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HUGH GEORGE BRENNAN: GLASGOW UNIVERSITY'S FIRST LECTURER IN RUSSIAN

Tania Konn-Roberts

Central and East European Studies, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, U.K.

ABSTRACT

To date little has been known, and less written, about the life of Hugh George Brennan, Glasgow University’s first lecturer in Russian. The uncovering of previously unused Russian and British sources throwing fresh light on his life, intellectual development and occupations has made possible a fuller assessment of a significant figure in Glasgow’s contribution to Slavonic Studies. Brennan lived and taught in Russia for 20 years. The resulting intense and unusually intimate experience of Russian life probably explains unconventional aspects of his Glasgow appointment. Brennan was an undoubted educational and social success in Russia. Events in the shape of the February Revolution of 1917 forced him to return to Britain. Glasgow’s timely offer of a new position was the start of a very different life. This aspect of Brennan’s career is reviewed mainly through his commitment to extensive public activities.

KEYWORDS

H. G. Brennan; Russian teaching; Glasgow University; Slavonic Studies; St. Petersburg; Korostovetz family

INTRODUCTION
At the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 five English universities offered programmes of Russian studies - Cambridge, Oxford, Manchester, Liverpool, and King's College, London. All were staffed by single specialist lecturers, apart from Liverpool. Unusually, Liverpool had three lecturers and a Professor - Bernard Pares - who had the distinction of being the only Professor of Russian 'in the British Empire'. In the following 10 years another six universities introduced Russian courses of various descriptions - Nottingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Birmingham, Glasgow and Newcastle. The reasons for this surge in provision owed something to a growing public interest in the relatively unknown history and culture of an important wartime ally. More powerful motivation developed out of calculating appreciation by businessmen and industrialists of new opportunities in Russian markets now that the war had destroyed Germany's dominant exporting position. To exploit the potential of these new markets it was widely understood that firms would have to engage individuals possessed of language skills and an understanding of Russian social and business mores. There was a dearth of British individuals qualified in this way. Universities, generally encouraged and financed by local commercial and industrial interests, addressed the situation with the introduction of Russian courses.¹

As early as September, 1915, Glasgow's Chamber of Commerce had encouraged the establishment of Russian classes in the Glasgow and West Scotland Commercial College. Glasgow University's interest in establishing a 'Russian Institute' came later following the visit of representatives of the Russian Duma to the city in May, 1916. The visit was a success arousing, lively public interest and sharpening the expectations of Glasgow's business and industrial classes. The University was caught up in this spirit of entrepreneurial opportunism and joined the national drive to provide individuals properly equipped in language and
business terms to take advantage of a seemingly rosy future. The driving force in this venture was the University's gifted, forceful, Principal - Donald MacAlister. ²

In University terms, allowing for the Summer Vacation, events moved rapidly. On 14th September, 1916, William Weir, a major industrialist and Minister of Munitions in the Lloyd George government, promised an immediate donation of £2,500 to fund a lectureship in Russian. On 16th September, 1916, Principal Donald MacAlister contacted Glasgow's Provost, Thomas Dunlop, with a proposal to provide Russian language instruction at the University. Twelve days later, on the 28th September, a meeting, of likely interested parties, arranged by Dunlop, with MacAlister in attendance, discussed the intent and implications of the University's initiative. With knowledge of Weir's generosity exchanges must have been conducted in a positive spirit. Other committees, and widening publicity followed leading to the establishment of the Russian Commercial and Educational Fund set up to receive financial contributions from individuals and firms in addition to Weir's exemplary priming donation.

With funds in place the business of searching for and appointing a lecturer could begin. This was not to be a straightforward search for specialist academic talent. The aim was to recruit an individual capable of preparing students for the world of Russian economics and business while maintaining academic, linguistic and philological standards. Finding a suitable academic might have presented problems at the time, finding a potential candidate to fit the broader job specification was even more difficult yet, by 11th January, 1917, Principal MacAlister was able to inform University Court, in a meeting held 'in camera', that he had gained knowledge of a potential candidate - Hugh George Brennan, currently a lecturer at the
Imperial Lycée in Petrograd. Approval was given to approach Brennan directly regarding the post. It was not until 5th March that Brennan responded by telegram, agreeing to allow his name to go forward for consideration. There followed an exchange of correspondence and on 26th April Brennan was offered the post. His telegraphed formal acceptance of the offer was received on 10th May. Initially the appointment was for five years at a salary of £400 a year. A generous sum for the period and testimony to the success of Principal MacAlister's astute funding campaign. It was expected that Brennan would take up his post on 1st October, 1917 and also that he would be required to teach Russian classes at the Glasgow and West of Scotland Commercial College. There is no evidence of Brennan being personally interviewed prior to his acceptance of the post, or of any other person being considered for the lectureship.

Obviously Brennan's experience and credentials had impressed MacAlister, and the latter had made clear his favourable opinion to a receptive University Court. With Brennan in Petrograd how did the University Principal conclude so firmly that he was the man for the job? There is nothing to suggest that they knew each other personally. It is probable that Principal MacAlister would have canvassed opinions within the growing Russian teaching establishment. It is known that Professor Nevill Forbes, Head of Russian at Oxford University and Alexander Goudy, who taught Russian at Cambridge University supported Brennan's candidature. How they knew of Brennan has yet to be established. It is known, too, that MacAlister sought Russian based opinions of Brennan. Sir George Buchanan, British Ambassador to Russia in Petrograd spoke up on Brennan's behalf. In addition Harold Williams, the noted linguist, Russian expert, journalist working in the Russian capital at the time also commended Brennan's command of Russian, energy and effectiveness as a teacher. These Russian sources certainly knew Brennan personally. MacAlister's assessment of
Brennan's qualities can only have been shaped by the favourable views of this stellar cast of referees. He admitted as much when he was later reported in the Glasgow Herald explaining that Brennan 'came with highest recommendations from Petrograd.'

What kind of man was Brennan to have garnered such an array of academic approval, as well as ambassadorial and, in the case of Williams, political and work endorsements? Brennan left no written or published record of his life to help us answer this question. The recovered trail left by his life reveals an intriguing, at times enigmatic, character, whose story contains significant gaps and a frustrating lack of enlightening personal details. Nevertheless what has been uncovered reveals a life meriting closer examination than has been attempted to date.

EARLY YEARS

Brennan’s parents, Hugh Mary Brennan and Kate McGrath, had met and married in Devonport. Both sets of grandparents lived in the area at the time. Patrick Brennan, Hugh George's paternal grandfather was a Chelsea Pensioner and died when Hugh George was only four so played no part in the boy's development. Brennan's maternal grandfather, James McGrath, was Head Gardener at the newly built St Scholastica’s Abbey in Teignmouth. The Abbey had been commissioned by Miss Isabella Jane English to rehouse the Benedictine Convent and school then based in Hammersmith, London. McGrath was the Community's gardener and, on transfer to Teignmouth brought his family with him. Kate McGrath lived with her parents and siblings in the grounds of the Abbey before her marriage.
Hugh George Brennan was born on the 22nd June 1873, at 8 Hotham Place in Stoke Damerel, Devonport. He was born into a strongly Catholic Irish family of modest means, one of four children, the second son. Hugh's father, after years of sea-going service with the Royal Navy was now with the Naval Police, a Ship's Corporal 1st Class on the guard ship HMS Indus in Devonport. He was not a well man and died at the age of thirty-nine. Hugh George was seven at the time.

This tragedy forced the family to adjust to more difficult domestic circumstances. Kate Brennan moved closer to her parents in Teignmouth for support and worked from home as a dressmaker. Ways were found to provide Brennan's brothers and sister with secondary education and vocational training. Hugh George Brennan was treated differently. He was recognised as a bright, clever, boy, deserving some form of higher education. The accepted family story was that, at the age of eight, he was sent away to France to further his education. ⁸

Many years later, while in Russia, Brennan declared that he had been educated at the Collège de la Providence, in Amiens. To date no confirmatory documentary record of Brennan's attendance at the Collège in France has been uncovered. However, there is evidence of him as a scholar at St. Joseph's College, a Jesuit school which had close working links with the Collège de la Providence. Knowledge of this relationship eventually led to the discovery of Brennan, now almost 18, at St. Joseph's, not in Amiens, but in Littlehampton, Sussex. His presence there is recorded in the 1891 UK Census. Eleven years earlier, in 1880, St. Joseph's had transferred to England from Amiens following the expulsion of the Jesuits from France. The 1881 UK Census does not record Brennan as a student at the College; he appears with
his mother and siblings in Teignmouth. He was probably too young to be accepted as a student at the time. The usual starting age was twelve. Brennan must have remained in some other form of education before being transferred to St. Joseph's but, once again, the documentary record is blank.

In France St. Joseph's was an apostolic school dedicated to the education and training of Catholic missionaries. It continued so in England. Brennan's attendance until his late teens indicated that he was intended for this priesthood. In this matter his mother may have been influenced by the advice and encouragement of one of her brothers who was a practising priest and highly thought of at St Scholastica’s Abbey. The boy was placed in the care of the Catholic Church and so provided with a route to an excellent and largely free education ending in a worthwhile job.

St. Joseph's was a boarding school with a demanding daily schedule that was common to all Jesuit schools. All the teachers and most of the pupils were French. Lessons began at 8am but the boys would have risen at 5.30am to allow time for prayer, meditation, Mass and study. Breakfast was at 7.30am. The main meal of the day was at noon and would have been followed by games, recreation and study before classes resumed at 2pm. These finished at 4pm and were followed by recreation, gymnastics and study before supper at 7.30pm. There would have then been some free time before bed. The rigorous curriculum would have included English or German, French, Greek and Latin as well as history, geography, science, mathematics, and catechism. On certain days the boys would have enjoyed walks which were strictly supervised and once a month there was an all-day field trip. An important part of a Jesuit education involved the older boys teaching the younger ones and correcting their
work. Teaching was an important part of missionary work. Dramatic productions and academic presentations were staged at the end of term. These latter activities formed an important part of the final appraisal of individual students. In Brennan’s time students were allowed home for four weeks in the summer.9

Brennan successfully completed his studies at Littlehampton. In 1892, as a 19-year old, he made the normal progress of novitiates to Manresa House, Roehampton to complete his missionary training. He stayed only a few months. Records of the Jesuit Society show that ‘Hugo Georgius’, with a number of other students, withdrew from the final course in January 1893.10 No reasons are given for this decision, but it was not unusual. Later evidence suggests that it had nothing to do with a loss of faith. Nor did he lack academic ability. It was probably a matter of temperament; the Church well recognized that not all aspirants were suited to be missionaries.

The situation in which Brennan now found himself was fraught with uncertainty. He would celebrate his 20th birthday in June, 1893. He had had an extended period of education but, for the present, he was simply a failed priestly candidate without immediate job prospects and, as far as we know, now without financial support.

WHAT NEXT?

On leaving Roehampton it seems possible that Brennan moved to Oxford. The tentative nature of this suggestion arises from the absence of documentary evidence to support the claim. He may have attended public classes arranged by the University, but as far as can be
ascertained Brennan did not engage with formal programmes of teaching and education. He may have obtained a private tutorship, or some other educational post.

By 1897 these unknowns are done with. During this year Brennan is in Russia, with a passport to attest the fact. He was now 23, with no knowledge of Russian, no formal educational qualifications and no trade or profession to call his own. What was he doing in Russia? Surprisingly, he had been engaged as English and French tutor to the four sons of a Russian family - that of Konstantin Vladimirovich Korostovetz. The whys and hows of the appointment have still to be unravelled. There is evidence to indicate that the Korostovetz family canvassed friends in England in their search for a suitable person for the post and that he was commended as 'just down from Oxford'. Whatever was said in addition satisfied Brennan's future employers.¹¹

**TUTOR**

Knowingly or not Brennan's decision to move and teach abroad was to involve him in the lives and activities of the higher ranks of Russian aristocracy. The Korostovetz main family estate was Peresazh, in the Chernigov region of Imperial Russia; now north Ukraine. There were also estates in the Crimea and other parts of Russia. The head of the family, Konstantin Vladimirovich, spent most of the year in St. Petersburg attending to his governmental and military duties. He was close enough to the Tsar for the latter to offer to act as godfather to his youngest son. Not an offer that could be refused. This was an uncommonly well-connected and influential family.
Brennan's arrival at Peresazh was memorable. His two-day snowy journey by sleigh through woods and fields, wrapped in furs, from a distant railway station, had left him nervous and tired. He had found the food on his journey not to his liking, lice and bugs tormenting during his overnight stay at a forest inn, and the language barbarous. He was unsettled by stories of wolves and robbers and was not at his best when he eventually arrived at Peresazh. Not the most auspicious of starts and one which gave rise to much teasing from his future charges; but he proved adaptable and remained with the family for 14 years.

The teaching of the four boys was a most serious business. There was Kirill, the eldest at 14, followed by Vladimir, Antonii and Andrei, the youngest at six years of age. The head of the family, Konstantin Vladimirovich, was a deeply conservative man who was absent for most of the year in St Petersburg. Responsibility for the boys’ education was left to his wife, Lidiia Aleksandrovna (née Sluchevskaia). The boys were fortunate in this arrangement. Lidiia had lived in Geneva. There she had enjoyed an unusually enlightened, liberal, educational regime. She was determined that her sons should enjoy the same experience before going on to grammar school. At her insistence special emphasis was placed on languages and sport. Brennan was one of three tutors, the others were Russian. In all educational matters they were responsible to Lidiia and guided by her ideas and intentions. True to her character she was determined, too, that the family estates should be run on modern lines embracing the latest technology and practices, much to the consternation of her mother, the owner of the estate, as well as her neighbours. She also tried to improve conditions for the peasants by building schools and hospitals.
Brennan was an essential part of Lidiia’s modernising policy. He spent most of his time with the boys, shared their physical pursuits with gusto, more so than the other tutors, and was responsible for them on social visits in which he fully participated. The boys formed a spirited gang and could prove a handful in the absence of their parents, but then Brennan himself was quite capable of wild behaviour when opportunity presented itself – as on occasional visits to Kiev when it proved difficult to persuade Brennan and his fellow tutors, enjoying the pleasures of city life, to return to Peresazh at the appointed time.

Despite their isolated location the household was intellectually involved in national and world events. Political movements, scientific innovations, intellectual and literary trends were followed with interest in numerous European and English language newspapers and magazines received on subscription. Developments and significant topics were discussed by Brennan and the children.

The Korostovetz estate was a meeting place for political liberals. Debates, led by Lidiia, often became heated following lectures on Herzen, Chernyshevsky, Chekhov, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky in which Brennan participated enthusiastically. Participants in these discussions were reformist, not revolutionary; the desired immediate future for Russia was one where Tsarist autocracy had been transformed into a constitutional monarchy. In addition to discussion and debate Lidiia maintained an extensive and lively correspondence with a number of the world's leading politicians, scientists, literary figures and academics. Her correspondents, among many others, included Gladstone, Pasteur, Jung and Tolstoy. She encouraged Brennan to do the same, persuading him, for example, to write to Tolstoy on a regular basis to discuss questions raised in their own debates.\textsuperscript{12} We know, too, that he
maintained contact with his family in England sending postcards and photographs detailing events in his life.

This cultured, liberal, regime sustained and developed Brennan over 14 years. Admittedly our knowledge of these years is sketchy, but from the evidence available to us it is plain that Brennan had become a valued and trusted family retainer and friend. One token of his favoured status was a gift of a dog; no ordinary dog but a Leonburger; which became his companion and an unmissable part of the family for many years. It is certain, too, that Brennan's education had been broadened and deepened through contact with a lively political, literary and philosophical intellectual elite. Of necessity his social skills would have been refined and honed. But this style of life had to end.

By 1910, now a mature man of 37, his days as a tutor were over. There were no more children to educate. Brennan was at another significant turning point in his life. What was he to do? Should he return to England? He took the decision to stay in Russia and earn his living as a teacher. On balance, the more sensible decision given his previous life experience. There was an all too obvious problem however. Russia's educational system was centrally controlled and tightly regulated. Formal, approved, qualifications were essential to enter and progress in the teaching profession. Brennan had none. He would have to remedy the deficiency.
Brennan had begun his campaign for educational qualifications in 1909. On 30th September he matriculated as an external student of the University of London. His subjects were German, English, Mathematics, French and Latin. In 1910, following the same route, he gained a First Class in French in his Intermediate Examinations. In the same year, on 20th March, he obtained a teaching certificate from the education authorities in St. Petersburg enabling him to teach in secondary schools (gymnasiums and progymnasiums).

The basics were now in place. Brennan was ready to launch his career as a professional teacher. He wasted no time. He applied for the post of French teacher at the Imperial Commercial Institute in St. Petersburg. On 28th May, 1910, his application was approved with a starting date of 1st September. His cause was no doubt helped by the imposing authority of his referees. Lieutenant-General Konstantin Vladimirovich Korostovetz, his erstwhile employer who was the senior Colonel of the Preobrazhenskii Regiment, recommended him; as did Sergei Arkad'evich de Karr'er, former Vice-Governor of Chernigov, a member of the St. Petersburg City Council, a City landowner and a court official. General Sergei Sergeevich Navrotskii, again of the Preobrazhenskii Regiment, completed the trio of impressive referees. It would have been noted, too, that Brennan was residing at the Korostovetz home in St Petersburg at the time. Brennan's application stated that he was educated at Collège de la Providence, Amiens, and that he had attended the University of Oxford.

During 1911 Brennan returned to London to sit his degree examinations and was there long enough to appear in the local electoral roll living with his brother in Clapham. He was awarded a B.A. (Hons) First Class in French and Russian. It was the year, too, that he
acquired his own accommodation - a fact recorded in Ves Peterburg, the annual city
directory. Up to this point Brennan's energies were absorbed in consolidating his educational
CV. His teaching duties were confined to the Commercial Institute. This was about to change.

On 26th August 1911 Brennan, while still at the Commercial Institute, obtained a post at the
elite Imperial Alexander Lyceum as a teacher of English language and literature. The
Lyceum prepared the sons of the top families for their future responsibilities as administrators
and governors of the vast Russian Empire. Brennan began as a duty tutor to the junior classes
and then in addition teacher to the junior classes, eventually becoming teacher to the senior
classes with the rank of Collegiate Counsellor (Kollezhskii sovetnik) - in military terms
equivalent to the rank of Lieutenant-General. A sign that he was prospering was that his flat
boasted a telephone; not a common domestic appliance at this time.

In the same year Brennan also obtained a position teaching English at the Alexander
Women's Gymnasium and in 1913 he added a fourth teaching job to his employment
portfolio. He was appointed to teach English at the Practical Oriental Academy of the
Imperial Society of Oriental Studies. In the following year the Practical Oriental Academy
awarded him a diploma, conferring on him the status of a graduate with the right to wear the
insignia of the Academy on all official occasions. This was not his only honour. In 1914
he was awarded the Order of St Stanislaus (3rd class) in recognition of his educational
services. His success within the educational system was further recognised in 1916. In this
year he received the higher ranked Order of St Anne (3rd class). The latter conferred
personal nobility on the recipient. Brennan's right to wear the Order's insignia on official occasions in Britain was approved by King George V in the same year.

Brennan exploited local educational opportunities to the full. In 1914 he added a fifth teaching post to his portfolio – teaching French and English at the M.M. Bobrishcheva-Pushkina Women’s Special School for Modern Languages. By 1917 he held teaching posts in eight different institutions. His expanding employment portfolio was matched by additions to his educational qualifications. In 1914 his M.A. dissertation - *Baironizm v poezii Lermontova* - was accepted by the University of London. During these hectic years he also contributed articles to *The Times Russian Supplement* on old Russian ballads, stories and epics. This interest in folk culture lasted a lifetime.

Little is known of Brennan's social life during this period. We know that he was a member of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society, probably before his move to St. Petersburg. During 1910 Sir George W. Buchanan arrived in the city to take up his post as British Ambassador. He, too, became a member of this Society which attracted Imperial patronage. It was an environment where Brennan and Buchanan could have met on relatively relaxed social terms. They were also members of the New English Club, the hub of British society in St Petersburg.

All the evidence available to us confirms the belief that Brennan envisaged a future spent in Russia. To emphasise this decision, in 1917, he married Mariia Osval’dovna von Berens (known as Marie Lydie de Berens), the daughter of a lawyer from an aristocratic family. He may have wished and planned to remain in Russia, but events were shaping a different future
for him and his wife. By 1917, after three years of war against German and Austrian forces, the huge human losses incurred had seriously impaired military effectiveness, shattered the economy, brought about food shortages, and fatally undermined the authority of the Tsar. The resulting despair and disenchantment with the autocratic regime came to a head in the February Revolution of 1917. Within a week Nicholas II was deposed and a Provisional Government with a republican agenda installed. The event introduced a period of disorder, looting, and general criminality and breakdown in military discipline. The streets of the capital became dangerous places for foreigners. The Russia that Brennan knew and had prospered in over the preceding twenty years was disintegrating. It was time to look for safety.

The invitation to join Glasgow University could not have been more timely. In early August Brennan and his wife left Russia. Brennan’s last correspondence with his contact at the Imperial Lyceum, in July, does not mention his appointment in Glasgow as a reason for his forthcoming absence. At this point he may have attempted to hedge his bets at a time of great uncertainty. Wartime conditions made travelling difficult; exit documents from Russia were closely scrutinized. The influence and intervention of Buchanan probably smoothed this stage of the return journey, but there remained an arduous trip through Finland and Norway to catch the weekly ferry from Trondheim for Aberdeen. The couple arrived in Scotland on 29th August, 1917.

GLASGOW

Brennan’s arrival in Glasgow early in September allowed time only for the setting up of a small class in elementary Russian. His first engagement with a wider public was an article in
the *Glasgow Herald* of 28th September, 1917 on ‘Russia’s Ordeal’. Much was made of his experience of the February Revolution and his personal knowledge of some of the main participants. Brennan's inaugural lecture on the 15th October in the Humanities Classroom, presided over by Principal MacAlister, also attracted a large town and gown audience when he stressed the national need for individuals with the linguistic and business skills needed to exploit new markets in Russia. Brennan's interest in Russian affairs remained undiminished by distance. While engaged in establishing an academic presence in Glasgow he found time to provide Colonel John Buchan at the Foreign Office with names of acquaintances living in St. Petersburg likely to prove willing to assist the British propaganda department with intelligence and support for opponents of the communist cause. Apparently this action was taken not in response to an approach from the Foreign Office, but on his own initiative. He expressed a willingness to visit London to discuss the issues involved with Paul Dukes, an MI6 officer. This was not a strange world for Brennan; it is possible that he was engaged in intelligence work for British agencies whilst in Petrograd.

The initial elementary Russian courses eventually led to the introduction of degree programmes covering not only language and literature but Church Slavonic, economics, political and literary history. All taught by Brennan. In 1922, only four years after the inauguration of the first language course, the first successful M.A. candidates graduated. This small group included Alexander Werth who would later achieve international fame as an author and leading war correspondent. Werth, son of a Russian family now in exile, had chosen to study at Glasgow because he had been taught by Brennan in St. Petersburg. Brennan knew the family well and had spent summers with them at their dacha in Oranienbaum. When Werth arrived in Glasgow in 1919 he lodged with the Brennans at 96 Great George Street enjoying and contributing to convivial Russian evenings.
In summary, Brennan's efforts established the academic credentials of the Russian courses, laying the groundwork for a future highly successful Department of Slavonic Studies. He participated in the social life of the University with noted enjoyment and acted as a Vice-President of Glasgow University Catholic Students Sodality in the 1920s. Brennan also nurtured external relations, integrating Glasgow in the growing Russian teaching establishment of the time. With Bernard Pares, Nevill Forbes, Alexander Goudy and M. V. Trofimov he was a member of the Standing Committee of University Teachers of Slavonic. In 1921 he was one of five signatories to a letter in *The Scotsman* calling attention to the plight of Russian students in Britain following the revolutionary upheavals and soliciting financial aid on their behalf. Brennan's academic influence was not confined to his own University; he also taught classes in Russian at the Glasgow and West of Scotland Commercial College, and from 1919 to 1924 held the post of Lecturer in Russian at Edinburgh University.

Brennan's strengths were as teacher and speaker. Of his publications perhaps the best known is *Sidelights on Russia* [Nutt, 1918]. It is not a scholarly work; readable reportage may be the fairest assessment. He examines the role of German agents in disrupting and undermining trust in established authorities, provides a description of early soldiers' and workmen's soviets or councils and an analysis of the failures of early moderate leadership to retain hold on power. Brennan also criticised British efforts to secure a foothold in Russian markets. He argued that for a successful relationship with Russia 'we must see to it that the Russian language is taught in our schools to the same extent as French and German; and [...] whatever we decide to do we must do it now'. This, of course, is the idea that had brought him to
Glasgow. Brennan’s continuing interest in Russian culture is reflected in the publication *Russian Fairy Tales* [Gowans & Gray, 1928], and in the undated and unpublished typescript in English and Russian: *Some aspects of Russian culture in the 12th century as revealed by the literary productions of that period.*

Between 1918 and 1923 Brennan used his vacations to travel extensively through France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Poland. These were not leisure trips. His forays usually resulted in reports on post-war developments to various newspapers. On a trip to Poland in 1920 he stayed with Dr Alfred Biedermann, a noted and wealthy industrialist, at his palace in Lodz. There Brennan had to inform the *Manchester Guardian* of difficulties in sending them promised reports due to the unsettled, volatile situation in the country. Earlier, in 1919, he even returned to Russia. His passport records a trip ‘on government service’ to Archangel in North Russia during this year. The purpose of this sponsored journey is unclear.

During this same period Brennan was in demand as a public speaker. He addressed a wide variety of public groups on Russian topics in Scotland, as well as national war policy issues in England and Wales. For example, the Falkirk Rotary Club, the Russian Society of Scotland (Dundee Section), Lenzie Literary and Debating Society, the Women’s International League, Glasgow Publicity Club, the League of Nations. He also gave a series of public lectures on such themes as ‘The Reforging of Russia’. During 1918 his talents as a public speaker were employed by the National War Aims Committee. There are reports of his speeches in Coventry and Llandudno, for example.
During these years Brennan’s public utterances increasingly expressed support for the Revolution and its consequences. To such an extent that at one public meeting and subsequent newspaper correspondence he was branded an out-and-out socialist. A charge Brennan found it necessary to respond to with a letter dismissing such charges. Even in 1933 he reiterated his support for the Soviet government and would not countenance a comparison to Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy. He never wavered in his belief that Russia, of whatever political hue, should be one of Britain’s main markets.

As the 1920s progressed the early intensity of interest in Russian economic and political matters abated, so did Brennan's public engagements. However, the arrival of radio as a prime medium of general and educational communication, offered opportunities for schools broadcasts. For example, during November and December 1925 he had weekly slots for general travel and school talks. In the main he used these opportunities to introduce his listeners to observations on Russian culture, customs, legends, folklore, travel and literature. Interests that had captured him in his St. Petersburg days.

In 1924 we have a rare glimpse into Brennan's personal life. In October of this year Edward, Brennan's elder brother, and Mabel his wife, had lost their five year old son in an accident. Brennan and his wife had attended the funeral, and Brennan had followed this up with at least three letters of condolence, comfort, and advice; one to his brother Edward and two to Mabel. The strength, compassion and comfort of faith expressed by Brennan, the younger brother, is most moving and revealing.
In February 1937 he delivered a commemorative lecture in Glasgow on Pushkin to celebrate the centenary of the poet's death. The lecture was part of a nationwide series of events dedicated to the poet's memory organised by the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR.

The entry of the Soviet Union into the war against Germany in 1941 re-ignited enthusiasm for and interest in Britain's new ally. Brennan, now 68, responded to the call with talks to small groups and a radio talk on 'Russia: Our Ally' for the Ministry of Information.

Brennan's first wife died in Glasgow on 25th November, 1942. She was 53 years of age. In her memory Brennan bequeathed to the University a number of elegant and evocative personal artefacts including Easter tokens of appreciation and friendship from the Korostovetz family, potent with memories of his tutoring years in Russia. In September of the following year Brennan retired from his lectureship at the age of 70. The Senate Minutes of the 25th June 1943 took note of this coming event with a warm and appreciative tribute to ‘one of its most colourful personalities’. He left behind a department reinvigorated by a renewed interest in Russian studies and confident in its acknowledged academic credentials. Shortly after his retirement, in December 1943 he remarried at the University’s Catholic Chaplaincy. This time to Katherine Swinburne, a hospital matron, who was 52. In 1944 the Royal Scottish Geographical Society invited him to present his thoughts on 'Modern Russia'. His illustrated presentation was well received. Brennan may have retired but he was still able, at the age of 71, to hold an audience.
For most of his time in Glasgow Brennan lived at 57 Kersland Street – where the *House of Mirth* was filmed. However, during the 1940s Brennan moved back to Teignmouth, where his parents and relations had lived. His address was Buckeridge House, Buckeridge Road; just round the corner from St Scholastica’s Abbey. There is little evidence of his life there other than during September, 1946, he delivered a series of lectures on the Soviet Union under the aegis of the WEA at the Plymouth Girls' High School.48 Brennan did not end his days in Teignmouth. He died in Worthing on 26th January, 1958, at the age of 84; leaving his wife almost £13,000 in his will. His address at the time was Whitehall Hotel, Marine Parade, but he died round the corner at 14 Queens Road, Worthing.49

CONCLUSION

Brennan's activities and achievements indicate an energetic, successful and effective teacher, and an appreciated public speaker. For direct testimony of his character and personality we have to rely on less than a handful of observations made by friends and acquaintances. The fullest assessment is that of John Duncan Mackie, Professor of Scottish History and Literature at the University of Glasgow from 1930 to 1957 and Dean of Faculties from 1940 to 1945. In his obituary of Brennan he describes a figure with a romantic past - the young man enjoying life as part of an aristocratic family in Imperial Russia. He was possessed of remarkable charm and savoured life to the full with a gay 'insouciance' tempered by 'essential prudence'. This balanced person was a happy man with the gift of making his friends happy. He loved his golf, loved relating his success with special strokes, and enjoyed the conviviality and social life of the University's College Club.50
Mackie was a friend and working colleague; we are fortunate to have his considered testimony. A different perspective is provided by a descendant of one branch of the Korostovetz family. The two eldest of the boys taught by Brennan eventually made a life for themselves in Britain. Vladimir became a noted writer, journalist and political activist. He lectured British audiences on the iniquities of the communist regime and warned of threats to British values and institutions posed by the militant ideology of the Soviet Union. His views were shaped by personal experience. Both his parents and two of his brothers had perished during the Revolution. Kirill, the eldest boy, was the only one with offspring. He had a son George, who married an Englishwoman. George's daughter, now Valya Schooling, recalls meeting Brennan in 1953, when he visited their home to see her father. Brennan was 80 at the time, but she recalls the profound impression made by a winningly erudite old man. The remembered visit may have been connected with Vladimir's death. A related memory is that of Nicol, the son of George Korostovetz's nanny Natasha, who remembers Brennan visiting the family several times in their home near Dorking from 1948/49 onwards. On one occasion Nicol and his mother were invited out to tea by Brennan and his wife. The enduring memory was of a charming man who remained in contact with the Korostovetz family both in Russia and in Britain for all of his life.

Brennan’s life is an intriguing story of adventure and achievement. His beginnings were unpromising, but his abilities and energy combined with an attractive personality enabled Brennan to make the most of unusual opportunities that came his way. There may be more to discover of his life, but it is likely that the final verdict will remain unchanged - Glasgow University was fortunate to acquire the services of an individual so well fitted to undertake the arduous business of establishing, maintaining and developing Russian courses through the turbulent and challenging times that followed the optimism of the first years.
NOTES

1. This period of hectic development is excellently described and analysed in Muckle, “Russian in the University Curriculum” and Muckle, *The Russian Language in Britain*.

2. MacAlister had an impressive intellectual background. He was a noted linguist with weighty formal qualifications in mathematics and medicine. Although he never visited Russia he had mastered the language and developed a close interest in the country’s history and culture. The best approach to MacAlister the man remains his wife’s biography *Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert*...

3. See Bell, *A Short History Charting the Birth of Slavonic Studies at the University of Glasgow*.

4. Williams was a full-time journalist working in St. Petersburg. Brennan was an occasional contributor to the London *Times*. Their paths would have crossed frequently. Brennan would have known Buchanan through social, club, contacts, and through work done for British agencies in the capital.


6. Miss English’s generosity was rewarded with the title of papal Countess by the Pope in 1868. *The Register, and Magazine of Biography*, 196.

7. 1861 UK Census

8. Brennan Private Family Papers

9. *When Jesuits were Giants*, 179.

10. Society of Jesus Province Register. Ref.14/2/6 page 733. This crucial detail was provided by Sally Kent, Assistant Archivist, Jesuits in Britain.


12. Ibid, 64.


15. Copy of teaching certificate. TsGIA SBP, fond 239, opis’1, delo 8265.


19. Copy of Diploma from Oriental Academy, dated 8 August 1914. TsGIA SBP, fond 239, opis’1, delo 8265.

20. Correspondence relating to this award. TsGIA SBP, fond 11. opis’1, delo 3469.

21. Correspondence relating to this award. TsGIA SBP, fond 11. opis’1, delo 3469.


23. *Ves’ Peterburg.* 1914, 76.


25. On 31 December, 1914, Brennan appears in a list of members of the Society.

Membership number was given as 366; Buchanan as 654. *Proceedings of the Anglo-Literary Society.* No. 71, October, November, December, 1914, 107.


27. The names of Marie de Berens parents appear on her Death Certificate.
28. Rappoport, Helen. *Caught in the Revolution...1917* provides a vivid account of the unsettled, disintegrating, state of Petrograd at the time.

29. Letter to Aleksandr Emil’evich Shmol’ts, Secretary at Lyceum, dated 30 July, 1917, stating he was sorry there was no time to say goodbye and that he can be reached at the University of Glasgow. TsGIA SBP, fond 11. opis’1, delo 3469.


34. *Adventure of Life: Reminiscences of Pauline Podlashuk*, 144.


37. *Edinburgh University Calendars for the Years 1919-1924*.


http://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/search/0/20?adv=0&q=Hugh+G.+Brennan&media=all&vf=1923 &yt=2009&mf=1&mt=12&tf=00%3A00&tt=00%3A00#search Accessed February 14, 2018.

43. Copies of these most intimate letters were provided by Tim Brennan, Brennan’s great-nephew. Brennan’s tenderness and delicacy of feeling on this sad occasion is manifest in three short letters of condolence and support. Brennan confided his distress over this event to Principal MacAlister. Giving an opinion as a medical man he comforted his colleague with the view that the boy’s injuries were too extensive to allow of a future normal life. Brennan Private Family Papers.


44. Items are listed in the catalogues of The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, and can be viewed online. Use search term “Brennan”.

45. Marriage Certificate of Hugh George Brennan and Katherine Swinburne.


47. Western Morning News, 13 September 1946, 2.


49. Obituary by John Duncan Mackie which appeared in Glasgow University’s College Courant, Whitsun, 1958.

50. Korostovetz, Seed and Harvest. Chapters XXVI and XXVII.

51. Personal communication by email.
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