.

There was an increase in the number of officers attending clubs in Glasgow after 1780, which corresponded to the American Revolutionary war and the Napoleonic Wars. Thus, the clubs of Glasgow were infused with a strong patriotic feeling and allowed the officers, but also other members, to express their patriotism especially during the Napoleonic wars.

Merchants

François-Joseph Ruggiu enlarged the definition of gentry to the merchants. He reconsidered the work of Historians such as Lawrence Stone who rejected the merchants of the gentry category. According to Stone “These were men of limited means, who were actively engaged in the retail trade and who probably did not own an acre of farmland, let alone a country

³³ NENADIC, Stana. « The Impact of the Military Profession on Highland Gentry Families, c. 1730 – 1830 », *The Scottish Historical Review*. avril 2006, vol.85 n° 1. p. 75-99.

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs*. Op. cit. P267

³⁶ CAMPBELL, Archibald (?1763-1838), of Blythswood, Renfrew | *History of Parliament Online*. En ligne : http://www.histparl.ac.uk/volume/1820-1832/member/campbell-archibald-1763-1838#footnote2_wxmaje [consulté le 26 avril 2021].

house. They did not know Latin. They wouldn't dream of walking around town with a sword at their side and would have been completely lost if someone had challenged them to a duel. Sociologically, they could not be considered gentlemen even if they called themselves so in public acts".³⁷ However, Ruggiu nuanced this assumption studying social mobility ascendants or descendants in Chester and Canterbury in the 17th century.³⁸ He evoked in particular the cases of the cadets in the landed gentry who found themselves penniless and compelled to work because the English law favors the eldest in the inheritance system since the Restoration. Many rich merchants of Glasgow belonged to landed gentry that received small amount of capital after their father's death. The author of the Minutes of the Board of Green Cloath mentioned this situation in Glasgow that presented some specificities.

"It is easy to understand how, in the eighteenth century, the ranks of commerce were so largely recruited from gentle families. Scotland had always been a poor country, and it must ever have been difficult to find something for younger sons to do. In the fifteenth century, those for whom there was no fighting or robbing to do at home, went to France to fight the English, and gain either a fair lordship, or a soldier's grave. In the sixteenth the new world was opening, and there were Spain and the Devil to fight. In the seventeenth century thousands of Scotsmen, besides Captain Dugald Dalgetty, fought as soldiers of fortune all over Europe. In the eighteenth century hard blows were not the same royal road to fortune, but the Union had opened the Colonial trade of England to all Scotsmen. The men who, had they lived earlier, would have fought at Verneuil, in the Low Countries, or at Lutzen, dashed into trade with the same courage as they would have shown in battle. The result was wonderful. From being one of the poorest countries in Europe, Scotland has become one of the richest, and this we owe in great measure to such men as the members of the Board of Green Cloth and their compeers."

It was common for cadets to engage in the trade of tobacco or of sugar with North and South America. Some even went to Virginia or in the West Indies and then came back to Glasgow to make the city benefit from their fortune but also to secure their social mobility. The definition given by Stone was also too restrictive since this category of merchants possessed lands in

³⁷ STONE, Lawrence. *An Open Elite?: England 1540-1880*. Abridged e. édition. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1984. 340 p. p151

³⁸ RUGGIU, François-Joseph. *Les élites et les villes moyennes en France et en Angleterre (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*. Op. cit.57

Virginia and in the West Indies. They also had large mansions built on lands around Glasgow that allowed them to leave a legacy to their children.

In line with Ruggiu's conclusions, we can develop the hypothesis that the group of merchants could correspond to the definition of gentlemen. Their profile was heterogenous. Thanks to its successful trade, the number of merchants was overrepresented in the clubs. However, they had different positions. Also, there was a difference between the tobacco lords or the sugar merchants, and the small merchants in the 18th century.³⁹ For instance, John Campbell of Clathick (1721-1804) was the son of Archibald Coates, a merchant-burgess who married Jane Campbell, heiress of Clathick. He was a tobacco merchant and Lord Provost of Glasgow in 1784.⁴⁰ He was a very wealthy man and was part of the landed gentry, he owned a large land in East Kilpatrick, West Dunbartonshire, near Glasgow. Wealthy merchants had a different lifestyle from other merchants, traders that frequented the clubs of Glasgow. They could be spirit dealer such as James Stewart, member of the morning and evening club, or Robert Robertson, member of the what you please club.

In addition, the special context of Glasgow helped to reconsider Stone's assertion of merchants being non educated. In 1966, W.M Mathew studied the album matriculation of the students of the University of Glasgow from 1740 to 1839. The matriculation of the students of the master of arts are a valuable source to study the social history of the students, because most of the students of other disciplines such as Law or medicine started with an Arts courses. They provided the social origin of the students with the occupation of their father and their profession after graduation.⁴¹ He underlined the range of class that attended the University in the period and in particular the sons of the individuals corresponding at the categories "Industry and commerce". Some contemporaries, such as Adam Smith, wrote about the education of the merchants of Glasgow and compared it to English merchants. They said that Glasgow merchants were well-educated, which allow them to carry on elaborate conversations in the clubs. However, WM Mathew underlined that sons of merchants did not attend the University for a long period. It was not unusual for them to go to pursue their

³⁹ *Ibid.* p89

⁴⁰ *Clathick Estate Papers - Archives Hub*. En ligne : <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb1830-cla> [consulté le 25 avril 2021].

⁴¹ MATHEW, W. M. « THE ORIGINS AND OCCUPATIONS OF GLASGOW STUDENTS, 1740-1839* », *Past & Present*. 1 avril 1966, vol.33 n° 1. p. 74-94.

education before entering into business.⁴²In addition, he suggested that they probably continued to complete their education due to contact with professors or other professions in the clubs of Glasgow. The sons of merchants went to the University to network for their future career but also for their social life. Those links could be found within Glasgow clubs afterward.

Lawyers and reverends

The clubs of Glasgow were also frequented by men from liberal professions and reverends. The cadets of the landed gentry had also the opportunity to pursue those careers. Their education enabled them to carry liberal professions in law or church professions.⁴³First, there were advocates within the clubs and especially at the beginning of the period in 1750 in the Hodge Podge (1750-1900) and Literary society of Glasgow (1752-18?). This could be explained by famous classes taught at the University. Lawyer members of Glasgow clubs had varied social origins. For instance, John Orr of Barrowfield (?-1803), member of the Hodge Podge was the son of William of Barrowfield esquire, he inherited Kings Bay and Brotherfield in the West Indies that his grandfather John Orr of Barrowfield (1685-1744) purchased. His family was engaged in city affairs since his grandfather, a merchant, was Bailie of Glasgow in 1719 and Lord Rector of the University in 1731, 1735 and 1741.⁴⁴ Robert Grahame of Whitehill (1759-1851), member of the Shuna club, was the son of Thomas Grahame, a lawyer, writer of the signet, he was Lord Provost of Glasgow in 1833.⁴⁵

Second, the clubs of Glasgow were also frequented by clergymen and ministers. Ralph McLean explained the presence of the clergy within the clubs mixing with merchants and professors to the place of the University of Glasgow in the associational life of the city.⁴⁶ The contact of the different categories in the University invited students (such as sons of merchants) to have access to subjects such as theology and subsequently desired discuss it within clubs afterward. Ralph McLean underlined that the specific relationship between professors, merchants, and ministers contributed to develop less rigid vision of religion in Glasgow and in the university.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ RUGGIU, François-Joseph. *Les élites et les villes moyennes en France et en Angleterre (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*. *Op. cit.* p155

⁴⁴ <https://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/getperson.php?personID=I19307&tree=CC>

⁴⁵ *Robert Grahame of Whitehill*. En ligne : <https://www.geni.com/people/Robert-Grahame-of-Whitehill/6000000018173540148> [consulté le 27 avril 2021].

⁴⁶ WALLACE, Mark C., Jane RENDALL, Christopher A. WHATLEY, et al. *Association and Enlightenment*. *Op. cit.* p 80

Reverends had varied social origins such as being the sons of merchants such as William Craig, literary society, and his time at the University of Glasgow allowed him to secure strong connections with important man such as Francis Hutcheson. His son William Craig also member of the Literary society but also Hodge Podge, became a judge. Reverend William Craig helped establishing a more liberal instruction of religion at the University.⁴⁷

Artisans, writers

In the 1780s the clubs became frequented by middle-class categories such as artisans and writers. The clubs of Glasgow welcomed booksellers, jewelers, masons, bankers, hat makers, brewers, bagpipers and writers. They answered the desire for fashion of the inhabitants of the 18th century Scottish towns.⁴⁸As Glasgow expanded, its wealth increased, and new products were made to satisfy the demand of an urban elite trying to show their wealth. The artisans such as hat makers found a good clientele and became successful. For instance, Thomas Dunlop Douglas (1775-1869), member of the Board of Green Cloath, was the son of John Dunlop Douglas, a merchant of Glasgow.⁴⁹ He started as a hat maker and then an insurance broker and a merchant. His connection with important families in Glasgow and his success in the hat making business allowed him to rise in society.

Frequentering clubs was a way to adopt the ways of life of a gentleman by learning their codes and values. Gentlemen clubs in Glasgow gave an important place to literary production and thus attracted writers and poets. The frequentation of writers in the clubs has been discussed extensively by the historiography of British writers, notably as a means of presenting their works before publishing them, to check the reception of their work but also for their promotion.⁵⁰ Most recently Rhona Brown studied the literary culture in the Edinburgh club, Cape club, and proved that clubs act as support and muse for writer and poets. The convivial spirit of the clubs gave inspiration to the writers and allowed them to secure patronage.⁵¹ The poets, writers, bards, and musicians (bagpipers) had an important role in the clubs, and they

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p 85

⁴⁸ FOYSTER, Elizabeth et Christopher A. WHATLEY (eds.). *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600 to 1800*. [s.l.] : Edinburgh University Press, 2010. En ligne : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt1g0b6j7> [consulté le 26 avril 2021].

⁴⁹ « Minute book of the Board of Green Cloth 1809-1820 : with notices of the members ». p. 230. P 152

⁵⁰ WALLACE, Mark C., Jane RENDALL, Christopher A. WHATLEY, et al. *Association and Enlightenment*. *Op. cit.* p278 mcelroy

⁵¹ *Ibid.* p130

were part of the club. Thus, the bagpipers of the Gaelic club were part of the club but were also in charge of the atmosphere. Neil McLean (fig.3), originally from the isle of Mull and soldier in the Young Royal Highland Regiment of foot,⁵² was paid by the club 5 shillings to entertain them.⁵³



Neil MacLean, Piper to the Highland Society of London engraving after the portrait by William Craig, c. 1784⁵⁴ (fig. 3)

Thus, differences within occupational categories were representative of differences within the gentry category itself. I have organized the social profile of individuals by their occupation because that is how they are presented in the sources, but it is clear that the differences within these categories were important. Qualifying members by their professions tended to make the origins of individuals disappear, especially those of the landed gentry. Nevertheless, the landed gentry did not disappear from Glasgow in the 18th century but were reorganized. In this dissertation I have tried to take examples in order to identify trends and show the heterogeneity of the gentry, but if the social identification of new social classes is possible, a

⁵² DICKSON, Dr Joshua. *The Highland Bagpipe: Music, History, Tradition*. [s.l.] : Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013. 408 p.

⁵³ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs*. *Op. cit.* p 108

⁵⁴ *National Museums of Scotland - Neil MacLean, Piper to the Highland Society of London*. En ligne : <http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-579-562-C> [consulté le 26 avril 2021].

more complete sociology of the members would certainly show that the origins of the gentleman's attending the clubs were often old families with land.

Residences

18th century elites were increasingly settling in Glasgow; and it is necessary to explore whether they adopted residential logics in order to question the notion of social segregation in urban space in the cities of the 18th century and pre industrialization.⁵⁵ This notion is even more important in Glasgow since historians have shown that in the 19th century the town became segregated in these neighborhoods. Nevertheless, the disparity of the social origins of the members of Glasgow club can also be found in their residences. The Post Office Directories allow to trace the residential logics of the members of Glasgow clubs over this time.⁵⁶ They provided the name of the person, their occupation, and their address. Nevertheless, these valuable sources also involve some difficulties. The first being that it did not elucidate on the addresses of all of the inhabitants, it focused mainly on people with jobs but much less so on people without. The second was the significant number of homonyms in the period. The members of the clubs often had the same name and shared this name with several people in the directory. It is therefore necessary to cross-check the sources of the clubs in order to be certain that this is the person, which is why this study will be limited to a few individuals. Directories did not begin until 1781 which makes it difficult to examine the residential logics before this period, which will rely on maps and information from sources. And finally, directories excluded labor categories because most of the time it was necessary to pay a fee to appear in the pages, and thus also rarely mentioned women, usually they were engaged in the hospitality market. And yet, they provide access to the street rather than the neighborhood which allows to have a more detailed insight on the addresses and their evolution over time. The street seemed to be a more useful measurement unity to understand the progression of the city. I will rely on the Directory of John Tait, a publisher in Glasgow, that provided details of the "gentlemen, clergy, merchants, traders, mechanics and all other

⁵⁶ *Overview of Scottish Post Office directories - National Library of Scotland*. En ligne : <https://digital.nls.uk/directories/about-directories/index.html> [consulté le 22 avril 2021].

persons in public business” from “the 15th May 1783, to the 15th May 1784”.⁵⁷The second being Jones’s Directory, for the year 1789.⁵⁸

First, it is striking to notice that the members of the clubs lived in varied places in the city. They were scattered throughout the city, especially in 1750. It is difficult to determine the addresses of the members at the beginning of the period studied in 1750. However, the addresses of the professors could be found in the maps of John McArthur (fig.4). The professors lived within the walls of the University and on the lands of the University. Yet, there were some differences between them. While some of them such as James Williamson (?-1795) professor of mathematics, living in New Court within the University. Others had residences within the University in the college court and outside had lands such as Archibald Arthur. For instance, John Anderson (1726-1796) lived on the college property but also had lands at the East of Trongate street.

The gentry hence lived next to varied social categories in the 1750s. John Strang conveyed this idea by describing the characteristics of Stockwell street and emphasizing on the contact between the gentry and the other social groups in the residences.

“While Stockwell-street could thus boast of many excellent and comfortable mansions, which altered circumstances have now either swept away or sadly metamorphosed, it also partook of the mixed character of the thoroughfares belonging to small towns. In the immediate vicinity of a good house and garden, for example, there was occasionally found the thatched abode of the humblest of the citizens.”⁵⁹

From the map of John Mc Arthur (fig.4), I attempted to retrace the residences of the members.

⁵⁷ « (11) Facsimile title page - Towns > Glasgow > 1783 - John Tait’s directory for the City of Glasgow ... also for the towns of Paisley, Greenock, Port-Glasgow, and Kilmarnock, from the 15th May, 1783, to the 15th May 1784, etc. - Scottish Directories - National Library of Scotland ». *Op. cit.*

⁵⁸ « (7) Title page - Towns > Glasgow > 1789 - Reprint of Jones’s directory; or, Useful pocket companion for the year 1789 - Scottish Directories - National Library of Scotland ». *Op. cit.*

⁵⁹ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs*. *Op. cit.*P227

Residences 1750-1778 (fig.5):



This fragmentation increased after 1780 (fig.6) . If the merchants concentrated their economic activity in the neighborhoods of Trongate and Gallowgate street, they did not all live in the same place. In particular, the richest merchants who built country houses. They moved away from the city center to have more space and benefitted from fresh air. They were hence able to buy country houses (see Blythwood) which were a sign of wealth but also that they were reintegrating into the landed gentry by buying land and being able to leave a legacy to their children.

Residences 1783 (fig.6):

Residences 1783

- 21: Gallowgate Street
- 27,29: Trongate Street
- 28: Bridgegate Street
- 20, 25,26: Queen Street
- 31: Virginia Street



There was therefore no residential logic. Nevertheless, some places in the city were arranged following social categories, for example for the craftsmen for whom it was essential to have their activity in the center of Glasgow. In addition, some spaces in the new town of Glasgow were dedicated to the comfort of a new urban elite. In 1772, the wealthiest inhabitants pressured the municipality to build new streets on the West end on the land of Ramshorn. New districts attracted the people and a certain logic of regrouping could be noticed between them especially in the new districts.⁶⁰ Thus, George Square is a good example of the transformation of the city to satisfy the demand for the embellishment of the town and residences for the wealthier categories of the city. The aim of George square was to provide a residential neighborhood with private gardens close to the center to distract the urban elite. It opened in 1787 as part of the plan of 1772 a new town draw by the surveyor James Barry.

⁶⁰ BBC - History - British History in depth: 18th-century Glasgow. En ligne : http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/civil_war_revolution/scotland_glasgow_01.shtml [consulté le 27 avril 2021].

Thus, around this residential area, members of the clubs and especially rich merchants looking for space to build comfortable houses and have gardens not far from the city center and social life, as the fig.6 highlights.

Residences 1783

- 21: Gallowgate Street
- 27,29: Trongate Street
- 28: Bridgegate Street
- 20, 25,26: Queen Street
- 31: Virginia Street



Finally, club members tended to move to these residential areas when they were successful.

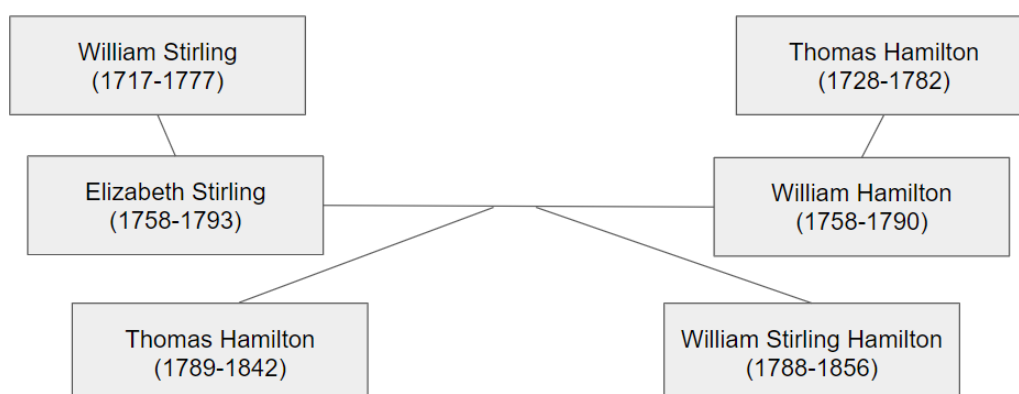
Alliances

According to Ruggiu, marriages were a key milestone in the process of urbanization of the elites. Alliances with local aristocracy was important in the process of social ascension.⁶¹The clubs of Glasgow allowed different categories of people to mingle and therefore secure an important position in society. Ralph McLean highlighted the mix of ministers, professors, and merchants in the clubs of Glasgow in the 18th century.⁶² It was the case of the Stirling-Hamilton family.

⁶¹ WALLACE, Mark C., Jane RENDALL, Christopher A. WHATLEY, et al. *Association and Enlightenment. Op. cit.*

⁶² *Ibid.* p150

Stirling-Hamilton



William Stirling (1717-1777), was the son of John Stirling (1677-1736) a tobacco merchant in Glasgow. He started with the business of printing cloth for the Glasgow market and then expanded his business and became one of the richest people in Glasgow at that period. He was a founding member of the Hodge Podge with Thomas Hamilton. Thomas Hamilton (1728-1782) was a professor of anatomy at the University of Glasgow, he was the Head Clerk of the University in 1770. In addition of being a member of the Hodge Podge he was also in the Anderston club and the Literary society. His son, William Hamilton (1758-1790), married William Stirling's daughter, Elizabeth Stirling (1758-1793). William Hamilton was professor of anatomy and botany. He was member of the Literary society and of the What you please club. Together they had two sons, William Stirling Hamilton (1788-856), a philosopher and metaphysician, and Thomas Hamilton (1789-1842), a soldier and a writer, member of What you please club. He was the author of *The Youth and Manhood of Cyril Thornton* published in 1827.⁶³ This book was a fiction about the youth of Cyril Thornton, an officer in the Peninsular war. It was inspired by his own life as he fought in the Peninsular war. Even if this book was a fiction, it described the merchant life of Glasgow in the early years of the 19th century. Describing the social life of his uncle and his own social relations. As he adopted the position of a stranger arriving in the city it allows to get detailed descriptions of Glasgow habits and social interactions and the use of the first person in the text offered his perception and emotions about the city and its social interactions. It reveals a new sociability that can be

⁶³ HAMILTON, Thomas. *The Youth and Manhood of Cyril Thornton ...* [s.l.] : Nabu Press, 2012. 258 p.

described as two distinct generations of sociability. Thus, the social mobility of the family can be seen in the new clubs they frequented. From 1780, William Hamilton and Thomas Hamilton Junior were well established in the social life of Glasgow. They were both members of the What you please club, that met in richer places of Glasgow that were marked by a greater social distinction. The heterogeneity of the clubs of Glasgow encouraged marriage between their children. Leah Leneman highlighted the complexity of the alliances in the 18th century Scotland.⁶⁴ She underlined the fickleness of the social status in that period which could see some families joining high ranks of society while others could be downgraded. Thus, it is more relevant to study the social status of the individuals through their lifestyle and their social life. Being a gentleman was also a behavior to adopt. However, the difference between the members within the classes of the gentry implied that it was easier to maintain that lifestyle for one individual to another. These differences increased over time which impacted their social practices and the places they frequented in the city. Therefore, the time that they devoted to the club, their social life depended from one person to another too.

Timing and frequency

Exploring the notion of time around clubs is essential to understand the evolution of clubs and how the urban elite adapted their social practices according to their needs. In addition, it allows for the exploration of the experience of the members in clubs in their daily life, their movement in the city and their own relationship to time. Reconsidering the concept of Edward Thompson of pre industrialized times oriented following tasks, Christopher A. Whatley highlighted the importance of the time regulating life and particularly within town.⁶⁵ The start and the end of the day were announced by the melody of a piper, marking the beginning and the end of the work for the inhabitants of Glasgow. John Strang mentioned this particular trait in Glasgow:

“there was a regular town piper elected and paid by the Corporation. [...] ordaining him heirby to goe throw the toune every day, morning and evining, or at such times the Magistrates sall

⁶⁴ LENEMAN, Leah. « “No Unsuitable Match”: Defining Rank in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Scotland », *Journal of Social History*. 2000, vol.33 n° 3. p. 665-682.

⁶⁵ FOYSTER, Elizabeth et Christopher A. WHATLEY (eds.). *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600 to 1800*. Op. cit. n p 287

appoynt, using his office, for quhilk they are to pay him yearlie during his service thereintill, the sowme of ane hundreth marks Scots money, at twa termes,"⁶⁶

The day was regulated by work but also by leisure which distinguished more and more from the work sphere, especially thanks to the clubs. The members of the clubs of Glasgow spent more time during the day for leisure and their meeting over the period.

In the 1750, the meeting hours for the clubs of Glasgow was 2pm or 3 pm corresponding to the dinner hour in that period. Indeed, club members dined with each other instead of their families especially when the frequency of club meetings increased at the end of the century.

The Anderston club met around 2 pm and 3pm and the Hodge Podge too. Even if the Anderston meeting could eventually led to supper later on, it had to finish early because the professors had to return to their residences early. John Strang explained it by the lack of city infrastructures to fix the darkness of the streets of Glasgow in the 1750s.⁶⁷ Craig Koslofsky exploring the representation of the night in early modern Europe mentalities, highlighted the fear of the night and its association with impolite behaviours.⁶⁸ The eagerness of the members of the Anderston club to come back early to their home could suggest their will to adopt restraint behaviours. However, street lighting was displayed in 1780 in Glasgow in the merchant city from the Tron Steeple and Stockwell street.⁶⁹ Thanks to this establishment, the clubs could push their hours of meeting. From 1770-1780 the meeting hours for the clubs of Glasgow started at 6 and 7 pm. It also corresponded to supper hours and the evolution of eating habits in the urban elite. Therefore, it went from a dinner which was composed from a large meal and consumed around noon to 2 pm in Glasgow to a supper, from 7 pm and later which was an evening meal which was supposed to be lighter. However, supper in Glasgow clubs took more time and could be composed of multiples dishes. By pushing the hour of the dinner, they had more time to play cards, exchange news, gossips and interact with each other in smaller circles. Alain Cabantous in his ambitious work on the history of the night, showed that 18th century Europe cities developed a "market" of the nocturne leisure time.⁷⁰ However,

⁶⁶ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.* p. 109

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p29

⁶⁸ KOSLOFSKY, Craig. *Evening's Empire.* Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2011. 448 p.

⁶⁹ "When Glasgow's gas lamps went out for the last time. En ligne : <https://www.scotsman.com/whats-on/arts-and-entertainment/when-glasgows-gas-lamps-went-out-last-time-599108> [consulté le 23 avril 2021]. avril 2021].

⁷⁰ CABANTOUS, Alain. *Histoire de la nuit: Europe occidentale. XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle.* Paris : Fayard, 2009. 396 p.

some members devoted less or more time to their social life. The time spent in the clubs depended on the occupation of the members. For instance, surgeons and physicians rarely stayed later than 10 pm in order to have their full senses for their patients.⁷¹ Furthermore, the family situation also affected the time spent in the club. Thus, bachelors tended to stay longer at the club, late in the night. For instance, John Strang mentioned that the what you please club included a *“class which the French call garçons volages— to that class, in fact, who really loved fun and frolic, jest and song, geggery and gossip, and who, moreover, were bound neither by their conscience, nor their inclination, nor their domestic arrangements, to be at home at what was in those days still known as " elders' hours.”*⁷² Later hours were therefore associated with the prospect of adopting less respectable behaviors. It encouraged members to inebriety and debauchery. Alain Cabantous also underlined that late hours allowed younger men to escape the regulations and even challenge it. The night became a learning space where young men, such as student, could tested limits and played with norms.⁷³ One of the clubs described by John Strang illustrated this experience time: the Banditi club. It was a club of student and young men who gathered around 1808 with the purpose of roaming the streets of Glasgow, in search of pranks to play. One of their favorite pastimes was to challenge the Highlander watchman who regulated the streets by night in that period. Playing with the superstition of the Highlander they recreated the *“Stamford ghost”, a headless horseman.* John Strang narrated in details this anecdote:

“on a dark night, in the month of December, a little before the Cathedral bell had sounded the witching hour, the Bandits, with their steeds under the guidance of Munn, had assembled at Scarlet-hall. The muster-roll of the nine who had volunteered to do duty was called. [...] the horses' feet were soon shod, or rather tied up, in cork soles ; their ears were already glowing with phosphoric light ; a white sheet was next cast over the body of each steed; while the nine riders, equipped in white drawers, shirt, and night- cap, leaped on their backs, ready for a start. [...] The mysterious horsemen proceeded onward along the Gallowgate, slow and noiseless, like the hunters amid the floating mists of the Black Forest, in the famous Walpurgis Night, producing in the minds of those who, through the murky gloom, might espy them from the foot pavement, a degree of superstitious awe and fear which may be better imagined than

⁷¹ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.*

⁷² *Ibid.* p 268

⁷³ CABANTOUS, Alain. *Histoire de la nuit. Op. cit.*

described. Suffice it to say, that the aged guardians of the night, for whose especial benefit the pantomime was got up, were all in the greatest possible agitation and alarm — believing, no doubt, that the sight was supernatural; and, under this feeling, each took to instant flight up the first close which offered shelter.”⁷⁴

This prank symbolizes the opposition between an old time, with superstitious highlanders, and the new generation, embodied by the young people who played with old believes. Clubs represented the desire of the development of a new urban elite taking their autonomy and freeing itself from governance. Y aurait-il des exemples de ce genre dans les Nuits de Paris de Rétif de la Bretonne ? C'est toujours important d'insérer quand vous le pouvez des points de comparaison, ça valorise votre travail

Occurrence of clubs meeting

The occurrence of the clubs meeting informed the implementation of the club in Glasgow and its success among the urban elite. In the beginning, clubs met once or twice a week. Thus, the Anderston club met every Saturday, the Literary society met every Friday, the Hodge podge met every fortnight on Wednesday and every other Tuesday. From the late 1770s they met more regularly, most of the clubs met every day of the week. Some clubs continued to gather only once a week. It would not appear that the elites favoured a special day of the week to gather in the different clubs of Glasgow. Thus, while the literary society gathered Friday night, the Gaelic club met the first Thursday of the month. However, clubs did not meet on Sunday which was dedicated to the church and it was frowned upon to drink in a tavern.⁷⁵ The increasing occurrence of the clubs meeting showed the evolution of the time devoted to leisure by the elites. The weekly meeting of some clubs and the augmentation of the number of clubs allowed individuals to frequent more than one club. Over time, members of the clubs entered more and more the market of sociability and increased their social network more easily. However, the club lifestyle could be expensive, hence not every gentleman could afford it.

Moreover, the occurrence of clubs meeting indicated the club stage life. For some clubs such as the Gaelic club or the Medical club the scarcity of the meeting was a guarantee of formality,

⁷⁴ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.* p.350

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p.91

but for other it implied the decline of the club. The longevity of the Hodge Podge allows to trace the different phase of the club life. At first, the club gathered once a fortnight which corresponded to the stage of the birth of the club. Then, On 18th November 1789, when the club was well established, they should dine all year and suppressed the supper on winter, it corresponded to the peak of the club. Finally, from 1822, when it was decided that members should meet only twelve times a year, club life slowly declined. In 1839 they decided to reduced the number of the meeting to five a year, in 1850 three times, in 1867 only twice until eventually the club stopped and died around 1900.⁷⁶ It appears that the club changed it purpose when the activity declined. Being part of the Hodge Podge in 1820 was more a question of prestige rather than the need to socialize daily. Furthermore, at the peak of its activity the members initiated an Anniversary dinner to celebrate their association. The anniversary dinner remained long after the activity of the club declined. The practice of setting up an anniversary dinner was common in the clubs of Glasgow. It could be explained by their desire to make the club sacred. The anniversary dinner was an opportunity to recall memories of their past meetings, every member was present. When the club life declined the anniversary meeting was an excuse to keep the club alive, they usually celebrated the memory of the first members and the spirit of the club.

A social Season?

In Britain the social season was in winter from November to April. However, some clubs met the whole year in Glasgow, which helped to reconsider the idea that the cultural offer only intended to satisfy the needs of the landed gentry.⁷⁷ They were men who stayed in Glasgow were not affected by the phenomenon of the season, and they carried a social life even in the summer. It proved that the clubs were very diverse, and the frequentation of a same club could be diverse too. Nevertheless, there were more clubs and more activity during the social season in the winter which implied that the landed gentry was important in the club life of Glasgow. Thus, even the clubs which carried an activity in the summer were less frequent.

⁷⁶ *The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org].* En ligne : <https://www.worldcat.org/title/hodge-podge-club-1752-1900-compiled-from-the-records-of-the-club-by-tf-donald/oclc/887933103> [consulté le 28 avril 2021]. pp.7-8

⁷⁷ RUGGIU, François-Joseph. *Les élites et les villes moyennes en France et en Angleterre (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*. *Op. cit.* p172

John Strang thus mentioned that Glasgow society emigrated in the summer and that this seasonal movement slowed down the meetings of the clubs.⁷⁸

Not only did they participated in the social life within their circle by frequenting taverns, inns and restaurants later in the century, but some clubs also were at the origin of the social life of the city by organizing balls. The importance of balls as reinforcing social structures and relations in the 18th century suggests that the urban elite used social practices to assert their governance over the city. For instance, the Gaelic club used to organize a ball to celebrate the Celtic culture in Glasgow. They proudly wore the kilt right after it was authorized again in Scotland to wear it again in 1790. The Gaelic club organized balls during the social season. Based on the club's minutes, John Strang recounts the first ball given by the club.

« With a spirit of gallantry worthy of imitation by other brotherhoods of the community, the Gaelic Club gave their first ball and supper on the 7th March, 1792, when there appears to have been present twenty-nine members, ten stranger gentlemen, and forty-five ladies — making a party in all of eighty- four individuals. The company were invited to meet at seven o'clock, and were provided with tea, coffee, and cards. Dancing immediately succeeded, to the stirring music of " M'Lachlan and his Bass," the best and only orchestra of the City for such parties. As a regular hot supper was put on the table precisely at ten o'clock, and as this could only be done in the large room devoted to the dance, it was after this ball resolved, in the event of any future entertainment being given of the same kind, "that a collation should be laid out in an adjoining room, M'hither the company might retire in sets, or small parties, in the course of the evening, leaving to all the liberty of quitting the ball-room and going decently home at any time one might think fit." »

This ball was private and only reserved for a certain circle of relatives. However, Glasgow public balls could bring together a wider variety of social categories. The organization of private balls was hence a reproduction of conservative patterns. The existence of a social season even in the beginning of the 19th century showed how the landed gentry did not disappear from the city but reorganized itself.

⁷⁸ citation.json"} STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit. p109*

Conclusion:

The social practices of the Glaswegian elite in the clubs allow to understand the intricacy of the gentleman profile in the second half of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. The urban elite represented an heterogenous group that range from a small gentleman to the most aristocratic one in possession of lands. The disparity of the group was reflected on their residential choices that differed from the wealthiest member able to distinguish himself with great country house to the most modest gentleman that required the sociability of the club to assured his social status in the city. At the beginning of the period, there was a fluid social mixity in the clubs that allowed the modest gentleman to social ascent. However, at the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century the gaps have widened between the social group of the gentleman and the coity offered more opportunities to distinguish themselves. The difference of sociability grew in the clubs of Glasgow as we should see on the next chapter through their places of sociability.

Chapter II: The versatility side of Glasgow clubs: adopting chameleonic attitude in the city

The club was first and foremost a social space that could evolve and adapt to elites' needs. Therefore, this chapter will explore the different places of sociability frequented by the clubs of Glasgow in order to show the versatility sides of the club. The members of the clubs met within the city for a few hours over a drink and a meal. As the population grew, as well as that of the elite, the number of clubs increased. In order to distinguish themselves, they diversified their meeting places towards eminent places in the city. Bourdieu demonstrated that taste can be mobilized to distinguish oneself socially and show one's status. Thus, the consumption of certain goods and the development of the preference for some items of food or alcohol need to be understood in the context of this search for distinction. The gentleman desired to exhibit his superior taste. The member of Glasgow club could adopt different ways to achieve this distinction.

First, he could adopt different behaviours following the different type of places and establishments in the city. The choice to frequent one place from another was thus very much linked to the diversification of the leisure market. The restaurant appeared to embody the best the aristocratic needs of some of Glasgow clubs. As a matter of fact, the establishment of restaurants in Europe was shaped alongside a certain behaviour to adopt to eat in group. In Europe, the restaurant emerged in France in the 1760s with a higher attention brought on the nutrition aspect of food. A restaurant can be defined as a place that offers multiple choices of food where people met to share it provides a service with flexible hours. The restaurant was therefore a place that adapts to its customer. Rebecca L. Spang showed that the restaurant shifted from a place serving small soup (which was the original meaning of the word) to a cultural institution at the end of the 18th century and established itself even further during the 19th century.⁷⁹ It became a place where a person could enjoy privacy and develop personal choice, that contributed to form a new individual entering modernity. Thus, the making of these places fit into the development of individual choices. Therefore, it is closely linked with the history of clubs that promote man as an individual. Moreover, Katie Rawson and Elliot Shore argued that clubs facilitated the setting up of the restaurants since they

⁷⁹ SPANG, Rebecca L. *The Invention of the Restaurant – Paris & Modern Gastronomic Culture*. New edition. Cambridge, Mass. London : Harvard University Press, 2001. 336 p.

usually hired a cook for their meeting.⁸⁰ Mac Con Iomaire exploring gentlemen's club in Dublin showed that the clubs were the first to host early restaurants. He highlighted the impact of the members of the clubs on the offer of hotels and food service in the city.⁸¹ Since restaurants allowed people to play a role and to reproduce patterns of distinction it is useful to connect the history of the restaurant with that of those established within clubs. Moreover, following the definition of restaurant by Spang and in line with the work of Mac Con Iomaire, I will argue that the clubs played an important role in the arrival of the restaurant in Glasgow that can be traced around 1770, thus close to the first restaurants in France.

Secondly, the gentleman in the club could choose to frequent a place of sociability according to its place in the city. He could enroll in a place that was the embodiment of new fashions and distinction. Thus, the place of sociability in the city could suggest a different social space and conveyed different lifestyle. Exploring the location of the places of sociability hence helps to grasp the evolution of the clubs of Glasgow. These buildings were located in different part of the city. The street especially appeared important in Glasgow during this period. The streets changed names, were transformed, new ones were created and with them new buildings that could accommodate the elite and correspond to the leisure market. These new streets were used in particular to construct new buildings for the new Georgian Era. The clubs met mainly in the city center in the 1750s, historically the place of the leisure center. They expanded all over the city later on, especially in the West where the urbanization was the most intense but also in the East.

In addition, the choice of meeting places for clubs was increasingly determined by their residence or their place of work, to some extent there was a process of aggregation also in their social life. This process was not singular to Glasgow, it can also be noticed in other European cities in the 18th century. Through the study of coffeehouses, historians such as Brian Cowan, Melisa Caleresu, Emma Spary and David Do Paço have shown that the residence or workplace of individuals fostered their frequentation of a place of sociability to another one.

⁸⁰ RAWSON, Katie et Elliott SHORE. *Dining Out: A Global History of Restaurants*. 1er édition. [s.l.] : Reaktion Books, 2019. 324 p.

⁸¹ MAC CON IOMAIRE, Máirtín. « Public dining in Dublin: The history and evolution of gastronomy and commercial dining 1700-1900 », *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*. 1 mars 2013, vol.25.

Also, if at the beginning of the period, the frequentation of the places of sociability was marked by social diversity, it evolved later on.

This chapter will use the habits of the members of Glasgow clubs, focusing on their meeting places that could include food consumption places but also the streets to explore how the elites in the clubs seized the city.

Coffeehouse

Since Habermas' work, the coffeehouse has been associated to the emergence of a public sphere.⁸² He defined public sphere as a "society engaged in critical public debate" and linked it with coffeehouses because it promoted sober conversation. He argued that it was frequented by both bourgeois and aristocratic group in a spirit of equality. Intellectuals could share their opinions on the improvement from literature to science. Emma Spary, underlined that it was a place of knowledge because it favored discussion. However, historians such as Brian Cowan reconsidered this conception of the emergence of coffeehouses, underlining that the coffeehouse social space varied depending on their location in the city. In addition, he sheds light on the different social practices within these places to disrupt the idea that coffeehouse promoted only polite behaviours.

The early connection as part of the business trade between Glasgow and North America allowed merchants to bring coffee in the city in the 17th century. In 1673, Colonel Whiteford opened a coffeehouse in Glasgow and sold coffee.⁸³ However, it remained restricted to an elite. John Strang mentioned a sociability within the coffeehouses in Glasgow. However, very few clubs met within these places. He cited "the old coffee-house land" frequented by merchants for their transaction. However, in 1781 the town Hall was transformed into an exchange room and coffee room and renamed Tontine. It was used by the merchants of the town for their sugar trade and the coffee room was therefore mostly frequented by rich merchants. It became a very fashionable place in Glasgow frequented by an aristocratic elite. The leading coffee house of Glasgow was therefore a distinguished place not opened to everyone. Also, Glasgow clubs did not officially meet in coffeehouses during the period, except

⁸² HABERMAS. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere – An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Reprint édition. Cambridge, Mass : MIT Press, 1991. 324 p.

⁸³ PINCUS, Steve. « "Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture », *The Journal of Modern History*. 1995, vol.67 n° 4. p. 807-834.

to organize balls. The Gaelic club, in particular, organized balls in Tontine building because it represented opulence and distinction. Nevertheless, it appears that coffeehouses hosted more informal meetings corresponding to the same members of the club but without being the official meeting of the club. For instance, the Post office club, meeting at 8 pm, hour when the news from London arrived in Glasgow in 1810s, used to joined informally in the Tontine coffee-room before their official meeting.⁸⁴

Tavern

The main place of meeting for the clubs was the taverns of Glasgow, which corresponded to the profile of the elites of the city. The preference of the tavern scene helps to reconsider Habermas' conception of the public sphere. Thus, the development of public opinion in the clubs of Glasgow can easily be found in the tavern. In 1750, the taverns were a democratic place since they were frequented by all categories of the population. Moreover, in Glasgow the inhabitants could read their newspapers there. Therefore, it is necessary to reconsider the notion of a public sphere built solely in one place and linked with a sober drink. Indeed, Peter Clark argued that the tavern had already gained respectability at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries in Britain. He has shown that after the Restoration the tavern was not restricted to the poor. Alehouses became the place of sociability for the gentry and the scene of the clubs and societies. The frequentation of taverns by the clubs corresponds therefore to a long tradition of sociability of the clubs that democratized itself. Tavern could promote the association of people even before the emergence of clubs. Thus, Thomas Brennan exploring public drinking and popular culture in 18th century Paris, argued that it was possible to witness sociability patterns getting close to a *Société* in Parisian taverns.⁸⁵ From 1750 to 1830, taverns improved their capacity to correspond to the social changes of the period that experienced greater standards of living. Taverns were the places of gathering not only to share a drink, but also a place to find a job or close a deal.⁸⁶ This is how John Strang started his book about Glasgow clubs, which underline the importance of the tavern scene for the Glasgow clubs and for the urban dwellers. First, Taverns were established around the Cross, the center of Glasgow and in the merchant city which indicates the importance of the

⁸⁴ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.* p 366

⁸⁵ BRENNAN, Thomas Edward. *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. [s.l.] : Princeton University Press, 2016. 350 p. 1988

⁸⁶ CLARK, Peter, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830*. [s.l.] : Longman, 1983. 392 p.

merchant community in Glasgow in the 18th century. Thus, merchants used to close their deal at the tavern in a convivial atmosphere. It encouraged people to build stronger relationships. This environment was thus ideal to establish a club.

The frequentation of the tavern by the clubs of Glasgow was very much linked with the drinking culture of the 18th century Scotland. In an enlightened book Anthony Cooke, modern Scottish historian, underlined the importance of the pubs in the Scottish everyday life in the 18th century. This is particularly relevant in Glasgow: John Strang underlined how the drinking culture was rooted in the society involving all categories and professions. Indeed, essential in the social interaction of the individuals from the lowest category to the highest.⁸⁷ Thus, he mentioned the employees of the bank used to make a break between noon and two to drink whisky.

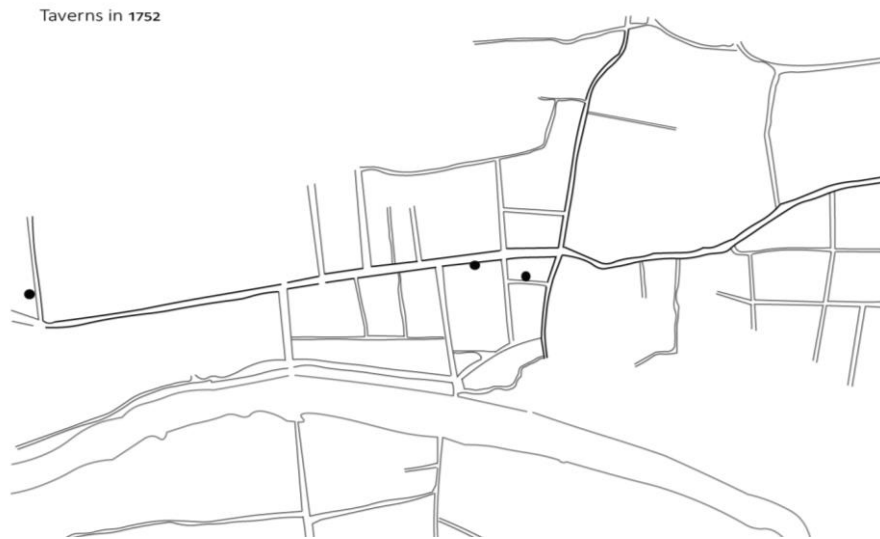
And yet, drinking in the tavern evolved from c 1750 to 1830 in Glasgow. Members of the clubs continued to patronize the tavern but not in the same location in the city and taverns of different status. Thus, Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire has shown that buildings distinguished themselves from one another in Dublin according to the evolution of social distinction in 1815. He identified the public house (as the lowest category), the chop house and tavern (middle) and higher tavern (highest category). He connected the evolution of the buildings with the increase in the standard of living, the clubs and the emergence of the restaurant.⁸⁸ In Glasgow the distinction started in the taverns that adapted to welcoming different social spaces. The difference between the taverns was apparent from their location in the city and which club frequented them.

First the location of the taverns frequented by the clubs were on the city center because it was close to the market and the activity of the merchants.

⁸⁷ BRENNAN, Thomas E. *Public Drinking in the Early Modern World: Voices from the Tavern, 1500–1800*. 1st edition. London : Routledge, 2011. 2048 p.

⁸⁸ MAC CON IOMAIÉ, Máirtín. « Public dining in Dublin ». *Op. cit.*

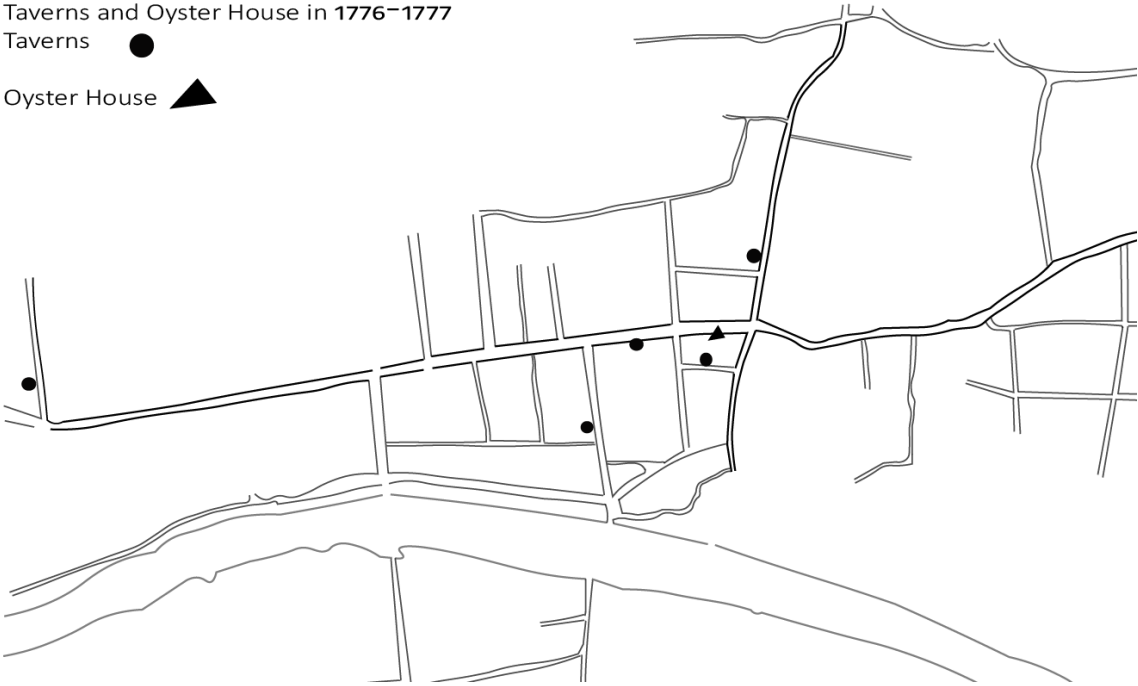
Taverns in 1752 (fig.7):



The location of the tavern on the street was important for the activity of the club. For instance, Prince's street was recognized as patronized by freemasonry. The narrow street allowed to hide some behaviour or rituals. Gardner tavern on Prince's street was hence ideal for freemasons activity "It was, in fact, in a portion of this tavern — well adapted, from its being easily shut off from the observation and ken of the "cowan" world, for carrying on the occult ceremonial no doubt fixed on by the builders of Solomon's Temple "

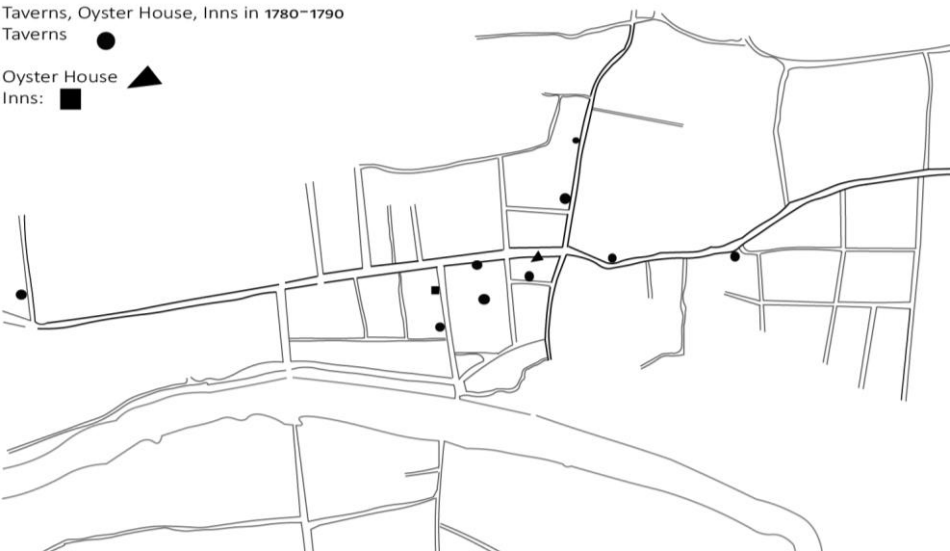
The number of taverns frequented by Glasgow clubs increased during the period and spread on different location of the city.

Places of Sociability in 1770 (fig.8)



There were 4 more from 1780 to 1790. They spread outside the merchant city but remained on the main streets that represented historically the Cross the center. Thus, two of the most ritualized clubs the Accidental Club and the Face Club frequented two taverns on Gallowgate on the East side.

Places of sociability in 1780s (fig.9)



From 1791, they frequented even more taverns (6 new) which proved that the tavern remained the favorite spot of the clubs. Some clubs stayed in the merchant city, but other frequented new taverns on the new street opened recently and characterized by luxurious building. Some of them such as the Prince of Wales became a fashion place patronized by few clubs of Glasgow like the Literary Society, the Hodge Podge, the Pig Club, the Medical club and Packers' and every night club.

Fig.10:



Inns

The clubs chose the location of their meeting according to the reputation of the establishment and the quality of the food. The Anderston club was a good example of the importance of the convivial atmosphere conveyed by the selected institution. They even adopted the name of the village where they met. Anderston (today a neighbourhood from Glasgow) was a burgh of the local barony in the 18th century. Stobcross lands belonged to the Anderson family since mid-16th century and James Anderson decided to create a village in 1720: Anderston. The village became an important place for textile business and developed economically and socially during the 18th century until it was finally attached to Glasgow in 1846. The location was therefore perfect for members of the Anderston club looking to get out of the city but still looking for a comfortable establishment that could serve good food. It was common in the 18th century to run away from the city. The size and the fields of Anderston in this early period

matched with the desire of the members of the club to break the routine of the college and run away from the city center of Glasgow which could be dull and dusty. In addition, The Anderston Club was attracted by the quality of the inn run by John Sharpe and especially his cooking. Anthony Cooke underlined the similarities between the Scottish tavern and Inn in the 18th century.⁸⁹ However, the inn differed from the tavern by their primary activity of hospitality. Welcoming people was thus more regular for inns, since they offered more comfort and service. Furthermore, in the 1750s there were few travelers in Glasgow it was therefore the clubs that kept the inns running. The members of the clubs thus actively participated in the economy of the city. The frequentation of the inns by the clubs members testified their desire more comfort during their meeting. This can be seen in the buildings that appear larger and more prestigious than the taverns.

The Black Bull Inn, The Black Bull Inn was built by the Highland Society in 1759. It had room "for 38 horses, 40 sleepers, and 5,000 stones of hay," Since the Highland Society was the proprietor it was frequented by the Gaelic Club, becoming a Highlander's den in the city. But not only that: the literary society visited it at one time. This shows that the place had become a fashionable place.

The Buckshead inn was built by John Murdoch, lord Provost and tobacco merchant and member of the Hodge Podge club, in 1757. It was transformed in an Inn in 1790 by Peter Jardine, the landlord.⁹⁰ The side stairs leading to the inn show the quality of the establishment. It was frequented by the Grog club and the Board of Green Cloath.

The star inn was located on Ingram Street which was planned in 1781.⁹¹ Before then the street was named Back Cow lane and was narrower. The inn tended to establish itself on new streets because they were wider. The inn was frequented by Hodge Podge.

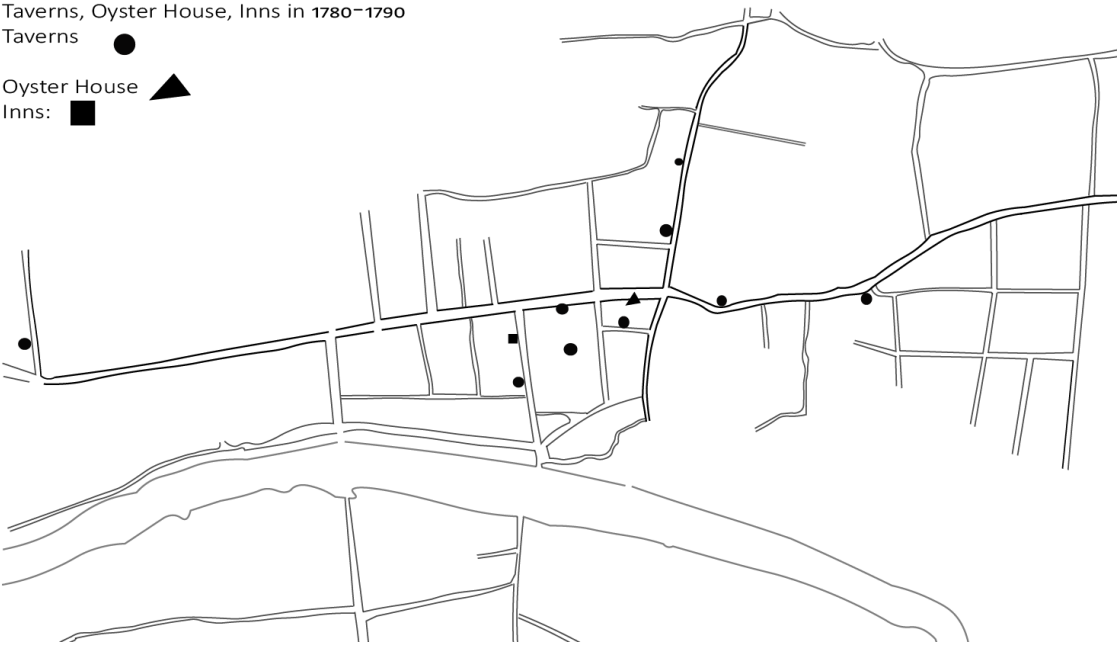
The process of the implementation of the inn and their frequentation by the clubs was similar to the tavern. At first, it was in the merchant city and evolved toward the new fashion street of the West side.

⁸⁹ COOKE, Anthony. *A History of Drinking: The Scottish Pub Since 1700*. Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press, 2015. 280 p.

⁹⁰ https://www.oldglasgowpubs.co.uk/bucks_head_inn.html

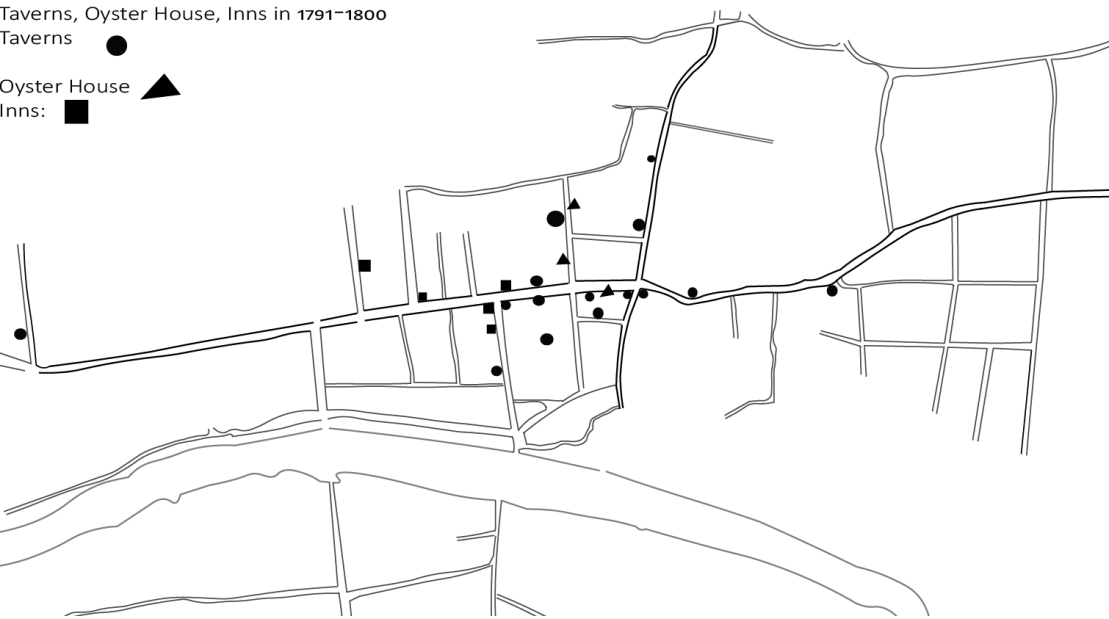
⁹¹ http://www.oldglasgowpubs.co.uk/star_inn_ingram.html

Fig.9 :



By 1791, There was 4 inn in the merchant city and then in the new town which conveyed luxury.

Fig. 10



In addition, the relationship between the landlord/ landlady and the clubs reflected that service was at the core of the decision of a club to frequent one establishment from another. The members and the host shared a special relationship in the taverns and inns. Katie Rawson and Elliot Shore in the second chapter of their book titled "the restaurateur and you" explored how early restaurants adapted their establishments to attract the clientele.⁹² Indeed, if the menus of the inns and taverns of the mid-18th century were fixed, the clubs could enjoy the cuisine served in those establishments. For instance, the Face club went to the Lucky Black's tavern on Gallowgate, held by Ms Black because she served "sheep-heads but also and most particularly for beef-steak, black pudding and a 'skirl in a pan'"⁹³. The Beefsteak club (later Tinkler's club) went to Bryce Davidson for a steak cooked by the ex-kitchener of the "black bull" and then they go to Trongate for the "Welsh rabbit". In addition, a relationship of trust is established between the clubs and the managers. They followed them if they change ownership but also to separate from the place if the relationship is deteriorated. For instance, the Anderston club went to John Sharpe because he was a "God-fearing host" whose courteousness and cookery attracted many lovers of "creature comforts". The Hodge Podge met Mr Hemming in a tavern at the head of Stockwell Street from 1788 to 1799. When the tavern closed, they went to the Buck's head Inn. However, they had a disagreement with the landlord Mr Dunn "the Club being " very much dissatisfied with some parts of Mr. Dunn's conduct."⁹⁴ They hence decided to come back to Mr Hemming, now manager of the Star Inn on Ingram Street in 1802. The relationship between managers and clubs shows us that urban elites are increasingly seeking service as a place of sociability.

Oyster house

The institution that probably embodied the best the evolution of Glasgow club places of sociability and presented the most features of a restaurant is the oyster house. In the 1780s and 1790s emerged new fashion places designated as "Oyster House". Oyster house is a term that can be found in the States in the 19th century. It corresponded to the oyster mania that took place in the United States where establishments serving oyster spread everywhere in the country and in particular on the coasts. The oysters were served in different forms with several

⁹² RAWSON, Katie et Elliott SHORE. *Dining Out. Op. cit.* p29-50

⁹³ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.*

⁹⁴ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

saucers or different dishes all day long. The oyster houses that Glasgow clubs frequented at the end of the 18th century were not far from the States one: they offered a great range of plates from sophisticated dishes to raw oysters. It appears that the use of the term by John Strang was not an anachronism since the Post Office Directory indicates the existence of Oyster House in Glasgow at the end of the 18th century. As a matter of fact, oysters had long been eaten in Britain, the first mention of it being at Roman times.⁹⁵ The abundance of oysters makes it a delicacy eaten by both the rich and the poor in the following centuries. Charlie Tarvener exploring the role of women oyster seller has shown that it was sold in the streets of London in the 17th and 18th century. He underlined the information it can provide about the construction of the city and its gender dynamics. Melisa Calaresu showed with the ice cream in Naples that certain foods consumed in the 18th century had a complex history and could quite well be consumed by both the poor and the richest classes. Investigating the cookbooks recipes that included oysters in 17th century Europe highlights how they were cooked in different ways and for special occasions.⁹⁶ However, they were also consumed in taverns with ales in that period. In the 18th century oysters were tasted at parties or balls and then in establishments such as oyster houses in Scotland.

Investigate the consumption of oysters in Glasgow in the 18th century presents some difficulties because historians have not considered this question in the context of sociability. Nevertheless, it is possible to gather some clues thanks to the social practices of the clubs.

First, it appears that it was a fashionable phenomenon. Oysters have always been consumed in Glasgow but as Brian Cowan underlined with the study of coffee and coffeehouses, it is important to pay attention to the evolution of the value placed on it and the way it was consumed. In the 18th century, the abundance of oysters and the improvement of harvesting techniques facilitated its apparition on the tables of urban elites, deployed in different forms. Oysters were tasted at private parties, and feasts in Glasgow in the 1780s and 1790s. The emergence of oyster clubs in Edinburgh and Glasgow showed its success with urban elites. The oyster club in Edinburgh was famous for having members such as Adam Smith. There was another Oyster club in Glasgow from 1792 meeting at Mrs. McAlpine's oyster house and then

⁹⁵ SMITH, Drew. *Oyster: A Gastronomic History*. Illustrated edition. [s.l.] : ABRAMS, 2015. 364 p.

⁹⁶ DAY, Ivan P. *Cooking in Europe, 1650-1850*. Westport, Conn : Greenwood, 2008. 200 p.

in Woods' Oyster House in Candleriggs. The Oyster club could enjoy this dish in a place dedicated to its consumption in Glasgow. In Edinburgh oysters were eaten in oyster cellars:

*"The custom which prevailed among ladies, as well as gentlemen, of resorting to what were called oyster-cellars, is in itself a striking indication of the state of manners during the last century. In winter, when the evening had set in, a party of the most fashionable people in town, collected by appointment, would adjourn in carriages to one of those abysses of darkness and comfort, called in Edinburgh laigh shops, where they are proceeded to regale themselves with raw oysters and porter, arranged in huge dishes upon a coarse table, in a dingy room, lighted by tallow candles. The rudeness of the feast, and the vulgarity of the circumstances under which it took place, seem to have given a zest to its enjoyment, with which more refined banquets could not have been accompanied."*⁹⁷

Oysters were often eaten in cellars for conservation reason: it was easier to store them in the coolness below buildings. Thus, in Glasgow, seafood and oysters could be tasted in the basement, in particular at the restaurant of the Royal Exchange on Queen Street designed as the Crypt by John Strang. The basement's location encouraged new social practices, blurring the lines between polite and impolite behaviour. Thus, the passage of the Edinburgh oyster cellars showed how mixing ladies and gentlemen promoted licentious behavior. Incidentally, the shellfish itself has a long history of association with eroticism. Mireille Guiliano, author of "Meet Paris Oyster: A Love Affair with the Perfect Food", looks back on this aphrodisiac story of the oyster. Already in antiquity, Aphrodite came out of the sea from an oyster shell which led the Romans to believe in the virtues of the mollusk for fertility and sex.⁹⁸ The oyster's association with eroticism was subsequently rekindled by Casanova in his memoir, describing how oyster eating could be associated with *les jeux de l'amour*. Thus, John Strang insisted on the fickle side of the members of the What you please club, which frequented the oyster houses, and their association with the performers of theater, in particular women.⁹⁹

In Glasgow Oyster Houses were especially reserved to an aristocratic sphere, and wealthy clubs. The existence of a special space to consume oysters testified both of the particular

⁹⁷ CHAMBERS, Robert. *Traditions of Edinburgh*. [s.l.] : Chambers, 1868. 416 p.

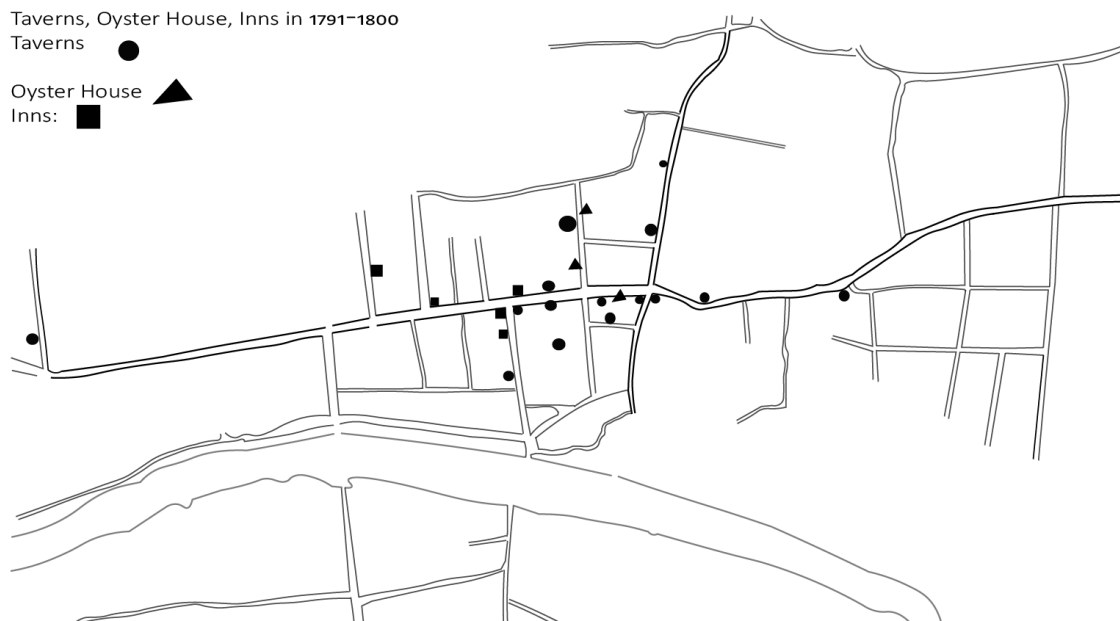
⁹⁸ GUILIANO, Mireille. *Meet Paris Oyster: A Love Affair with the Perfect Food*. New York : Grand Central Life & Style, 2014. 160 p.

⁹⁹ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs*. *Op. cit.*

attention that they grant to their dinner and a desire to stand out as they take the time to taste a particular dish prepared with expensive goods.

The first oyster house in Glasgow was on Trongate at Mrs Mc Alpine designed as the "leading house" of the city. (fig.8). However, it met great success and resulted in the opening of new oyster houses challenging Mrs McAlpine one and establishing themselves on the new streets. They were mostly on Candleriggs street.¹⁰⁰

Fig.10



Oyster houses also fit into the definition of restaurant because they featured different ways of eating oysters that club members can choose from. In addition, members can have a real impact on the offerings offered in the establishment. Also, one of the club members Mr. Lingham, an Englishman recognized as a true glutton by his contemporaries, influenced the creation of a dish served by Henderson:

"He showed a particular fondness for oysters, served up in every possible way; and to his culinary skill the gourmand owes the delicious plat des huitres a la Lingham which Henderson ouce called, and Glasgow in its present vulgate now designates, " Linghamed oysters."*¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p 136

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* p270

If one thinks to the description of oyster consumption by Casanova this passage appears particularly ambiguous: the figure of Lingham was associated with the *bon vivant* nature that could easily be associated with his appetite for women.

Domesticating building's interior:

Within the taverns, inns or oyster houses, club members seized more and more of the space. It suggests that members of the clubs structured the social space and not the other way around. Thus, they left their mark in the buildings that they chose to frequent. The evolution of the clubs of Glasgow allow to understand how 19th century gentlemen's clubs led to be associated with a building: the clubroom. Thus, social places in the 18th century provided spaces within buildings designed to welcome people to read newspapers, playing cards or smoking. Thus, this organization within buildings can be found in Trieste at the same period. In a topography of Trieste published in 1824, Girolamo Agapito described these special rooms above the coffeehouses to entertain urban elites:

*"This coffeehouse is one of the most spacious and largest, elegantly furnished, in the latest fashion, decorated with large mirrors and beautiful lights, and supplied with the best German and Italian gazettes and newspapers; and has a room equipped with a billiard table that is one of the best in the city"*¹⁰²

Social places such as taverns, coffee rooms, inns or oyster house for Glasgow reserved a space in the building to answer the need of the urban elite in the 18th century. This desire was translated in the love of game in that period in Glasgow. This game activity was not a British particularity. Antoine Lilti already underlined this phenomenon in Parisian salons.¹⁰³ The same sociability was noticeable in Trieste. The rooms mentioned earlier above the coffeehouses were usually casinos. In addition, these establishments can be compared to Glasgow clubs since they operated on the system of membership and created distinct social spaces. Glasgow clubs could satisfy their love for gaming in rooms dedicated place in the buildings to play cards. Thus, places of sociability in Glasgow were both places of restoration and leisure which affirmed the adaptation of the hospitality market to the needs of the elite and their habits. Playing cards and especially whist within the clubs was common in the 18th century. Parnin

¹⁰² AGAPITO, Girolamo. *Compiuta e distesa descrizione della fedelissima città e porto-franco di Trieste*. [s.l.] : dalla tip. di Antonio Strauss, 1824. 354 p. p315

¹⁰³ LILTI, Antoine. *Le monde des salons*. Op. cit. p234

showed that cards represented the opposition between the elites favoring leisure and the other category of the population that supported the vision of the Church with the idea that cards and gambling were the origin of lust.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, although it had undesirable effects on of club members's budget, it was also considered a game of tactics and a way to exercise common sense. Parnin argued that the success of whist in that period layed on the presentation of Edmund's hoyle of whist as a game of tactic. Thus, it appealed to the higher class because it conveyed the idea that the game was within their control and did not rely on chance or the will of God. Glasgow clubs were particularly fond of this game and played it before and sometimes during the meeting, and used to gamble on it.

Thus, club members influenced the offer of leisure in European cities in the 18th century. Buildings were designed to satisfy the urban elite.

Moreover, club members participated to the development of some buildings in Glasgow. The success of club life led some taverns to expand their business to accommodate the members. John Strang took the example of the tavern held by Jane Hunter on Trongate Street. The success of the Camperdown Club, a club bringing together upper and middle-class patriotic men who frequented the tavern led to the extension of the building.

*"so numerous and respectable did the Club soon become, that the landlady saw it her interest to enlarge the Club-room in order to retain the fast-increasing brotherhood".*¹⁰⁵

It showed the large amounts of money spent on the clubs but also the growing impact of members on the interior of Glasgow's places of sociability.

They appropriated the space and personalized it to their taste. This notion of the club as a "surrogate home" for elite men was mostly mentioned to analyze club rooms of the 19th century. Amy Milne-Smith argued that members of 19th century London club-houses recreated an idea of home in which they felt more comfortable than in their own house. She hence underlined how the gentlemen's habits can help us reconsider the notion of domesticity. However, this desire to create one's own space was already present in the clubs of Glasgow at the end of the 18th century.

¹⁰⁴ PARNIN, Ben. « Society through Whist and Gaming In 18th Century Britain ». 2020. En ligne : <https://scholarworks.iu.edu/dspace/handle/2022/25690> [consulté le 4 mai 2021].

¹⁰⁵ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.* p198

“It was when Mr Thomas Orr sat for some time as perpetual president — in the handsome chair which, with certain other pieces of furniture, had been specially made by Messrs Cleland & Jack for the use of the fraternity”¹⁰⁶ Messrs Cleland and Jack were the main cabinet-making firm and was notably in charge of furnishing the Hunterian museum, the first public museum of Scotland.

Fig.11:



2. Pair of 'Roman' chairs supplied by Cleland & Jack, September 1809

The picture represents chairs build by Messrs Cleland and Jack for the Hunterian Museum. (fig.11) The chairs showed that the company was aware of the latest fashion. In addition, it allows us to understand the importance given to the club by the elite of the city and will to distinguish themselves by granting a furniture outside the domestic space. And can give us an idea of what the furniture of these fashion space looks like

Exit the enclosed spaces.

However, Glasgow clubs in that period cannot be restricted to a closed space. Indeed, if the evolution of the clubs can be linked with the evolution of the places of sociability in Glasgow,

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p 274

the meeting places of the clubs cannot be restricted to a closed space, since the club of Glasgow in the 18th century was mainly a relational area.

The location of the meeting places in the streets was important for the clubs in Glasgow. But the clubs did not only favor certain places, they also met in the streets. Post-Habermasian historians of the early modern period such as Massimo Rospocher and Rosa Salzberg argued that the street was the scene of production of ideas and gossips that can be considered as the public sphere.¹⁰⁷ In addition, Fabrizio Nevola underlined how the streets of early modern Europe were ritualized and had their proper social life. He argued that “Beyond crime, the street was a privileged site for the performance of collective and individual acts and rituals of violence and justice.”¹⁰⁸ Thus, Glasgow streets could have turned into scenes of violence and ideological confrontations. John Strang mentioned stone battles on Stockwell Street that opposed southern and northern Gorbaliens for the ownership of an island near Jamaica Street bridge. He underlined how these contests were mostly an excuse to ideological disputes:

“The bump of combativeness seems to have been, like that of destructiveness, marked characteristics of Glasgow crania-impelling to constant fights between the occupants of one quarter of the town and those of another, between the College Students and the more unlettered Citizens, and between the boys attending the Grammar-School and those belonging to Wilson’s Charity.”¹⁰⁹

Thus, the making of the city was also completed by the inhabitants sometimes even in violence. In this context, members of the clubs walked around the streets in group and conveyed their own rituals. For instance, the Banditi club, presented in the first chapter stalk the streets of Glasgow and especially on Prince’s Street for their club life. Moreover, the Coul club, an aristocratic fraternity, moved in the city collectively to go to their meeting but also to

¹⁰⁷ ROSPOCHER, Massimo. *Beyond the Public Sphere.: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe*. Bologna : Duncker & Humblot GmbH, 2012. 303 p. , Salzberg, Rosa. ““Per le piazze & sopra il ponte’: Reconstructing the Geography of Popular Print in Early Sixteenth Century Venice.” In *Geographies of the Book*, ed. Charles W. Withers and Miles Ogborn, 111–32. Farnham, 2010.

¹⁰⁸ NEVOLA, Fabrizio. « Review Essay: Street Life in Early Modern Europe », *Renaissance Quarterly*. 2013, vol.66 n° 4. p. 1332-1345.

¹⁰⁹ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs*. Op. cit. p230

pay visit to other clubs. Thus, in 1815 they interrupted a meeting of the Literary debating Society to challenge them:

“the Coul Club appeared in our apartment. The members wore masks, one gentleman excepted, whom I recognised as an old acquaintance. The Club marched into tiic room with much formality, every one of them making a 'salaam' to our president; and each of them exhibited some musical instrument or insignia of office: one beat on a little drum, while another played on a small violin, another on a penny trump or Jew's harp” ¹¹⁰

This passage also shows that the interaction between the clubs was possible. The club did not necessarily stop when they left the tavern, the inn or the oyster house but could continue outside when they move in the streets. They continued to exchange, bouncing in the streets in search of an extended night.

In addition, the clubs are also taming green spaces like the Green. The Green is the oldest park in Glasgow. It represented both a walk for the richest, but also a place of social mix since it was the only washing place of the city and therefore all classes washed their clothes there.¹¹¹ Moreover, it was patronized by golfers and in particular by the Grog Club who used to go there in the morning to play golf but also to make sure that the city is not taken under the threat of the Napoleonic wars.¹¹² Golf has developed thanks to the culture of the British association. It is possible to connect the etymology of the club and the vocabulary used by the sport. Club is both the handle used to play golf and the name of the association. There is the idea that these are two activities that invite the sharing of a moment together, the idea of association is strong.¹¹³ Golf was an excuse to meet. The origin of golf in Scotland was particularly linked with the associations and especially with the freemasonry. Thus, the first golf clubs in Scotland were created by the Freemasons. They developed the sport in the 1760s and created some rules still in force today.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* p.327

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* p 139

¹¹² *Ibid.* p193

¹¹³ *Golf - Meaning of Word Golf - Scottish Golf History*. En ligne : <https://www.scottishgolfhistory.org/origin-of-golf-terms/golf/> [consulté le 6 mai 2021].

¹¹⁴ *Freemasons invent Golf Club - Scottish Golf History*. En ligne : <https://www.scottishgolfhistory.org/origin-of-golf-terms/fairways/freemasons-in-early-golf-history/#GrandLodge1736> [consulté le 7 mai 2021].

It is therefore not surprising that members of Glasgow clubs meet on The Green to play golf, especially as many of them are themselves involved in Freemasonry.

In Glasgow, the Green was already used to play golf as early as 1721 and developed even more in 1780 when the Council grant permits to play on it.¹¹⁵ There was also a clubhouse that the members of the Grog club could have used to meet.

Conclusion

The frequentation of the social places selected by the clubs allows to grasp the evolution of the sociability of the clubs of Glasgow. They inserted themselves in the merchant city which indicates the importance of the merchants within the members of the clubs. However, as the merchants expanded their wealth, they desired to distinguish themselves from other groups. They established themselves, joined by the wealthiest men of the other professions, in the new town that allowed them to display aristocratic values. The leisure market in Glasgow adapted to reply to this desire of refinement. The city hence shows the emergence of new places of sociability close to early restaurant. These places indulged to adopt a proper behaviour and corresponded to the gentlemen hunger for fancy and fashionable places.

However, the members continued to patronize the tavern their place of predilection for their meeting. The prominence of the drinking culture in the clubs of Glasgow makes them unique and prove that impolite behaviour was at the core of the bonding process between the members.

¹¹⁵ 1721 Glasgow Green - The Non Playing Partner - Scottish Golf History. En ligne : <https://www.scottishgolfhistory.org/oldest-golf-sites/1721-glasgow-green/#Glotta> [consulté le 6 mai 2021].

Part II: Promoting the sense of fellowship in the clubs of Glasgow

The first part of this dissertation focused on how the new urban elite used the clubs of Glasgow to seize the city. The clubs were present in the streets, the parks and the different buildings related to the hospitality market from the tavern to the oyster house. The variety of social places in Glasgow allowed the members to behave in particular ways. The elite evolved during this period; welcoming new groups of people and excluding others. The clubs of Glasgow permitted the integration of these new categories of people in the elite. Members often shared a common experience in order to develop a sense of fellowship. The notion of fellowship can correspond both to the development of a friendship and a larger definition of sense of belonging in a larger group. Thus, it has been developed by Anne-Marie Thiesse and Eric Hobsbawm in order to explain the construction of the nation in Europe. They argued that the concept of modern nations emerged in the second half of the 18th century. Eric Hobsbawm Benedict Anderson underlined the broadness of the concept of the nation, and demonstrated that it could be defined as an “imagined community”. They argued that the birth of the modern nation emerged from the vision of the elite that established a hegemonic identity in the specific country.¹¹⁶ The creation of the elite group in Glasgow had to encompass the same process, imposing hegemonic values over others. According to Anne-Marie Thiesse; the nation was held together by something other than the obedience to a king or the sharing of the same religion.¹¹⁷ In that sense the club participated in the development of these senses of belonging towards the nation because it encouraged a new vision of the world; one that was not dictated by the State or the Church. Exploring fellowship within the clubs allows to witness the formation of the elite thanks to local affiliations. Anne-Marie Thiesse investigated the creation of national identities by basing her argumentation on the “identification of ancestors, folklore, and mass culture”, the last chapter explores European identities. She explained that national identities relied on ancestors, a language, but also the folklore that rise from peasant culture.¹¹⁸ In line with Anne-Marie Thiesse’s conclusions, I will argue that the clubs of Glasgow undertook the same process. They used the same process to build a sense of fellowship in the

¹¹⁶ ANDERSON, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed. édition. London ; New York : Verso, 2006. 240 p. ; HOBBSAWM, Eric-J. et Dominique PETERS. *Nations et nationalisme depuis 1780: Programme, mythe, réalité*. Paris : Folio, 2001. 384 p.

¹¹⁷ THIESSE, Anne-marie. *La création des identités nationales*. Paris : Points, 2001. 320 p.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

clubs: they shared the same codes, their own language, and folklore that they borrowed from the Celtic mythology. The club was a distinct social space that shared the same norms and values required to enter the club. The members invented their own identities in order to include people whilst also excluding others. In that sense the club was a conservative form of sociability where the process of inclusion relied on the exclusion. Some rejections persisted during the period such as their unwillingness to include women (even if they could be considered part of the social space on certain occasions), while others emerged at the end of the 18th century. Clubs distinguished more and more from one another. However, it did not mean that a person was restricted to solely one club. They could navigate between different clubs even though they each demanded a great social network and the ability of being highly available to the clubs.

The second part of the dissertation will focus on how the social spaces emerged in the clubs of Glasgow to shape a new urban elite.

Chapter I: Ritualizing the club: a bonding experience in the clubs of Glasgow

This chapter focuses on the social practices of the members within the clubs of Glasgow in order to explore the creation of the different social spaces and how the urban elite was built up in them. Special attention will be given to rethink the notion of the civilizing process developed by Norbert Elias in 1939.¹¹⁹ According to him, the European society would have gone from violence embodied by Middle age times to the emotional restraint of a more polite society in the modern world. He emphasized the role of the court in that process and the 18th century's shift away from that in people's minds. However, as we should see in Glasgow clubs the elites did not necessarily adopt polite behaviour in their social practices. Historians highlighted the gaps in Elias' analysis, in particular its lack of empirical approach. Antoine Lilti for instance, suggested the notion of occasional politeness to understand the behavior of the elites in Parisian salons.¹²⁰ He demonstrated that the Parisian elite used politeness solely on particular occasions. In addition, his work allowed to reconsider Jurgen Habermas's argument on the equal status of nobles and bourgeois in these forms of sociability, underlining how the salons conveyed only an egalitarian fiction. Thus, conversations and the exchange of ideas between them were allowed as long as bourgeois did not challenge the noble's status.¹²¹ This chapter will aim to demonstrate that these dynamics were similar in Glasgow clubs. The clubs were, therefore, a conservative form of sociability in which it was necessary to adapt to aristocratic values and behaviours in order to be accepted. Thus, Kate Davidson, applied the notion of occasional politeness towards gentlemen's clubs in England and argued that men adapted their behaviours depending on the social occasions. She thus studied the laughter within gentlemen clubs in England to demonstrate that politeness was rarely used in the clubs.¹²² She intended a recharacterization of politeness, impoliteness, and elitist or popular cultures by claiming that they could occur at the same time and by the same person. She

¹¹⁹ ELIAS, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*. 2nd Edition. Oxford ; Malden, Mass : Wiley-Blackwell, 2000. 592 p.

¹²⁰ LILTI, Antoine. *Le monde des salons*. *Op. cit.*

¹²¹ *Ibid.* p 157

¹²² DAVISON, KATE. « OCCASIONAL POLITENESS AND GENTLEMEN'S LAUGHTER IN 18th C ENGLAND », *The Historical Journal*. 2014, vol.57 n° 4. p. 921-945.

argued that these behaviours differed depending on the degree of familiarity shared by the circle. Thus, the notion of emotional communities seems particularly relevant to explore the difference of behaviour in the different clubs of Glasgow. Developed by the historian Barbara Rosenwein, it suggested that individuals made the conscious choices on how to behave according to the environment they evolve in.¹²³ Gentlemen did not necessarily build their identity on the foundations of politeness, on the contrary, bawdiness was particularly apparent in the clubs of Glasgow. Bawdy behaviours, emerging in the Renaissance, hence, did not disappear over time when the clubs institutionalized. However, since social spaces became more and more exclusive the change lied on who members allowed themselves to practice impoliteness.

This chapter will question how the sense of fellowship was achieved in the clubs and what were the characteristics to get accepted into a club.

In order to acknowledge how members adapted their behaviours, depending on the situations, and the social space they evolved in, it is interesting to highlight the importance of the members frequenting more than one club in Glasgow. During the period, the elite used the variety of clubs to enhance their social capital and social mobility. Following the path of Charles Vallancey (1725-1812), Chief Engineer of Ireland, William O'Reilly, demonstrated the importance of sociability to the social mobility of the 18th century man.¹²⁴ Thus, thanks to his frequentation of clubs and societies, he developed an expertise on a variety of subjects. He became an antiquarian and orientalist without having a true knowledge of oriental languages. However, his social status and his reputation allowed him to seep into a great variety of circles.¹²⁵ Indeed, the urban elite accumulated social capital to work their ways in the different clubs. This phenomenon can be noticed in the clubs of Glasgow and expanded more and more throughout the period. Thus, it went from a similar social space in the 1750s for the urban elite to a greater variety of social spaces at the end of 18th century. Glaswegians adapted more and more to the different clubs and used their social capital to assert their individual choices and develop a different social network. In the 1750s, individuals who frequented more than

¹²³ ROSENWEIN, Barbara H. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y : Cornell University Press, 2006. 248 p.

¹²⁴ O'REILLY, William. « Charles Vallancey and the Military Itinerary of Ireland », *Proceedings of The Royal Irish Academy Section C-archaeology Celtic Studies History Linguistics Literature*. 1 janvier 2006, vol.106. p. 125-217.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

one club usually shared the same social space. For instance, professors of the University: Adam Smith, Andrew Foulis, Robert Simson, James Moor, Thomas Hamilton, William Cullen frequented both the Anderston Club and the Literary Society. These particular clubs accounted for two social requirements. First, the social network and reputation embodied by the Literary Society. Members met within the walls of the University, an institution linked to the structures of the Old Regime, controlled by the Royal. It attracted many Glaswegians, over 41, from 1752 to 1760 and a diverse mix of merchants, professors and reverends. The aim of the club was to promote the discussions and debate. The members adopted polite behaviours in the Literary Society as only water was accepted during the meeting. The second form these social requirements take, can be seen in the Anderston club where a greater sense of fellowship developed. It was a more limited circle where the discussion was more informal and the links between members were stronger and thus corresponded more to friendly relationships. They were only 8 and their discussion was not restricted by the structure needed in larger group.

However, in the 1770s-1780s the social spaces and the choices of the urban elite evolved. The higher diversity of clubs and the evolution of the social and economic status in the city offered more opportunities to the inhabitants. The gentlemen asserted himself by forging his own personality and did not hesitate to frequent more clubs more likely to agree with him that settling for only the one most applicable to them. Thus, some individuals frequented clubs with similar social spaces. For instance, Colin Douglas, Samuel Hunter, Kirkman Finlay, James Monteath, James Dennistoun both went to the Hodge Podge Club and the Board of Green Cloath in the 1780s. The clubs were both business clubs frequented mostly by merchants. The Board of Green Cloath founded around 1780 was very selective, the author of the Minute book emphasized on the relations between the members, closely or remotely related with family links. The Hodge Podge was older than the Board of Green Cloath, since it was founded in 1752, but in the 1780s the club decided to limit its circle. In 1783 they established new rules that made the club more exclusive. Thus, Colin Douglas and Samuel Hunter were surgeon and Kirkman Finlay, James Monteath, James Dennistoun were merchants who had a great fortune and reputation, they were all important enough to be accepted in both clubs.

The wealth and reputation also characterized Campbell Douglas and John Blackburn who frequented both the Hodge Podge and the Pig club. More than a merchant space, the Pig clubs

displayed aristocratic values. It organized sumptuous and expensive dinners. Thus, frequenting both of these clubs showed a will to expand their social network in the merchant community but also acquire a higher social status.

Finally, some clubs were more fashionable than others. The What you please club hence seemed to conquer the Glaswegian elite since it was favored by people who frequented more than one club in the 1790s. The urban dwellers empowered their choices over time. For instance, George Buchanan, treasurer of the town council joined the Grog club and the What you please club. Both clubs were particularly fluid in their sociability and in their rules but restrictive in terms of social circles.

Being Clubbable

In order to navigate between the different clubs, the 18th century gentleman needed to adapt himself to the different identities and social circles displayed in them. Being clubbable in Britain was very much linked with social skills of the gentleman in the 18th century. To join a club, the gentleman had to master specific skills and be willing to use both polite and impolite behaviours.

First, wit was one of the essential skills for being clubbable. The development of the mind in a literary context and as the model in polite society became particularly important in the 1760s and 1770s.¹²⁶ Alex Aronson underlined the confusion of the use of the term 'wit' in the 18th century, often associated with genius. Both concepts appealed to the use of the imagination of people.¹²⁷ Clubs thus offered a space to develop wit, because it facilitated free discussions.¹²⁸ Hobbes already argued that the development of reflection private associations would challenge the State's governance.¹²⁹ In addition, Michelle O'Callaghan exposed how members of clubs in the early 17th century London followed the humanist tradition of logical

¹²⁶ SPARY, E. C. *Eating the Enlightenment. Op. cit.* p117

¹²⁷ ARONSON, ALEX. « EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SEMANTICS OF WIT », *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*. 1948, vol.5 n° 3. p. 182-190.

¹²⁸ SHIELDS, David S. « Anglo-American Clubs: Their Wit, Their Heterodoxy, Their Sedition », *The William and Mary Quarterly*. avril 1994, vol.51 n° 2. p. 293.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

demonstrations.¹³⁰ Wit was therefore a performance of the intellect that educated elite mastered in social occasions.

Wit was particularly important to be accepted within a large group in order to prove that one could master the art of conversation. It was highly encouraged in the clubs of Glasgow. Thus, at its creation The Hodge Podge was, a convivial club of merchants. However, their drive for literary reflection proved that they intended to improve themselves in order to achieve aristocratic values. Thus, the presentation of essays in front of the club was one of their main activities. Mark C. Wallace working mainly on Scottish Freemasonry and Scottish clubs, argued that the association culture in the 18th century contributed to Scottish improvement.¹³¹ In that sense, the Hodge Podge served as a learning experience for members, the opportunity to develop their literary and conversational skills. The records of the club presented a great variety of topics addressed in essays: they reflected “On Proper Enjoyment”, “On Calumny”, “Man’s Place in Society”.¹³² More than a literary experience, the subjects of the essays presented during the meeting revealed a will to question their role in society and the development of new opinions.

Antoine Lilti have shown the importance of mastering words in Parisians in the 18th century.¹³³ He underlined the place of the conversation as a performance in aristocratic circles. However, he also highlighted the dangerous nature of word games depending on whom they were addressed to. Thus, authors frequenting Parisian salons could not ridicule aristocrats, as offending certain people could threaten their future. Some behaviours were hence frowned upon even in the clubs of Glasgow. For instance, William Anderson, a merchant, member of the Hodge Podge was severely punished for something he said during a meeting:

¹³⁰ O’CALLAGHAN, Michelle. *The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England*. [s.l.] : Cambridge University Press, 2007. 15 p.

¹³¹ « Dr. Mark Wallace: Eighteenth-Century Scottish Sociability », Blog *Scottish History Network*. 2017. En ligne : <https://scottishhistorynetwork.wordpress.com/2017/08/02/dr-mark-wallace-eighteenth-century-scottish-sociability/> [consulté le 18 mai 2021].

¹³² « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

¹³³ LILTI, Antoine. *Le monde des salons*. *Op. cit.* p275

*“On May 3rd, 1764, “William Anderson having spoke indecent and disrespectful words in the eyes of God and man in presence of the Hodge Podge Club is therefore fined in the sum of sixty pounds Scots”.*¹³⁴

In addition, just like in Paris, the conversation art was developed in the clubs of Glasgow and used to prove the skills of the gentleman. John Strang mentioned the spirit games through the figure Doctor Drumgold, father of the What you please club. He used to salute every member with a rhyme:

He *“had a salutation in rhyme, on every possible occasion, for all who ever came within the boundaries of the Club sanctum. The fact is, he seemed to have the rhyming dictionary at his tongue end, for never was he at a loss to find a couplet for the oddest names in the Directory. As a proof of this, he was wont to say “ Pray, good Mi- Milligan, Take off your glass, and fill again;”*¹³⁵

The wit, this ability to use the right word, allowed him to earn the respect of other club members.

Moreover, manipulating words was also reflected in the poems recited to celebrate the spirit of brotherhood within the club. Dr. John Moore, surgeon and writer, wrote one about the members of Hodge Podge. This testimony is a particularly rich source, since it allows access to the vision of one of the members on the club itself and the way he perceived the other members. Moreover, it detailed the character of the members and which traits were celebrated and frowned upon to interact with other member. I will argue that John Moore's poem actually turned into a roast to show how polite and impolite behaviour could interact with each other. He started his declamation by stating: *“If you choose to know more of this merry class. Like the kings in Macbeth, they shall one by one pass: The man that can't bear with a good-humour'd rub, I am sure is not worthy a place in this club.”*¹³⁶

John Moore undertook to identify each member, of which there were 25, to characterize him by a trait of his character or a physical trait and then mock him for it. First, his attack could be physical and on the way the members dressed. For instance, Thomas Hamilton was designated

¹³⁵ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.*P.269

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

as "tall" and John Dunlop by a "belly so round". Dr Stevenson was characterized by his wig, and John Moore underlined John Orr of Barrowfield's sense of fashion. Secondly, he designated them by their character traits. He started by celebrating the intelligence of William Coats or the modesty of James Luke. In the roast of John Moore, he revealed the importance of pleasing people to be of importance in the club. Thus, he described James Dunlop of Garnkirk as a man loving satire, but he reproached him to be "afraid to displease". Yet, to be a gentleman in the clubs of Glasgow it was essential to have a good sense of humor, a character trait particularly celebrated by John Moore among his companions. It was required to be able to laugh at others but also having self-mockery and accept critics. In Britain, wit and humour were often associated.¹³⁷In addition, humor served as cohesion in a group. Peter Kivy showed that laughter allows for the establishment of solidarity between a group because it proves that one share the codes of the circle.¹³⁸ Thomas Hobbes in the *Leviathan*, developed the danger of the laughter that he considered as a form of attack.

Luvell Anderson showed that the Roast associated both visions. He explored the rules of the Roast which can be resumed as an attempt to tease someone without having the will to cause any harm.¹³⁹ The roast embodied the tension between the insult and the comic. It was necessary that the group accept the roast in order to complete its true purpose and be successful. Dr John Moore achieved his goal since his roast was approved by the entire assembly:

*"his literary effort would be rewarded with the approbation of even those whose amour propre might suffer from his faithful limning."*¹⁴⁰

The Roast was therefore used by the members to bond in the club since only those who were part of the circle could understand the joke. The roast played with the norms of humour to introduce disorder in the club. Humour was hence a good example to highlight blurred lines between polite and impolite behaviours in the clubs.

¹³⁷ ARONSON, ALEX. « EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SEMANTICS OF WIT ». *Op. cit.*

¹³⁸ KIVY, Peter. « Jokes Are a Laughing Matter », *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. 2003, vol.61 n° 1. p. 5-15.

¹³⁹ ANDERSON, Luvell. « Roasting Ethics », *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. 2020, vol.78 n° 4. p. 451-464.

¹⁴⁰ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs*. *Op. cit.*

Evelyn Lord, exploring the Hell-fire clubs, argued that 18th century clubs did not perform polite behaviour and restraint. On the contrary, she underlined the importance of bawdiness in libertine clubs. The Hell-fire clubs were secrets societies where members could achieve the pursue of pleasure and a sexuality free from the preaching of the Church.¹⁴¹ 18th century was an age of pleasure, where people experienced. This pleasure-seeking behavior and their tendency to promote disorder contributed to challenge the conceptions of the state and church promoting order, morality and decency. She evoked the existence of such clubs in Scotland where the Kirk had still a great control on the morale of Scots life.¹⁴² In Scotland, the Hell-fire clubs were called the Beggar's Benison. They aimed to practice sexual experiences both in their initiation which consisted in mutual masturbation and in their meeting, having girls stripping for them.¹⁴³ The sources on which this dissertation is based on, did not mention the existence of the hell-fire clubs (although there was one in Glasgow during the period) which underlined how they only presented one face of the 18th century club. Nevertheless, the pursue of the pleasure was noticeable in their rituals. The rituals formed the clubs and provided them of a distinct identity.

Rituals and fellowship

The clubs of Glasgow were highly ritualized. The use of rituals during the meeting allowed members to share a common experience and developing a bond between them. It also excluded the non-members who did not understand the codes. Rituals determined the social space of the club. The definition of a ritual is both complex and vast. David I. Kertzer defined it as a "symbolic behavior that is socially standardized and repetitive. [...] Ritual action has a formal quality to it. It follows highly structured, standardized sequences and is often enacted at certain places and times that are themselves endowed with special symbolic meaning".¹⁴⁴ His definition can be applied to the rituals within the clubs of Glasgow, as they were repeated every meeting in a structure predefined in advance. Emile Durkheim argued that rituals played an essential role in the process of the social cohesion. If later on, theorists

¹⁴¹ LORD, Evelyn. *The Hellfire Clubs – Sex, Satanism and Secret Societies*. New Haven, Conn. ; London : Yale University Press, 2010. 247 p.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* p.157

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* p.170

¹⁴⁴ KERTZER, David I. *Ritual, politics, and power*. New Haven : Yale University Press, 1988.

exposed the lack in this argumentation, it appeared relevant for the small communities represented by the clubs of Glasgow.¹⁴⁵

Consuming the rituals

The rituals in the clubs of Glasgow were very linked to the emergence of new goods in the 18th century in Britain. Few historians such as Frank Trentmann, stepped back from the idea of a consumer revolution in the 18th century. Exploring consumptions at a larger scale and on a long history, he argued that there was not one revolution but many small ones in History. Brian Cowan examining the emergence of the coffee in Britain also explained how the consumer revolution in Britain did not happen suddenly but need to be perceived as an evolution instead.¹⁴⁶ Brian Cowan highlighted the curiosity of gentlemen for new goods. They were driven by the opportunity for new experiences and found it in exotic goods that arrived in Britain in that period. Yet, the commercial links between Glasgow and North and South America allowed the arrival of new goods in the city. The members of the clubs of Glasgow used the growing offer of exotic goods to place them at the core of their rituals. In that sense, I will follow the way paved by Brian Cowan by arguing that the curiosity of the gentlemen in that period allowed to anchor new ways to consume.

Alcohol

First, the consumption of alcohol was a ritual common to all clubs. Mary Douglas explored the importance of drinking as a social behaviour. It was performed in the everyday life, in celebrations and in the informal encounters with friends, family or community groups.¹⁴⁷ Anthony Cooke, focusing on the History of drinking in Scotland since 1700, adopted the argument of the anthropologist Joseph Gusfield, to demonstrate that drinking was a ritual in the 18th century Scotland. He compared the effects of coffee and alcohol to argue that drinking facilitated the passage from work to leisure.¹⁴⁸ In addition, in the 18th century in Britain alcohol

¹⁴⁵ WHITEHOUSE, Harvey et Jonathan A. LANMAN. « The Ties That Bind Us: Ritual, Fusion, and Identification », *Current Anthropology*. 2014, vol.55 n° 6. p. 674-695.

¹⁴⁶ COWAN, BRIAN. *The Social Life of Coffee*. *Op. cit.*

¹⁴⁷ DOUGLAS, Mary. *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology*. [s.l.] : Psychology Press, 2003. 312 p.

¹⁴⁸ COOKE, Anthony. *A History of Drinking*. *Op. cit.*

was not perceived as an obstacle to fellowship. On the contrary, drinking was regarded as facilitating conversations and the convivial spirit in social occasions.¹⁴⁹

Every activity in the clubs encouraged members to consume alcohol. Drinking in the club was often related with another of their habits very much in vogue at that time: betting. Betting was an activity that has a long history, almost as old as mankind itself, since traces of gambling can be found as far back as 2300bce.¹⁵⁰ Gambling was condemned by the Church because it implied not to leave destiny to god, and encourage people to play with their own lives. In the long 18th century, British government tried to limit gambling because of the disorder it could create, but mostly because of the lack of control it had on the large amount of money it could generate. The 18th century was hence considered as the golden age of betting. Roy Porter showed that Britain was caught in a 'gambling fever': "Men bet on political events, births and deaths—any future happening".¹⁵¹ However, the gambling and betting culture cannot be perceived as solely a British trait particularity in that period. Jonathan Walker underlined the long tradition of gambling in Venice and its growing importance in the social life of the city. It revealed the development of an appetite for risk in Europe and its impact on the social cohesion. As a matter of fact, in Glasgow betting in clubs was considered friendly most of the time which indicates a will of conviviality rather than an activity favoring disorder. Thus, exploring gambling culture in France in the 18th century, and more specifically the link between libertinage and the risk appetite, Thomas Kavanagh argued that betting fell in the pursue of happiness for the elite.¹⁵²

More than the act of betting itself in the clubs, the object of these bets were of much interest to understand social interactions between the members. It can be argued that it was a ritual thanks to the occurrence of the activity and how it became central to the organization of the club. Already in Oxford university, betting books dating back to the 17th century revealed that

¹⁴⁹ BAGGOTT, Rob. « John Burnett, Liquid pleasures: a social history of drinks in modern Britain, London and New York, Routledge, 1999, pp. viii, 254, £14.99 (paperback 0415-13182-0). - Betsy Thom, Dealing with drink: alcohol and social policy: from treatment to management, London and New York, Free Association Books, 1999, pp. xi, 266, £15.95 (paperback 1-85343450-7). », *Medical History*. juillet 2001, vol.45 n° 3. p. 419-420.

¹⁵⁰ *Gambling - History*. En ligne : <https://www.britannica.com/topic/gambling> [consulté le 12 mai 2021].

¹⁵¹ PORTER, Roy. *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*. London : Viking, 1982. 432 p. p255

¹⁵² KAVANAGH, Thomas. « The Libertine's Bluff: Cards and Culture in Eighteenth-Century France », *Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 2000, vol.33 n° 4. p. 505-521.

they betted on bottles of alcohol, wine or port.¹⁵³ In Glasgow, the members of the clubs bet on a bottle of rum. The importance of rum in Glasgow was very much related to the trade with the West Indies. Rum was originally distilled in the Caribbean and then brought to the British Isles in the 17th century. John Strang mentioned the success of the rum in Glasgow by evoking the existence of sugar houses in the city, distilling the alcohol. It could be consumed in large quantities. Indeed, punch was more expensive than beer but was still a reasonable price, it hence could correspond to a middle-class consumption.¹⁵⁴ Punch had a great success in the clubs of Glasgow. It answered the appeal of exotic experience for the gentlemen since it was usually composed with foreign goods. It was most often made from Jamaica rum, lemon and sugar. The clubs of Glasgow adapted rum according to their specific tastes, consuming it from various forms: the Grog club, with its evocative name drunk it with lemon while the Beefsteak club drank a 'glory': rum with hot water.¹⁵⁵ In addition, the rum punch facilitated social cohesion in the clubs even in the way it was served. Karen Harvey, exploring punch parties adopted a material approach in studying punch bowls used in the encounters. She argued that punch encouraged the cohesion because the bowl was shared by the entire assembly, glasses were served with a ladle with generous portions.¹⁵⁶

However, the members of Glaswegian clubs did not solely drink rum as drinks were determined by the social status in society and were used to distinguish itself. Britain had a long history with the differentiation of drink depending on whether one could afford it or not. The elites were thus more associated with wine and the poorer classes drank beers and gin.¹⁵⁷ Thus, the Hodge Podge, added Port wine to their drinking habits which was not insignificant considering the history of port in the British Isles. The consumption of port wine in Britain developed with the emergence of the gentry and was reinforced when the group grew in the 1760s. The English elites favored the strong flavour of port wine over claret, which they considered too light and therefore too feminine. According to Charles Ludington, the English elites and middle classes made port wine their national drink and engaged into an excessive

¹⁵³ *Betting books*. En ligne : <https://exetercollegespecialcollections.com/tag/betting-books/> [consulté le 12 mai 2021].

¹⁵⁴ HARVEY, Karen. « RITUAL ENCOUNTERS: PUNCH PARTIES AND MASCULINITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY », *Past & Present*. 2012 n° 214. p. 165-203.

¹⁵⁵ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs*. *Op. cit.*

¹⁵⁶ HARVEY, Karen. « RITUAL ENCOUNTERS ». *Op. cit.*

¹⁵⁷ LUDINGTON, C. *The Politics of Wine in Britain: A New Cultural History*. 1er édition. Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. 354 p.

consumption of it to build a strong masculinity.¹⁵⁸ In addition, in 1703, the Treaty of Methuen between England and Portugal supported this new preference. The treaty provided fiscal measures that were advantageous for both markets: England could export its wool to Portugal and in exchange Portuguese wine was favored in Britain by a tax lower than that provided for other European spirits such as French or German wines.¹⁵⁹ However, Scotland continued to drink claret wine from France. The consumption of port wine by the Hodge Podge hence proved the will of the members to distinguish themselves and to copy English gentleman attitudes. They followed the preconditions of the English government and reinforced their patriotic side by making it one of their rules in 1783: *“No wine except port wine shall be allowed to be used at the ordinary meetings of the Club. Madeira may be used on the Anniversary, but no French wines shall ever be called for on any pretence whatever.”*¹⁶⁰ However, in 1778 there was complaint about the introduction of port wine in the club meetings because it was an expensive alcohol in Scotland. *“on 4th November, 1778, that “a complaint having been made that the late innovation of calling for port wine is contrary to the original institution of the Club, it is resolved that no wine be produced but by an application to the Praeses.”*¹⁶¹ At the beginning, meetings were not meant to be expensive but over time they adopted more aristocratic behaviors by spending more money in their consumption.

Moreover, the members of the Morning and Evening club also drank port wine but in another way: they consumed a Porto mulled with lemon slides. In addition, they were used to drink an herbal drink on the morning to prevent the effects of alcohol and be able to consume even more alcohol in the evening. Colin Spencer showed that British people had a great knowledge of herbal drinks and their benefits.¹⁶² The drinking habits of the Morning and evening club reinforced the idea that alcohol was essential in social interactions in Glasgow clubs.

According to the sources, every clubs of Glasgow followed the rules on the alcohol dictated by the British State. However, few clubs disrupted this narrative. John Strang reminded that

¹⁵⁸ Review Journal of Wine Research, 2014 Vol. 25, No. 2, 127–136 Charles Ludington, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, “The politics of wine in Britain: a new cultural history”, 2013

¹⁵⁹ FRANCIS, A. D. « I. John Methuen and the Anglo-Portuguese Treaties of 1703 », *The Historical Journal*. juin 1960, vol.3 n° 2. p. 103-124.

¹⁶⁰ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livres électroniques, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² SPENCER, Colin. *British Food: An Extraordinary Thousand Years of History*. Revised ed. édition. London : Grub Street Publishing, 2002. 400 p. p33

whisky was forbidden in Glasgow because it was associated with a Jacobite drink and that the second revolution of 1745 was still present in people's minds. Nevertheless, some clubs like the Pig Club drank whisky such as Glenlivet and the isle of Arran recognized as good whisky at this period. The Tinkler club and Meridian club drank Scottish mountain dew and Freintosh which were product of smuggling. On the drinking habits of the Pig club, John Strang stated that:

*“Whisky, in those days, being chiefly drawn from the large flat-bottomed stills of Kilbagie, Kennetpans, and Lochrin, was only fitted for the most vulgar and fire-loving palates; but when a little of the real mountain-dew, from Glenlivet or Arran, could be obtained, which was a matter of difficulty and danger, it was sure to be presented to guests with as sparing a hand as the finest Maraschino di Zara is now offered by some laced lackey, or some butler-metamorphosed beadle, at the close of a first-class repast.”*¹⁶³

Therefore, it is possible to argue that the members of the clubs of Glasgow participated in smuggling practice common in 18th century Scotland. Walter Scott, the famous Scottish writer, testified on the growing phenomenon in one of his books: “Smuggling was general, or rather universal all along the south-western coast of Scotland ». ¹⁶⁴Richard Platt, writing an history of smuggling in Britain illustrated the participation of every categories of the society to the practice of contraband, especially alcohol. ¹⁶⁵ Thus, drinking whisky in the clubs of Glasgow was a political act, that bring members closer to one another. It demonstrates that the process of bonding could be done at the expense of the state.

Food

Among the rituals related to consumption, food played an important role as well. The members of the clubs shared their meal, to distinguish themselves in one hand but also, to promote cohesion. Some clubs even adopted the name of what they ate at their meeting, such as the Beefsteak club, and the Hodge podge, which was a kind of soup and served as a metaphor for the club being a mix of individuals. Such food was part of the bonding process and at the core of club rituals. First, the Pig club, founded in 1798 and qualified as an

¹⁶³ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.* p216

¹⁶⁴ Walter Scott, *Guy Mannering*, 1815

¹⁶⁵ Richard Platt, *Smugglers' Britain 2009* http://www.smuggling.co.uk/gazetteer_scot.html inspiré de son livre: *Smuggling in the British Isles, a history*, The History Press, 2007

aristocratic fraternity by John Strang, draw its name from the Pig they ate at each meeting. Furthermore, it seems that the club identified as this animal since the president of the club had to wear a necklace with pendant representing a pig's head.¹⁶⁶

Fig.12:



This representation of a member of the Pig Club smoking a pipe was the perfect image of the Glasgow sugar aristocracy in the turn of the century. The character wore a wig to display his social status. I do not have details on the picture on when it was drawn and who was the author but it is clear that the member was represented under the features of a pig. First of all, his face was colored pink, he has chubby cheeks, long eyelashes and long eyelids like a pig's, and his nose was turned up like the animal's. In addition, the lack of access to the complete image, makes it unclear whether the author intentionally desired to further the comparison to the smoke of the pipe but it is possible to consider its movement as the pig's tail in a corkscrew. In European history the pig had a bad reputation, it was most often associated with dirt, and lacks of moral. It was usually adopted in History to caricature the leaders, for instance to mock Louis XVI. The identification of the Pig Club with this animal could have been a way to assert

¹⁶⁶ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.* p.213

¹⁶⁷Picture held at the Mitchell Library city archives, Glasgow, Scotland

their immoral and gluttonous side and to convey the idea that they could afford to feasts at each of their meetings. Thus, in addition of eating whole pigs during their meeting they also ate turtle which was a particularly appreciated dish in the second half of the 18th century. It was expensive since it required to bring them from the Caribbean and to have someone to cook it properly.¹⁶⁸

Another club chose an animal as a base of their rituals: The Face Club. The face club brought together mostly artisans and merchants, ascendant classes who desired social ascension. The name of the club was due to their ritual of having a smoking sheep's head placed before them at their meeting. These sheep's heads were provided by one of the members of the club who was a butcher. The sheep's head was tasted in a very ritualized way as it was placed in front of each member and smoke came out of it. They placed a lot of importance on this ritual as John Strang reported a joke that the members made to the president including this particular ritual. One of the members stole the sheep's tongue and left the president surprised that it was missing. John Strang added that if the joke had been repeated the perpetrator would have been ejected from the club.¹⁶⁹ This event proved the sacralization of the food used in the clubs rituals.

Sacralizing the club: imagining a mythology

Not only they sacralized food, clubs members also used objects and outfits to provide an identity to the club. Some of the clubs had relics. For instance, the Hodge Podge had a hat called the wig conserved over time and praised by the younger generations. It was placed on the head of the president each meeting. The members reinforced its status as a relic of the club by placing it in a box in 1833.

The Coul club created in 1796 draw its name from the book from which it was inspired. They adopted it to forge their rituals and identity as a club. The Book of Coul was a book that traced the life of the Old king coul, a mythical Britain monarch. The club aimed to celebrate the life of this mythical king whose history has been written and rewritten. It aimed to celebrate the knights glory time and their bravery. Anne-Marie thiesse explained the use of the knight's myth in the construction of the British identity by the inspiration found in the folklore. Thus,

¹⁶⁸ KIRKBY, D. et T. LUCKINS (eds.). *Dining On Turtles: Food Feasts and Drinking in History*. [s.l.] : Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2007. P 3

¹⁶⁹ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs*. *Op. cit.* p. 190

the members designated themselves as knights and elected a king among them. They would knight each other and wore a “coul” to appear as knights. This attraction to chivalry was also present in Freemasonry at this period as well. Pierre-Yves-Beaurepaire underlined that European Freemasonry from 1740 developed new ranks that met this demand for chivalric sociability.¹⁷⁰

Furthermore, the Gaelic club also had a distinct dress code to promote cohesion. One of the rules of the club was to wear the Highlander outfit:

“each member should henceforth appear, at all stated meetings, in a tartan short-coat, under a penalty, for non-compliance, of the usual punishment of the day [...]” that those who chose to appear in any additional particulars of the Highland dress, would be considered still more meritorious members of the Society of the descendants of the Clans of Caledonia.”¹⁷¹

The kilt was in the core of the demonstration of the famous work of Eric Hobsbawm on the invention of the Tradition. High Trevor-Roper argued that the kilt was invented after the Union between England and Scotland as a protestation. The kilt was based on the plaid tartan long worn by the Highlanders and banned after the Jacobite revolution of 1745. However, it experienced a rebirth in the 1780s when an English industrialist modified it to adapt it to wood works when he hired Highlanders. The kilt was worn as a symbol of Scottish pride by the elites in the Highlands and later by the rest of the population. It was emphasized with Walter Scott’s work who associated the Highlands to Scottish nationalism by romanticizing the landscapes but also its inhabitants depicted as mythological heroes. Moreover, the club embodied the emergence of a Scottish nationalism that invented a mythology based on the Highlands and a Celtic mythology borrowed from the Irish.¹⁷² Thus, it mixed both folklore and Scottish culture in order to claim the identity of the Highlands: one of the other rules of the club was to speak Gaelic, a language that was mostly orally transmitted. Finally, they hired a piper during their meeting to entertain them, which can be seen as a symbol of this reinvented Highlands symbol since he was supposed to wear: “a coat, bonnet, and kilt”.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ BEAUREPAIRE, Pierre-Yves. *L’espace des francs-maçons. Op. cit.* p118

¹⁷¹ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.* p 108

¹⁷² HOBBSAWM, Eric, TERENCE RANGER, COLLECTIF, et al. *L’invention de la tradition. Édition revue et Augmentée.* Paris : Editions Amsterdam, 2012. 381 p. p 45

¹⁷³ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.*

The members of the Glasgow clubs invented a mythology borrowed from the common themes of the nation. Thus, after a while, the objects used, the rituals, the founding members of the club became themselves the mythology of the club portrayed to the new members blurring the lines of fiction and reality.

conclusion

This chapter explored the process of fellowship in Glasgow clubs from c1750 to c1830. Members navigated between both polite and impolite behaviours in order to enter the clubs of Glasgow. The clubs of Glasgow used rituals to forge an identity, to include people but also exclude others. The sources on which this dissertation is based on are testimonies that the urban elite used the clubs of Glasgow to forge themselves as a group through clubs. The following chapter will attempt to show that this sense of fellowship also reinforced and hegemonic heterosexual masculinity.

Chapter II: The fabric of brotherhood: restoring women's voice in a men's world

The sense of fellowship in the clubs of Glasgow relied on the share of similar values and norms. The members adopted certain behaviours to create a common experience in order to include people and exclude other. Yet, Historians and contemporaries argued that 18th century men built on gentlemen's clubs to reinforce an hegemonic vision of masculinity and exclude women. They envisioned the 18th century as an age of a growing distinction between men and women and hence tended to restrict the place of men in the public sphere and women's one in the domestic one. However, this chapter will argue that the social practices of the members of Glasgow clubs disrupted this narrative in both the distinction of private/ public sphere and on the vision of a polite gentleman encouraged by the clubs. The chapter will aim to step back from the analyzes of the sources written by men, in restoring the voice of women in these dynamics, relying on the work of Mary Wollstonecraft that allowed to establish an alternative speech.

Therefore, Thomas Laqueur's *Making sex* marked the 18th century as a shift in the conception of men and women bodies. There was a passage from the unique sex model, meaning the male and female sex originating from the same reproductive system to a two sexes model, distinguishing both male and female, and often linked to the gender in the 18^h century mentalities.¹⁷⁴ Thus, men and women were perceived distinct from one another in society too. Historians tended to define the formation of the gentleman in line with this narrative. They argued that it redefined the criteria of masculinity focusing on manners and politeness to distinguish themselves. Philip Carter in his work *Men and the emergence of polite society*, in particular, focused on the increasing fluidity that it offered on masculinity since it implied that the gentlemen accepted a more feminine side in his identity. However, on his last chapters, exploring the life of James Boswell, he admitted that a man did not assume a polite behaviour on every social occasions.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard argued that the 18th century masculinity should not be considered as a rupture with the

¹⁷⁴ LAQUEUR, Thomas et Michel GAUTIER. *La fabrique du sexe: Essai sur le corps et le genre en Occident*. Paris : Gallimard, 1992. 348 p.

¹⁷⁵ CARTER, Philip. *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800*. 1er édition. Harlow, England ; New York : Routledge, 2000. 240 p.

precedent centuries but rather as a continuity. The emergence of the modern man began in early modern period and not necessarily in the 18th century.¹⁷⁶ In that sense, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall followed this vision as they argued that gentleman masculinity in the 18th century was inspired by precedent centuries masculinities and was “based on sport and codes of honor derived from military prowess, finding expression in hunting, riding, drinking and ‘wenching.’”¹⁷⁷ Thus, there was not solely one masculinity in the 18th century but masculinities. Michèle Cohen argued that the hegemonic masculinity of the gentleman was a polite one in Britain. However, polite behaviours did not necessarily improved how women were perceived. Thus, contemporary women already highlighted the paradox lying under the polite behaviour of the gentleman. Mary Wollstonecraft in her famous work *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, highlighted the hypocrisy of gentlemen’s behaviour toward women. Her critic of gallantry appears particularly relevant to underline the contradiction of the gentleman masculinity. William Godwin, writer of *Enquiry concerning Political Justice* and her partner, explained the reception of Wollstonecraft’s work in her memoirs: “*Many of the sentiments [in A Vindication of the Rights of Woman] are undoubtedly of a rather masculine description. The spirited and decisive way in which the author explodes the system of gallantry, and the species of homage with which the sex is usually treated, shocked the majority.*”¹⁷⁸ Mary Wollstonecraft was criticized for the elege she granted to the Enlightenment and how it improved men. Yet, Barbara Taylor argued that her work also intended to denounce how contemporaries systematically undermined women.¹⁷⁹ She drew her inspiration on the arguments of her contemporaries such as Adam Smith, John Locke or Jean-Jacques Rousseau to criticize them and apply their concept to women's rights.¹⁸⁰ She particularly condemned gallantry that she considered as a false compliance aiming to soothe women : “*to inspire love, when they ought to cherish a nobler ambition, and by their abilities and virtues exact respect.*” She also wrote about the French Revolution and the reaction of English philosophers to it. She hence

¹⁷⁶ HARVEY, Karen et Alexandra SHEPARD. « What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500–1950 », *Journal of British Studies*. avril 2005, vol.44 n° 2. p. 274-280.

¹⁷⁷ DAVIDOFF, Leonore et Catherine HALL. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850*. 3e édition. London ; New York : Routledge, 2018. 628 p. p 110

¹⁷⁸ William Godwin, *Memoirs of the Author of a Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 1798

¹⁷⁹ TAYLOR, BARBARA. « Feminists Versus Gallants: Manners and Morals in Enlightenment Britain », *Representations*. 2004, vol.87 n° 1. p. 125-148.

¹⁸⁰ WOLLSTONECRAFT, Mary. *Vindication Of The Rights Of Woman*. South Bend, UNITED STATES : Infomotions, Inc., 2000. En ligne : <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sciences-po/detail.action?docID=3314963> [consulté le 15 mai 2021].

dismantled Burke's admiration for French chivalry. She explained that gallantry was a remaining of the Old regime because it did not encourage women to think and did not celebrate personal merit but place them in a position of passivity.¹⁸¹ Gallantry was not a civilized behaviour. On the contrary: it proved that men envisioned women as subordinate and indicated a desire to exclude them from the process of fellowship.¹⁸² In addition, she blamed women who accepted the codes of gallantry and coquetries that only encourage men to continue to use them.

Therefore, unlike Cohen's position, I will state that the hegemonic masculinity in Glasgow's clubs lied more in the definition of Davidoff and Hall, that allowed members to build a brotherhood. They used politeness on occasional situations and did not hesitate to adopt bawdy behaviours.

The club was a space of construction and reinforcement of masculinity where members could displayed heterosexual masculine values. However, I will also replace women's role in the clubs of Glasgow. They acknowledged, validated, and challenged the fabric of masculinity and could be include in the social space of the club.

Club as a rite of passage

Going into a club in Glasgow from c1750 to 1830 implied to enter in a masculine space where fraternity was encouraged. The sources usually described the clubs as a fraternity that supported each other like brothers and shared a strong bond. The masculinity participated to the process of fellowship by the share of the same values required to enter the club and that were reinforced in these circles. Thus, it constituted a rite of passage for young men: being in a club allowed one to learn how to become a man, to acquire the norms and values of the 18th manhood. They learned how to behave in homosocial situations.

First, the club was a rite of passage for young men. Rosalind Carr exploring student societies in Edinburgh demonstrated how it encouraged young people to transition from teens to adulthood. She argued that the debates which were carried out there prepared them for their future careers in the world. In addition, the different generations in the club allow the young men to learn through the conversations with older men. She showed how professors and

¹⁸¹ TAYLOR, BARBARA. « Feminists Versus Gallants ». *Op. cit.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

students could have informal conversations.¹⁸³ This generation effect can be found in the Glasgow clubs where young people were introduced to masculine values and the proper social network that they could mobilize later on.

Nevertheless, the generational gap within the clubs of Glasgow could lead to conflict in the club as the young men often adopted transgressive behaviors. The club was a place of test for them where they could test their limits. For instance, there was a difference made in the What You Please Club between young men and older men. The youth was described as "volages". There was a conflict when the club changed. It brought discord between the oldest generation and the youngest: *"In honour of the chairman, some of the youthful supporters began to call it the "Tete-a-tete;" and some time afterwards it was dubbed the "Finish," and the "New." Under these various epithets, the Club struggled on for some time, but at length, like many other aliases, its good name became blighted.*"¹⁸⁴ The younger generation went to the "Cheap and Nasty" instead, a club known for drinking rum in fancy crystal glasses and smoking the "soothing weed" from Cuba.¹⁸⁵

Peter Clark argued that British clubs should be run by older men to ensure their proper functioning. Yet the students clubs such as the Banditi Club showed that a club could be run by young men by themselves.

Furthermore, the clubs of Glasgow can be considered as a rite of passage for men because it invited them to conform to the hegemonic masculinity, which was often displayed through bawdy behaviours in Glasgow. Thus, the clubs encouraged marriage and heterosexuality. If volatile behaviours were accepted for young men, they were eventually encouraged to settle. The members of the Glasgow clubs were constantly challenging each other in order to reinforce their masculinity.

In that sense, the club was not solely a leisure and pastime for 18th century men but structured social interaction and accentuated power relations between men. It can be envisioned as a rite of passage like Arnold Van Gennep developed it.¹⁸⁶ According to him, the rite of passage must be understood as a learning process that includes the passage from one state to another

¹⁸³ WALLACE, Mark C., Jane RENDALL, Christopher A. WHATLEY, et al. *Association and Enlightenment. Op. cit.*

¹⁸⁴ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.* p 277

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p 278

¹⁸⁶ Gennep, Arnold Van. *Les rites de passage*, Paris, Picard, 1981. [1909]

and offered individuals a new identity. The rite of passage involves three stages. First, the separation one, that detached the individual from the group. Secondly, the individual is removed from his basic environment and imposed a new organization of life and practices. Finally, there is a phase of aggregation which forges the feeling of belonging to a community thanks to the practice of a common symbolic activity.

Challenging the brotherhood

The homosociality, meaning the social relations between two persons of the same sex was particularly intense in the clubs of Glasgow. The masculinity of club members was assured by the approval of other men based on both solidarity and competition. The competition implied a performance that required to show his capacities and a humiliation if the member failed to do it. They performed their masculinity in a heterosexual framework and influenced their vision of the women and their behavior towards them.¹⁸⁷

Betting created a competitive atmosphere within the club. Britain had a long tradition of betting in male spheres and especially in military circles. The bets are an interesting source because they revealed what type of masculinity, they performed and which subjects were prominent in the clubs. In addition, it helped to reconsider different practices between men and women. Thus, it can be argued that the topics of the members of Glasgow clubs were similar to gossips. In the Glasgow clubs' bets were mostly centered on a heterosexual masculinity and marital life. Thus, the norm within the clubs remained marriage even if there was a greater level of celibacy in the Britain urban society in that period.¹⁸⁸ It appears that clubs allowed the bachelor to express his fears, when society pushed them to marriage. For instance, the minutes of the Hodge Podge and the Board Of Green Cloath reflected this:

The Hodge podge: *"On 30th July, 1761, P. Blackburn wagers against P. Murdoch two pints of rum to one that two members of the Club shall not be married before this day next year."*¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ FLOOD, Michael. « Men, Sex, and Homosociality: How Bonds between Men Shape Their Sexual Relations with Women », *Men and Masculinities*. 1 avril 2008, vol.10 n° 3. p. 339-359.

¹⁸⁸ CLARK, Peter, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, OUP Oxford, January 2000, p.207

¹⁸⁹ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

The Board of green cloath: "20 May, 1809. —Mr. Dunlop betts a bottle of Rum that Miss Sommerville is not Married to Mr. Nicol Brown before the Eighth day of July. Mr. Leckie says he will.Mr. L. Lost. Married in Augt."¹⁹⁰

However, the objection of bachelors to marry and their issues with women were mocked by other club members.

The Board of Green Cloath : "20 May, 1809. —Mr. Middleton says that since Mr. Blackburn went to Edinr. he has had communication with a lady or ladies. Mr. Maxwell denies for a bottle of Rum. Mr. Midn. Lost. Settled."¹⁹¹

In addition, once the members married another dynamic was established and their ability of having children rapidly questioned. The pressure on women to give birth was accentuated by the competition set up in the clubs:

The Board of Green Cloath "Mr. Blackburn betts a bottle of Rum with Mr. Carnegie that Mrs. Palmer has not a child on or before this day twelve month. 16 Jany., 1810. Mr. Blackburn betts a bottle of Rum and five Guineas dry that Mrs. N. Brown is not with child at this time. W. Corbet says, yes. Same date as above. ""^ Coir. C. lost. Settled."

12 March, 181 1. —Mr. Hamilton betts a Bottle of Rum with Mr. Henry Monteith that Mrs. Blackburn, formerly Miss Gillies, will have a living child within twelve months from this date.^ H. Monteath lost.

Nov. 30th. —Of the two marriages yesterday, Mr. Wallace and Mr, Wardrope, Coppersmith, whose wife is to produce first after nine months from this day .'* Mr. Monteith says Mrs. Wardrope, Mr. Hunter, Mrs. Wallace. A guinea and a bottle of rum.^

16 May, 1809. —Mr. W, Corbet betts a bottle of Rum with Mr. J. Maxwell that Mr. Nicol Brown will have a child in two years after his marriage. Meaning a living child.

Women were reduced to their ability to procreate. Having children was the main purpose of marriages, and a woman's duty. Miscarriages were frequent due to the young age of women and infant mortality was still an issue. Through these bets we can see that not only women and marriage are considered as a way to have a child, an heir, but that the duty to have

¹⁹⁰ « Minute book of the Board of Green Cloth 1809-1820 : with notices of the members ». *Op. cit.*

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

children also applied on men even if it reinforced the active role of men and passive position of women in that social requirement. These bets were particularly present in the Board of Green cloath who shared a lot of family ties, so the question of children is all the more present.

Betting also revealed the demeaning comments on women made by the clubs members. A large amount of remarks were directed toward women recognized as the typical ideal female. They commented on their bodies, usually on their height and age:

For instance, The Board of Green CLoath commented on Mrs Ashburner, late Miss Farquhar Gray, the author indicates that she is daughter of John Gray himself son of a reverend and her mother Jane Farquhar heiress of Gilmillscroft, Ayrshire. He also indicates that she was particularly famous for her beauty, and often toasted in Ednburgh and Glasgow: *"14 Jany., 181 7. —Mr. Craigie bets a Bottle of Rum with Mr. Colin Campbell that Mrs. Ashburner, late Miss Farquhar Gray is thirty years of age. Mr. Campbell bets she is under that age"*

The Hodge Podge: *"4th August, 1784. Mr. Ritchie has lost a bottle of rum to John Dunlop about the age and size of the Miss Campells, Clathick"*

These comments served as a bonding experience for the men and created connivance among them and encourage the brotherhood. However, they could also generate competition and disputes within the clubs. This is the case with Miss Burns, who were the subject of an argument at the Hodge Podge:

*"2nd June, 1790. Dr. Stevenson bets Mr. Baird one bottle rum that the riot about Miss Burns, in which Mr. M'Dowall and some of his friends were concerned, happened after Mr. J as. M*Dowall was first married"*

In addition, the comments did not rely solely on women of their entourage but also on women of other social categories. For instance, they commented on the rape of a young girl and even betted on it:

"27th January, 1790. Mr. M'Dowall bets "a bottle of rum in punch " with Dr. Stevenson that Mary Ann Petrie, the girl "upon whose body the rape at Paisley was committed," is not fourteen years of age complete"

Elissa Mailander, analyzing a photo of a rape scene during the Second World War, showed that rape could be a laughing matter in male circles.¹⁹² By describing this photo showing a group of men around an unconscious, hilarious woman, she argued that rape joke could be part of the social cohesion process between homosocial group. Christine Helliwell underlined that rape accentuates masculinity because it emphasizes the difference between men and women but also because it reinforces the difference in power relations.¹⁹³ The bet about the rape of the young girl in the club was made in a convivial spirit, they did not comment on the perpetrator but on the age of the girl which dissociate the significance of the act.

This comment of the rape of a young girl embodied the link between masculinity displayed in the clubs and sexual performance. Men betting on their ability to have children, to marry, reinforce their heterosexuality and insert themselves into a performative masculinity.

Moreover, the object of the bet : a bottle of rum, reinforced the idea that they must prove their masculinity through excess. In Glasgow club scene men had to drink large amounts of alcohol. Henry French argued that the excessive drinking was part of the formation of the elite manhood in the 18th century England. He showed that young men were introduced to it at a young age in a learning process. Thus, drinking allowed them to learn to control their bodies and their limits. In addition, alcohol was associated at a very early age in the rituals of social interactions in order to encourage fellowship while maintaining their masculinity.¹⁹⁴

Toasting the Ladies

The heterosexual hegemonic masculinity displayed in the clubs of Glasgow was asserted by on of the main activities of the members: toasting. Members of the clubs could toast to a variety of subjects from honoring the king to the memory of a member. Martyn Powell, James Epstein and Philip Sheldon Foner working respectively in clubs and societies in Ireland, Lancashire, and United States in particular, argued that toast promoted group cohesion and

¹⁹² MAILÄNDER, Elissa. « Making Sense of a Rape Photograph: Sexual Violence as Social Performance on the Eastern Front, 1939–1944 », *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. 5 septembre 2017. En ligne : <https://www.utexaspressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.7560/JHS26306> [consulté le 22 mai 2021].

¹⁹³ HELLIWELL, Christine. « “It’s Only a Penis”: Rape, Feminism, and Difference », *Signs*. 2000, vol.25 n° 3. p. 789-816.

¹⁹⁴ FRENCH, Henry. « Getting Drunk Soberly: English Elite Masculinity and Drinking Culture in the Eighteenth Century ». En ligne : https://www.academia.edu/8405643/Getting_Drunk_Soberly_English_Elite_Masculinity_and_Drinking_Culture_in_the_Eighteenth_Century [consulté le 22 mai 2021].

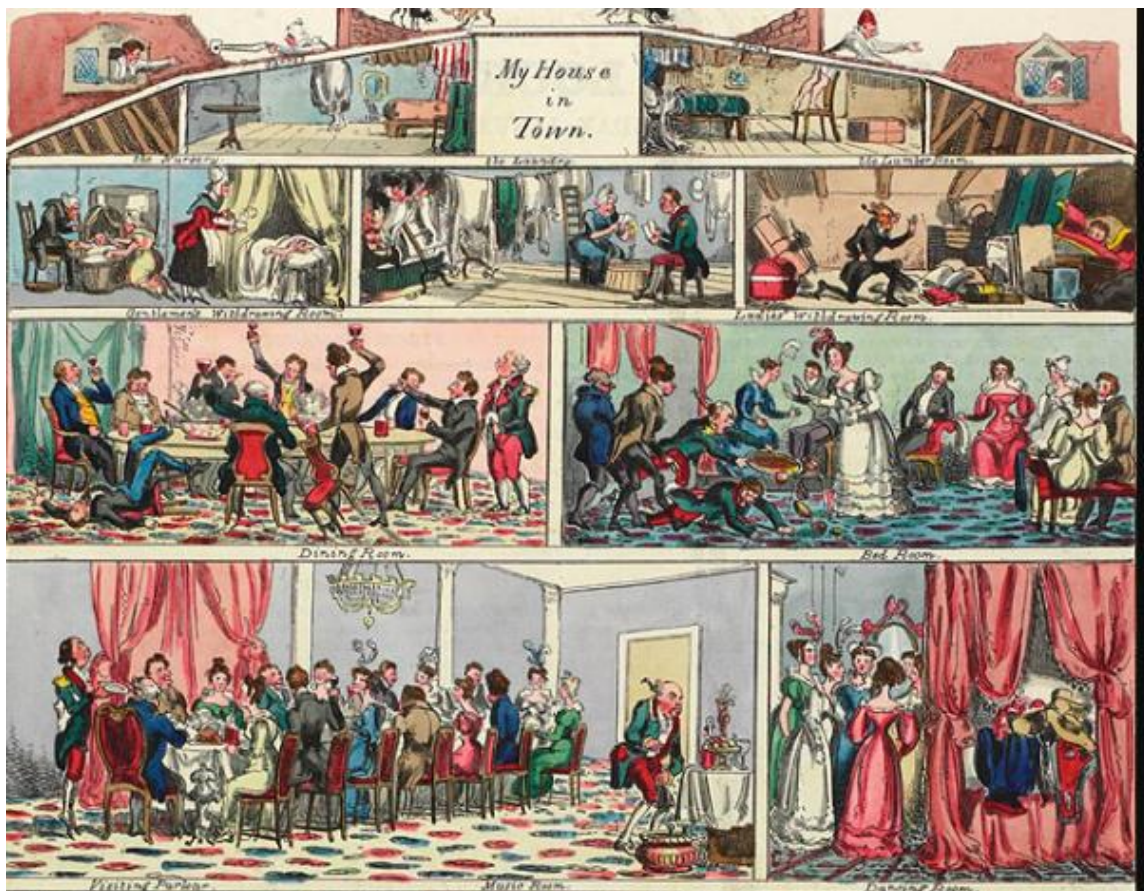
was closely linked to political activity.¹⁹⁵ It was a male activity that can be traced back to a military environment. It was very much linked to the consumption of alcohol and the desire to introduce disorder in the club. Thus, toasting encouraged men to drink together under peer pressure. As it was often practice in a circle at a table it was almost impossible to escape to drink, risking being judged by the rest of the group. Toasting promoted social cohesion and in particular the creation of strong links such as friendship.¹⁹⁶

Toasted was often represented in man circles. In the picture below, the gentlemen's withdrawing room and the ladies' room were positioned next to each other in the caricature to distinguish them. Men were invited into the ladies withdrawing room but no women were allowed in the men's room. There is a striking difference between the orderly and polite conversation on the women's side and the men's one that depict them drunk and holding out their glasses for toast.

¹⁹⁵ POWELL, MARTYN J. « Political Toasting in Eighteenth-Century Ireland », *History*. 2006, vol.91 4 (304). p. 508-529. ; EPSTEIN, James. « Radical Dining, Toasting and Symbolic Expression in Early Nineteenth-Century Lancashire: Rituals of Solidarity* », *Albion*. ed 1988, vol.20 n° 2. p. 271-291. ; FONER, Philip Sheldon. *The Democratic-Republican societies, 1790-1800: a documentary sourcebook of constitutions, declarations, addresses, resolutions, and toasts*. Westport, Conn. : Greenwood Press, 1976.

¹⁹⁶ FRENCH, Henry. « 'Getting Drunk Soberly' »; *Op. cit.*

Fig.13:



« Coloured cartoon from the *Northern Looking Glass* 23 January 1826 entitled "My House in Town »

Toasting in the clubs was a ritual. They were often prepared in advance, the toast master designated and it was written in the rules of the clubs.¹⁹⁷ This was one of the main activities of the Hodge Podge which called it : "Toast to the ladies". The fellowship process in the Hodge Podge was hence directly link to their attitude toward women. The chosen women were part of the members' entourage, as the rules of the Hodge Podge suggested it, they were supposed to be unmarried and they were often young. The rule of choosing unmarried ladies proved a form of male solidarity in the clubs that respected the status of the married woman. For example, a woman who was elected and married was immediately excluded from the toast list: "On 26th February, 1760, Miss Darcy Brisbane having taken to herself a husband, without

¹⁹⁷ DUTHILLE, Rémy. « Drinking and toasting in Georgian Britain Britain: group identities and individual agency ». Bordeaux, France : [s.n.], 2018. En ligne : <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01974763> [consulté le 16 mai 2021].

consulting the Club, " the Club drunk her dragey according to use and wont, and bade her farewell aye and until she gets quit of her choice.

According to Cohen, "honoring" women for gentlemen was a way to place themselves in the renewal of a chivalry in exposing their respect to women. Indeed, the members of the Hodge Podge considered as great honor to be chosen as 'toast'.¹⁹⁸ However, only few contemporaries women participated in the toast and were usually against it.¹⁹⁹ For instance, Mary Wollstonecraft criticized these marks of attention that objectify women: ?" *"As objects of male fantasy and desire, women are "the sex," with every aspect of their lives invested with erotic meaning—even the charming postures they adopt when praying"* . She added that *"If women be ever allowed to walk without leading-strings, why must they be cajoled into virtue by artful flattery and sexual compliments?"*.²⁰⁰

As a matter of fact, the toast practiced by the Hodge Podge was not a polite behaviour. First, since women were supposed to be married, men chose young ones. One of the members even desired of transforming the criteria of age as a rule:

" On 4th November, 1863, Mr. Mark Sprot gave notice that at the Anniversary meeting in May next he would propose that no toast should be proposed in future whose age exceeded thirtyfive years. When he brought forward this ungallant motion, an amendment was moved " that Mr. Sprot's motion was inexpedient," the seconder, Mr. P. Murdoch, alleging that "he knew nothing but old women." After considerable discussion Mr. Sprot withdrew his motion."

Thus, it appears that the members both had to choose women from their entourage and share a certain familiarity with her to get her elected. The purpose of the toasts was not really chivalric but rather an opportunity to sexualize women.²⁰¹ The chosen women were often selected for their beauty which was commented on by the members in more or less flattering terms. Rémy Duthille demonstrated that men could chose to toast women to get revenge.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ COHEN, Michèle. « "Manners" Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750–1830 », *Journal of British Studies*. avril 2005, vol.44 n° 2. p. 312-329.

¹⁹⁹ DUTHILLE, Rémy. « Drinking and toasting in Georgian Britain Britain ». *Op. cit.*

²⁰⁰ WOLLSTONECRAFT, Mary. *Vindication Of The Rights Of Woman*. *Op. cit.*

²⁰¹ BULLOUGH, Vern L. « David Stevenson. The Beggar's Benison: Sex Clubs of Enlightenment Scotland and their Rituals. East Lothian, U.K.: Tuckwell Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 265. £18.99. ISBN 1-86232-134-5. », *Albion*. ed 2003, vol.35 n° 2. p. 361-363.

²⁰² DUTHILLE, Rémy. « Drinking and toasting in Georgian Britain Britain ». *Op. cit.*

The toast was an opportunity to mock the woman among the members of the clubs. He used the example of the dispute between Samuel Johnson and Catharine Macaulay, an intellectual with whom he had a political disagreement with. Johnson 'began to be very great; stripped poor Mrs. Macaulay to the very skin, then gave her for his toast, and drank her in two bumpers.' Rémy Duthille argued that the use of the term "stripped" was a way for Johnson to compare Catharine Macaulay to a prostitute.

In addition, the toast to the ladies within the Hodge Podge encouraged competition between members and hierarchize women.

"Prior to the meeting of every Anniversary there must be as many ladies elected toasts as there are regularly attending members of the Club, and on that day the whole list of toasts must be purged, and at least five new ones elected at the same meeting. The " purging" seems to have consisted of drinking their healths ; but apparently this was only done if the " toasts " had comported themselves during the year in a way befitting the high position of toasts of the Hodge Podge." The women had to be irreproachable to get the approval of the club members. Also we can see that competition because of the disputes.

"on 25th March, 1755, John Dunlop and John Campbell are fined in a mutchkin bowl of punch each for "alleged bribery and corruption in the electing of a lady"—a thing, the chronicler indignantly adds, " unheard of in this Club." The members paid a close attention to the names chosen by the other member in order to tease him if he insisted on getting one woman to be elected." *At this meeting Mr. John Dunlop refused to name a lady to be elected [a toast], because he was not permitted to give Miss Hannah Rankin, who had been voted out that same day. The whole Club were "greatly surprised at the said John Dunlop, his constancy and obstinacy." On August 5th, 1755, they had "much good conversation and altercation." On 15th November, 1758, it is recorded that John Moore, having named Miss Sarah Ramsay as a toast, the Preses, Mr. John Dunlop, " did in a most arbitrary manner stop the vote."*

Yet the toasts of the Hodge Podge are interesting because they challenge the notion of an homosocial environment in the club. Thus, the club's records listed the women toasted as "Female Members of the Hodge Podge," opposite a similar list of the members, as at 5th May, 1758. It would be surprising if they get to actually attend club meetings, but it would seem that being toasted gave them a form of respect and enhanced their social status.

Women's role within clubs

Whether women were present or not, the relation to women structured men interactions. Exploring the role of women in the fabric of masculinity allows to rethink the conception that women were completely excluded from these masculine circles. They were not considered as equals, but could be in contact with the members in the clubs during their meetings. It helps to rethink the notion of the public sphere as solely a male one. Modern period historians tended to underline how the period accentuated gendered socio-spatial segregation by reserving the public sphere for men and the private sphere of the home for women, phenomenon even more pronounced with industrialization.²⁰³ However, Danielle van den Heuvel exploring the streets of European cities in the pre-modern period challenged this distinction.²⁰⁴ Studying the street allows to rethink the dichotomy between private and public sphere. As a go-between space it produced a great variety of sources and particularly legal documents that explore the everyday life of the city and the role of the women in the fabric of the city. The presentation of clubs in the sources used for this dissertation reinforces the idea that clubs were predominantly male and advocated a strong masculinity. However, it is possible to find evidence of women's participation.

In addition, Robert Shoemaker's study of women's and men's mobility in 18th century London revealed differences in women's categories.²⁰⁵ Glaswegian women had a different experience in the city and access to clubs meeting. They did not all play the same role in the fabric of masculinity.

Thus, the places of sociability frequented by the clubs of Glasgow was a first indicator of the presence of women. Almost half of the places were run by women. (9 of 21) The hospitality market developed around women in European cities in the 16th century.²⁰⁶ Rosa Salzberg exploring the lodgings in Venice showed the importance of women in this market and how it could allow them to gain flexibility in caring for their children, especially for young widows.²⁰⁷

²⁰³ DAVIDOFF, Leonore et Catherine HALL. *Family Fortunes. Op. cit.* 1987

²⁰⁴ VAN DEN HEUVEL, Danielle. « Gender in the Streets of the Premodern City », *Journal of Urban History*. 1 juillet 2019, vol.45 n° 4. p. 693-710.

²⁰⁵ Robert B. Shoemaker, "Gendered Spaces: Patterns of Mobility and Perceptions of London's Geography, 1660-1750," in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. J. F. Merritt (Cambridge, 2001), 144-66.

²⁰⁶ SALZBERG, Rosa. « Mobility, cohabitation and cultural exchange in the lodging houses of early modern Venice », *Urban History*. août 2019, vol.46 n° 3. p. 398-418.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Yet, the first part of the dissertation showed that that the members of the Glasgow clubs had a special relationship with the landlords. It is possible to suggest that the members had interactions with the landlady and offered them a great respect. The objective is not to prove a "golden age" of women before the industrial period, where women would have had more opportunities and would have been treated as equals of the men in particular on professional plans, but rather to restore their visibility in the public space and their participation in the economy.²⁰⁸ In addition, it proved that landladies acknowledged the behaviours of the members of the clubs of Glasgow and validated in a certain way speeches conveyed on women.

In addition, the club should not be limited to club meetings. Some clubs held balls where men and women could interact. The dances were an opportunity to gossip. Gossiping allows to reconsider the notion of a private and public sphere. It was practiced by two individuals in a private way but is often about the community, the affairs of the kingdom, or the behavior of individuals. Natalie Hanley-Smith exploring the behaviours of the English elite in Naples in the 1790s highlighted the importance of gossips in structuring the behaviours of an expatriate community.²⁰⁹ Gossips revealed the organization of the social interactions between women and helped to understand what was considered transgressive and the judgment of peers. Laura Gowing and Bernard Capp respectively working on early England have shown how gossips allow women to get out of the domestic sphere and discuss important matters with each other or with men.²¹⁰ Nevertheless, gossips were not only practiced by women. The bets in Glasgow clubs revealed the importance of gossiping in men circles. This activity had therefore a cohesion effect that exceeds the barrier woman / man and could quite be practiced together on the occasion of ball for example.

²⁰⁸ SHEPARD, Alexandra. « Crediting Women in the Early Modern English Economy », *History Workshop Journal*. 2015 n° 79. p. 1-24.

²⁰⁹ HANLEY-SMITH, Natalie. « Gossip and Sexual Transgression in 'English Society' in 1790s' Naples », *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 2021, vol.44 n° 1. p. 59-75.

²¹⁰ CAPP, Bernard. *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England*. [s.l.] : Oxford University Press, En ligne :

<https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199255986.001.0001/acprof-9780199255986> [consulté le 22 mai 2021]. ; GOWING, Laura. *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London*. [s.l.] : Oxford University Press, En ligne :

<https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198207634.001.0001/acprof-9780198207634> [consulté le 22 mai 2021].

Brian Cowan invited to rethink the distinction of private and public sphere in comparing French Salons and English clubs.²¹¹ He reminded that there were salonières in England also held by women and that it is necessary to nuance the role of women in the French salons as Antoine Lilti had underlined it. Women were hostesses of these meetings but had no real power. Nevertheless, this still indicates a closeness between men and women in this period. Barbara Taylor deconstructed the notion of “separate spheres” for women and men showing that the reaction of contemporary moralists on this proximity between men and women was in fact a prediction that there was one.²¹² It reveals the presence of women in the networks of sociability as in Edinburgh Whig society, but especially the proximity between females and male writers, which worried men. Women were encouraged to write as long as it was not political like Mary Wollstonecraft's *Rights of Woman*. Barbara Taylor showed how the intellectuals both men and women regularly met and shared conversations as equals which Wollstonecraft preached instead of using blinding gallantry.²¹³

However, in Glasgow, if club meetings were not allowed, this does not necessarily mean that they did not have access to the content of the meetings. Indeed, one of the minutes of the Hodge Podge indicates that

“On 24th March, 1790, Mrs. Mure having applied for a copy of the Club song, one was ordered to be sent her. At the same time the Club wish to have it understood that sending a copy of the song to Mrs. Mure shall be no precedent in giving one to any other person who may apply for it”.

"Mrs" indicates that she was a madam and certainly the wife of William Mure of Caldwell. This particular request highlighted that the content of meetings was not necessarily restricted to men and members and could be discussed outside the club. The meetings could therefore be discussed between husband and wife within the home. In this sense, the woman can leave the domestic sphere and insert herself into this male universe.

²¹¹ English Coffeehouses and French Salons: Rethinking Habermas, Gender and Sociability in Early Modern French and British Historiography
By BRIAN COWAN

²¹² TAYLOR, BARBARA. « Feminists Versus Gallants ». *Op. cit.*

²¹³ *Ibid.*

Conclusion:

Stepping back from the idealized vision of the brotherhood conveyed by the sources written by men in the 19th century allowed to restore the place of women in the fabric of masculinity and the definition of the gentleman in Glasgow. Far from the image of a polite gentleman, Glaswegian men adopted bawdy behaviour in order to reinforce a heterosexual masculinity reinforced in their social interaction in the clubs. Men learned how to interact with each other in the clubs constantly competing with each other on placing women at the heart of their challenge. Men and women cannot be restricted to one sphere in the 18th century and could negotiate their role in both private and public sphere.

Part III: Cultivating an associational spirit: the formation of a civil society in the clubs of Glasgow

The sources on which this dissertation is based on tended to idealize clubs. They described them as havens of peace, where all individuals were equal. The authors of the 19th century praised the lack of politicization in the clubs that guaranteed harmony and a convivial spirit. However, a closer attention to the organization of Glasgow clubs and their discussions at meetings, reveals a deep political experience. They organized in micro-groups according to their interests. The members intended to recreate small-scale governance, to manage themselves outside the structures of the state and the church. From 1750 to 1830 the form of the club became more and more institutionalized which proved the ability of the elites to adapt the club to match their desire to manage themselves.

Their will of autonomy was part of a tradition that can be traced back to the Renaissance and established itself even more in the 18th century. The emergence of a civil society can be seen in the humanist speeches of the Renaissance. Thus, Spinoza defended in 1670, the development of freedom of speech as a public right to oppose absolutism. According to him the state could achieve modernization only on favoring freedom of opinion.²¹⁴

William Godwin's work on Political Justice embodied this speech of an alternative discourse to State governance in the 18th century, and seems particularly relevant to explain the organization of the clubs of Glasgow.²¹⁵ William Godwin (1756-1836), wrote his reflections on the democracy and the organization of the state in 1793, in reaction of the French revolution and the debates that it led on in Britain. He was inspired by the work of Rousseau on social justice. He believed in the modern man and on his improvement which fell in line with the Enlightenment ideas. However, he rejected every form of coercion. He argued that individuals, not the state, are more likely to answer their needs. In addition, he believed that political change must be achieved gradually and through small group discussions: an activity promoted in the clubs. He envisioned a new social order where the individual is considered as a rational being and therefore should have control over their own life. He believes that government such

²¹⁴ SPINOZA, Benedictus de. *Traité théologico-politique*. Paris : Flammarion, 1997. 380 p.

²¹⁵ *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, Vol. I.* | *Online Library of Liberty*. En ligne : <https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/godwin-an-enquiry-concerning-political-justice-vol-i> [consulté le 22 mai 2021].

as monarchy prevented the emergence of a modern man. Godwin hence questioned the relation to the state.

It was also in that redefinition to the State, that the anthropologist James C Scott developed his work in 1990 on *Domination and the Arts of Resistance : Hidden Transcripts* and the notion of infrapolitic.²¹⁶ He argued that infrapolitic includes the actions, thoughts and movement that are not usually considered as political in a community by the State because they were made outside the structures of the State or that they exceed them. His work is particularly challenging for Historians because it suggests to pay attention to new material that are usually left out by Historians such as myths. Yet, the main interest of James C Scott's work for the club of Glasgow is probably his argumentation on the hidden resistance actions in a state. He argued that resistance is not necessarily visible, and that the state can be challenged by small actions, disguised in others. ; His work is particularly relevant for subaltern studies but it can also be applied to the elites of Glasgow and their activity in the clubs of Glasgow. Thus, some of their activities developed earlier in the dissertation showed some of these hidden resistance to the State such as their participation in smuggling and their transgressive behaviours like the one in the oyster houses that challenged the State more or less openly. In line with James C Scott's conclusions, I will argue that even the structure of the clubs highlighted their desire to govern themselves. The clubs of Glasgow joined spontaneously themselves in small scale organizations without asking the approbation of the state. Their activity was not controlled by the government.

However, the small scales organization promoted by Godwin did not necessarily aimed to a common, universal interest. The self-organizations were not radical in the Glasgow clubs. On the contrary these organizations promoted conservatives values and elitism. However, it will help to reconsider the notion of a central governance of the British government, and underlined how the urban elites governed cities in the 18th century.

This final section will attempt to restore the political experience of urban elites in the Glasgow clubs to sheds light to the formation of a civil society challenging the Church and the State.

²¹⁶ SCOTT, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. [s.l.] : Yale University Press, 1990. En ligne : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1np6zz> [consulté le 22 mai 2021].

Yet the Glasgow clubs demonstrates that this democratic experience remained aristocratic and conservative.

Chap I: a “micro government” : the club organization as a political experience

This chapter is based on the assumption of Dr Alexander Hamilton that “clubs were like “civil governments in miniature”. Alexander Hamilton was a doctor born in Edinburgh who fled to Chesapeake to make money.²¹⁷ He participated in several clubs throughout his life, including the Tuesday club of Annapolis, about which he wrote its history in the 1750s. He underlined how clubs members debated national issues and how they structured the clubs to facilitate their association. Although he described a club’s experience in the United States, Valérie Capdeville showed that they were shaped on a British model.²¹⁸

In addition, David Allan enhanced this argument in the chapter “Politeness, sociability and the “little Platoon” in a recent book on Scottish Association in the 18th century.²¹⁹ He highlighted that contemporaries such as Hume and Burke linked the human nature to an association desire. Using Burke’s formula of “little platoon”, he showed how contemporaries philosophers believed in small- scale organization as the ideal environment to develop the reason and reveal the true human nature.

Glasgow clubs reproduced state structure at a small scale to organize themselves. From c1750 to c1830 the clubs became more and more institutionalized. During the period they experimented the vote, established a selective process of admission and a representation. Furthermore, they imposed laws to control the meetings and to facilitate the management of the group. Finally, the members recreated an economic system in their social practices.

²¹⁷ KUKLA, Jon. « The Tuesday Club », *The Southern Literary Journal*. 1991, vol.24 n° 1. p. 115-118.

²¹⁸ CAPDEVILLE, Valérie. « “Transferring the British Club Model to the American Colonies: Mapping Spaces and Networks of Power (1720-70)” », *XVII-XVIII. Revue de la Société d’études anglo-américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. 31 décembre 2017 n° 74. En ligne : <http://journals.openedition.org/1718/867> [consulté le 20 mai 2021].

²¹⁹ WALLACE, Mark C., Jane RENDALL, Christopher A. WHATLEY, et al. *Association and Enlightenment. Op. cit.* p 36

Membership

The membership in the clubs of Glasgow transformed through the period toward an institutionalization and a more exclusive admission.

First, the process of admission within the clubs of Glasgow depended on a connection with one of the members. In the 1750s it was usually enough to know one of the members to join the club. However, as the period moved forward it became: it was then necessary to get accepted by every existent member in the club. Todd Sandler, Frederic P. Sterbenz and John Tschirhart underlined the uncertainty that strikes individual who wants to join a club.²²⁰ James M. Buchanan theorized the economic choices related to going into a club. He demonstrated economically and mathematically that the maintenance of a club relies on a balance between inclusion and exclusion.²²¹ Thus, in Glasgow clubs, the more exclusive the club was, the more the members felt like they belonged to the circle. For instance, the sense of fellowship in the Gaelic club was based on the share of an Highland affiliation. It was one of the rules that the member *“should be a Highlander, either by birth or connection” and “should speak Erse or be the descendant of Highland parents, the possessor of landed property in the Highlands, or an officer in a Scots or Highland regiment”*.²²²

In order to make the club more exclusive, the members of Glasgow clubs adopted selection and election processes for new members.

The use of the black ball embodied the switch from a fluid membership to a more exclusive one within the Glasgow clubs. Since the 17th century was used in other forms of association and clubs elsewhere but it appeared only in the 1770-1780s in Glasgow clubs. It indicates a desire to limit the group and the idea that it required that the new member should please everyone. The black ball process was particularly used by the freemasonry in the 18th century to accept or refuse a new freemason. Therefore, it suggests that a process inspired by a

²²⁰ SANDLER, Todd, Frederic P. STERBENZ, et John TSCHIRHART. « Uncertainty and Clubs », *Economica*. 1985, vol.52 n° 208. p. 467-477.

²²¹ BUCHANAN, James M. « An Economic Theory of Clubs », *Economica*. 1965, vol.32 n° 125. p. 1-14.

²²² STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs*. *Op. cit.*

democratic practice does not necessarily have a liberal aim but on the contrary could serve a conservative purpose. Thus, it was particularly adopted by aristocratic clubs in Glasgow such as the Board of Green cloath, and the Medical club. In addition, the process of election described in the Medical club underlined the advantage of the black ball election to protect the reputation of the member who introduced the applicant member and prevent a member that will cause disorder : *“a well-known and able practitioner — but who, at the same time, had shown his rather captious and troublesome temper at many of the meetings of Faculty — making application, through a friend, to be admitted into the social brotherhood, it was found that even his proposer had deserted him at the last moment! By the laws of the Club, one black ball was sufficient to exclude any applicant; and the gentleman who had reluctantly promised to propose his professional brother, and who had made a speech, too, in his favour, fearing that what he had said might allow this anti-social character to slip in, and thereby injure the harmony of the fraternity, bravely resolved to sacrifice his friend at the shrine of duty, painful though that duty was, and therefore, when his turn came round, he popped a black ball into the ballot-box. But judge of the surprise of all present, when, on opening the said repository of Club feeling, it was discovered that all the balls were of the same hostile complexion!”*²²³

The Hodge podge used the ballot process to limit its circle and operate a switch towards a more aristocratic and elitist sociability. In 1783 they stated that :

*“Further, the election must be by ballot, and a single negative shall prevent any person from being admitted a member ; but if there shall be found only one negative against a person that has been proposed for a member, a second ballot shall be taken, seeing that one of the members of the Club may be supposed to have given a negative through mistake. If, however, a negative shall be found at the second balloting, the person proposed shall stand excluded.”*²²⁴

In addition, the exclusivity of the membership was assured by the practices of the member to discuss the entry of a new man. This was assured by one of their rule planning that the applicant could not be elected a member on the same day that he has been proposed. Both minutes from the Hodge podge and board of green cloath insisted on this idea:

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

“No person can be elected a member of the Club at the meeting at which he is proposed, nor can any member be elected at all except there be present ten members at least, and the members specially summoned”²²⁵ “every Candidate to be proposed at one Meeting and balloted for the next” one half of the Members must be present”. ²²⁶

Furthermore, the emergence of fees for club membership increased the exclusivity too. It accentuated their desire to rigidify the social space of the club as it offered less room for honorary members or occasional invited who came into the club once. It allowed members to control who could join more easily. However, although it established a more rigid structure of the club, it did not necessarily indicate a dramatic change since the subscription often included the expenses of dinners etc... Therefore, it proved their desire to structure the club and its institutionalization.

At the beginning the members of the clubs charged only for the dinners in advance so that the establishment that hosted them did not suffer economic loss: John Strang underlined this for the Hodge Podge : *“The following Minute of the Cluh, dated 18th February-, 1768, shows the great differ ence which existed between the price of a fashionable supper at that period, and that of the present day: — '-The Club having ob served that Sir M 'Donald has been a sufferer on the article of supper, by several thin meetings of the Club, have unanimously re- solved that, for the future, he shall always charge six shillings at least for each meeting; and, when the members present exceed the number of nine, he shall charge 8c? per head for the number present; and, as a fund for his purpose, it is agi-eed that each member hall pay 2s M in advance (being for five meetings)”²²⁷* The fees at the beginning were hence dedicated for practical reasons. However, as the period goes by, the fees changed in nature and became a condition to the entrance of the club. This is the case of the Pig Club for instance: The annual subscription was thirty shillings, which represented a large amount of money.

Representation: clubs administrators

At first elites organized themselves in clubs to recreate a community. The sources often described them as a brotherhood. However, it appears that, at the beginning of the period, in

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

²²⁶ « Minute book of the Board of Green Cloth 1809-1820 : with notices of the members ». *Op. cit.*

²²⁷ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.*

the 1750s, the members relied on the figure of a "father" to control the meetings. The father of the club had to look after the members. For instance, for the Anderston club, Robert Simson was the father of the brotherhood, and decided on when started and ended a meeting: *"Professor Simson never permitted even the most interesting discussion to prevent him calling the bill at an early hour, and of dissolving the meeting so as to enable all to reach their homes in the City within elders hours"*. In addition, the death of the father coincides to the death of the club too.

After 1780, there was a distinction between the "father" of the club and the president in the club of Glasgow. It appears that the father of the club was then the oldest member of the club, to whom great respect was paid. Thus, Peter Murdoch (1757-1817), father of the Hodge Podge was a "worthy and much respected member".²²⁸In addition, the death of the father of the club was an important event in club life. For instance, the death of the father of the Gaelic club led to a moment of fellowship in the club:

"On the anniversary dinner, too, of 7th March, 1804', the Club appeared in fiddl mourning, as a token of respect towards the memory of Mr M'Gilvra, the father of the Club [...]the Club piper had poured out a solemn lament, Mr George M'Intosh, the old and intimate friend of the deceased, rose, and after saying a few words in testimony of the singularly amiable character of his departed companion, concluded his touching oration in the following rather remarkable words: — "The father of the Club — the oldest in years — the gayest in all juvenile and innocent amusements — the first in the dance — the last to part with a social friend. His venerable countenance and grey locks created respect, while his cheerful good humour diffused mirth. In all his dealings and conversation he was strictly just and honourable ; in religion and piety sincere. We have lost one of our best members, and many poor High-landers their best friend." With those concluding sentiments, he proposed the following toast : —

" May we all live in health and comfort to the age of Calum ; And when we cease to be members, may we be regretted like Calum."

Peter Clark argued that the death of one of the members was celebrated in the club and the funerals paid by the members which was directly inspired by the guilds and fraternities of

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

middle Age.²²⁹ In addition, clubs cultivated the memory of members by displaying portraits of deceased members. The Hodge Podge, for example, had portraits of Dr. John Moore and Mr. Peter Murdoch.²³⁰

During the period, the clubs were represented by presidents, whom they elected. As they moved toward an institutionalized management of the club the president became formally elected. The president was often an important person in the Glaswegian society. For instance, the president of My Lord Ross's club was the Baillie David Hendrie. In addition, club presidents must be clubbable in order to be respected within the club. For the Morning and Evening club, Archibald Givan, writer, was described as having:

*“original character and convivial habits were ever sure to attract around him a knot of congenial spirits, and whose love for his Club was such that he rarely was known to be absent from a sitting. It was here, especially, that this celebrated clubbist, who may be said to have been an excellent representative of the drinking character of the age, most unreservedly indulged in his own peculiar and favourite species of tippie, but in which, considering the cost of the material whereof it was manufactured, and the quantity which he generally contrived to swallow, he had few followers among the brotherhood”.*²³¹

In the same way, the leader of Accidental Club, John Taylor was *“ a man of genius, humour, and strong sense, and moreover a gentleman, it is not difficult to understand how he soon became, and long continued, the nucleus of a happy and clever set of citizens, whose evening meetings were characterised by constant sallies of wit, and by not a few sparks of poetical sarcasm.”*²³²

The organization of the Board of Green cloath was even more interesting since they designated a president at each meeting. The rules of the club stated that : *“ A Praeses to be appointed at each Meeting, who must be one of the Company when chosen,—and it is expected he will be at some pains to get the Members to meet early in the evening and stay*

²²⁹ CLARK, Peter, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, OUP Oxford, January 2000 *Op. cit.* P 228

²³⁰ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

²³¹ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.*

²³² *Ibid.*

supper.”²³³This implied a high activity of participative democracy. They held elections each meeting, and every member could experience governance since they had a turnover system in the administration of the club.

The president had responsibilities. First, he was the judge if a dispute occurred between members. For instance, a minute of the Hodge Podge mentioned the role of the president in punishing one of the member: “ *On another occasion William Coats was fined for troubling the Club, and being the occasion of the Preses being called out, and interrupting the dispute, and not sending a written excuse.* ” ²³⁴

However, he also had privileges. He held a special status in the club, superior to the other members of the club. The president of the Hodge Podge had the honor to wear the wig as a distinctive sign of its status, which would be reminiscent of a crown. In addition, other member owed him respect. For instance, a member of the What You please club added an insult to the name of the president, Thomas Orr, on the name list of the meeting. The case was taken very seriously as if the members found the anonym who mocked the president would be punished of two bowls of punch: “*that gentleman discovering that some unknown member had appended to his signature of the former night's minute the title of Kilhuckie. Although this waggish epithet was, so far as his face was concerned, practically applicable to the president, the Club testified their displeasure against the culprit, by fining him, " if ever discovered," in two bowls of punch*”.²³⁵

The president of the Hodge Podge was the only one allowed to invite someone to dine at the club.²³⁶ He embodied the true position of a leader: concerning the toast he had the honours to pronounce it but he also had special privileges for the toast to the ladies: “*and whereas it has been customary to elect unmarried ladies as toasts for the members, let it be understood that the Preses has the privilege of two votes to keep any lady from being elected a toast, but only one vote to bring her in.*”²³⁷

²³³ « Minute book of the Board of Green Cloth 1809-1820 : with notices of the members ». *Op. cit.*

²³⁴ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

²³⁵ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs*. *Op. cit.* p274

²³⁶ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

However, as William Godwin underlined even if the democracy model seems the most complete to answer the need of the people, it could also include flaws. The system of democracy is in conflict with the system of governance since it requires the use of coercion to maintain the order in a society.²³⁸ However, as the clubs of Glasgow were small scale organizations, members could prevent absolutist deviations. The members established safeguards to prevent the abuse of power of the president. First, they established constraints on the position. For instance, the Board of Green Cloath imposed penalties on the president if he did not respect his responsibilities:

“ The Praeses to be fined in five shillings for nonattendance, or two and sixpence if he does not come before Seven o'clock”.

“If the Praeses does not bring or send the Club book before 7 o'clock he is fined in a bottle of Rum”.

Secondly, the members of the clubs of Glasgow limited the power of the president. For instance, the Hodge Podge restricted the power of the president to control other members' behaviours:

“To constitute a Club five members must be present, who must elect a Praeses whose power must be considered as absolute, with this single exception—that he shall compel no member to drink more liquor than that member may chuse, but the Praeses may order any member to abstain from drinking. However, in order that the power above mentioned may not be abused, every member who may think himself injured by the conduct of a Praeses may, upon depositing twopence, appeal to the next Club for a redress of his grievances.” Thus, there was a system of appeal if a member felt that the president abused his position.

The Board of Green Cloath guaranteed the turn over of the position of the president that “no Praeses shall be elected twice in succession”.²³⁹

Secretary

The emergence of secretaries in the clubs of Glasgow also represented the increasing institutionalization of the form of the sociability. The secretary was in charge of the

²³⁸ « An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, Vol. I. | Online Library of Liberty ». *Op. cit.*

²³⁹ « Minute book of the Board of Green Cloth 1809-1820 : with notices of the members ». *Op. cit.*

administration side of the club. First, he listed the name of the member present on the meeting. Then, he kept the records of the club, writing the bets made during the meeting and the important events that happened. The shift of the name of the position reflected the evolution of its role over time. At the beginning, the member in charge of the club's documents was called "clerk" and was mainly in charge of writing the minutes of the club. However, as the clubs institutionalized more and more, the name "secretary" was adopted. It is interesting to notice that the position was usually held by a member of the clergy. For instance, the first secretary of the Gaelic club was Mr M'Diarmid, a clergyman. It could be linked to the idea that they inspired trust by their profession.

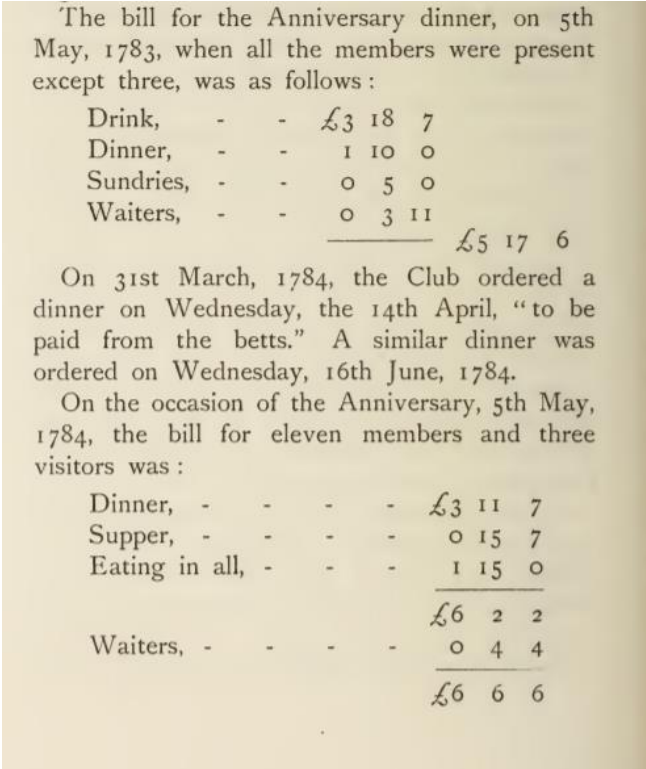
The establishment of a secretary reflected the concern of the clubs for a better management, that would ensure a longer life to the club. Peter Clark argued that British clubs worried about mismanagement of the clubs, and particularly the money.²⁴⁰ Managing club's money became more and more important during the period and revealed a greater distinction between administrator's role within the clubs. Thus, the Hodge Podge gradually made a distinction between the role of the secretary, in charge of the documents of the club and the treasurer, focusing on the club's finances. In 1790 the function of the treasurer appeared.²⁴¹

The different role of the administrators of the clubs allows to explore the economic system in place within the clubs. At the beginning the clubs did not organize their money in common, the penalties were immediately paid and consumed in the form of a bottle of rum. The

²⁴⁰ CLARK, Peter, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, OUP Oxford, January 2000 p.261

²⁴¹ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.* p 53

members hence organized themselves to pay the dinners sometimes through the bets (fig.14)



However, it evolved through the period: the penalties were transformed into money. A system of credits was established and the secretary collected the bets, the penalties at the Anniversary meeting like a tax system: *"All fines incurred are to be collected and distributed each year in April at the Dinner Club preceding the Anniversary meeting"*.²⁴²

Making the rules

Club members established rules in order to structure the club. The rules ensured the maintenance of the club and therefore a longer life. In Glasgow in the early 1750s, the rules were not written down and appeared to have been limited in quantity. However, The lack of written rules did not necessarily mean that they did not exist. Also, the author of the published minutes of the Hodge Podge pointed out that their existence before 1783 and that references were made to earlier rules in the records.²⁴³ As time goes by, the writing of rules became more systematic to structure the clubs. Writing the rules also allowed to settle disagreements about them. Thus, the Hodge Podge drafted rules to fix them: *"In 1783 the inconvenience of having no formal record of the rules and regulations seems to have been borne in upon the members,*

²⁴² *Ibid.*
²⁴³ *Ibid.*

*and accordingly in April of that year a Committee was appointed " to collect the laws of the Club."*²⁴⁴ The rules were thought of as a group which ensured that the members agreed with them. Then, they were voted to make sure that every member acknowledged, respected and agreed with them. Peter Clark showed that the rules of the clubs became more and more sophisticated.²⁴⁵ However, the rules could eventually evolve. For instance, the rules for restricting membership and the number of members were the ones that changed most often, especially for clubs that were victims of their success.²⁴⁶ Rules always tended to be stretched which proved that the club was a fluid form of sociability that adapted to the needs of the elites. The author of the minutes book of the Hodge Podge published mentioned this phenomenon: *"On the 8th June, 1785, a motion "that at all future Anniversary meetings no strangers shall be admitted," was carried unanimously. This resolution does not seem to have been adhered to for long, as we soon find the Preses being authorized to invite strangers to those occasions. On 29th May, 1793, Rule 14 was altered. In future it was to be sufficient if three-fifths of the attending members were present, either for altering the rules or balloting for new members".*²⁴⁷

The rules applied to members and some to honorary members. They were also accompanied by privileges as the minutes of the Hodge Podge underlined: *"than as honorary members, who are at all times welcome to join the convivial meetings of the Club, and who may indeed be elected into the high office of Preses, but who, until they become residents in or near to Glasgow, and give such attendance as is customary, cannot be considered as entitled to the rights and privileges of the attending members"*. The requirement of living in Glasgow to be considered a member was a common rule to all the clubs of Glasgow. The attendance appeared to be essential for the club because it determined its life.

First, the rules regulated the practical side of club life: they managed the location of the clubs' meetings, the time of meeting. They structured the calendar of the club. In addition, the rules structured the relations between the club and its relationship with host of their meeting. They planned the hour when the dinner was supposed to be served in order to fix the timing of the

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ CLARK, Peter, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, OUP Oxford, January 2000, p 246

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p197

²⁴⁷ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

meeting. For instance the Hodge Podge stated that: *“Dinner to be on the table at all times precisely at half-an-hour past three o'clock, and supper precisely at nine o'clock”* and the Board of Green Cloath : *“3d. The time of Meeting to be at or as soon after 5 o'clock as convenient, and supper to be on the table at a ^ past Ten o'clock.”*

It planned the economic arrangements between the host or hostess and the clubs to prevent any loss for the landlord or landlady. In that sense, the dinners were usually paid in advance before the season. Thus, both the Board of Green Cloath and the Hodge Podge anticipated to pay their dinner six months in advance in their rules. In addition, the Hodge Podge provided a list of the members to the landlord Mr M'Donald. This allowed the landlord to plan dinners, and amount of alcohol needed for the season.

Secondly, the rules were established to ensure the attendance of the member, a main concern to the club life.²⁴⁸ In the 1750s, members of the club could come and go more easily in the club. However, the lack of attendance became an issue for the clubs of Glasgow, resolved by the establishment of a rule and a system of penalties. They stated a minimum of attendees at every club in order to make sure that the club constituted an assembly with an adequate number. They usually settled the minimum of attendees to 5 or 6 : *“Six members must always be summoned to attend every Club, and these in rotation ; if any of those six in rotation shall fail to attend, they must be fined half-a-crown each, and every other member not attending shall be fined one shilling.”*

However, it appears that even this rule could eventually be revoked in order to maintain the meeting at an y cost: *“. Although five members be necessary to constitute a Club, yet if that number shall not be present, any fewer in number who shall assemble must fine all the absentees, and make out the list of members who ought to be present at the following Club.”*²⁴⁹

The members were particularly summoned of attending the Anniversary meeting of the club which was an important event in the life of the club and essential to the communion of the members. *“ Every absentee at the Anniversary must pay a fine of five shillings sterling. No excuse, either of sickness or of business or of being from home, or in short of any kind whatever,*

²⁴⁸CLARK, Peter, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, OUP Oxford, January 2000 p237

²⁴⁹ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

shall be allowed in bar of the fines above mentioned, and every member who shall attend any part of the afternoon or evening shall not be fined, but shall be subjected to pay his share of the tavern bill." The Hodge Podge transformed the nature of the penalties into a fine with a precise amount afterwards.

The absence to the Anniversary was even more punished. It can be explained by the cost of the supper in that occasion, usually more expensive than the one in a regular meeting. The fine for the absence were not only related to the maintain the activity of the club but also to money gestion. Thus, every absence was an economic loss for the club. The system of penalties was also established to prevent that members covered for each other and increased the debts to the absentee.

Moreover, rules reflected a desire of the elites to control their behaviour in some clubs. Nevertheless, it cannot necessarily mean that the members tried to restraint themselves, but must be understood as a way to preserve the convivial spirit between them and the maintenance of the club. First, the members could enforce rules to preserve the identity of the club. The Gaelic clubs members for instance had "to converse in Gaelic, according to their abilities, from seven till nine."²⁵⁰ Secondly, as Peter Clark underlined in his chapter on the organization of the British club, the rules attempted to control gambling.²⁵¹ They could regulated the gaming time like the Hodge Podge for instance: *"Playing at cards having been no part of the original institution of this now venerable Club, that amusement is only to be considered as a bell to call the members together, and therefore no single game, far less a rubber at whist, shall be begun after nine o'clock at night"*

But even the Board of Green Cloath, originally a cards clubs managed few rules to structure it.

"8. No Cards after supper under a penalty of 5 Guineas each player."

13. If any Cards are played after supper the Cards belonging to the Club are not to be used under the penalty of 5 Shillings for each pack so used. In place of Rule No. 8. > limiter cards

14. 18 April, 1809. — There shall be no regular Shuffling of the Cards such as Milking, dividing them in two's, three's, or five's ; and after a rubber has begunn no person is allowed to change the Cards unless they order new Cards and pay for them.

²⁵⁰ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.*

²⁵¹ CLARK, Peter, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, OUP Oxford, January 2000 p 250

The number of rules about the control of gaming highlights not only the importance it gained at the end of the 18th century in Britain, but also how it could affect the social interaction in the clubs.

Furthermore, unlike Peter Clark suggested, only few clubs in Glasgow regulated the drinking consumption. The Board of Green Cloath limited their consumption of alcohol by fixing an hour when the Bill was supposed to be called which prevented members to drink more: *“The Bill to be called at or before 12 o’clock”*²⁵² But the rule of the Tinkler club concerning the drinking revealed the tolerance about *“Among the many standing rules of this brotherhood, there was one of prominent importance ; — it was that each member might drink or not as it suited him, but it was never known that any one availed himself of the latter alternative. “*

The rules were established in order to protect the members and conserved the harmony within the club. They served to prevent disputes between the members: they could lodge a complaint to the clubs if they did not agree with a club decision as the member of the Hodge Podge did about the decision to drink port wine: *“On 4th November, 1778, that “a complaint having been made that the late innovation of calling for port wine is contrary to the original institution of the Club, it is resolved that no wine be produced but by an application to the Praeses”*

In addition, the bets were also used to settle an argument between the members. When two members disagreed on a subject instead of letting things escalated and taking the risk of a fight, they introduced the bet. The bet allows the other members to judge the conflict between two persons. Once a bet was written, they changed the subject and it was resolved at the next meeting which eased tensions. In addition, the object of the bets were a bottle of rum most of the time which allow to reverse the situation: a disagreement that could have led to discord between two members becomes a way to strengthen fellowship.

²⁵² « Minute book of the Board of Green Cloth 1809-1820 : with notices of the members ». *Op. cit.*

Conclusion:

Exploring the evolution of the organization of Glasgow clubs allows to highlight how the urban governed themselves in the city. Small scale organizations enabled them to adapt their gestion of the club according to their need. The evolution of the structure of the club in Glasgow sheds light on the political experience of the members in it. The clubs of Glasgow used democratic practices. They could experience governance directly, elected their representatives and new members. Small organizations allow the elites to prevent abuse of power and change the rules if they needed it to.

However, it appears that the institutionalization of the club was also used by the members to control who could join the club more easily, and thus could suggests the conservative form of the club.

Chapter II: The club of Glasgow: challenging the Old Regime structures with aristocratic values .

The urban elite in the 18th century and beginning of 19th century experienced political organization in the clubs. They learned how to govern themselves in adapting the rules that they imposed on them, and their method of organization according to their need. In reality, the clubs shaped a civil society that challenged the power of the State and the Church. Far from the London government the urban elite was free to control the city according to their interests. Meeting in the clubs helped them to forge an opinion and impose a new vision of the world and governance. Norbert Elias argued in, *the civilizing process (1939)*, the *Court Society (1969)*, that the modernization of European States was established through a centralization of power and the policing of elites in the courts. According to him, the court allowed the elites to ascend socially and to learn self-control, which constitutes the process of civilization. However, historians like Jeroen Duindam reconsider this vision of European society. He used anthropology to dismantle Elias's argument. First, he restored the importance of dynasties in the communities and in the governance of the kingdom, he highlighted continuities in the court that the monarch used to legitimize himself. Secondly, he underlined the importance of the ceremony in the court not as superficial but as a ritual of cohesion, he rehabilitated the role of nobles in showing their active participation in the rituals.²⁵³ Finally, he deconstructed the term of "civilization" used by Elias to prove that the European elites evolved toward a polite society restraining themselves. He reminds that Norbert Elias used sources that conveyed an idealized vision of the court and that the elite in the courts could adopt transgressive behaviours too.

Moreover, the work of Eric Hassler on the court of Vienne at the beginning of the 18th century helped to reconsider the centralization of the power in the Old regime and the absolutism.²⁵⁴ He explored the role of the Chamberlains at the court in the context of a faded monarch. He showed the formation of this heterogenous group that constituted a new urban elite. Studying

²⁵³ DUINDAM, Jeroen. « Chapitre 7. Norbert Elias et la cour : l'observateur attentif face au grand théoricien » in Sophie CHEVALIER et Jean-Marie PRIVAT (eds.). *Norbert Elias et l'anthropologie : « Nous sommes tous si étranges... »* Paris : CNRS Éditions, 2013, p. 82-90. En ligne : <http://books.openedition.org/editionscnrs/2011> [consulté le 17 mai 2021].

²⁵⁴ HASSLER, Éric. *Une cour sans empereur ? : les chambellans de l'empereur dans l'espace résidentiel : Vienne, 1683-1740*, These de doctorat. [s.l.] : Paris 1, 2010. En ligne : <http://www.theses.fr/2010PA010637> [consulté le 23 mai 2021].

their residential logic allowed him to show how they seized the city.²⁵⁵ The same dynamics can be found in Glasgow through the social practices of the members of the clubs of Glasgow. The members of the clubs also embodied the intricacy of the sociological profiles of the new urban elite from 1750 to 1830. If the members of Glasgow cannot be considered as the English court they were the elite of Glasgow and assumed political role in the city. John Strang even characterized them as the “rulers” of the city. In addition of their role in the governance of the city they experienced politic in their everyday life in the meeting of the clubs. They could speak freely of their opinions without being controlled by the state. The clubs helped to develop their political awareness and organize their actions to invest themselves in the city affairs. Thus, mentioning the activity of the Coul club John Strang stated that: “*let it always be remembered that this fraternity did not limit themselves alone to the pleasures of the table, but occasionally exercised the higher prerogative of ministering to the wants of their fellow-citizens by deeds of benevolence and patriotism*”.²⁵⁶ The clubs of Glasgow hence helped to form a civil society that challenge the structure of the Old Regime.

However, they also embodied the paradox of the alternative speech to the State and the Church. They did not challenge completely the old structure on the contrary the clubs could led to reinforce some conservative values such as patriotism. In addition, like Eric Hassler exposed in Vienne, the elites could also used marriage to promote family solidarities.²⁵⁷ In that sense, the thrive of the exclusive social space and the encouragement of marriage between the families members proved that the club could be an aristocratic tool in Glasgow. They participated in the moralization of the elite and of their sense of responsibility.

This last chapter will focus on the role of the clubs of Glasgow in promotin political awareness among the elites of the city. Then it will attempt to demonstrate their role in the formation of the civil society in Glasgow through the conservative values displayed by charities and patriotism. The political aspect of the clubs of Glasgow allows to reposition the role of peripheries in the governance of Scotland in the second half of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.* p 327

²⁵⁷ HASSLER, Éric. *Une cour sans empereur ? . Op. cit.*

Promoting political awareness: the clubs as a space of debate

The clubs of Glasgow were characterized as “convivial club” by the sources of the 19th century. The term “convivial” aimed to emphasize on the harmony that prevailed in the clubs, but also to undermine the political aspect of the clubs. And yet, most of the clubs displayed a strong political awareness and even encourage it. Thus, the debate was a central activity in the meeting of Hodge Podge. These debates took place beyond the control of the State and proved the desire of the elite to think by themselves. Mary Thale underlined the development of debating societies in the 18th century Britain.²⁵⁸ She explored the political experience of the Robin Hood Society in the 18th century, which was a club joined by working men. She underlined how the debates within the club served as a learning experience for the members. They learned how to articulate their opinions in the structure of a debate. She showed that debating societies facilitated unorthodox opinions on religion in particular. The clubs allowed the development of freedom of speech that could promote radical opinions challenging both the Church and the State. However, in the clubs of Glasgow it did not necessarily lead to radical opinion and could be used by the members to assert their aristocratic values.

Thus, at its creation the Hodge Podge included in their records “queries”, which were topics for discussion proposed for the meeting in order to facilitate the debate between members. Among the subjects of the first meeting held in the 5th May, 1752, they discussed “What is Taste? Is it natural or acquired?”²⁵⁹. The subject of this debate highlights the importance of the taste as one of the characteristics of the gentleman, pursuing social distinction.

They could also reflect on subjects usually reserved to sermon. Thus, they debated on human nature and the soul.

“3. Man is distinguished from brutes by his soul and reason. Brutes have no souls, therefore their actions should not seem dependent of direction, and never in consequence of a train of reasoning.”

²⁵⁸ THALE, Mary. « The Robin Hood Society: Debating in Eighteenth-Century London », *The London Journal*. 1 novembre 1997, vol.22 n° 1. p. 33-50.

²⁵⁹ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

5. *Is not Vice as laborious as Virtue ?* “

Questions about human nature were prominent in the Scottish Enlightenment. The second debate of the Hodge Podge about the Virtue could be seen as a reminiscent of David Hume's work on human nature. Will R. Jordan highlighted that contrary to contemporaries' views and later analyses on David's Hume work, he did not necessarily challenge the notion of church and religion.²⁶⁰ However, Hume advocated for the use of moral by human. Reflections and debates about human nature hence contributed to the formation of the new mindset of the urban elite.

However, other discussions between the members showed that debate could also display aristocratic values. Their debate about duelling reflected this phenomenon. One of their first debates relied on “ *Whether the public misfortunes which the practice of duelling occasions are not over-balanced by the tranquillity which it may promote to society in general.* “

Stephen Banks argued that the duelling endurance in the century could be explained by the importance of the honor culture associated to aristocratic values in British elite at the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century.²⁶¹

In addition, he underlined the evolution of the duel in England. His argument appeared particularly relevant to explain the debate of the Hodge Podge: duel did not necessarily embody barbarity but could reinvent itself in order to introduce moral to the duel. He underlined its progressive decline while showing that it was still present in the mindset of the gentlemen. Thus, the members of the What you please club purchased pistols in case of disputes between them. However, it appears that they were never used and served more as a warning symbol.²⁶²

The development of political awareness in the club can also be visible through the bets of the members. It allows to acknowledge the discussions between members on various subjects and their political opinion on everyday life affairs.

²⁶⁰ JORDAN, Will R. « Religion in the Public Square: A Reconsideration of David Hume and Religious Establishment », *The Review of Politics*. 2002, vol.64 n° 4. p. 687-713.

²⁶¹ BANKS, Stephen. « Killing with Courtesy: The English Duelist, 1785-1845 », *Journal of British Studies*. 2008, vol.47 n° 3. p. 528-558.

²⁶² STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.*

The members of the clubs of Glasgow directly commented on the affairs of the city and the participation of the members to it.

Thus, the Hodge Podge commented on the election taking place in the city and the chance of one of their member to be elected: *“At the same date Mr. Peter Murdoch, contra James Dunlop, affirms that Mr. John Campbell, member of this Club, shall not be Provost of Glasgow at the next election, the loser to forfeit ten guineas, over and above the Club's bottle of rum. The members seem to have betted continually on every variety of subject. There is only one record of a proposed wager not being taken up.”*²⁶³

They could also discuss city affairs related to Justice: The Board of Green Cloath betted on the misfortune of one of their members:

*“20 Feby 1803.—Mr. H. Monteath betts a bottle of Rum with Mr. J. Hamilton that Mr. Blackburn will be found ultimately liable to pay the poor rates to the City of Glasgow in the Action brought against him before the Town Court”*²⁶⁴

This bet revealed the apparent conflict that lied between the Board of Green Cloath and the municipality of Glasgow. Thus, one of the rules of the club concerning the membership was that the president “shall have it in his power to admitt one or two strangers to the Club, but no Townsman can be admitted.”²⁶⁵ This suggests that certain clubs of Glasgow desire to hide their activity to the authorities under every form.

Moreover, the members could also discuss national politics in their bets. It could concern military affairs like

“ On 9th January, 1759, Mr. Anderson wagers " that the Duke of Cumberland shall never after this date command an army, fight, or retreat." Dr. Alex. Stevenson wagers against him that the Duke of Cumberland shall some time after this command " if it were an host of hobby horses." The Club considered that this wager admitted of too great latitude, and determined that a bowl of punch " as large as the Duke or as the Club shall think proper," shall be forfeited by one or other of the parties " and drunk by the Club."

²⁶³ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

²⁶⁴ « Minute book of the Board of Green Cloth 1809-1820 : with notices of the members ». *Op. cit.*

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

They could also comment on politic crisis. For instance, the Hodge Podge gambled on the impeachment of Warren Hastings.

*"On 7th June, 1786, several wagers are laid whether " Mr. Hastings will or will not be impeached in the House of Peers upon the present charge against him."*²⁶⁶

It is not surprising to find this subject debated in the club since the Warren Hastings trial was one of the most important event in the British government history at the end of the 18th century. Mithi Mukherjee argued that it was the first time that the British colonial practices on the east was questioned on a public space and as a national affair.²⁶⁷ It shows that the members of the Hodge Podge reflected on these subjects within the club.

In addition, the Board of Green Cloath comented on the madness of George III another public national affair often commented by contemporaries:

181 1. May 14. —Mr. Hunter betts a Bottle of Rum with Mr. Jas. Monteath that His Majesty will never resume the Royal Functions. Mr. Monteath betts that he will resume the Royal Functions.

The different discussions and debates about local or national affairs allow to replace the political experience of the members in the clubs.

Charities

The urban elite of Glasgow used the clubs to assert their control on the city. Thus, they used the clubs to improve the system of charities in the city. In that sense, the clubs adhered to the tradition of a system of patronage in order to help the community. They could be perceived as an evolution of the guilds from the middle age. Thus, the Gaelic Club reinforced their links as a community by providing money to the club member family and their connection. The club money could also serve to help Highlanders visiting Glasgow.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

²⁶⁷ MUKHERJEE, Mithi. « Justice, War, and the Imperium: India and Britain in Edmund Burke's Prosecutorial Speeches in the Impeachment Trial of Warren Hastings », *Law and History Review*. ed 2005, vol.23 n° 3. p. 589-630.

²⁶⁸ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs*. *Op. cit.*

The social question in Britain encompassed an evolution from the middle age to the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century that sheds light to the role that could play the elite to charities.

The Poor Laws in the 17th century Britain was based on philanthropy since the wealthiest dwellers were supposed to pay a certain amount of money to take care of the poorest categories in the city. However, Poor laws evolved through the period and changed with the New Poor Law in 1834. The law aimed to reduce the cost of the poor to society. It established a system that seeks to empower the poor rather than provide them with financial support that may create dependency.²⁶⁹

The difference between poverty and pauperism was at the core of the debate in Scotland. Thomas Chalmers published an essay in 1817 on "Causes and cure of pauperism".²⁷⁰ He differentiated the poor who were unable to improve their situation because they were disabled, for example, and the destitute who did not seek to improve their condition. In order to tackle pauperism, Chalmers imagined a system to strengthen religious feeling in Scotland and discipline the poor. The Scottish Church, aided by the government, would be responsible for educating the population. Providing a better education to the workers in particular, would teach them to manage their money better, and to adopt better morals to avoid excesses.

Thomas Chalmers showed that in the ideal situation the 'real' poor would be taking care of by private association occasionally. However, the members of the clubs of Glasgow were often committed to helping the poor of Glasgow and even in some activities considering as encouraging pauperism.

The members of the club of Glasgow get involved in charities and the social question in two ways. First, they could have a direct action by donating money directly to people in need. The author of the minute of the Hodge Podge mentioned the caritative activity of the club :

"The members, however, did not confine their funds entirely to themselves and their servants, as we find on 23rd March, 1757, the following payments were ordered : A sum not exceeding

²⁶⁹ Hamlin, Christopher, Public health and social justice in the age of Chadwick : Britain, 1800-1854, Cambridge University Press, 1998p 168

²⁷⁰ Smyth James J., Thomas Chalmers, The 'Godly commonwealth', and contemporary welfare reform in Britain and the USA,

a crown " to a poor woman who has broke her thigh," and a sum not exceeding ten shillings "for the maintenance of the two Medicis, Italian orphans." On other occasions, too, we find sums ordered to be paid for charitable purposes."²⁷¹

Furthermore, the elite used the club as a platform to participate in the construction of hospices in the city. For instance, the Coul club participated to the erection of the Royal Infirmary of Glasgow. They donated "£50 to the Royal Infirmary, or which they obtained a perpetual right of sending two patients to that noble institution;"²⁷² The Royal Infirmary, opened in 1792, was the first hospital that offered emergency care in Glasgow.

In the History of the Royal Infirmary published in 1832, Dr Moses Steven Buchanan, member of the faculty of physicians and surgeons of Glasgow, stated that "Objections have frequently been made to all such establishments, as encouragements to improvidence, dissipation, and idleness". This vision of charity became more and more prominent in the 19th century Scotland. In participating to an hospital which offered free care, the members adhered to the position that the urban elite should adopted a role of philanthropy.²⁷³

In addition, the surplus of the money in the clubs, coming from the fines or the bets was usually reserved to poor. Thus, the Hodge Podge had a "poor box" reserved to this purpose.²⁷⁴ The Oyster club established it in one of their rules: "*Anyone not in the clubroom before 7pm was to be fined 6d 'for the benefit of the poor'*."

Exploring confraternities of the 18th century in both Milan and Paris, Davaid Garrioch showed that European elites both from south and northern countries, were committed to engage in charities work. He argued that the development of this sense of responsibility was the core of the emergence of the 18th century civil society.²⁷⁵ Thus, the active participation of the member

²⁷¹ « The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900 compiled from the records of the Club by T.F. Donald. (Livre électronique, 1900) [WorldCat.org] ». *Op. cit.*

²⁷² STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.*

²⁷³ BUCHANAN, Moses Steven. *History of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, from its commencement in 1787, to the present time, with an appendix containing the Charter and Laws of the Institution, the tables of diet, etc.* [s.l.] : Glasgow : J. Lumsden and son; [etc., etc.], 1832. 148 p. En ligne : <http://archive.org/details/b22011316> [consulté le 23 mai 2021].

²⁷⁴ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.* p. 40

²⁷⁵ GARRIOCH, David. « "Man Is Born for Society": Confraternities and Civil Society in Eighteenth-Century Paris and Milan », *Social Science History*. 2017, vol.41 n° 1. p. 103-119.

of Glasgow clubs to charities in the city proved that association encouraged them to work to common good, and reinforced the patronage.

Patriotism

The elite of Glasgow used the clubs to assert their patriotism. The members had a personal interest to support the British Empire. Most of the members of the Glasgow clubs were Tories. Thus, many members of the Glasgow clubs were against the abolition of slavery, even though the city became known as abolitionist afterward. Many projects today, in architecture and from the University of Glasgow, attempt to reveal Glasgow's slave-owning past and how the city was built on the triangular trade.²⁷⁶ In addition, Tom Devine in an enlightened book called "Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection" underlined the link between Scotland and slavery.²⁷⁷ The members of Glasgow's clubs were particularly involved with the triangular trade since a great majority of them were Caribbean or Virginian merchants owning plantations. John Strang mentioned the lack of discussion about the abolition movement in the Pig club, that included many of West Indies merchants.

The members of the clubs of Glasgow were therefore conservative and displayed a strong imperialist patriotism. This patriotic feeling was enhanced in reaction to the French revolution and the Napoleonic Wars in the clubs. The discussions in the meeting of the clubs reflected the fear of the French revolution. The British government could rely on the support of Scottish people to defeat potential radicalism promoted by the French Revolution. Atle Wold highlighted the Scottish financial participation but their physical presence too in the British army.²⁷⁸

Bob Harris argued that the Scottish loyalism after the French Revolution was often overestimate by Historians. However, it appears that members of the clubs of Glasgow fell more in line with the support of the British government on the subject. In Glasgow the French

²⁷⁶ *University of Glasgow publishes report into historical slavery*. En ligne : https://www.gla.ac.uk/news/archiveofnews/2018/september/headline_607154_en.html [consulté le 23 mai 2021].

²⁷⁷ *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection*. [s.l.] : Edinburgh University Press, 2015. En ligne : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt1bgzchg> [consulté le 23 mai 2021].

²⁷⁸ WOLD, ATLE L. *Scotland and the French Revolutionary War, 1792-1802*. [s.l.] : Edinburgh University Press, 2015. En ligne : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt16r0hg4> [consulté le 24 mai 2021].

revolution stirred up bad memories at the city was highly affected by the Jacobite Revolution of 1745.

Thus, the members of the Grog Club in the 1797 used to join every morning to Glasgow Green in order to defend the city of the French menace. This power action proved that the fear of the French menace was particularly present in the Glaswegian elite.

In addition, John Strang insisted on the French hatred in the clubs of Glasgow. The Camperdown club embodied this patriotic feeling and their animosity against the French. Sentiment. John Strang mentioned their adherence to British values in retracing the origin of the club:

“It was amid the rejoicings which followed the victory of the 11th October, 1797, that a choice band of patriotic citizens first assembled to congratulate each other on the glorious result of British valour, and re- solved that they should henceforth choose — as the symbol of the brother- hood which was that night established — the ever memorable epithet of Camperdown”. He added that “They detested the French, without knowing much about them, and swore against democrats and democracy as most pestilential to the well-being of the social system.”²⁷⁹*

In order to display their patriotic feeling, the clubs participated to the construction of the statue to military heroes that celebrated imperialism. Thus, both the What you please club and the Coul Club participated to the erection of the memorial for Lord Nelson Lord Nelson was the hero of the battle of Trafalgar. In addition the What you Please club took part in the building of the statue of Sir John Moore, originally Glaswegian and served in the British army and died in 1809 at the battle of Corunna at the Peninsular War.

However, the Coul Club also donated money to build a statue of Robert Burns as they *“subscribed £25 to the Monument to Robert Burns .”²⁸⁰* It could appear conflicting on their imperial patriotism since Robert Burns embodied very early Scottish nationalism. However, it reflected on the paradoxical identity of Scottish people in the 18th century.²⁸¹ Corey Andrews

²⁷⁹ STRANG, John. *Glasgow and its clubs. Op. cit.* p 198

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p 328

²⁸¹ ANDREWS, Corey. « The Clubbable Bard: Sentimental Scottish Nationalism and Robert Burns », *Lumen: Selected Proceedings from the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies / Lumen : travaux choisis de la Société canadienne d'étude du dix-huitième siècle*. 2002, vol.21. p. 105-130.

used the figure of Robert Burns to highlight how Scottish people negotiated between both an anti-Union position and a British identity, often associated with imperialism. He underlined the clubbability of Robert Burns to show how he assumed his bard's role to place himself both in a nationalism sentiment and on the display of British values.

Conclusion:

The political activity of the clubs of Glasgow allows to replace the role of the urban Scottish elites in the governance of the country. The clubs of Glasgow formed a civil society that encourage aristocratic values through their display of patriotic values and patronage of the poorest categories of the city. The clubs of Glasgow encouraged the cooperation between the members and promoted the responsibilities of the elites to honor their rank and help to work toward common good. However, their debate and their dual position in patriotic sentiment reflected the intricacy of the concept in the second half of the 18th century and beginning of 19th century.

Conclusion:

The clubs of Glasgow shaped a new urban elite from c. 1750 to c.1830. This dissertation aimed to conduct a social, cultural and political history of the Glaswegian elites through the sociability of the clubs. Exploring the social practices of Glaswegian elites offered a new vision on the formation of a civil society in the second half of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century. First, it revealed the diversity of the gentleman profile in Glasgow in that period. There was a great range of men in the clubs. They were professors, surgeons, physicians, officers, merchants, lawyers, reverends but also artisans and writers. The variety of the profiles in Glasgow clubs highlights the fluidity of the concept of gentleman in that period. The title of gentleman was first and foremost a display of a social status and then as an ability to sustain a prolific social life. However, there was significant differences between these men even when they share the same occupation. As the period evolved, they pursued ways to distinguish themselves which explained the shift undertaken in the clubs membership from a fluid sociability to a more exclusive one. The club was first and foremost a social space that could evolved in different environment in the city. The club moved from place to place in the city using the urban environment to adapt the need of their association. Thus, the gentleman could display its search for refinement and aristocratic places in some of the place in the city but also in seizing the street, the fluidity of the hospital leisure market to prevent him to settle in any place. The gentleman was hence characterized by its ability of adapting itself from situations navigating between polite and impolite behaviours in order to seep into social situations. He enhanced his clubbability by inserting himself into different social networks, proving his social skills and his convivial spirit by mastering the art of the conversation but also in adhering to bawdy behaviours. The club was the opportunity to forge an identity and develop a sense of fellowship. Far from a polite and sober conversations, the gentlemen's clubs encourage the creation of the group by promoting a sense of fellowship in different forms. They hence used an excessive consumption of alcohol or food as a ritual to bond. The clubs of Glasgow created rituals to forge an identity, to include people but also exclude others. The 19th century sources celebrated the convivial spirit of this "brotherhood". However, it did not necessarily mean that women were absent from the fabric of the gentleman. On the contrary, they acknowledged, validated, and challenged and could be included in the social

space of the club. The 18th century Glaswegian men reassured constantly his masculinity in the clubs: the heterosexual masculinity structured social interactions of the members of Glasgow clubs.

In gathering in the clubs of Glasgow, members challenged State's governance and Church on different ways. First, their process of fellowship engendered various transgressive behaviours that threaten both States and Church moral. Therefore, the club was most often usually the opportunity to adopt bawdy behaviour and create disorder. Few clubs such as the What You Please and their frequentation of the Oyster House, could adopt libertine position. Then, the club activity could have challenged governance such as betting, smuggling. Associating outside the structure of the Old Regime itself constituted a challenge to the central governance. The elite of Glasgow institutionalized progressively the club to maintain the longevity of the club and assured the cooperation between members. This political experience led them to constantly adapt the structure of the club and conveyed democratic practices as they learned how to govern themselves at a small scale. However, these political practices did not led to radical political change as most of the clubs of Glasgow were highly conservatives.

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Appendix

Fig. 1:

Perspective view of the City of Glasgow in the County of Clydesdale engraved for the Complete English Traveller, 1750.



Fig.2:David Smith's Plan of the City of Glasgow, 1828

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/library/files/maps/galleries/glasgow/Viewer/smith1828.html>



Fig 3: Neil MacLean, Piper to the Highland Society of London engraving after the portrait by William Craig, c. 1784



Fig.4: “Plan of the city of Glasgow : Gorbells and Caltoun / from an actual survey by John McArthur, surveyor in Glasgow. "Published according to Act of Parliament Novr. 1st 1778”

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/library/files/maps/galleries/glasgow/Viewer/mcarthur1778.html>



Fig.5:

Residences of the member 1750-1778

1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,12,13,14,15: High Street

12,22: Trongate Street

18: Gorballs



Fig.6 Residences 1783

Residences 1783
21: Gallowgate Street
27,29: Trongate Street
28: Bridgegate Street
20, 25,26: Queen Street
31: Virginia Street

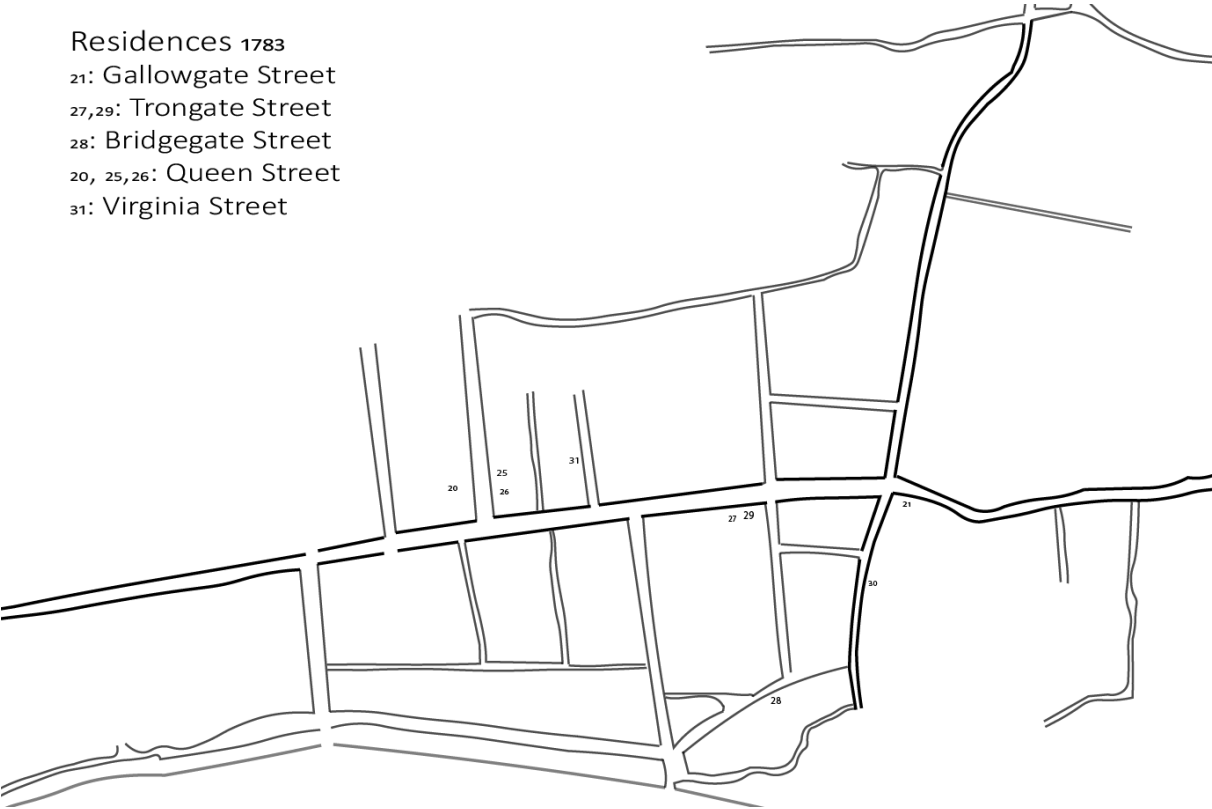


Fig.7: Taverns in 1752

Taverns in 1752

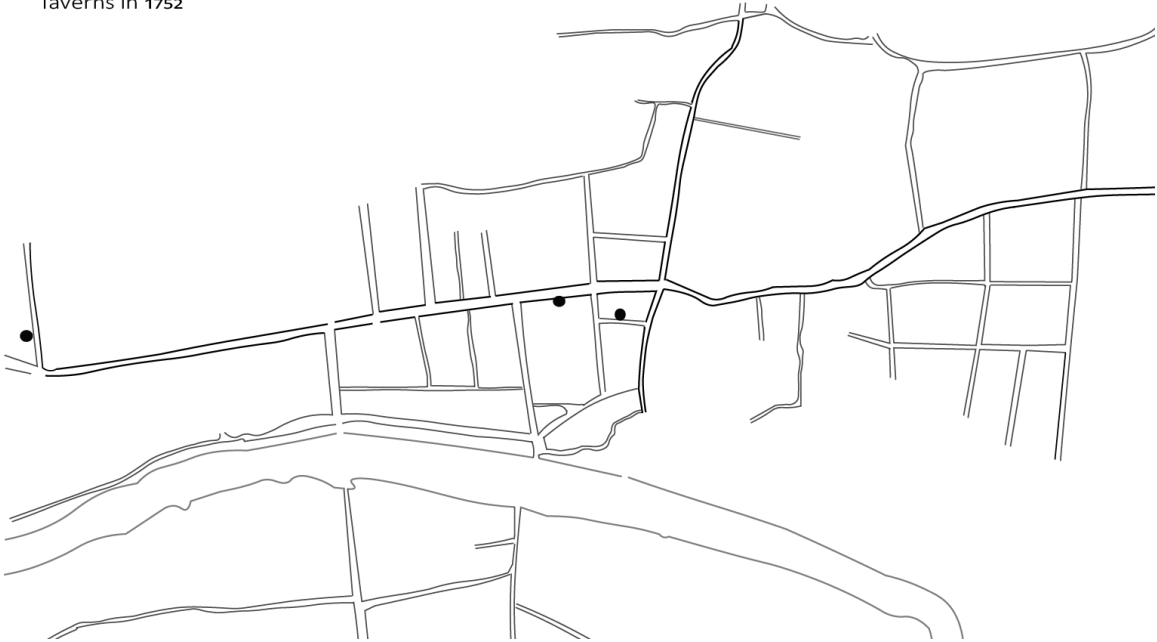


Fig.8:

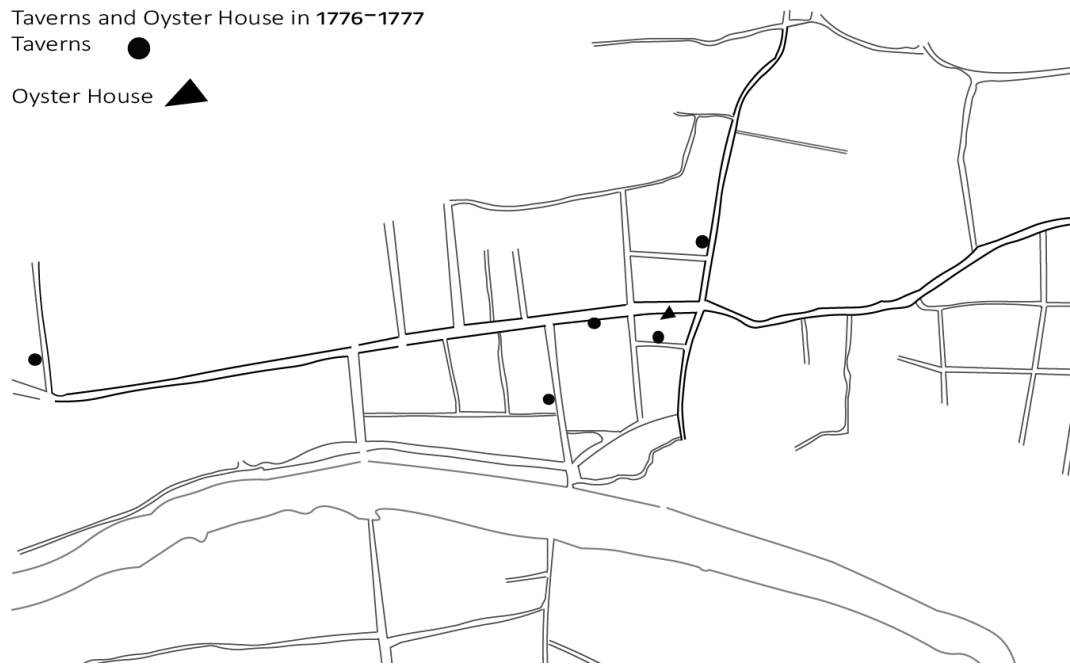


Fig.9

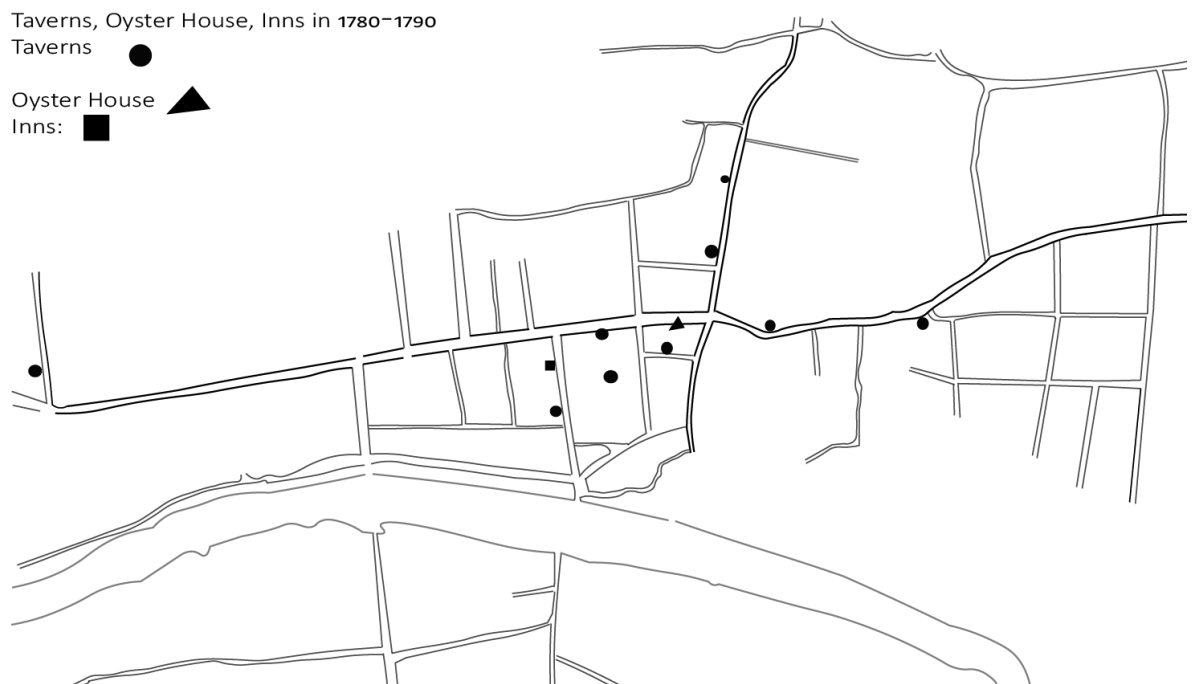


Fig.10:

Taverns, Oyster House, Inns in 1791-1800
Taverns ●
Oyster House ▲
Inns: ■

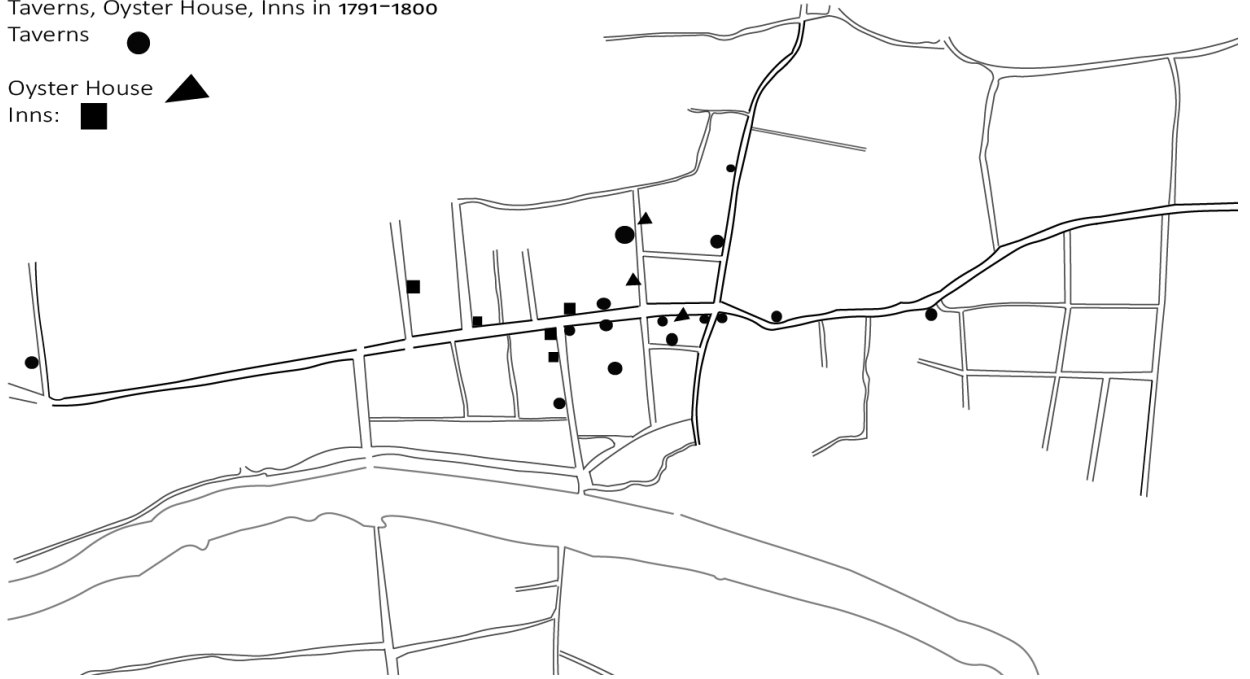


Fig .11:



2. Pair of 'Roman' chairs supplied by Cleland & Jack, September 1809

Fig.12: Picture held at the Mitchell Library city archives, Glasgow, Scotland



Fig.13: « Coloured cartoon from the Northern looking Glass 23 January 1826 entitled "My House in Town" »



Fig 14: Bill from the Hodge Podge:

The bill for the Anniversary dinner, on 5th May, 1783, when all the members were present except three, was as follows :

Drink,	-	-	£3	18	7
Dinner,	-	-	1	10	0
Sundries,	-	-	0	5	0
Waiters,	-	-	0	3	11
			<hr/>		
			£5	17	6

On 31st March, 1784, the Club ordered a dinner on Wednesday, the 14th April, "to be paid from the betts." A similar dinner was ordered on Wednesday, 16th June, 1784.

On the occasion of the Anniversary, 5th May, 1784, the bill for eleven members and three visitors was :

Dinner,	-	-	-	£3	11	7
Supper,	-	-	-	0	15	7
Eating in all,	-	-	-	1	15	0
				<hr/>		
				£6	2	2
Waiters,	-	-	-	0	4	4
				<hr/>		
				£6	6	6