



Durham E-Theses

Irish Protestant migrants in the Scottish Episcopal Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway 1817-1929

Meredith, Ian

How to cite:

Meredith, Ian (2007) *Irish Protestant migrants in the Scottish Episcopal Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway 1817-1929*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online:
<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1839/>

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

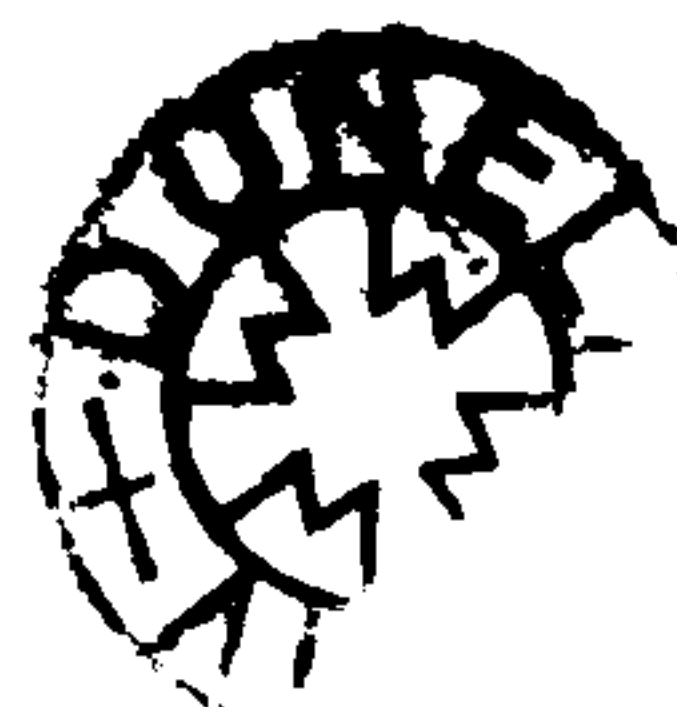
Academic Support Office, Durham University, University Office, Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HP
e-mail: e-theses.admin@dur.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk>

**Irish Protestant Migrants
in the Scottish Episcopal
Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway
1817 - 1929**

Ian Meredith

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author or the university to which it was submitted. No quotation from it, or information derived from it may be published without the prior written consent of the author or university, and any information derived from it should be acknowledged.

**Ph.D. Thesis
University of Durham
Department of Theology and Religion
2007**



Abstract

This thesis is a contribution towards rediscovering a large and important community within the Episcopal Church in the west of Scotland which has, up until now, been totally neglected: Protestant Episcopalians from Ireland. It will complement other recent studies on various ‘lost or forgotten’ people, thus challenging the typical stereotype of the Church whose members were perceived to be mainly Anglo-Catholic in churchmanship, liberal in theology, middle-class in social status and predominantly English in ethnic origin.

The work will concentrate on the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway, which covered the west of Scotland and which in the nineteenth century saw significant growth, from just a few hundred members in four churches in 1800, to an estimated 110,000 Episcopalians and seventy-three churches by 1900. This growth was mainly due to the many thousands of Irish Episcopalians who migrated to Scotland in order to produce labour for the country’s burgeoning Industrial Revolution, as well as to escape the harsh conditions in Ireland. In this respect, the thesis will help to meet the need for more information on Irish Protestant migrants to Scotland, who may have amounted to almost one-third of the Irish diaspora in Scotland.

Chapters two and three will consider the historical development of both the Church of Ireland, in which the migrants were nurtured, and the Scottish Episcopal Church, into which they were received. The differences in these two branches of British Anglicanism will become apparent, as conflict became inevitable.

Chapter four will look at Orangeism, and what will emerge, will be how prevalent this was within the Scottish Episcopal Church, mainly among its Irish members, but also among Scots-born and English-born clergy and laity who were drawn to the movement.

Chapters six to eleven will consist of case studies of various churches, and families, mainly in the city of Glasgow, but also spreading further to Dunbartonshire, Ayrshire and Lanarkshire. The town and church at Paisley will provide a more detailed examination of the lives of the Irish Episcopalians in that town.

The final chapter will demonstrate that the Irish, for most part, left the Church, and will seek to examine why this was and where they went

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|------|
| Abstract | ii |
| List of Appendices | iv |
| List of Tables | vi |
| List of Plates | viii |
| Declaration | x |
| Statement of Copyright | x |
| Acknowledgements | x |
| Abbreviations | xiii |
| Chapter 1. Introduction | 1 |
| Chapter 2. ‘Our Church people are to a large extent Irish’ | 23 |
| Chapter 3. ‘The Scottish Episcopal Church . . . was a very different body’ | 46 |
| Chapter 4. ‘This Orange element . . . will either kill you or die for you’ | 66 |
| Chapter 5. ‘The most missionary Diocese in Europe’ | 99 |
| Chapter 6. Glasgow: North | 130 |
| Chapter 7. Glasgow: West | 165 |
| Chapter 8. Glasgow: East and South; Dunbartonshire and Lanarkshire | 201 |
| Chapter 9. Ayrshire | 234 |
| Chapter 10. Paisley | 258 |
| Chapter 11. Family stories and biographies | 292 |
| Chapter 12. ‘There has been a vast leakage in our ranks’ | 314 |
| Appendices | 344 |
| Bibliography | 381 |

List of Appendices

- 1:1 Table showing churches opened in the Diocese of Glasgow & Galloway, 1817 – 1899
- 1:2 Map showing the Seven Dioceses of the Scottish Episcopal Church
- 2:1 Map of areas of Ulster in 1610, showing main English and Scottish settlements
- 2:2 Map showing Dioceses of the Church of Ireland, 1834 – Present
- 2:3 Map of Ireland showing areas of population change, 1841 - 1851
- 3:1 Map showing English Episcopal Congregations in Scotland, 1842 – 1900
- 4:1 Opening Prayer of the Orange Lodge
- 4:2 Application for Membership of the Orange Order of the Rev. H. W. Pughe, 1897
- 4:3 Orange Lodge Transfer Certificate from Ireland of the Rev. William K. Smith, 1914
- 4:4 Proximity of Episcopal Churches to Orange Halls
- 4:5 List of Episcopalian Clergy who were members of the Orange Order, 1860 – 1929.
- 4:6 Members of L.O.L. 102, Paisley and connection with Trinity Church, 1859 - 1861
- 5:1 Map of the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway in 1900, with case studies highlighted
- 5:2 Graph showing Churches opened and closed in the Diocese of Glasgow & Galloway, 1817 – 1991
- 5:3 Table of Churches opened and closed in the Diocese, 1817– 1973.
- 5:4 Table of statistics of the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway, 1878 -
- 6:1 Map of Glasgow showing location of churches in the north of the city
- 6:2 Graph showing number of Baptisms at St. James the Less, Springburn, 1875 – 1934.
- 6:3 Table of statistics of St. James the Less, Springburn, 1878 -1908
- 7:1 Map of Jordanhill and surrounding villages, 1890s
- 7:2 Graph showing number of Baptisms at All Saints Church, Jordanhill, 1854 – 1915
- 7:3 Map of Partick in 1896, showing Episcopal Churches and Orange Hall
- 8:1 Map of Glasgow showing location of churches and Missions in the south and east of the city
- 9:1 Table showing numbers of Baptisms at St. Andrew's, Ardrossan, 1873– 1902
- 9:2 Graph showing number of Baptisms for Episcopalian families in the Garnock Valley, 1840 – 1960
- 10:1 Map of Paisley showing location of Episcopal Churches and surrounding areas, 1896
- 10:2 Map of Paisley showing location of sample of Episcopalian families, 1867 - 1872
- 10:3 Table showing number of Baptisms at Holy Trinity Church, Paisley, 1817 – 1947

- 10:4 Table showing number of Confirmations at Paisley, with country of Baptism, 1893 – 1925
- 10:5 Map of Ireland in 1848 showing origin (where indicated) of families who migrated to Paisley
- 11:1 Table showing children of William Marshall, 1836 – 1885
- 11:2 Table showing addresses and occupations of William Marshall, 1866 -1874
- 12:1 Table showing ethnic origins of clergy in the Diocese of Glasgow & Galloway, 1881

List of Tables

- 1:1 Number and percentage of Anglicans and Presbyterians in Ireland, 1834 – 1901
- 1:2 Number and percentage of Anglicans and Presbyterians in Ulster, 1861 – 1901
- 1:3 Denominational affiliation of the Irish Protestant population of Canada, 1871
- 1:4 Numbers and percentage of Irish-born in areas of Scotland, 1841
- 2:1 Number and percentage of Irish born in Scotland, 1841 – 1931
- 3:1 Growth of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1851 – 1914
- 5:1 Scottish Episcopal Church: growth in number of churches, 1840 – 1900
- 5:2 Percentage of the population of Glasgow by place of birth, 1851 – 1901
- 5:3 Numbers attending sample of schools in the Diocese of Glasgow, 1853
- 6:1 Ethnic origins of Baptismal Presenters at Springburn Mission, 1875 – 1878
- 6:2 Congregation statistics for St. James the Less, Springburn, 1881 – 1890
- 6:3 Ethnic origins of Baptismal Presenters at St. James the Less, Springburn, 1881 – 1886
- 6:4 Occupations of fathers at St. James the less, Springburn, 1879 – 1886
- 6:5 Ethnic origins of Baptismal Presenters at St. James the Less, Springburn, 1889 – 1893
- 6:6 Ethnic origins of Confirmation Candidates at St. James the Less, Springburn, 1890 – 1923
- 6:7 Occupation of fathers at St. James the Less, Springburn, 1880 – 1934
- 6:8 Place of origins in Ireland of families at St. James the Less, Springburn, 1875 – 1923
- 6:9 Ethnic origins of Episcopalian families in Maryhill, 1885 – 1883
- 7:1 Ethnic origins of Henry Houldsworth's employees, Anderston in 1834
- 7:2 Ethnic origins of Baptismal Presenters at All Saints' Mission, Jordanhill, 1854 – 1858
- 7:3 Ethnic origins of Baptismal Presenters at Kingswood Free Church and All Saints' Episcopal Mission, Jordanhill, 1876 – 1881
- 7:4 Occupations of fathers at All Saints' Mission, Jordanhill, 1854 – 1858
- 7:5 Number of rooms per house of families at All Saints' Mission, Jordanhill, 1854 – 1858
- 7:6 Ethnic origins of Baptismal Presenters at All Saints Mission, Jordanhill, 1876 – 1881
- 7:7 Partick families requesting Baptism at All Saints', Jordanhill, 1855 – 1868
- 7:8 Partick families requesting Baptism at All Saints', Jordanhill, 1869 – 1876
- 7:9 Baptisms at St. Brides and its Missions 1893 – 1901
- 7:10 Population of Partick, 1820 – 1911

- 7:11 Number of Members and Communicants at Partick Missions, 1902 – 1910
- 8:1 Congregational statistics of St. Michael's, Govan, 1879 – 1945
- 8:2 Congregational statistics of St. Gabriel's, Govan, 1897 – 1945
- 8:3 Congregational statistics of Holy Trinity, Motherwell, 1884 – 1945
- 9:1 Numbers attending services at St. John's, Girvan, 1923 – 1930
- 9:2 Attendance at St. Oswald's, Maybole, 1904 – 1961
- 9:3 Ethnic origins of people buried at St. Oswald's, Maybole, 1884 – 1911
- 9:4 Ethnic origins of parents of children buried at St. Oswald's, Maybole, 1884 – 1911
- 9:5 Ethnic origins of Baptismal Presenters at St. Andrew's, Ardrossan, 1873 – 1881
- 9:6 Ethnic origins of Dalry Baptismal Presenters at Ardrossan, 1873 – 1878
- 9:7 Ethnic origins of Baptismal Presenters at St. Peter's, Dalry, 1900
- 10:1 Ethnic origins of Baptismal Presenters at Trinity Church before and after split, 1881 – 1886
- 10:2 Percentage of Irish-born compared: Scotland, Paisley and Holy Trinity Church, 1841 – 1891
- 10:3 Ethnic origins of Baptismal Presenters (Families) at Holy Trinity Church, 1841 – 1981
- 10:4 Ethnic origins of Baptismal Presenters (Individuals) at Holy Trinity Church, 1841 – 1891
- 10:5 Place of origin (where identified) in Ireland of Irish at Holy Trinity Church, 1830 – 1925
- 10:6 Counties of origin in Ireland: Irish Orange Lodge Transfer Certificates to Paisley, 1890 – 1950
- 10:7 Occupations of fathers at Holy Trinity Church, 1871 – 1874
- 12:1 Ethnic origins of the clergy in the Diocese of Glasgow & Galloway, 1881 – 1929
- 12:2 Numbers and percentage of Irish-born and English-born in Scotland, 1841 – 1911
- 12:3 Growth and decline in the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1900 – 1970
- 12:4 Memberships of the Scottish Episcopal Church and Church of Scotland, 1851 – 1925

List of Plates

- 4:1 Very Rev. Robert J. Macgeorge
- 4:2 Rev. William H. Winter
- 4:3 Sir Archibald Campbell (Lord Blythswood)
- 4:4 Harry Alfred Long
- 5:1 Bishops of Glasgow and Galloway, 1847 – 1931
- 6:1 St. Mary's, Renfield Street (1825)
- 6:2 St. Mary's School, Braid Street, Cowcaddens
- 6:3 St. Mary's Cathedral, Great Western Road
- 6:4 St. Peter's, Braid Street, Cowcaddens, 1867
- 6:5 St. Peter's, Gardiner Street, Cowcaddens
- 6:6 St. Luke's, Grafton Street, Townhead
- 6:7 Children at Cowcaddens / Port Dundas in early 1920s.
- 6:8 St. George's, Sandbank Street, Maryhill (became the Orange Hall)
- 6:9 The new St. George's, Sandbank Street, Maryhill, 1892
- 7:1 Crow Road, Jordanhill with sign for All Saints' Mission
- 7:2 Red Town, near Jordanhill
- 7:3 Chancel of All Saints' Mission, Jordanhill, 1880s
- 7:4 School House and All Saints' Mission, Jordanhill, 1880s
- 7:5 Chancel of St. Patrick's Mission, Partick
- 7:6 Former Blacksmith's Cottage, Douglas Street, Partick (St. Patrick's Mission)
- 8:1 Rev. Dr. James S. Gordon
- 8:2 St. Andrew's-by-the-Green, Glasgow
- 8:3 The first Christ Church, Brooke Street, Mile End, 1836
- 8:4 The second Christ Church, Brooke Street, Mile End, 1915
- 9:1 St. John's, Girvan, with tower added, 1910
- 9:2 St. Oswald's, Maybole
- 9:3 Chancel of St. Andrew's, Ardrossan
- 9:4 St. John's, Girvan as originally built in 1859

- 10:1 Interior of Holy Trinity, Paisley, 1870s
- 10:2 Interior of Holy Trinity, Paisley, 1870s
- 10:3 Holy Trinity, Paisley with chancel added 1880s
- 10:4 Rev. James Stewart
- 10:5 Rev. William Mills
- 10:6 Holy Trinity, Paisley
- 10:7 Back courts of 'The Sneddon', 1890s
- 10:8 Back courts of 'The Sneddon', 1890s
- 10:9 Orange Hall next to St. Barnabas, Castle Street, Paisley
- 10:10 71 High Street, Paisley
- 11:1 Thomas McFarland, Glengarnock
- 11:2 Drumkeeran Parish Church, Tubrid, Co. Fermanagh
- 11:3 Andrew and Sarah Nisbett and family, Jordanhill
- 11:4 Andrew Nisbet with family and friends at Orange Walk, Glasgow, 1920s

Declaration

None of this material has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or any other university.

Statement of Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Acknowledgements

This project could not have been completed without the encouragement and co-operation of so many people and to all of them, my deepest appreciation is due.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Sheridan Gilley, for his enthusiasm and guidance throughout. His appreciation of the wider background of the people, issues and events in this thesis, and his many academic contacts pointed me in helpful directions. I have much enjoyed his warmth and hospitality when visiting Durham.

I am also grateful to my bishop, the Most Rev. Dr. Idris Jones (Primus), Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway, for encouraging me to pursue this project while in active ministry; for allowing me leave of absence in order to complete it, and for his permission at its commencement, to access the private archives of the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway at the Mitchell Library.

Many thanks must also be given to the George Hay Forbes Trust of the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland and the Grand Black Chapter of Scotland for generous grants and access to their archives.

Many of the clergy, whose churches are included in the case studies, gave me access to their church records. In particular I wish to thank Darren McFarland (Paisley), Scott Robertson (Ardrossan, Dalry and Irvine), Robin Paisley (Springburn/Bishopbriggs), Bruce Gordon (Lanark), Vincent Perricone (Jordanhill), Russell Jones (Hyndland/Partick), David Jones (Maybole and Girvan), Mr Alistair Fulton, administrator and Mr. Roger Edwards, treasurer at St. Mary's Cathedral, Glasgow.

The staff at the General Synod Office of the Scottish Episcopal Church in Edinburgh were most generous in allowing me unlimited access to the Church's archives as well as photocopying facilities.

I am also very much in the debt of Mr David Bryce, former Grand Secretary of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland for allowing me access to the archives of the Orange Order, for willingly sharing his knowledge of Irish immigration in the west of Scotland, and for sending me many snippets, while in the course of his own research.

Some local historians helped to place the church case studies in their social, geographical and historical contexts and gave me tours of the areas. Included among them are Stuart Mclean (Jordanhill), Ann Donaldson (Springburn) and Denis Meney (Paisley).

I am grateful to many people who shared stories of their family history and allowed me access to, and copies of, document and family photographs. Among these are William Marshall, Elaine McFarland and Cathy Cheyne. Others, whose Irish Episcopalian ancestors and their descendants emigrated overseas were Ross Wilson (Australia), Bobby Ede (Australia) and Fred Coulson (Canada).

The staff of various libraries have been most helpful. Special thanks to the staff of the Glasgow City Archives and the Glasgow Room at the Mitchell Library; Paisley Library Reference section; Margaret Harrison of Strathclyde University Jordanhill Campus; The National Library of Scotland and the National Archives of Scotland; Stirling University Library, and my local librarians while I lived at Lockerbie, Geoff Creamer and Cathy Muirhead who never failed to obtain my many requests through inter-library loan.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my wife Marilyn, for her patience and encouragement to keep going, especially when at that 'half way' stage. Without her many sacrifices, this thesis would never have emerged.

Ian Meredith
Ayr
March, 2007.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| <i>CNS</i> | <i>The Church News: Scotland</i> |
| DGGA | Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway Archives |
| EEC | English Episcopal Church |
| GCA | Glasgow City Archives |
| GOLSA | Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland Archives |
| LOL | Loyal Orange Lodge |
| NAS | National Archives of Scotland |
| <i>PDE</i> | <i>Paisley Daily Express</i> |
| <i>P&RG</i> | <i>Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette</i> |
| RCC | Representative Church Council |
| <i>SC</i> | <i>The Scottish Chronicle</i> |
| SEC | Scottish Episcopal Church |
| <i>SG</i> | <i>The Scottish Guardian</i> |
| <i>SSB</i> | <i>The Scottish Standard Bearer</i> |
| <i>StBM</i> | <i>St. Bride's (Glasgow) Magazine</i> |
| <i>StMM</i> | <i>St. Mary's (Glasgow) Magazine</i> |

Chapter One: Introduction

The Scottish Episcopal Church has often been referred to colloquially as ‘The English Church’, based on the observation that English people made up a significant proportion of its congregations and that the design of its church interiors, the dress of the clergy and its worship, align it closely with the Church of England. The prevailing stereotype of the Church is of ‘a rural-based, crypto-Catholic, Anglocentric elite.’¹ Brown’s observation, likewise, that ‘The Scottish Episcopal Church has never lost this identification with rural landowners and with a culture connected closely with that of the English upper classes’², would continue to be the popular perception.

That the academic world has acquiesced with this image was noted by Rowan Strong. In his study of Highland Episcopalianism, he refers to recent books and papers on the religious history of Gaeldom, and noticed that ‘It would appear that historians are just as guilty as others are in perpetuating an inaccurate historical reduction of Episcopalianism as merely an “English” kirk.’³ Some Episcopal historians like Stephen admit that the Church’s numerical growth in the nineteenth century was due mainly to ‘the increase of Irish and English families in Scotland’⁴ but fails to suggest any proportion for either. Lochhead in her study of nineteenth-century Scottish Episcopalianism states that ‘mission work was done chiefly among the incoming English and Irish workers in Glasgow’ and then goes on to claim, ‘The Irish perhaps were less numerous.’⁵

Not only is the Church thought of as being like the Church of England; it is also considered to be ‘next door to the Church of Rome.’ Because the Episcopal Church is both ‘Catholic and Reformed’, it has not always found this balance easy to maintain, and the growing predominance of its Catholic emphasis as the nineteenth

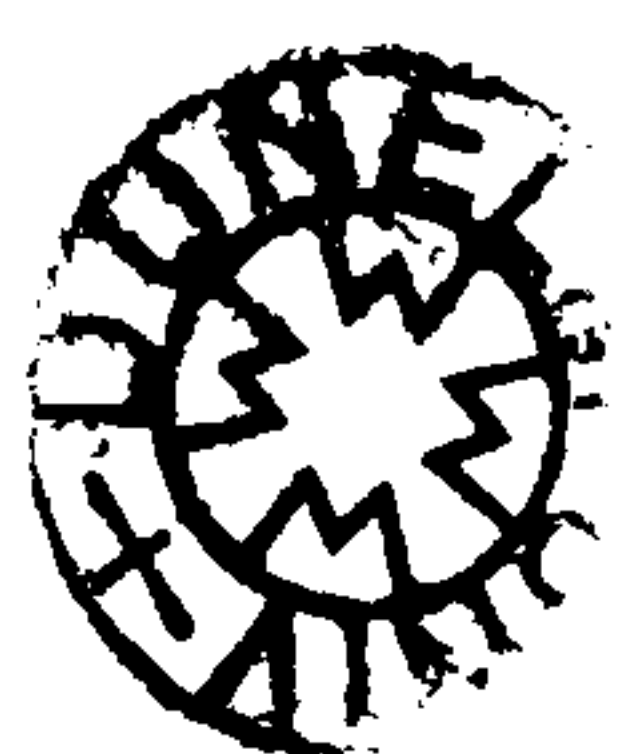
¹ Irene Maver, ‘*The Scottish Episcopal Church: A New History*, by Gavin White’, reviewed in *Scottish Historical Review*, No. 207, April 2000, p. 125.

² Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), p. 36.

³ Rowan Strong, *Episcopalianism in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 71.

⁴ William Stephen, *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church*, 2 Vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1896), Vol. 2, p. 682.

⁵ Marion Lochhead, *Episcopal Scotland in the Nineteenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1966), p. 223.



century progressed caused it to be regarded 'in the presbyterian Lowlands as a surrogate for "popery" ... it continued to drift more towards Catholicism and away from presbyterianism.'⁶

Main arguments of this thesis

This thesis seeks to challenge these assumptions, firstly by bringing to light a completely forgotten and lost people, the Irish, who constituted by far the greater number of Episcopalians in the west of Scotland for most of the nineteenth century. Yet despite their predominance, little has been written of them. They have not only been marginalised; they have become subliminal. This collective amnesia proves the adage that 'history is written by the victors.' Strong admits as such: 'By this time [1920s and 1930s], Episcopalian history was being almost exclusively written by clergy who were themselves products of Anglo-Catholic theological colleges...'⁷ Some Episcopalian historians have tended to ignore elements in the Church of whom they have had little experience, a bad experience, or with whom they have had little sympathy.

The Irish will again emerge in this study and will be given their own voice. The Irish, as opposed to the Scots, the English, the Welsh or any other nationality, had their own particular ethos and prejudices when it came to religious matters and this Irish predilection for a more Protestant ethos became part of the Episcopal Church's Irish 'problem', and so it will be considered as a major factor. It will also seek to examine whether the Irish were a homogenous group, or to what extent there were differences of class, politics and religious ideas among them.

It was to meet the spiritual needs of mainly Irish Episcopalians that most of the earliest work in the Church's Home Missions was directed. The mission was not engaged in because they were Irish. They were not a targeted specialist group like 'The Mission to Seamen' or Gaelic congregations. The first criterion was that as former members of the Church of Ireland they were Episcopalians and thus at least nominally under the spiritual care of the Scottish Episcopal Church, in their adopted land. Their poverty would have been something of a novelty and a challenge, as the wider Church was constantly being reminded of in its press. The fact that they were Irish was in a sense, coincidental, yet it was their Irish / Ulster background which moulded their outlook even more than their Episcopalianism or their economic status. At least two thirds of

⁶ Brown, *Religion and Society*, p. 34.

⁷ Strong, *Episcopalianism*, p. 27.

the churches in the Diocese, and over 90 per cent of all the Episcopalian churches in Glasgow founded in the nineteenth century, were began as Missions to the Irish (Appendix 1:1). In addition, there was probably a considerable Irish element in other churches, as yet unproven.

The second aim of this thesis will be to consider how the Church responded to the Irish in terms of opening churches, evangelism, schools, social welfare, the provision of ministry and all that goes under the general term of 'mission.' Brown is not impressed with the Church's record: 'the episcopalians from Ireland seem to have been almost uniformly neglected by the Church.'⁸ In a similar vein McFarlane's assertion is that 'the church seems to have had little concern for poor relief, or sense of duty towards its less privileged sections of society.'⁹ Its Irish members would certainly constitute the majority of those who were 'poor' and 'less privileged.' To reflect on the Church's mission to the Irish poor, and to assess the accuracy of these criticisms, will be considered here.

By the end of the 1920s, the Irish presence in the Church had almost disappeared and had been replaced by Scots and English. Many of these Scots were the children and grandchildren of the Irish, who with any of their parents who remained, became less involved, or in other cases went along with the now prevailing ethos of the Church.

The third aim of this thesis will be to try and ascertain why the Church did not hold them, and where they went. If the mission to the Irish was considered a failure, it will be examined if anything could have been done differently. The fact that the language of 'sides' is being used, suggests a measure of conflict, which there was.

⁸ Brown, *Religion and Society*, p. 35.

⁹ Elaine McFarland, *Protestants First: Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), p. 133.

The Protestant Irish

There have been many simplistic stereotypes surrounding the Irish in Scotland, historians sometimes writing from a partisan position. Swift and Gilley admit that what is missing in their book, *The Irish in the Victorian City*, is any study on the Protestant Irish, and challenge its neglect: 'We need to know more about Irish Protestants, who appear chiefly in the light in which Catholics saw them.'¹⁰ Likewise, T. M. Devine admitted that one weakness in the traditional historiography of the Irish in Scotland has been its almost exclusive concern with the Catholic Irish.¹¹ James E. Handley's pioneering work, *The Irish in Scotland*, which is chiefly about Catholics, would come into this category. Likewise, William Sloan has excluded Protestant Irish participation in his study on congregational life 'mainly due to lack of evidence.'¹²

This is strange given the large number of Protestant Irish who migrated to Scotland in the nineteenth century. Akenson claims that 'from 1815 onwards the migration out of Ireland attracted Protestants and Catholics in equal numbers.'¹³ This does not mean that they migrated to Scotland in similar proportions. The smallest estimate, given by Gallagher, is that they constituted 20 per cent of all the Irish¹⁴. Walker favours 25 per cent¹⁵ while McFarland suggests that the proportion was at least 33 per cent.¹⁶ Various Catholic priests writing around the 1830s claimed that there were significant numbers of Irish Protestants in their localities,¹⁷ and this was often the case, certainly until the Great Famine of 1846. In several towns Protestants continued to predominate, such as Larkhall, Armadale, Harthill, Irvine and parts of Glasgow.

Work on the Protestant Irish has recently been undertaken by Elaine McFarlane, James McAuley and Graham Walker. McFarlane's study of Orangeism in nineteenth-century Scotland has opened up what 'remains for

¹⁰ Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds.), *The Irish in the Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 11.

¹¹ T.M. Devine in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Irish Immigration and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991), p. vi.

¹² William Sloan, 'Religious affiliation and the immigration experience', *ibid.*, p. 68.

¹³ D. H. Akenson, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815 – 1922* (Dublin, 1988), p. 3, quoted by Donald Macraird, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain 1750-1922* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), p. 100.

¹⁴ Tom Gallagher, 'The Catholic Irish in Scotland', in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Irish Immigration*, p. 20.

¹⁵ Graham Walker, 'The Protestant Irish in Scotland,' *ibid* p. 49.

¹⁶ McFarland, *Protestants First* p. 104.

¹⁷ James E. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland* (Glasgow: John S. Burn & Sons, 1964), pp. 42-51.

most a shadowy and perplexing body'¹⁸ Her study, from a sociological standpoint, examines the formative period of Scottish Orangeism and its role in Scottish society, including its relationship with the Scottish Conservative Party, and the response of Scottish churches towards it. She gives evidence of the movement's high Ulster membership, and how it became a major form of working-class organisation in Lowlands Scotland. James White McAuley's article, 'Under an Orange banner: reflections on the northern Protestant experiences of emigration,'¹⁹ considers Protestant emigration throughout the world, including Scotland. Their definition of 'Irishness' was very different from the Catholic idea, and even common exile did not cause them to feel at home with the culture of Catholic 'Irishness' as it was extended to various lands. McAuley is at a loss to find any identifiable and distinguishing Ulster Protestant cultural icon apart from Orangeism, and so sees this as a cohesive bond, linking the emigrant with his fellows and with the 'ould country.' Walker's study looks at pre-Famine Protestant migration and the areas of Scotland where they formed the majority of the Irish. Again, Walker settles on the formation of Orange Lodges as an indication of Protestant Irish communities, and sees the Order's force for social cohesion among the migrant population.²⁰

Presbyterians and Episcopalians

If there has been a tendency to equate 'Irish' with 'Catholic', there has likewise been a tendency to parallel 'Irish Protestant' with 'Presbyterian'. This is based on a belief that Presbyterianism was more anti-Catholic than Episcopalianism, and therefore the former would be more interested in movements like the Orange Order. Walker claims for example, that 'It should be noted that there were some Anglican Protestants among the emigrants, although they were nowhere as numerous as the Presbyterian.'²¹ Later in his article he seems to have second thoughts about this, in referring to 'those Protestant migrants who had been adherents of the Church of Ireland – and they may have been a higher proportion than is often thought.'²² His high percentage of Presbyterians is based on the religious demography of the Ulster counties where most of the migrants to Scotland came from. However, he admits, that had figures been available, for example, from

¹⁸ McFarland, *Protestants First* p. vii.

¹⁹ James W. McAuley, 'Under an Orange banner: reflections of the northern Protestant experiences of emigration', Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage, Identity*, 6 Vols., Vol. 5, *Religion and Identity* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2000), pp. 43-69.

²⁰ Walker, 'Protestant Irish', pp. 50-4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

²² Walker, 'Protestant Irish', p. 49.

County Armagh where the Presbyterian presence was not as dominant among the Protestant denominations, the numbers may well have been more balanced.²³

This thesis suggests that in fact the majority of Protestant migrants to Scotland were Episcopalians. This is based on several considerations.

Acheson admits that 'Presbyterians outnumbered members of the Established Church in Ulster and may have done so in all Ireland ... before the considerable Presbyterian emigration of the early Georgian period.'²⁴ This continued in the 1820s with dissatisfaction with the Tithe laws, which compelled Presbyterians to support financially the Anglican Church. Thus by 1834 the Commissioners' figures were to show 853,160 members of the Established Church compared with 643,058 Presbyterians.²⁵

The religious Census of 1861, however, proved that although the Church of Ireland's share of the reduced population had risen, her membership had dropped to 693,357. Appendix 2:3 shows that the parts of Ulster, which showed the greatest population decline due to the effects of famine and migration, where in the Anglican counties of Armagh and Fermanagh, while the Presbyterian counties of Antrim and Down did not experience population decrease to such a degree.

In some dioceses losses were severe: a third of the members of Raphoe (Donegal) had disappeared since 1834; Clogher (Fermanagh and Tyrone) had lost 40,000 members; Armagh had lost 18,000 and 3,500 had disappeared from the Diocese of Down.²⁶ This trend continued in 1871 when again, the Established Church had a higher percentage of the reduced population, but a further decrease in membership to 667,900.²⁷ Thus during the peak of emigration, the Church of Ireland had produced the bigger share of the departing population, and during that same period, its numbers had been reduced. Presbyterian historians such as Reid

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

²⁴ Alan Acheson, *A History of the Church of Ireland 1690-1966* (Dublin: Columba Press, 1997), p. 19.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, These figures and the ones following relate to the whole of Ireland. In Ulster, Presbyterians outnumbered Anglicans.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

²⁷ R. B. McDowell, *The Church of Ireland 1869-1969* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 2.

have admitted that the Famine and emigration did not affect their members to any great extent: ‘The physical help given by organisations like the Belfast Ladies Relief Association was substantial, partly because few Presbyterians suffered to any extent during the famine years.’²⁸

Table 1:1

Number and percentage of Anglicans and Presbyterians in Ireland, 1834 - 1901

| Year | Anglican Numbers | Anglican Percentage | Presbyterian Numbers | Presbyterian Percentage |
|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1834 | 853,160 | 10.7 | 643,058 | 8.1 |
| 1861 | 693,357 | 11.96 | 523,191 | 9.02 |
| 1871 | 667,998 | 12.34 | 497,648 | 9.20 |
| 1881 | 639,574 | 12.36 | 470,734 | 9.10 |
| 1891 | 600,103 | 12.75 | 444,974 | 9.46 |
| 1901 | 581,089 | 13.03 | 443,000 | 9.94 |

Source: W. E. Vaughan and A. J. Fitzpatrick, (eds.), *Irish Historical Statistics: Population, 1821-1971* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), p. 49.

Table 1:2

Number and Percentage of Anglicans and Presbyterians in Ulster, 1861 – 1901

| Year | Anglican Numbers | Anglican Percentage | Presbyterian Numbers | Presbyterian Percentage |
|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1861 | 391,315 | 20.4 | 503,835 | 26.3 |
| 1871 | 393,268 | 21.5 | 477,729 | 26.1 |
| 1881 | 379,402 | 21.8 | 451,629 | 25.9 |
| 1891 | 362,791 | 22.4 | 426,245 | 26.3 |
| 1901 | 360,373 | 22.77 | 425,526 | 26.88 |

Source: Vaughan and Fitzpatrick, *Irish Historical Statistics*, pp. 53 – 65.

That Irish Protestant émigrés were more likely to be Anglican than Presbyterian was also noted by Houston and Smyth in their study of Irish emigration to Canada, principally between 1816 and 1855. Their study finds that approximately 55 per cent of Irish settlers in Canada were Protestant, and Anglican rather than Presbyterian.²⁹

By 1871 the denominational allegiance among Protestant denominations in Canada was shown as follows:

²⁸ James S. Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, 3 Vols. (London, 1853), Vol. 3, p. 579, quoted in Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland 1800-1870* (Montreal: Gill and Macmillan McGill, 1978), p. 33.

²⁹ Cecil J. Houston and William Smith, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement* (Toronto: University Press, 1990), p. 8.

Table 1:3

Denominational affiliation of the Irish Protestant population of Canada, 1871

| | Ontario | | Quebec | | New Brunswick | | Nova Scotia | |
|--------------|----------|------|----------|------|---------------|------|-------------|------|
| | Ancestry | Born | Ancestry | Born | Ancestry | Born | Ancestry | Born |
| Anglican | 25.0 | 23.8 | 19.9 | 19.2 | 18.1 | 16.2 | 11.2 | 13.7 |
| Methodist | 22.6 | 17.7 | 9.2 | 6.6 | 10.0 | 10.1 | 7.0 | 5.2 |
| Presbyterian | 16.4 | 16.7 | 7.2 | 7.2 | 15.8 | 16.2 | 20.0 | 12.6 |
| Baptist | 2.9 | 1.3 | 0.9 | 0.3 | 13.5 | 4.1 | 12.5 | 1.7 |
| Other | 2.0 | 1.3 | 2.3 | 1.4 | 0.7 | - | 0.2 | 0.4 |

Source: Houston & Smith, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*, p. 229.

These figures for Canada correspond with those for Australia. By 1911 the Australian census data on religion stated that 14 per cent of the Irish-born professed Anglicanism, 9 per cent Presbyterianism, and 3 per cent Methodism.³⁰

The next consideration is that the relative poverty of the Irish migrants to Scotland is more likely to suggest that they were Episcopalians rather than Presbyterians. The Church of Ireland did contain most of the aristocracy, gentry and landowners. However, as the Established Church, it was also, at least in theory, responsible for the spiritual welfare of every soul in their parishes. While the Presbyterians undoubtedly had working and labouring classes among them, 'The social background of the Presbyterian ministry ... reflected the interests of a predominantly middle-class rural community.'³¹ They admitted that 'few aristocrats belonged to their communion, but neither did the poor.'³² It was noted that half the paupers in Belfast, Londonderry and Monaghan workhouses in 1853 were members of the Established Church, while a quarter were Roman Catholics.³³ As the Presbyterian historian J.S. Reid pointed out, 'It has often been said that Presbyterianism is not a religion for a gentleman, but the statistics of the Ulster workhouses rather seem to indicate that it is not a religion for a beggarman.'³⁴

³⁰ Donald M. Macraill, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750 – 1922* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), p. 103.

³¹ David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society 1740-1890* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 18.

³² Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland 1800 – 1870* (Montreal: Gill and Macmillan, 1978), p. 32

³³ Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 32

³⁴ James S. Reid, *Presbyterian Church*, Vol. 3, p. 590, quoted in Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 32.

This denominational proportion is also reflected in statistics for Scottish Poor-Houses. In a sample of Irish admissions to the Dundee Poor House in 1861 it was noted that 5 per cent put down their denomination as ‘Established Church’ [in Scotland, Presbyterian] whereas 8 per cent had put down ‘Episcopalian.’³⁵ This is interesting considering that the size of the Established Church was at least ten times larger than the Episcopalian (Table 12:4). In establishing that the poor were more likely to be Episcopalians, the census of 1861 shows a greater degree of literacy among Presbyterians in that almost 60 per cent of them could read and write, compared with only 50 per cent of Anglicans.³⁶

Recent studies on other ‘lost peoples’ in the Scottish Episcopal Church

In recent years, other ‘lost peoples’ have been rediscovered in the Scottish Episcopal Church, thereby challenging various stereotypes. Rowan Strong in his *Episcopalianism in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* has contested the notion of the Church as mainly middle and upper class, showing that the number of poor and working classes among Scottish Episcopalians has been far greater than formerly realised. Moving away from institutional pronouncements and hierarchical reporting, he has sought to examine the beliefs of working class Episcopalians as their church and society were being changed by the Industrial Revolution. He considers the Highlands as well as the North East, but also touches on the work of the Glasgow clergy, the Rev. David Aitchison among the Irish poor in Mile End and the ministry of the Rev. Alexander D’Orsey in Anderston. While not looking at the Irish as such, he maintains that the leadership of the Church in the nineteenth century was unaware of the constituents of the Church. For example, Bishop Ewing of Argyll and the Isles maintained that ‘Episcopalian congregations were generally from the higher classes of society who required the same social background from their clergy.’³⁷

Patricia Meldrum in her 2004 doctoral thesis has shown that the presence of Evangelicals within the Church has been far greater than previously acknowledged. She admits that the Church in Scotland, unlike her English counterpart, was relatively unaffected by the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. In 1844 the Evangelical newspaper, *The Record*, accused the majority of Scottish Episcopal clergy of ‘lulling their

³⁵ Dundee City Archives CP/DE/6/1, *General Register of Inmates of Dundee Poor House 1861*, John Quinn, *The Mission of the Churches to the Irish in Dundee 1846-1886* (Stirling University, M.Litt., 1993), p. 43, Table 2:14.

³⁶ Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1992), p. 248.

³⁷ Strong, *Episcopalianism*, p. 112.

congregations asleep among the dissipation and worldliness of fashionable life.’³⁸ But as the nineteenth century progressed, the number of Evangelicals, mainly English and Irish clergy increased, as well as laity such as the Duchess of Gordon and the Earl of Galloway, and clergy like Dean William Wade of Paisley were Evangelicals. But her interest in the Irish is only passing as in the presence of Irish at St. Vincent’s in Edinburgh, the English Episcopal Mission at Johnstone, and the Orangemen of St. John’s, Dundee, who would have found its Low Church ethos much to their liking.

The Irish in the Scottish Episcopal Church

It has mainly been historians from outside the Church who have noticed a significant Irish Protestant element in the Church, and perhaps here is a story that needs to be told. Elaine McFarlane has noted that ‘The Scottish Episcopal Church was markedly unprepared for the influx of thousands of migrant workers from Ulster.’³⁹ Irene Maver writes of ‘an intriguing Irish connection with the Church in urban communities, as represented by working-class congregations like Christ Church in Glasgow and St. Mary Magdalene’s in Dundee. In yet another of Scottish Episcopalianism’s many contradictions, the immigrants’ Orange associations ... compounded the social gulf between the Church’s leadership and its Irish adherents.’⁴⁰

The most substantial work done so far on the Irish in the Scottish Episcopal Church has been John Quinn’s thesis, *The Mission of the Churches to the Irish in Dundee 1846 – 1886*. This, however, is limited as it only has one chapter on the Episcopal Church, and confines itself to the city of Dundee. Its usefulness is that it has laid a foundation and provided parallels for further study on the West of Scotland. Quinn notes the dramatic rise of Episcopalianism in areas such as Glasgow and Dundee, not traditionally associated with the Church, and attributes this mainly to the influx of Irish migrants. He outlines the admirable response of the Church in Dundee in providing schools and Churches, yet concedes that ultimately the Church did not hold the Irish, due to the Anglo-Catholicism of Bishop Forbes of Brechin and of many of his clergy.

³⁸ *The Record*, 17 November 1844, quoted in Patricia Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalians in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (Stirling University Ph.D., 2004), p. 5.

³⁹ McFarlane, *Protestants First* p. 133.

⁴⁰ Maver, *Review*, p. 125..

Limitations of this study

This present thesis has several limitations, all of which might point to future areas of research. Its scope does not extend to the whole of Scotland but just to the West of Scotland. Of the seven dioceses which make up the Church (Appendix 1:2), only one is considered, that of Glasgow and Galloway. Yet even here, several church case studies which contained a large Irish element have had to be left out due to lack of space. These would include the churches at Galloway, Greenock, Port Glasgow and Ayr, Johnstone and Coatbridge, but as this diocese at one stage contained one third of all the members of the Church,⁴¹ and the highest numbers of Irish migrants in Scotland, it provides an adequate description of what was happening with most of the Irish in the Episcopal Church. This is not to suggest that there was no noticeable Irish presence in the other six dioceses, yet it can be safely assumed that nothing corresponded to Glasgow and Galloway, as indicated by the scarce mention of the Irish and related issues in the Church's press in any other diocese.

Quinn's study of the Diocese of Brechin, and in particular of the city of Dundee, follows the same lines of research as this thesis, in examining corresponding primary sources, and has come to similar conclusions. In 1840 there were nine churches in the Diocese, and only one, St. Paul's, in Dundee itself. As the nineteenth century progressed, four large churches were founded in the city, primarily for Irish migrants: St. Mary Magdalene (1851), St. Salvador (1856), St. Margaret, Lochee (1861) and St. Martin (1876). Even though the population of Dundee increased from 78,931 in 1851 to 140,000 in 1881, the Episcopal Church increased its share of the population from 0.5 per cent in 1851 to 1.2 per cent in 1881. This was the highest rate of all the denominations in Dundee, and was greater than the rate of growth of the population as a whole.⁴² The Diocesan statistics first record the presence of large numbers of Irish in 1847, noting 'Irish in Dundee supposed [to be] 2,000 professing to belong to the Church.'⁴³ It was through the ministry of Bishop Forbes that the Episcopalians built churches in the city's Irish areas, even before the Roman Catholics had done so. Forbes wrote, 'the condition of the immigrant Irish who profess our faith is a matter of great anxiety to one who dips beneath the surface.'⁴⁴ Yet Forbes, a committed Anglo-Catholic, could not see that his style of

⁴¹ Lochhead, *Episcopal Scotland*, p. 223.

⁴² Quinn, *Irish in Dundee*, p. 129.

⁴³ Dundee University Archives, Br M.S. 4/1/2, *Diocesan Meetings of the Clergy of Brechin 1846-47*, p. 193, quoted by Quinn, *Ibid*, p. 130.

churchmanship was becoming a stumbling block to the Irish and wrote, '[The Irish] are a puritan, grumbling element ... who make a good deal of noise continually.' He also complained of 'the tremendous prejudices of the Ulster Irishman.'⁴⁵ The Irish stood up to Forbes and were able to thwart his purposes of introducing *The Scottish Communion Office* into the churches. He regarded them as 'mischief makers' and it 'seems likely that he also gave up any notion of keeping the poor immigrant Irish together with the wealthier sections of his church's membership: 'the cause of truth put back by the ignorant language of the laity.'⁴⁶ William Humphreys described the congregation of St. Mary Magdalene as 'mainly composed of Orange Irishmen. There were very few Scottish Episcopalians among them.'⁴⁷ Quinn concludes by saying, 'The downside of Forbes' strong leadership was his inability to retain many of the Irish Episcopalians within the communion of the Scottish Episcopal Church ... The Episcopal Church in Dundee was successful in its mission to the Irish in that it identified with the Irish in the localities where they lived. Although it did not succeed in catering for the Protestant wing of the Irish Episcopalians, it did provide churches, schools and an orphanage.'⁴⁸

There is evidence of Irish in the Diocese of Edinburgh, particularly in the city itself. The Rev. James McLaughlin, incumbent of Old St. Paul's, Carruber's Close (1853 to 1865) was Irish-born and an Orangeman, and the Edinburgh Orange Lodges met at his church⁴⁹. The English Episcopal Church opened St. Vincent's in 1854 and Meldrum notes, 'one of the aims of St. Vincent's was reaching the increasing numbers of English and Irish families moving into Edinburgh.'⁵⁰ Among the more prominent Irish clergy in the city were the Rev. Daniel Bagot at St. James's from 1835 to 1843, and the Rev. Dr. Charles Teape incumbent of St. Andrew's from 1857 to 1905. Both of these were Evangelicals as noted by Meldrum, Teape being involved in the formation of the Scottish Reformation Society.⁵¹ Further to the west of the diocese, St. Paul's Church at

⁴⁴ Lambeth Palace Archives, Tate Papers, 81, No. 244, Bishop Alexander Forbes to Archbishop Tait, 5 October 1864, quoted by Quinn, *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁴⁵ Bishop Alexander P. Forbes to George Forbes, 10 November 1849, quoted in William Perry, *Alexander Penrose Forbes, Bishop of Brechin: The Scottish Pusey* (London: S. P. C. K., 1939), p. 51.

⁴⁶ Quinn, *Irish in Dundee*, p. 137.

⁴⁷ William Humphreys, *Recollections of Scottish Episcopalianism* (London: Thomas Baker, 1896), p. 35.

⁴⁸ Quinn, *Irish in Dundee*, pp. 157 – 8.

⁴⁹ Broxburn District L.O.L. 31, 'History of Orangeism in Linlithgowshire and West Lothian' Available from <http://www.broxburndistrict31.org.uk/resourcewestlothianhistory.htm> [13 February 2007].

⁵⁰ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalians*, p. 350.

Armadale was founded in 1858 primarily for Irish migrants, as were Missions at Bathgate, Harthill and Bo'ness.

The Diocese of Aberdeen did not have a considerable Irish community; the 1841 Census shows that in the city itself there were only 841 Irish-born, or 1.3 per cent of the city's population. No evidence has come to light of any Irish participation in the churches, with the exception of St. Thomas's, Tillymorgan which was formed in 1851 for Irish migrant workers.⁵² In the Diocese of Argyll and the Isles, given the proximity of the Mull of Kintyre to Ireland, there was an Irish element in the forming of St. Kieran's Church, Campbeltown. St. Kieran's archival material mentions that in 1848 the early congregation, numbering 130, contained 'English and Irish Officers of the Inland Revenue ... the rest being composed of English families ... native families ... together with some poor immigrant Irish.'⁵³ The more northern dioceses of St. Andrews and Moray have yielded nothing, reflecting the relatively low numbers of Irish in these areas.

Table 1:4
Numbers and percentage of Irish-born in areas of Scotland, 1841
(Representing the main areas of population in the seven dioceses of the S.E.C)

| Diocese | Main town or area | Population | Irish-born | Percentage Irish-born |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| Glasgow & Galloway | Glasgow & suburbs | 274,533 | 44,345 | 16.2 |
| Brechin | Dundee | 62,794 | 5,672 | 9.0 |
| Edinburgh | Edinburgh & suburbs | 166,450 | 6,187 | 3.7 |
| Aberdeen & Orkney | Aberdeen | 64,767 | 841 | 1.3 |
| St. Andrews, etc. | Perth | 19,293 | 217 | 1.1 |
| Argyll & The Isles | Argyllshire | 97,371 | 962 | 1.0 |
| Moray, Ross, & Caithness | Inverness | 97,799 | 268 | 0.3 |

Source: Steve Bruce, *No Pope of Rome: Militant Protestantism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985), pp. 26 -7.

This study also does not look at the presence of the Irish in the Presbyterian churches. One of the reasons is that given the multiplicity of Presbyterian denominations, it would be almost impossible to conduct a like-for-

⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 219.

⁵² Information given by the Rev. Canon Dr. A. Emsley Nimmo, Synod Clerk of the Diocese of Aberdeen and Orkney (2007), who discovered this as a result of his doctoral research and local knowledge of the Diocese of Aberdeen.

⁵³ David O. McEwan, *Wings of Faith: A History of St. Kieran's Church, Campbeltown* (Edinburgh: General Synod, 2003), p. 8.

like comparison with the Episcopalians. An exception was Jordanhill, where there was only one Presbyterian church, and the results of this comparison have been considered in chapter seven. The Church of Scotland emerged from the divisions caused by the Disruption of 1843 somewhat bruised and inward looking and not in a position to offer much by way of mission to the tens of thousands of Irish pouring into their parishes. However, by the 1860s, that Church had gained a new confidence. McFarland notices that there was a more positive attitude of many working class people, particularly in rural areas towards the 'Auld Kirk'. (The Established Church of Scotland).⁵⁴ This was further reinforced by its retention of a clear sense of parochial responsibility for poor relief. Norman MacLeod at the Barony in central Glasgow and his cousin, John MacLeod at Govan, were noteworthy in their attempts to reach the poor.⁵⁵ Many churches had mission-halls, providing worship for their poorer members, but apart from Wellpark Church in Greenock, there did not seem to have been a particular Irish aspect to any of these.

The United Presbyterians, were mainly supported by the urban bourgeois, and increasingly as the nineteenth century progressed, were unlikely to attract the poor of any nationality.

McFarland suggests that with the exception of the north and west Highlands, the working class failed to enter the Free Kirk.⁵⁶ There were prominent Free Church Orange Lodge chaplains such as William Fraser in Paisley and Robert Gault at Kingston, Glasgow, but on an examination of speeches delivered from Orange platforms she has noticed the Free Church clergy's lack of concern for the poor, contrasted with the clergy of the Established Church. Drummond however notes that the Free Church began to pay more attention to the mining districts and opened mission stations in the Fifeshire villages unserved by the Establish Church, such as Lochgelly, Cowdenbeath, Kelty and Lasswade,⁵⁷ all strong Orange areas, and in this context, the Free Church would have had a ministry among the Irish, but as no controversies over ritualism would have taken

⁵⁴ McFarland, *Protestants First* p. 119.

⁵⁵ J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 377-8, 399.

⁵⁶ McFarland, *Protestants First* p. 118. There were, however, 'Orange Irish' Free Churches at Kingston, Greenock and Coatbridge. McFarland's view of the Free Church in the 19th century is anachronistic, as in the decade prior to 1900 it actually became less Calvinistic and more liberal. The Free Church, which was noted for 'its increasingly introspective Calvinism' (sic.), remained separate from the re-united United Free Church of Scotland in 1900 ('The Wee Frees'), and was confined mainly to the western Highlands and Highland people in the Lowlands. See Burleigh, *Church History of Scotland*, pp. 367-69.

⁵⁷ Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1874-1900* (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1978), p. 181.

place in these churches, no cases have emerged. Quinn, in his study on the churches mission to the Irish in Dundee, finds that the Presbyterians did not have such a great success in this area, and concludes that among the Protestant churches, only the Episcopal Church made any headway with the Irish.

A summary of this thesis

This thesis offers an original contribution in identifying the Irish predominance in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway, and assessing the Church's response to them, and their reaction to the Church of their adopted land. It is primarily a church history seeking to understand the interface between a movement of people and the ecclesiastical structures, historical and theological thinking which were both in place and arose in response to the pastoral needs of Irish Episcopalians. It is not primarily a sociological, social nor economic history, although these themes provide background, humanise the subjects and inform the context.

The starting point of 1817 marks the beginning of the Mission at Paisley, which became Holy Trinity Church and is the earliest of the church case studies. This also marks a moment of significance in the history of Home Missions for the Church. The Rev. J. Skinner Wilson in an article in *The Scottish Guardian* traces the history of the Church through the years of its virtual disappearance from public life in Scotland through penal restriction, to its enjoyment of freedom again after 1804. Wilson notes that 'church extension began in the south, earlier than in the north. Home mission work ... was first begun in Paisley in 1817.'⁵⁸

The second chapter will try to understand the ethos of the Irish Episcopalians, and particularly the ways in which they developed differently and often diametrically in opposition to their Scottish counterpart. The third chapter, on the Scottish Episcopal Church, is not a complete history of that Church, but considers the major historical movements within it, which were to have an impact, mainly negatively, upon the Irish, for whom they were unprepared both in terms of manpower and increasingly, by a narrowing of that 'broad churchmanship' which might have proved accommodating. In particular the rise of ritualism will be seen to have been a major stumbling block. The fourth chapter will examine Orangeism as an important philosophy and means of cultural cohesion and identity for Ulster Protestants in Scotland. The presence of Orangeism

⁵⁸ *SG*, 25 October 1889.

among many of the members and clergy of the Episcopal Church will be discussed both in its negative and positive aspects.

Chapters six to ten form the main substance of this thesis, providing an examination of several of the churches which were formed primarily for the Irish. This part of the research has been through case study methods. Each church study, although informing the whole, is a section in its own right. The greatest use of primary sources has been employed here. The archives of the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway contain a large body of correspondence from various clergy and laymen, to, mainly Bishop William Wilson between the 1870's and 1880s. In particular, these relate to the churches at Springburn, Paisley and Johnstone. These are often negative in tone as they deal with contentious issues and the effects of these on the clergy and churches. It should not be assumed, however, that every situation was a hotbed of controversy. Most often, Bishops would only be corresponded with over such a length of time and in such quantity, when there were issues to be resolved. The voice of the Irish themselves is only heard in the correspondence about Paisley, when various members of the break-away group told the Bishop their side of the story.

Primary Sources

In discovering who exactly were the Irish Episcopalians, various primary sources have been used. Fortunately the Church's preservation of records has been admirable. The Baptismal, Marriage, Confirmation and Burial Registers for the various Episcopal Churches are extant and available. Some are in the keeping of the churches themselves, while others have been deposited in local or national archives. The Diocesan *Returns* are helpful in providing numbers, but the criteria for deciding how many Episcopalians were connected to the Church changes, from including the nominal 'born Episcopalians' who might number thousands in a given area, to those with a definite commitment to the Church whose numbers would be in the hundreds. The idea of three concentric circles will help to define this. Firstly there were the 'Communicants', those who took Holy Communion. As these services were held irregularly or at an early hour, the number is smaller. The next circle was sometimes described as 'souls' or those who had a pastoral relationship with the church. The outer circle would be 'known Episcopalians', which was often an estimate of the number of people in the town or area who had been baptised, or claimed some sort of allegiance to one

of the Churches of the Anglican Communion.⁵⁹ The Church's mission was obviously to reach those in the third category and bring them into the second or first. No lists containing just communicants or members have been found, and so the Baptismal Registers, which include all three categories, though indistinguishable, have been used extensively. These however have not always been filled in accurately. The lack of chronological order at times suggests that they were filled in retrospectively either from the clergyman's memory or from scraps of paper. As no forms were filled in, the presenters were simply asked for their names, and as they spoke with Irish accents, sometimes roughly, may have been recorded as they approximately sounded. Comparing these with the Census returns, between 40 to 60 per cent could be positively identified. Several names have been identified have shown discrepancies especially in parent's forenames.

Families found in the Registers have then been compared with the various Census returns from 1841 to 1901. This has yielded around 800 households which have provided statistical information for the various church case studies. The first Census in Britain was conducted in 1801, and thereafter every ten years. The Census for 1841 has been the earliest one used in this thesis, as it was the first to record country of birth. The gathering of data took place under the jurisdiction of the Home Office, and enumerators, who were usually schoolmasters, collected the schedules containing names, ages, occupations and places of birth of the occupants of every house in Scotland. After 1851 all subsequent Censuses have been conducted by the office of the General Registrar for Scotland, established under the Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages (Scotland) Act, 1854.⁶⁰ The limitations are that they were not always filled in honestly or accurately. That only around 60 per cent of families in the Registers could be found on the Census was due, apart from scribal inaccuracy, to the fact that the Irish were highly mobile. Most of those identified have shown several address changes within a year or two. Others would have been temporary lodgers or seasonal harvesters, while others would have returned to Scotland or moved to other countries. The latest Census available under current legislation has been that of 1901, hence another reason why it has not been possible to extend this study much beyond the early part of the twentieth century.

⁵⁹ The figures for the 'wider constituency' were based on estimates, and criteria for their compilation varied from time to time. In the 1848 *Diocesan Minutes* there is a note: 'Church Population gives the supposed amount of the Church population in certain districts in addition to the souls belonging to the respective congregations.'

⁶⁰ Registrar General for Scotland, *Scotland's People, 1861 Census* (online), Edinburgh: Registrar General for Scotland, 2006. Available from: <http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/content/help/index.aspx?r=554&1257> (10 October 2006).

A great deal of information has been gleaned from the various newspapers and magazines of the Church which were published during the nineteenth century. White, in quoting Lord Macaulay's adage that 'the history of a people was in its newspapers,' adds that the newspapers of the Scottish Episcopal Church are the true record of that church, as more formal pronouncements are not.⁶¹ The papers were independently edited and financed. The earliest of these were monthlies like the *Scottish Episcopal Renew and Magazine* which had a brief life from 1820 to 1822. This was followed by *Stephen's Ecclesiastical Journal* which ran from 1833 until 1837. The 1850s and 1860s were covered by *The Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, but the longest existing and most successful publication was *The Scottish Guardian* which covered events in the Church from 1864 to 1904, becoming a weekly in 1872. This was followed in 1905 by *The Scottish Chronicle* which ran until 1930. Most of these were edited by clergy and laymen based in the Church's historical heartlands of the east and north-east of Scotland.⁶² The histories of many of the churches in the case studies have been found in these, as well as letters to the editors, editorials and articles which increasingly mention the Irish from the 1880s, by which time, in the west, they had become noticeable to the Church at large.

Flynn in his study of *Scottish Population History from the seventeenth century to the 1930s* has commented on the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland* that they are among the most valuable general sources for Scottish local history. They give reports on every parish in Scotland.⁶³ For the purposes of this thesis, the *New Statistical Account* has been mostly drawn upon. Published in 1845, it covered Scotland in the 1830s. Produced by a committee set up by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the value of any individual parish report depends on the quality of the minister reporting, on how well he knew his parish ... and his sympathies.⁶⁴ In Ayrshire particularly, they were not sympathetic to the Irish and discounted the possibility that there might be many Episcopalians residing there. If there were Episcopalians, their presence is simply but dismissively noted. Nevertheless these have proved invaluable in setting the social and economic scene for many of the case studies. The *Third Statistical Account*, although dealing with Scotland

⁶¹ Gavin White, *The Scottish Episcopal Church: A New History* (Edinburgh: General Synod, 1998), p. 60.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 61 - 2.

An exception was *The Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, jointly edited by the Rev. Dr. James Gordon at Glasgow, from 1851 to 1863.

⁶³ Michael Flinn, *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge: University Press, 1977), p. 77.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

in the 1950s, provides a historical development of population trends, including migration, as well as local industries.

Among the more original primary sources, some archival material from the Orange Lodges is now coming to light, and a sample of this has been drawn upon. In particular, lodge Minute Books, lists of members and official booklets and reports produced by the Grand Lodge have helped to illustrate Orangeism among the Irish migrants. These show that the members of the Orange Order, though mainly from the labouring classes, were not exclusively so. Lodge Minutes range from domestic housekeeping matters, to discussion on some of the issues of the day. They shed light not just on the political side of the Order, but also in its role as a fraternity providing welfare in time of need.

The Conclusion

The final chapter assesses to what extent the Church succeeded in ministering to the Irish, and will briefly conclude by drawing on some modern parallels. 1929 has been chosen as the period to end this study, but that date may be considered fluid, give or take a few years. 1929 saw the Publication of the *Scottish Book of Common Prayer* as the Standard Liturgy of the Church. Based on some respects on the English 1928 *Deposited Prayer Book*, it indicated the triumph of Anglo-Catholicism in the Church. Many of the Glasgow congregations which had formerly used the English *Book of Common Prayer* exchanged this for the new liturgy. Although some sources in the early 1930s are drawn upon, the church press makes no more mention of the presence of Irish in the Church.

Explanation of terms

The reader is here offered an explanation of some of the terms which will be used in this work, and a description of the structures of the Scottish Episcopal Church. That Church is the Scottish branch of a group of world-wide churches known as the Anglican Communion, as the Church of Ireland is also in its land. 'Anglican' was a term first used in the mid-seventeenth century to describe the Church of England or the *Ecclesia Anglicana*. The term 'Anglican' began to be more widely used in the nineteenth century in referring 'not so much to national connotations, but more specifically to a distinct theological position'⁶⁵ in describing

⁶⁵ Paul Avis, 'What is Anglicanism?'. in Stephen Sykes (et.al.), *The Study of Anglicanism* (London: S.P.C.K., 1988), p. 461.

the particular form of faith and church order as practised by the Church of England and its overseas branches. Perhaps uniquely, the Scottish Church was never a branch of the Church of England, which was therefore, never its 'mother', but only its 'sister.' Today the term Anglican is used of all churches in communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury. This is a loose federation of autonomous churches, yet held together 'in the bonds of affection' by a common liturgy and historical development. The terms Episcopalian and Anglican are used interchangeably.

Emerging from the Protestant churches of the sixteenth-century Reformation, the Anglican churches claimed to be both Catholic and Reformed. Its Catholicism is seen in its use of a liturgy, spirituality and authority which pre-date the Reformation. It sees itself as a continuation of the Catholic Church in the British Isles, holding the threefold office of ministry: bishops, priests and deacons, and retains some of the outward forms and ceremonies of the Roman Church. Its Protestantism, however, is expressed in its *Thirty Nine Articles* and in embracing many of the Reformation's insights such as the supreme authority of scripture and justification by faith.⁶⁶

The Scottish Episcopal Church is divided into seven dioceses, a geographical area presided over by a senior cleric, the Bishop who is its Chief Pastor, and from whom all the other clergy in the Diocese receive their authority. There is no Archbishop in Scotland; instead, the Bishops elect one of their own number to be 'Primus' or 'first among equals.' The second order of clergy are 'Priests.'. Priests, if they have been instituted to a charge called an Incumbency are today called 'Rectors.' However, until 1890, they were called 'Incumbents' which was the term used for most of the nineteenth century and will be used in this study. Others are called 'Priest-in-Charge' which means that they have been licensed to lead a church which is not yet an Incumbency. 'Curates' are assistants to Incumbents, but have often been given delegated charge of Missions. The third order of ministry are 'Deacons', who are mostly in their first or second probationary year before becoming Priests.⁶⁷ Some within the more Protestant side of the Church, and certainly in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, expressed a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the use of the term 'Priest'

⁶⁶ William P. Haugaard, 'From the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century,' in *ibid.*, pp. 3 - 16.

⁶⁷ *Year Book for the Episcopal Church in Scotland for 1900* (Edinburgh: St. Giles Printing Company, 1900). pp. 49 - 52.

and were often colloquially styled as ‘Minister.’ Therefore at times in this study, the term ‘Minister’ will be used as interchangeable with ‘Priest’, particularly in ‘Low Church’ congregations.⁶⁸

When a congregation was first formed it was known as a ‘Mission’ (led by a Curate-in-Charge or Priest-in-Charge). Once it had proved that it could become permanent and could support itself financially, it was raised to an Incumbency (led by an Incumbent or Rector). When the word ‘mission’ is used in this thesis, it denotes an activity of ministry whereby the Church seeks to reach out in evangelism and care. When the word ‘Church’ is used it will denote the wider Scottish Episcopal Church, or as part of the full name of a local church, as opposed to the word ‘church’ which will be a general term. The term ‘Vestry’ is used in the Episcopal Church to describe, not the room where the clergy vest, but the committee of laymen who meet to supervise, mainly the fabric and administration of the church.

Finally, ‘old High Churchmen’ describes the men belonging to that movement, beginning in the seventeenth century with the Caroline Divines, continuing in the Hanoverian period and extending into the nineteenth century to describe that form of churchmanship which was more philosophical, moralistic and orderly and which attributed importance to ideas such as apostolic succession. By contrast, the term ‘High Church’, after the 1830s, came to be used to describe that form of churchmanship emanating from the Oxford Movement which expressed itself in closer conformity to the ceremonies and beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church. Several old High Churchmen thus became High Churchmen in the later sense, but likewise, the High Church innovations of the Oxford Movement found some of their greatest opponents among the older High Churchmen. The first generation of Oxford High Churchmen were also known as Tractarians. Some of them were nicknamed, ‘Ritualists’ or ‘Puseyites’, and differed from most of their old High Church predecessors in their stand on episcopacy which “they considered as the *esse* of the Church, and which they used to ‘unchurch other Protestants and their explicit downgrading of the Reformation. This provoked a sharp cleavage

⁶⁸ Several clergy styled themselves as ‘Minister’ when privately printing their own sermons. For example: *The Christian Pastor: A Sermon by the Rev. David Aitchison, Minister of Christ Church, Glasgow, 1835*; and, *The Truth Spoken in Love: A Lecture delivered on 13 December 1840 by the Rev. W. M. Wade, Minister of Trinity Episcopal Chapel, Paisley.*

between them and some older High Churchmen who remained loyal to the older tradition and its hostility to Roman Catholicism.’⁶⁹ ‘

‘Low Church’ is used here to describe the form of Anglican worship preferred by the Evangelicals and in general, by the Church of Ireland, which was less formal and less ceremonial. The Low Church emphasis was not so much on externals, in terms of ornamentation of the buildings and clergy, but rather on spiritual or ‘inward’ realities in the inner life of the worshippers. Ritualism was seen by them, not as a help, but as a hindrance to pure, spiritual worship. It was considered contrary to the apostolic simplicity of the Primitive Church, and was the result of centuries of accretions by the Roman Catholic Church.

Strong’s definition of ‘Anglo-Catholic’ is pertinent for this thesis for ‘those clergy and laity who, under the influence of the Catholicising Oxford Movement, endeavoured to transform Anglican worship according to Catholic models. It is recognised that this usage is anachronistic for the 19th century. The contemporary term “ritualist” was, however, an epithet used by their antagonists. Such “ritualists” usually preferred to describe themselves as “Catholics”, but this leads to confusion with Roman Catholics. Consequently, the more distinctive and less derogatory term “Anglo-Catholic” has been used here.’⁷⁰

The following chapter will be an examination of the historical development of the ethos of Irish Episcopalians showing the ways in which their history shaped them into a people with very different ideas, in many respects, to their Scottish counterpart, thus laying the foundation for later mutual misunderstanding and conflict.

⁶⁹ Perry Butler, ‘High Churchmanship and the Oxford Movement’ in Sykes (et al.), *Anglicanism*, pp. 35 - 7. A similar change occurred in the word ‘Tory’ which in the eighteenth century described those of Jacobite sympathies. By the nineteenth century, however, most of the Tories were those who upheld the Protestant political Establishment, and were opposed to all things Jacobite.

⁷⁰ Strong, *Episcopalianism*. p. 210, Note 1.

Chapter Two

‘Our Church people are to a large extent Irish.’

By 1873, the *Scottish Guardian* acknowledged that a large proportion of Episcopalians in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway were Irish, and that as a result of this, there were issues and tensions, which most of the Church knew nothing of: ‘Our Church people are to a large extent Irish, and not native churchmen, and the western clergy know what that means.’¹

Wolffe’s advice that ‘The idea of scholarly historical detachment lies not in passing judgment on the protagonists, but in seeking to understand them’², will form the basis of this chapter. Much of the narrative later to be related in this thesis, describing what happened, will be given a wider setting here by answering why the Irish believed and reacted as they did. The processes which shaped the religious thinking of the Ulster Protestant migrant will be considered in the context of the history of Protestantism in Ireland and the development of the Church of Ireland in particular. Why it was that the Church of Ireland developed a more Low Church approach to worship, and an Evangelicalism which informed its theology, as well as an antipathy towards the Roman Catholic Church, will be explored.

The pastoral ministry of the Church of Ireland will be considered, especially to what extent it might have been responsible for the lack of church attendance in Scotland, among its migrant adherents. Factors surrounding the displacement of Episcopalians from Ireland to Scotland will be seen as part of a wider migration movement. Certain aspects of the history of the Scottish Episcopal Church will be considered, especially where that development was to lead to differences in understanding. Comments from, and the response of, the Scottish Episcopal Church to various Irish concerns will be noted in the context of these issues.

Earlier Scots– Irish Connections

The proximity of Ulster to Scotland, only twelve miles from County Antrim to the Mull of Kintyre, ensured that there had been a great deal of interaction between the two countries from the dawn of history. The

¹ *SG*, February 1872.

² Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 2.

spiritual connection between them was highlighted, in that some historians believe St. Patrick, “the apostle to the Irish,” came from near Dumbarton on the Clyde estuary.³ In 565 St. Columba and a group of his companions sailed from Derry, eventually ending up on the island of Iona, which became his centre for missionary work into the Scottish Highlands.⁴

Neither the Scottish Episcopal Church nor the Church of Ireland has to any great extent acknowledged each other, especially during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Alan Acheson in his *History of the Church of Ireland*, for example, mentions the contribution of Irish Anglicans to the Churches in England, U.S.A., Canada and Australia,⁵ but fails to mention that in the nineteenth century it gave to Scotland tens of thousands of members, the impetus for starting new churches, several clergy and at least one bishop.⁶ Likewise, Scottish Episcopal historians have been in the main silent about any relationship their Church might have had with Ireland. Yet in the seventeenth century, there had existed an important interconnection between the two Churches.

The generalisation might be true that in Ireland, that the Presbyterian churches were mainly founded by Scots, and the Anglican churches, by English,⁷ yet it is too simplistic to regard the Church of Ireland merely as ‘the English Church’ in Ireland. Particularly in the seventeenth century, there was a large migration of Scottish Episcopalians to Ulster.

The *Scottish Guardian* noted this Scots-Irish link, and wrote, ‘The Ulster Plantations under James I brought Hamiltons, Montgomeries, Kennedys, Blackwoods, Stewarts, Knoxes, Spottiswoods, Leslies, Maxwells and

³ Charles Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to A.D. 500* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1981), pp. 307-14. St. Patrick in his *Confessions* says that he was taken prisoner from his father’s villa at ‘vicus bannavem taburnia.’ There are various theories as to where this could be. Thomas favours Carlisle, but others suggest alternative possibilities. *SC*, 18 March 1927: ‘We know at least two schools of thought about the interpretation of “bannavem” ... in our judgment ... the location of this ancient name applied to the northern shores of the Clyde near Dumbarton.’

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 287. This date is based on Bede’s *A History of the English Church and People*.

⁵ Acheson, *The Church of Ireland*, pp. 139; 184.

⁶ John Dowden, Bishop of Edinburgh from 1886 to 1910 was born in Cork and spent his whole ministry in Ireland before coming to Scotland in 1874, as Pantonian Professor of Theology at Glenalmond, then Principal of Edinburgh Theological College from 1880 to 1886.

⁷ John Dunlop, *A Precarious Belonging: Presbyterians and the Conflict in Ireland* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1995), p. 23, ‘Anglican settlers came from the north of England.’

other Scottish Episcopalian families into the north of Ireland. James was lavish in the exercise of Church patronage in Ireland in favour of Scots clergy.⁸

During the unsettled periods of the seventeenth century when Episcopacy was out of favour in the Church of Scotland, several Scottish bishops found refuge in Ireland, and were given new sees there. John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, who with James Wedderburn had helped produce the controversial 1637 *Scottish Liturgy*, became Bishop of Killala in 1640 and Archbishop of Tuam in 1645. Two successive Bishops of the Isles, Thomas Knox (1619 to 1628) and John Leslie (1628 to 1634) both became Bishops of Raphoe. Alexander Cairncross; who was deposed as Archbishop of Glasgow under James II, was also granted the see of Raphoe by King William in 1693.⁹

The opening of new opportunities for trade, and the cheapness of the land in Ulster, allowed one last wave of immigration from Scotland during the final years of the seventeenth century. It was estimated by Archbishop Synge, twenty years later, that about 50,000 Scots settled in Ulster during this decade. Many were people from the southern Highlands, members of the Episcopal Church. More were to follow after the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745. They settled along the north Antrim coast, where the majority now belong to the Church of Ireland and are Gaelic speaking in origin.¹⁰

Protestantism in Ireland and the Church of Ireland

Of all the Anglican Provinces within the British Isles, the Church of Ireland developed a more overt and robust Protestantism than its sister churches. An extension of this, was that its anti-Catholicism was more vociferous. This was no doubt due to its unique position as claiming to be a ‘national Church’ yet never having the allegiance of more than one eighth of Ireland’s population. Indeed its presence and prestige was often resented by Roman Catholics, who saw it simply as a tool of the English Parliament to subjugate Ireland to the Protestant Ascendancy. Some in the Scottish Episcopal Church were aware that its unique position *vis-*

⁸ *SG*, 8 November 1940, ‘“Law” in Ireland,’ an article on Scotland’s contribution to the Church of Ireland.

⁹ *Ibid.*,
Crockford’s Clerical Directory 2004/2005 (London: Church House Publishing), pp. 923-37, Historical Succession of Bishops of Ireland and Scotland.

¹⁰ Ian Adamson, *The identity of Ulster* (Belfast: Pretani Press, 1982), p. 40. Synge was Protestant Archbishop of Tuam from 1716 to 1742.

à-vis its neighbours had largely contributed to its position on Roman Catholicism: ‘the Irish Church is composed, as it were, of a number of small islands in a Roman Catholic ocean. Hence its constitution and its whole attitude are essentially defensive ... and anything in the moderately “high” sense, is decried and banned as savouring of the predominant Church of Rome.’¹¹

The Reformation

Bardon maintains that ‘Protestant doctrine did not arrive [in Ireland] until after the accession of Edward VI in 1547 and while it made some progress among colonists in Dublin and Galway, there was not a great deal for Mary to undo when she became queen in 1558 ... [The Irish] saw the Reformation simply as an instrument deployed by the English monarchy to bring about their subjugation.’¹²

Under the Elizabethan settlement, the Church of Ireland was influenced in a more Puritan direction than its English counterpart, through the leadership of Adam Loftus who became Archbishop of Armagh in 1563 and of Dublin in 1567. He combined his ecclesiastical role with that of the civil, becoming Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1581, and was also the first Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. ‘Loftus was ... an advanced Calvinist, and the Provosts who succeeded him were also Puritans.’¹³ The Puritans argued that the Anglican Church had only been partially reformed, and their vision for a more thoroughgoing Reformation desired to see ‘every root and branch of Popery’ destroyed in the reformed Church.

Bowen writes that ‘By the end of the sixteenth century ... the Reformation had only shallow roots in some parts of the island ... The majority of the native population remained outside the authority of either of the rival ecclesiastical bodies, and continued to practise their traditional pre-Reformation and pre-Tridentine version of the Christian faith.’¹⁴

¹¹ SC, 5 April 1928.

¹² Bardon, *A History of Ulster*, pp. 73 - 4.

¹³ Desmond Bowen, *History and Shaping of Irish Protestantism* (New York: Lang Publishing, 1995), p. 54.

¹⁴ Bowen, *Shaping of Irish Protestantism*, p. 53.

The Ulster Plantation: Presbyterian influences

The Elizabethan settlement in Ireland was followed by that of James I to create the Plantation of Ulster. With the ‘flight of the Earls of Ulster’ in 1607, the opportunity arose for the English government to utilise the forfeited lands. Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland wrote to King James, ‘If His majesty will, during their absence, assume the countries into his possession, divide the lands amongst the inhabitants ... and will bestow the rest of the servitors and men of worth here, and bring in colonies of civil people of England and Scotland ... the country will ever after be happily settled.’¹⁵ By 1630 there were 14,500 newcomers in Ulster, most of them lowland Scots. Bowen notes that ‘Most of the newcomers wanted a replica of the reformed Church of Scotland, organised on Presbyterian lines.’¹⁶

While the national Church of Scotland had fluctuated between Episcopalianism and Presbyterianism, the Church of Ireland had remained firmly Episcopalian. Despite that, several Scottish clergy with Presbyterian sympathy ‘did not hesitate to intrude themselves into Church of Ireland livings. Once they were secure within the establishment they acted, like their Puritan counterparts in the Church of England, reviling the Church of Ireland and its bishops.’¹⁷ This produced an experiment of ‘prescopalianism’, when the Church accommodated both positions. Thus there was no need at this stage for any separate Presbyterian Church.

This influence was seen in 1615 when the Convocation of the Church of Ireland drew up 104 *Articles of Faith* that were decidedly Calvinist. In them the necessity of Episcopal ordination was ignored, absolute predestination was taught and the Pope was denounced as the Antichrist. These *Irish Articles*, which were to influence greatly the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, were strongly defended by James Ussher who became Archbishop of Armagh in 1625. Ussher’s anti-Catholicism was strong: ‘The religion of the papists is superstitious and idolatrous, their faith and doctrines erroneous and heretical; the church in respect of both, apostatical.’¹⁸

¹⁵ Bardon, *A History of Ulster*, p. 118, Sir Arthur Chichester to James I, September 1607.

¹⁶ Bowen, *Shaping of Irish Protestantism*, p. 65.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

The Rebellion of 1641

The Church of Ireland was to suffer particularly in the Rebellion of 1641, 'it inflicted such appalling misery on its members, was not a last minute thought, but was carefully planned for months beforehand.'¹⁹ The insurrection broke out in October in South Tyrone, as Irish Catholics attacked their Protestant neighbours, looting and murdering men, women and children. Scots and old English Catholics were to be spared, the English planters being specifically targeted.²⁰

Figures vary as to the numbers of those murdered, the upper estimate being 150,000 as testified to in the witnesses' transcripts in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.²¹ Whatever the motives, numbers, identity of the insurgents and numbers, this incident became indelibly printed in the psyche of the Ulster Protestants and contributed to their continuing distrust of Roman Catholicism. Bowen writes, 'It was indeed a turning point at least in Catholic-Protestant relations in Ireland, a confirmation of the worst fears of the supporters of the reformed churches ... The ferocity that was brought into the conflict made an indelible impression upon Protestant folk memory, like the reported drowning of the host of children and poor Protestants who could not be ransomed. Such savagery they believed represented "the direful passions of hatred and revenge which the Roman priesthood had for many years been fostering in the breast of their people against their Protestant neighbours"'.²²

Events in Europe were also to add to the fears of Irish Protestants. Following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1675 giving toleration to French Protestants, thousands of Huguenots made their way to Ireland, where their craft skills, particularly in textiles, added to the economy. However their stories of persecution also added to the already growing fear of Roman Catholicism. Their most persistent memory was the wholesale massacre of Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24 August 1572. The French congregations in

¹⁹ St. John D. Seymour, 'The Church under persecution', Walter Phillips (ed.) *History of the Church of Ireland* 3 Vols. (Oxford: University Press, 1933), Vol. 3, p. 59.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²¹ There is contention and controversy over the numbers murdered. The lowest figure is 2,000 and the highest is 150,000. Bardon, *A History of Ulster*, p. 137, says, 'In the Library of Trinity College, Dublin there are over 30 manuscript volumes filled with sworn statements of survivors of 1641 ... Much of the evidence is fantastic, grossly exaggerated, but M. Perceval-Maxwell, in a trenchant analysis, shows that some of the statements are supported by other documents.'

²² Bowen, *Shaping of Irish Protestantism*, pp. 94-5.

Ireland were soon incorporated into the Church of Ireland, and within a couple of generations, several clergy of Huguenot descent were leading figures in the Irish Church.²³

The changes brought about by James II on his accession in 1685 were described by one Irish Church historian: 'The Church of Ireland once more fell upon evil days. The new king, a bigoted Romanist, was bent on restoring the papal authority in his realms. The clergy lost their tithes. Churches were seized and Mass celebrated in them. Vacant sees had their revenues handed over to titular Roman Catholic bishops. Everywhere the now dominant faction was making every effort to make the existence of the Protestants intolerable.'²⁴

William of Orange

The coming of William of Orange and his subsequent victory at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690 was seen at the time, and has been interpreted since then, as a victory for Protestant freedom over Roman Catholic tyranny. The Orange Lodges would, borrowing the language of the *Prayer Book*, give thanks for 'raising up for our deliverance from tyranny and arbitrary power, King William III.'²⁵ This would not just be the view of Orangemen, but of Church of Ireland historians generally. R.H. Murray wrote, 'It was not till King William III ... won the victory of the Boyne that the tide turned definitely in favour of the Protestant cause ... The Church of Ireland, which had been all but wrecked during the storms of the preceding years, was being rapidly reorganised ... King William proved to be a judicious ruler.'²⁶

Although William had had his supporters among some Scottish Episcopal clergy, for the majority, the Revolution of 1688 had been far from 'Glorious.' Under his rule, whereas the Irish Episcopal Church had been strengthened and established, the Scottish Episcopal Church had been disestablished and effectively destroyed. The Rev. David Aitchison in a sermon at Glasgow in 1837 admitted that 'King James II, probably on account of his immorality and apostasy from the reformed Catholic church was deposed from the throne',

²³ D.A. Chart, 'Close alliance of Church and State,' Phillips (ed.), *Church of Ireland*, Vol 3. p. 180. French names of Church of Ireland bishops in the 18 and 19 centuries include: Letablere, D'Arcy, de la Poer, le Poer Trench, Verschoyle, Vesey, Chenevix, Perdue, D'Audemra. *Crockfords*, pp. 927 – 37.

²⁴ R.H. Murray, 'The Church of the Revolution 1685-1707', *Ibid.*, p. 148.

²⁵ See Appendix 4:1

²⁶ R.H. Murray 'The Church of the Revolution' pp. 151-55.

and then adds that it was ‘filled by the Princess Mary’,²⁷ deliberately omitting her husband. In 1853 Aitchison described the events of 1688 as ‘that sad Revolution.’²⁸

William’s supporters among the Irish hierarchy included William King, Bishop of Derry, whose *Thanksgiving Sermon* preached at St. Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin, argued that because the Catholic monarch, James II, had threatened to destroy the Protestant Church, the faithful had to abandon their traditions of non-resistance, or passive obedience, and to resist his tyranny. King’s *State of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James’ Government* was considered to be one of the most powerful apologetics for the Glorious Revolution. In it he claimed that the position of the Irish Protestants under James was analogous to that of the Huguenots under his ally, Louis XIV. King’s powerful apologetic won him the see of Derry in 1691.²⁹ But there were churchmen in Ireland who took the same non-juring stance as the Scottish bishops. Believing in the Divine Right of Kings, they looked upon the Dutch Calvinist William as a usurper.

Churchmanship

The Church of Ireland was in the nineteenth century, a mixture of old High Churchism and Evangelicalism. Acheson describes this ethos: ‘In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the old High Church tradition of the Church of Ireland experienced a revival. Its continued progress during the 1830s was independent of (though initially linked with) the Tractarians, for it was an indigenous tradition with its roots in the seventeenth century. High Churchmen stressed the primitive and Catholic aspects of their Church’s heritage and generally taught what they called “church principles” or “sound churchmanship.” Old High Churchmen rejected Roman Catholicism both as schismatic and erroneous in doctrine, and engaged at once in controversy with the Roman Catholic Church, and in attempts to convert Roman Catholics to the purer faith and sounder church which they believed Anglicanism represented. They were inclined to look askance at Evangelicals and to dub them “the puritan party”.’³⁰

²⁷ GCA, G/283 41 PAS, David Aitchison, *A Pastoral Letter to his Flock* (Glasgow: 1837), p. 15.

²⁸ David Aitchison, *A Free Inquiry into the Duties of the Bishops of Glasgow* (Glasgow: 1853), p. 5.

²⁹ Bowen, *Shaping of Irish Protestantism*, p. 123.

³⁰ Acheson, *History of the Church of Ireland*, p. 155.

Although both the Reformation and the Puritan movement contained the essential doctrines of Evangelicalism, the Evangelical movement with the Established Church both in England and Ireland, came to be more closely defined as such in the eighteenth century. Many Irish churchmen were influenced by John Wesley who first came to Ireland in 1747. Wesley was given an attentive hearing when he preached on the failings of Roman Catholicism, which he summed up in a 1752 pamphlet after a tour of Leinster: *A short method of converting all the Roman Catholics in the Kingdom of Ireland, proposed to the clergy of this Kingdom*. Wesley's anti-Catholic message was eagerly received by many Protestants; Daniel O'Connell in later years was to describe Methodists as 'the bitterest contemporary assailants of Catholicism.'³¹

Although Evangelicalism was strong in the Church of Ireland, it would not be true to say that it was a wholly Evangelical Church. Its Evangelicalism was always tempered and even balanced by its High Churchism.

Anti-Catholicism

Hempton and Hill saw anti-Catholicism in Ireland as being the one idea which fired the popular imagination and united all sections of Protestant society, both religious and secular, as well as all classes: 'the anti-Catholicism of Ulster Protestants was a potentially radical force, and was of course, more capable of mass realisation than was sacrificial piety. It was propagated by a resurgent Orangeism whose rank and file of agricultural labourers and urban workers was led by the Fermanagh gentry and baptised by the churches.'³²

The historical incidents which gave rise to anti-Catholicism having been noted, some theological grounds will now be suggested. Brewer and Higgins describe anti-Catholicism as 'the determination of actions, attitudes and practices by negative beliefs about individual Catholics, the Catholic Church as an institution or Catholic doctrine, which results in these negative beliefs being invoked as an ethnic boundary marker, which can be used, in some settings to represent social stratification and conflict. Some of these attitudes are theologically derived. The Pope is alleged to be the Antichrist predicted in the Book of Revelation. The Roman Catholic Church is seen as the "Beast", the "Harlot", the "Whore" and "Mystery Babylon" written of in Scripture. Aspects of Catholic practice and doctrine are objected to on theological grounds in that they allegedly either

³¹ Bowen, *Shaping of Irish Protestantism*, p. 192.

³² Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism*, p. 183.

breach Scripture or are unscriptural, such as devotion to Mary, the Saints and icons; the intermediary role of the priest and the Pope; the value placed on Church tradition alongside Scripture.’³³

Anti-Catholicism in the Church of Ireland drew on both the Reformation and Puritan view that the Church of Rome had become so apostate as to be evil, and that its religious devotion and ceremony was superstitious and idolatrous. Thompson cites as an example, Richard Mant, Bishop of Down from 1823 to 1849, who had come from England, ‘a zealous High Churchman of the old type, anxious to assert the claims of the Established Church. By English standards, his words on the Church of Rome were acceptable. His anti-Romanism was steeled by his experience of emergent Catholic nationalism.’³⁴

The vast majority of Ulster Anglicans, as the possibility of some measure of separation from Britain and Home Rule for Ireland emerged, was passionately Unionist. The growing agitation among the Irish nationalists for Home Rule, combined with the British awareness of the need for reforms in the Irish Church, by the 1880s was causing Gladstone to realise that a certain degree of Home Rule was inevitable. Being part of Britain meant for Irish Protestants that they were part of the majority religion of the British Isles. Irish independence would mean they would become a minority, on an island where the Catholic majority might seek terrible vengeance for what they saw as centuries of injustice bolstered by the Church of Ireland ascendancy. When *The Belfast Newsletter* first used the phrase in 1874 that ‘Home Rule is Rome Rule’, Protestantism was put at the service of the Union and defence of the Union became a test of a person’s Protestantism ... anti-Catholicism was high on their list of objections to Home Rule.³⁵

Although the first leaders of the Irish Nationalist Party were Anglicans, Isaac Butt and Charles Stewart Parnell, their Church exhibited virtually unanimous opposition to their political objectives. The special

³³ John D. Brewer and Gareth Higgins, *Anti-Catholicism in Ireland 1600 – 1998* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1998), p. 2.

Verses from the Book of Revelation referred to: Chapter 17 verses 4-7 King James, 1611 Version), “and the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet and decked with gold ... and upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery Babylon the Great, the Mother of harlots ... drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of martyrs.”

³⁴ Michael J. Thompson, *The High Church Tradition in Ireland 1800 - 1870* (Durham University, M.A., 1992), pp. 46-47.

³⁵ Brewer and Higgins, *Anti-Catholicism in Ireland*, p. 71; 72.

sessions of the General Synod in 1886, 1893 and 1912, the years in which the three Home Rule Bills were introduced, revealed a reawakening of the 'sense of danger of danger of 1689-91.'³⁶

Disestablishment

As long as the Church of Ireland was an established and national Church, most Protestants were committed to it retaining its ancient privileges, as this acted as a vanguard to protect general Protestant interests throughout Ireland. When Grey's government introduced an Irish Church Temporalities Bill in 1832 which called for, among other reforms, a reduction of the number of Irish sees from 22 to 10, and the suspension of 66 parishes where no services had taken place for three years, it was seen as an attack on the whole of Irish Protestantism, and Presbyterians found themselves defending the Church of Ireland's established status.

The Scottish Episcopal Church watched the legislation proposed for the Irish Church with some concern. 'The late assaults to which the Church in Ireland has been exposed, are worthy of the serious attention of Scottish Churchmen.'³⁷ The Scottish Church was caught in a dilemma. It was one of their own, a High Churchman influenced by the Oxford Movement, William Ewart Gladstone who was the chief architect of the legislation. *The Scottish Guardian* said, 'Anxious as we are to think well of Mr Gladstone,³⁸ we cannot but consider that his policy towards the Irish Church is not neither intelligible in itself, nor consistent with his position as a Churchman. The Irish Church, to our mind, cannot be sacrificed, unless we are prepared to sacrifice the Church of England. Its disestablishment has no apparent object, but that of gratifying the political spleen of sectaries.'³⁹

At the Glasgow and Galloway Diocesan Synod of 1868, Bishop Wilson 'referred at some length to the proposed disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, which he strongly deprecated.'⁴⁰ A motion was proposed that the Synod should petition both Houses of Parliament against the disestablishment of the

³⁶ Acheson, *History of the Church of Ireland*, p. 226.

³⁷ *SG*, November 1865.

³⁸ Strong, *Episcopalianism*, p. 22, 'He [Gladstone] had become involved with the Scottish Episcopal Church since his father had bought his estate of Fasque in Kincardineshire in 1830. By 1850 Gladstone had begun to look to the Scottish Episcopal Church as a better model than the Church of England to give a catholic lead to Anglicans.'

³⁹ *SG*, November 1865.

⁴⁰ DGGGA, TD 1382/2153, *Minutes of the Glasgow and Galloway Diocesan Synod*, 1868.

Irish Church. The Synod discussed this but it was withdrawn. No reasons were given, but on the basis of growing disappointment with the Irish Church, and perhaps some personal loyalty to Gladstone, reasons for and against disestablishment may have been equally aired.

But the Church of Ireland was not able to resist Government legislation, which would be the first of several acts, leading to the disestablishment of that Church in 1869.

Ritualism and Reaction in Ireland

Ritualism, or the revival of Catholic ceremonial in worship, which derived from the Oxford Movement, did not affect the Church of Ireland to the extent that it influenced its sister churches in Scotland and England. Archbishop John Beresford of Armagh used his *Primary Address* of 1842 to denounce the Oxford teachings, and declared that there was no interest in Tractarianism in Ireland as, ‘In this country we have constantly before our eyes a practical exhibition of the superstition into which the principles of the Church of Rome lead.’⁴¹ But Archbishop Richard Whately of Dublin ‘with his bitter hatred of the “Tracties” was their principal antagonist. His *Charge* of 1843 held that, in exalting tradition, the Tractarians implicitly denigrated scripture, for in practice they made tradition equal to divine revelation in determining belief.’⁴²

The Irish bishops, being in the main old High Churchmen, found sympathy with the initial ideas of the Oxford Movement, as they upheld traditional High Church views of the Church and its ministry. However, Acheson maintains that ‘A theological consensus inhospitable to its principles, thwarted the progress of Tractarianism among Irish churchmen ... like the Bishops who parted company when the Tractarian leaders embraced ‘extreme views of doctrine and abandoned the Anglican Reformers. Though content to be “Catholic without Popery”, they could not comprehend, much less countenance, R.H. Froude’s Anglicanism “without Protestantism.”’⁴³

⁴¹ Bowen, *Shaping of Irish Protestantism*, p. 252.

⁴² Acheson, *The Church of Ireland*, p. 179.

⁴³ Acheson, *The Church of Ireland*, p. 179.

For R. H. Froude see S. L. Ollard, *A Short History of The Oxford Movement (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1915)*, p. 58. The second volume of the posthumous *Remains* of R.H. Froude, published in 1838 gave plenty of ammunition to the anti-ritualists who feared that the Oxford Movement was a cloak for Romanising influences in the Church of England. Froude wrote, “I am becoming less and less a loyal son of the reformation ... I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more.”

At the popular level, many of the parochial clergy were energetic in denouncing ritualism. In the early 1840s there was a dispute between Bishop Mant of Down and several of his clergy. The debate centred on accusations of Mant's 'Puseyism'. Mant's High Church sentiments were well known, but it was feared he was also moving in a Tractarian direction. Mant's interest in church architecture led him to found the Church Architecture Society in 1842. It was to display a scholarly interest in architectural antiquity, and by concerning itself with the style and furnishings of new churches. In the eyes of some of his parochial clergy, however, the new society was introducing 'Popish novelties, under the guise of antiquity.'⁴⁴ The Rev. William McIlwaine of St. George's in Belfast launched an attack on ritualism in the pages of *The Belfast Commercial Telegraph*. McIlwaine also made forays into Scotland in support of the English Episcopal Church, and was censured by Mant for preaching in the schismatic chapels there.⁴⁵ This whole debate shows the extent to which anti-Catholicism had taken hold of Ulster's parochial clergy.

Orange chaplains such as the Rev. Thomas Drew and the Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan, by their itinerant lecture tours and preaching, kept the working classes stirred up over the Roman and ritualist controversy. O'Sullivan, a converted Roman Catholic, was rector of Killyman, County Armagh from 1827 and 'endowed with all the furious bigotry of the convert'⁴⁶, called on the Protestants of Ulster to unite against the growing authority of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. His pamphlet, *The Doctrines of the Church of Rome and the Disorders of Ireland*, published in 1836 was favourably reviewed in the Scottish Episcopal journal, *Stephen's Ecclesiastical Gazette*. Reflecting the anti-Catholicism which was prevalent among High Churchmen and even the early Tractarians of this period, it expressed its gratitude to O'Sullivan 'for the exposure of a system of education, calculated to make the Romish priests ten times more the children of Satan than they were before ... The vengeance of the parish cabal immediately falls on the denounced. They are either murdered, cruelly beaten, or their houses burnt. Such is Ireland – such is Popery!'⁴⁷

Concern to safeguard the position of the Church of Ireland, and opposition to Government interference in its material structure had been a main motivation in the launch of the Oxford Movement, as Ollard notes:

⁴⁴ Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism*, pp. 121-2.

⁴⁵ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalians*, p. 356.

⁴⁶ Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism*, p. 121-2.

⁴⁷ *Stephen's Ecclesiastical Gazette*, May 1836.

A Bill to reduce the Irish bishoprics by half, to amalgamate the ten sees so suppressed with the remainder, and to devote the income to saved to the payment of the Irish Church "cess" was introduced by the Government in 1833. Mr Keble's *Assize Sermon* was in part directed against this measure. This Bill, which passed within a week of Mr. Keble's protest, was the occasion (in the sense of the last apparent cause) of the Oxford Movement.⁴⁸

Some in the Scottish Church were aware of the ethos and anti-ritualism of the Irish Church and wrote scathingly against it: 'The Protestant Church in Ireland is very distinct from that Church of England which counts amongst its distinguished men, a Pusey, a Keble ... The Irish clergy are almost entirely Evangelical, of the very lowest type ... Dr. Pusey is to many of them a mere name, as hateful as Dr. Cullen himself, and to speak in Irish clerical society of John Henry Newman with any sympathy for his learning, his sincerity, and the singular beauty of his personal character, would be as out of place as if you indulged in a panegyric on the devil. They see around them nothing but "rampant Popery"; their whole duty of man consists in the abuse of the "whore of Babylon"'.⁴⁹

The Church of Ireland which emerged after disestablishment in 1870 was far more Evangelical than it had been before. The Church's first General Convention in 1870 in its *Preamble and Declaration* which described 'The Church of Ireland, as a Reformed and Protestant Church', were words chosen carefully to remind the wavering of the direction the Church would be taking in its new form. William Brooke, Master of the Court of Chancery said, 'We declare our adherence to the principles of the Reformation, and our resolution, so far as in us lies, is to maintain the Church of Ireland as a Scriptural, Protestant, Episcopal and undivided National Church.'⁵⁰

Brooke was appointed to convene the committee to revise the *Prayer Book and Canons*, 'To check the spread of doctrines and practices opposed to the principles of our reformed church.'⁵¹ His committee was called to stamp out ritualism. All his revisions were of a Low Church nature. *The Constitutions and Canons* were

⁴⁸ Ollard, *The Oxford Movement*, p. 7.

⁴⁹ *SG*, June 1867. 'Dr. Cullen' is a reference to Cardinal Paul Cullen, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, then Dublin, and leader of Ireland's Catholics from 1850 to 1878. He was an extreme Ultramontanist and did much to revive the confidence of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

⁵⁰ *Journal of the General Convention of the Church of Ireland*, Dublin 1871, quoted by Bowen, *Shaping of Irish Protestantism*, p. 326.

⁵¹ Thompson, *The High Church Tradition in Ireland*, p. 117.

printed in all Prayer Books. They banned candles, crosses, processions, vestments, stoles, wafer-bread, the elevation of the host, the mixed chalice, the sign of the cross, reverencing the altar, and the eastward position,⁵² all the very ritual points which the Irish would find in many Scottish churches. A prominent member of Brooke's committee was Colonel Edward Saunderson, M.P. He was an active lay member of the Church, and a devout Evangelical, serving on the Kilmore diocesan synod, and achieving prominence between 1871 and 1873 as a firm anti-sacramentarian.⁵³ He was one of an influential group of laymen who vigorously urged Protestant amendments to the *Prayer Book* and was, uniquely for an Irishman living in Ireland, appointed as Grand Master of the Scottish Orange Order from 1889 to 1895.⁵⁴ In this capacity, he would have encouraged the Orange Episcopalians in Scotland to oppose ritualism in their churches.

The maverick Church of Ireland clergyman who was brought in to minister to a group of, mainly Irish dissidents from Holy Trinity Church, Paisley in 1885 was under the misapprehension that the Canon Law of the Irish Church applied to Scotland. Protesting against a marble cross which had formed part of the reredos behind the altar, the Rev. Thomas Fullarton wrote to Bishop Wilson to inform him that such crosses were illegal.⁵⁵ Bishop Wilson replied to the effect that Scotland neither had, nor acknowledged such a Canon.⁵⁶ Scotland was not Ireland. A letter regarding the schismatic group appeared in the local paper advising them that 'There is one thing our Irish Episcopalian brethren must bear in mind: they must not expect to get places of worship in this country conducted in the same cold, formal manner as some of the country parishes in the north of Ireland. Popery has not the same terrors for a Scottish or English Protestant as for an Irish one.'⁵⁷

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

An example would be Canon IIIVII 'In the administration of the Lord's Supper the use of wine mixed with water is hereby declared to be unlawful and is prohibited.'

⁵³ Alvin Jackson, *Colonel Edward Saunderson: Land and Loyalty in Victorian Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 30.

⁵⁴ McFarland, *Protestants First* p. 231. Saunderson was son in law to Lord Farnham, on whose County Cavan estate, 'The Second Reformation' began. This was a movement which in its Anglican phase from 1826 to 1827 had the aim of converting Roman Catholics to the Church of Ireland.

⁵⁵ DGGA, TD 1382/154/7, the Rev. Thomas Fullarton to Bishop Wilson, 24 April 1885. Canon XXXVI 'There shall not be any cross, ornamental or otherwise, on the Communion Table, or on the covering thereof, nor shall a cross be erected or depicted on the wall or other structure behind the Communion Table in any of the churches ...'

⁵⁶ DGGA, TD 1382/154/8. Bishop Wilson to the Rev. Thomas Fullarton. 24 April 1885.

⁵⁷ *PDE*, 5 April 1885.

Scotland looked with alarm at the direction in which the Irish Church was going. In 1874 *The Church News* commented, 'The Church of Ireland, in the past year, has gone onwards in an ultra-Protestant direction. The greater is the honour due to those clergy who, like Archdeacon Lee and Mr Gibbons, have dared to oppose the tide which has been running so strongly.'⁵⁸

There were indeed those who defied the official stance of the Church. Ritualism of an 'Oxford' type did take place, though mainly in Dublin. In 1886, the Rev. W. G. C. Carroll of St. Bride's introduced a choral service. He was hissed. The mob cried 'No Popery' and 'Go to Rome', and eventually the police had to clear his church and escort him home.⁵⁹

1888 saw two alleged breaches of Canon Law. The Rev Canon Smith, of St. Bartholomew's said that he intended to place a brass cross on the retable of the church. Archbishop Plunkett wrote to him requiring him to "refrain from the present from introducing the brass cross among the ornaments of the church." Another of St. Bartholomew's clergy, the Rev. Walter C. Simpson was disciplined for wearing a purple stole, contrary to Canon 4.⁶⁰

The Scottish Episcopal Church in 1884, while expressing some understanding and sympathy with the Irish Church generally, found its anti ritualistic Canons incredible: 'In dealing with this subject we have no desire to speak in an unfriendly tone; there is a dominant circumambient Romanism in Ireland that naturally and even rightly accounts for a strong Protestant element in Irish Churchmanship; but at the same time we desire to see this element not wasting its strength in purely reactionary and negative directions, but kept within due and proper limits. ... We cannot refrain from expressing a hope that such Canons may yet be removed from the statute book of the Irish Church.'⁶¹

⁵⁸ *The Church News: Scotland*, January 1874.

⁵⁹ Thompson, *The High Church Tradition in Ireland*, p. 107.

⁶⁰ C.A. Webster, 'The Church since Disestablishment', in Phillips (ed.), *Church of Ireland*, Vol. 3. pp. 403-406.

⁶¹ *SG*, December 1884.

Despite such rigorous anti-ritualism, the Church of Ireland did evolve in a slightly higher direction as the nineteenth century came to a close. New churches were built, and others extended, with neo-Gothic architecture, which in itself would have had some influence on the conduct of public worship. During the next few decades, modifications were made, and cross channel customs spread to Irish churches. *The Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette* in October 1890 listed a number of recent innovations, 'Three deckers (pulpits) swept away, the black gown well nigh altogether abolished, the Holy Communion more frequently celebrated, the psalms chanted, the holy days of the church observed.'⁶²

Non church going and Irreligion

In defence of Orangemen and anti-ritualists, it must be said that at least they were interested in ecclesiastical matters. It should not be assumed, however, that all Protestants were so animated. It might even be argued that a sizeable proportion of Church of Ireland people were simply nominally Episcopalian. They either had no knowledge of the issues involved, or if they had an inclination, were indifferent to them. Scottish Episcopal clergy were to feel frustrated by prejudice on the one hand, and indifference on the other. It will be briefly examined here, to what extent many of the Irish were nominal in their faith even before they came to Scotland, and to what extent the parochial structure in Ireland had failed to provide an adequate pastoral care for those souls theoretically within their charge.

The pastoral and spiritual effectiveness of the Church of Ireland clergy towards their people was to a certain extent determined by external and political factors. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw a mixture of apathy and zeal, decline and revival, pastoral inefficiency and conscientious visitation.

As part of the constitutional establishment, the Church of Ireland operated within a particularly difficult framework and its pastoral relationship with its parishioners was complicated by tasks of civil administration. The parish, operating as a kind of unofficial local parliament, was responsible for the upkeep of church buildings, schools, and roads; for the burial of the destitute; for the welfare of deserted children; and for looking after the poor. Where this was being done effectively, the Churches claim to be the national and

⁶² *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 31 October 1890.

parish Church could at least be pastorally sustained. But where this was not happening, as was more often the case, there was complete breakdown in the pastoral ministry of the Church.

Philip Skelton who served in rural parishes around Lough Derg and Pettigo in County Fermanagh in the 1730s found 'The people generally were rough, uncultured, disorderly, and fond of drinking and fighting ... they scarcely knew more of the Gospel than the Indians of America.'⁶³

Acheson also laments the state of the Church during the eighteenth century: 'That the Church experienced serious decline is well attested. Among identifiable factors were the lack of material resources, indifference on the part of landowning patrons, absence of effective Episcopal oversight, and clerical negligence. Another was insurrection. During the 1798 rebellion, clergy were murdered, the bishop's palace at Ferns attacked, churches desecrated or even destroyed. More churches fell into ruins than were built.'⁶⁴

The nineteenth century opened with William Stuart appointed as Archbishop of Armagh in 1800. Stuart was also keen to reform the Church, and as Bowen comments, 'The Primate had much to reform. He had to cope with the latitudinarian inheritance of the eighteenth century, including languid clerics, decayed facilities and ... the traditional abuse of non-residence.'⁶⁵ The influence of Evangelicalism and the effects of sporadic religious revivals in Ulster, also contributed to a renewal of spiritual life and an impetus to many clergy in discharging their ministry with zeal.

This mixture of both inefficiency and pastoral conscientiousness in the Irish Church before disestablishment was noted by Primate William Alexander. Reminiscing on those days he wrote, 'let me say something about certain salient merits and defects of the pre-Disestablishment Church ... The services were somewhat frigid. Neither clergy nor people had found that the liturgy had lips of fire ... As for the work of the clergy ... there was little machinery or organisation; and many departments of Christian work were scarcely discovered. But Sunday Schools were carried on with an enthusiasm which was sometimes astonishing ... Preaching was

⁶³ Bowen, *Shaping of Irish Protestantism*, p. 155.

⁶⁴ Acheson, *History of the Church of Ireland*, p. 105.

⁶⁵ Bowen, *Shaping of Irish Protestantism* p. 209.

warm hearted and simple, often extemporaneous ... Above all, parochial visitation was carried out with a regularly and determination.’⁶⁶

Malcolm MacColl a Scottish Episcopal priest, an acquaintance and admirer of Gladstone, when on a short visit to Ireland, received a most unfavourable impression of the Irish Church. On a visit to Westmeath in 1868 he wrote to Gladstone, ‘a more melancholy sight I never beheld. The congregation consisted of five county families, who spend the season in London; so that the congregation must consist in the summer of the Incumbent’s family. There were no poor, and I never saw so undevotional a congregation. During the prayers, no one knelt. The more I see of the Irish Church, the more I feel that there is no life in it, and that it is simply cumbering the ground.’⁶⁷

The nineteenth century saw a rise in the population of Belfast, from 37,277 in 1821 to 208,122 in 1881.⁶⁸ The city, having been historically more Presbyterian, had only one Church of Ireland church at the beginning of the nineteenth century, ministering to 3000 Anglicans. St. Anne’s in the High Street was supplemented by a chapel-of-ease, St. George’s in 1816. Its capabilities as far as the poor were concerned, were very small, some half dozen seats being allocated to them. Ballymacarrett in the east of Belfast, an area which underwent a dramatic industrial transformation due to shipbuilding, gained a small church in 1828. Hempton and Hill maintain that ‘Not until the 1830s did the major denominations in Belfast make a concerted effort to provide facilities for worship in the poorer areas of the town ... The churches were painfully out of touch with the needs of such a population, but were under increasing pressure to confront the manifold problems of irreligion.’⁶⁹

Despite the work of clergy like Thomas Drew, by the end of the nineteenth century, there were only a dozen Belfast Church of Ireland churches. In some parishes, visiting was limited to seat-holders and subscribers. In the late 1880s when the Belfast problem aroused acute attention, it was pointed out that visiting in Belfast was especially difficult because working men were only at home in the evenings. Many of the less ‘well to do’

⁶⁶ *Journal of the General Synod*, 1905, in McDowell, *The Church of Ireland*, p. 25.

⁶⁷ W.E. Russell (ed.) *Malcolm MacColl: Memoirs and Correspondence* (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1914), p. 25.

⁶⁸ Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism*, p. 106.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 110 - 111

families, who had migrated into Belfast, had not been churchgoers in the country.⁷⁰ In 1887 it was estimated by the Archdeacon of Connor that one fifth of the members of the Church of Ireland in Belfast, did not attend church.⁷¹ Thus it can be concluded that many of the poorer migrants who moved to Scotland, had probably been among the great mass of unchurched anyway, and so many of the pastoral problems associated with poverty and nominal religious adherence were simply transferred from the Church of Ireland to the Scottish Episcopal Church.

Until the 1860s, the Irish Church hardly received any mention in the Scottish Episcopal journals. This would have coincided with the time when it was felt by many in Scotland, especially in the south, that a closer relationship with the Church of England would be more advantageous, and so this tie was pursued more vigorously. Another reason may have been that the Scottish Church reflected the Oxford Movement's growing dissatisfaction with Irish Anglicanism. Although initially committed to its survival against Government hostility, the English Tractarians by the 1840s felt 'that the Irish Church was an anomaly ... had amalgamated with the dissenters ... that the Irish clergy had been for a long time casting off all the distinctive marks of a Church and openly advocated such doctrines representing the sacraments, and essentially baptism, as were essentially heretical and that in short, the Irish Church seemed hardly worth preserving.'⁷²

It was not until 1865 that the Scottish Episcopal Church admitted that, 'of late years the Churches in Scotland and Ireland have nearly suspended inter-communion. We trust arrangements are in train whereby this state of things may be put to a stop. We trust the Scotch and Irish Churches will once more renew their friendly relations. We have watched with anxious eagerness the heroic struggles she has been so long engaged in against the aggressions of Rome.'⁷³ But this desire for friendship and expressions of genuine support were also mixed with frustration, to the extent that many in Scotland failed to understand or appreciate the Irish mind.

⁷⁰ McDowell, *The Church of Ireland*, pp. 76-8.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁷² Todd Mss., T.C.D., MS. 2214, No. 142. Thompson, *The High Church Tradition in Ireland*, p. 102.

⁷³ *SG*, June 1865.

Migration to Scotland

As noted earlier in this chapter, The Church of Ireland saw a considerable numerical decline during the nineteenth century, primarily through emigration. For a great many of the working-class Protestants of Ireland, any concerns over the future religious or political landscape in the nineteenth century were overshadowed by their own personal economic concerns. In the previous century, Ulster's economy had grown, making it the most prosperous province in Ireland. The majority of the working population divided their time between agricultural labouring and the making of yarn and cloth. But in the countryside, agricultural prices sank as the Napoleonic wars drew to a close, and at the same time, the domestic linen industry was being slowly driven to the wall by an unequal competition with steam powered mills in Belfast, Leeds and Manchester. For the great majority in the Ulster countryside, mechanisation spelled disaster. The power spinning of flax destroyed a vital supplement to family income. The close of almost a quarter of a century of continuous warfare was followed by a severe slump, aggravated by the return of so many discharged and unemployed soldiers. This coincided in 1816 with atrocious weather conditions which ruined the harvest. In the meantime, the population of Ulster continued to rise, reached 2.4 million in 1841. Half this population was made up of cottiers, labourers and impoverished weavers and their families desperately struggling to survive.⁷⁴ The Church of Ireland parish register for Killashandra in County Cavan shows that Protestant labourers had their children baptised at home because they could not attend church in their rags.⁷⁵

Walker suggests that the effects of the 1798 Rebellion of United Irishmen were far reaching, and among the flow of emigrants to Scotland at this time, 'we can find grounds for believing that Protestants would have been prominent among them.' He continues, 'In the early 1790s ... Protestants feared an armed Catholic uprising and showed clear signs of panic.'⁷⁶ Realising how Anglicans had particularly fared in the 1641 rebellion, the adherents of this denomination would also have been among those moving to Scotland for a safer life.

⁷⁴ Bardon, *History of Ulster*, pp. 260-277.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁷⁶ Walker, 'The Protestant Irish in Scotland' p. 47.

Acheson claims that a contributing factor to Anglican emigration in the 1820s was the agitation following the popular crusade led by Daniel O’Connell against tithes. “The concomitant of mass action were unrest, intimidation and violence, and the anti-tithe agitation visited great suffering on the clergy and precipitated an appreciable Protestant emigration, which strengthened the young Anglican churches overseas, particularly in America and Australia.”⁷⁷

When the potato blight destroyed the food of the poor in the 1840s, great sections of Ulster’s population faced disaster. That Ulster’s suffering was somewhat less than that experienced by Munster and Connacht, did not prevent the Great Famine from being a catastrophe over large regions of the north. Despite County Fermanagh being one of the least affected areas, *The Fermanagh Reporter* of December 1846 described conditions there: ‘It would be impossible to exaggerate the awful destitution that exists in the towns of Clones and neighbourhood ... no day passes but some victims of this frightful calamity are committed to the grave ... The workhouse contains upwards of a hundred over the regulated number, and most of them were all but starved before they obtained admission.’⁷⁸ The Rev. Samuel Montgomery, rector of Ballinascreen in County Londonderry, made this entry in the parish register: ‘On the three days of July and the first six days of August 1846, the potatoes were suddenly attacked when in their full growth, with a sudden blight ... The whole atmosphere in the month of September was tainted with the odour of the decaying potatoes.’⁷⁹

Many saw emigration as the only hope of survival. In the eleven years during and after the Famine, Ireland sent abroad 2 million people. Ulster was still in the lead, providing 40.6 per cent of those leaving between 1847 and 1848. The counties of Cavan and Monaghan lost up to one fifth of their 1841 population from emigration alone.⁸⁰

Just as Irish migration was happening long before the Great Famine of 1846, so the post-famine years also saw wave after wave of Irish moving to Scotland. Although the percentage of Irish born reached its peak in

⁷⁷ Acheson, *History of The Church of Ireland*, p. 139.

⁷⁸ Bardon, *History of Ulster*, p. 286.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁸⁰ Bardon, *History of Ulster*, p. 309.

Scotland in 1851, the greatest number was in 1881. The records of Scottish Episcopal Churches suggest that their greatest concentration of Irish numbers were from the 1860s to the 1880s.

Table 2:1
Number and percentage of Irish-born in Scotland , 1841 - 1931

| Year | Number | Percentage of total population |
|------|---------|--------------------------------|
| 1841 | 126,321 | 4.8 |
| 1851 | 207,367 | 7.2 |
| 1861 | 204,083 | 6.7 |
| 1871 | 207,770 | 6.2 |
| 1881 | 218,745 | 5.9 |
| 1891 | 194,807 | 4.8 |
| 1901 | 205,064 | 4.6 |
| 1911 | 174,715 | 3.7 |
| 1921 | 159,020 | 2.3 |
| 1931 | 124,296 | 2.6 |

Source: John A. Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 191.

Even after the worst of the famine years, Ulster's population fell by 34 per cent from 2.4 million to 1.6 million between 1841 and 1911. Emigration in the north was partly stemmed by the burgeoning of Belfast, a city which by 1911 was home to almost one quarter of Ulster's population. West of the River Bann, population decline was similar to that of the rest of the island and was most sharply felt in the counties of Cavan, Monaghan, Tyrone and Fermanagh.⁸¹ America was the preferred ultimate destination amongst emigrants from every county. The very poor, and this would have included a great number of Catholics, could not afford to go anywhere and died at home. The next economic category were able to scrape a meagre amount together in order to start a new life in Scotland, whose Industrial Revolution coincided with the need for cheap labour, such as the Irish could provide. A survey of nineteenth-century Scottish Episcopal baptismal registers shows that while there was not much evidence of pauperism, the majority of the Irish families who presented their children for baptism were of the labouring and working classes.

⁸¹ Bardon, *History of Ulster*, p. 307 – 308.

Chapter Three

'The Scottish Episcopal Church ... was a very different body.'

This chapter will offer an overview of the Scottish Episcopal Church, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, mainly the development of ideas which would be of interest and relevance to the religious and political aspirations and prejudices of Ulster Protestants. It will also provide a context and explanation for many of the issues covered in chapters five to nine, the local church case studies. A picture will emerge of the Scottish Church, not as homogenous as previously thought, and stereotypical images will be challenged. There was indeed a wide variety of opinion on many issues, political, theological and liturgical, so that even without the addition of the Irish element, there were tensions between the Church's various parties.

McFarlane discovered, 'The Scottish Episcopal Church into which ... former communicants of the Church of Ireland would have been received was a very different body in terms of history, worship and class composition. It had been a mainstay of the Jacobite rebellions in Scotland.'¹

As the sister to the Church of Ireland, the Scottish Church would have had many features with which the Irish felt at home. Primarily in terms of the liturgy, they could follow the exact same service as in their own *Prayer Books* which they had brought with them. Many of the church buildings were un-ornamented, and Missions were set up in hired halls which would have contained nothing but the bare essentials needed for worship. The rites of Baptism and Confirmation were readily taken up, and Bishops found them highly respectful in worship, and welcoming in hospitality.² The Scottish clergy had all signed their adherence to the *Thirty-Nine Articles*,³ thereby assuring any doubters, that the Church's allegiance to Protestantism was firm.

¹ McFarland, *Protestants First*, p. 133.

² *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, February 1852. Bishop Trower's visit to Galloway: 'He met with much hospitality from many families in the District.'

³ Alan Richardson (ed.), *A Dictionary of Christian Theology* (London: S.P.C.K, 1969), pp.335 - 336. Not strictly a Confession of Faith, but a statement being the nearest thing to it. It was revised in its present form in 1571 and finally determined in 1604. 'Conservative Evangelicals may regard them as a safeguard, but many phrases allowable perhaps at the time are now hurtful to Roman Catholics', for example, Article XXII 'The Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images ... the invocation of Saints. is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.'

But changes were taking place in the Church from the 1840s onwards which were perplexing to many of the Irish, and a great number of clergy either did not understand the Irish mind, or perhaps understood it too well, but had no sympathy for it.

Episcopacy or Presbyterianism?

From 1560 to 1690 there was a continuous struggle in the newly reformed Church of Scotland between Presbyterians, who wished to abolish bishops and see the Church ruled by councils of elders, and Episcopalians who wished to retain the episcopal office. There were two other issues which defined their differences: Presbyterians sought a looser form of liturgy⁴ or no liturgy at all, while Episcopalians preferred services conducted according to official liturgical formularies. Thirdly, Episcopalians retained their loyalty to successive kings and acquiesced in their ecclesiastical preferences, while Presbyterians would become less subservient: their extreme party being willing to take up arms against the government and thus become political rebels.

James I expressed an aversion to Presbyterianism in his book *Basilikon Doran* published in 1599. In it he advocated the supremacy of the King in matters ecclesiastical and showed the inconsistency of Presbyterian parity with a monarchy and the necessity of Episcopacy for the well-being of Church and State. A General Assembly was held at Glasgow under the presidency of the titular Archbishop of Glasgow in 1610 which established the authority of the Episcopate once more in Scotland.⁵

James died in 1625 and was succeeded by Charles I, who with Archbishop Laud as his adviser was determined to speed up the ecclesiastical policies of his father. His attempt to impose a new Prayer Book on the Scottish Church caused a riot in St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh when it was first read there in 1637. Charles's insistence on his 'divine right' to govern the Church caused a national uprising when a 'National Covenant' was signed in 1638. This gave rise to the term 'Covenanters' whose deliberations then condemned

⁴ William Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 120 - 135.

⁵ Frederick Goldie, *A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1976), pp. 3 - 4.

the six previous General Assemblies, deposed all bishops, adjured Episcopacy, condemned the service book and restored the Presbyterian Church courts.⁶

With the accession of James II in 1685, the most ferocious persecution of the Covenanters began, known as 'The Killing Times' which saw hundreds executed, particularly in the south of Scotland. His determination to favour his co-religionists brought opposition from several of the bishops. Bishop Bruce of Dunkeld and Archbishop Cairncross of Glasgow were deprived of their sees because of their opposition.⁷

In the following century, the Covenanters were lionised in Presbyterian folklore. But it had been a struggle in which Irish Episcopalians had had no part neither on one side or the other. Orangeism was by the 1890s attracting more Presbyterians into its ranks and the *Minute Book* of L.O.L. 102 in Paisley, to which many Episcopalians belonged, recorded that 'Bro. Maxwell read a paper on the Battle of Drumclog. He also agreed to give a talk on the Scottish Covenanters.'⁸ In the retelling of the story, the seventeenth-century Scottish Episcopalians would have been painted as little better than 'Papists'; William of Orange, was regarded as the deliverer of the Covenanters, and Irish Catholics, as men who had been brought over during the reign of Charles II to fight against them.⁹ The equation would soon be made in popular thinking: Episcopalians were crypto-papists and aligned with the persecutors of Protestantism, while true Protestantism meant Presbyterianism.

The Revolution of 1688 and its aftermath

With the landing of William of Orange in November 1688 the persecution of the Covenanters ended. They now took revenge on the Episcopalian clergy. Stephen states that in the west, 'The Cameronian peasantry armed themselves and perambulated the country on their errand of 'rabbling' the parish clergy – the "curates" as they called them. On Christmas Day, 1688 – the day deliberately chosen to emphasise the outrage – the

⁶ Goldie, *The Episcopal Church in Scotland*, p. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁸ GOLSA, *Minute Book of King William LOL 102, Paisley*, May 1897.

The Battle of Drumclog was a fight in which the Covenanters were defeated in 1679, in reprisal for the murder of the Episcopalian Archbishop Sharp.

⁹ Jock Purves, *Fair Sunshine: Character Studies of the Scottish Covenanters* (London: Banner of Truth, 1968), p. 77: 'An Orange Walk is a stirring sight ... And as the banner 'Solway Martyrs' is carried past with its vivid picture of the faithful Margarets dying amid the swirling waters, what heart has not felt thankful for what they died to win – freedom to worship God.'

rabbling began. During the winter months it continued unchecked, until more than two hundred Episcopal incumbents had been violently ejected from church, manse and living.’¹⁰

Meanwhile the Bishop of Edinburgh, Alexander Rose, was busy in London, calling upon as many bishops as he could to get them to influence William to stop the violence taking place against the Episcopal clergy in Scotland. All sympathised, but said there was little they could do.¹¹

Rose decided to stay in London to seek an interview with the Prince of Orange. The Scottish bishops knew that William was a Calvinist and assumed his affinity with the Presbyterians. Furthermore, William had been informed of Scottish religious affairs by William Carstairs who readily persuaded William that the bulk of the Scottish people were opposed to Episcopacy.¹² William, however, had made his own enquiries and ascertained that matters were not so. ‘He perceived that the most influential and best educated Scotsmen were for Episcopacy, and that with them was the steadiest portion of the people.’¹³

Rose then claimed that Bishop Compton of London told him that ‘if you will undertake to serve him [William] to the purpose that he is served here in England [by the Church of England]; he will take you by the hand, support the Church and Order, and throw off the Presbyterians.’ Rose felt that as his fellow bishops had not anticipated such a deal, he was unable to speak for them, and so could only answer for himself: ‘I think they will not serve the prince as he is served in England, that is, to make him their king.’ Compton understood this and said, ‘So the king must be excused for standing by the Presbyterians.’ At that very moment, the Prince of Orange came into the room and suggested to Rose that ‘I hope you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England.’ Rose replied, ‘Sir, I will serve you so far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow me.’ William read between the lines, as Rose admitted, ‘It seems the limitations and conditions of

¹⁰ William Stephens, *History of the Scottish Church*, Vol. 2, p. 407.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

¹² SC, 1 June 1906.

William Carstairs (1649-1715) was Presbyterian Chaplain to the Prince of Orange. His father had been an ejected Covenanter minister. It is claimed that Carstairs exaggerated to William the extent of Presbyterian support in Scotland.

¹³ NAS, CH12/12/1833, Bishop Rose to Bishop Campbell, 22 October 1713.

it were not acceptable, for instantly the Prince, without saying anything, turned away from me and went back to his company.’¹⁴

William was aware of a large number of loyal Episcopalian clergy, and it was his vision that they be included in a more comprehensive Established Church. He clashed with the Presbyterians over what he considered was their harsh treatment of the Episcopalians.¹⁵ A handful of Episcopal clergy were received into the Church in the autumn of 1690, and in 1694 ‘the Kirk’s committee for the north declared about 20 ministers in the north-east to be intruders into churches, despite the fact that some had been called in the terms of the king’s letter to the Kirk in 1691.’ By 1695 it was reckoned that there were around 40 such throughout Scotland. Some Episcopalian clergy continued to be parish ministers until 1720, though they did not take part in the courts of the Kirk.¹⁶

The ‘Orange Episcopalians’ subsequently declined in numbers and influence as they were resented both by the Jacobites and by the Presbyterians. Later Episcopalian mythology allied the whole Church to the Jacobite cause, ignored the ‘Orange Episcopalians’, and any sense of loyalty or affection for William of Orange was considered un-Episcopalian. *The Scottish Chronicle* made this equation in 1910: ‘We know how some of the members of our communion in Ireland are still associated with those most fanatical of men whose religion is identified with a quasi-political system known as Orangeism. In Scotland it was otherwise. Episcopacy meant adherence to the House of Stuart.’¹⁷

Members of the Church of Ireland were in the main firm supporters of William; hence the Orange Order was named in his memory as ‘The Great Deliverer.’ In an article criticising Orangeism in 1928, *The Scottish Chronicle* wrote ‘That after William’s victory, the Scottish Church, because of its unswerving loyalty to the avowed king was disestablished and disendowed and cast into the wilderness. So much for William’s reign and William’s Protestantism.’ Believing that William was compliant in the massacre of Glencoe, it

¹⁴ Bishop Rose to Bishop Campbell, 22 October 1713.

¹⁵ Stephens, *History of the Scottish Church*, Vol. 2. p. 431.

¹⁶ Tristram Clarke, ‘The Williamite Episcopalians’, p. 51.

¹⁷ *SC*, 18 March 1910. Reprint of article from *The Church Times*, n.d.

continued, 'there lurks in our national mind a feeling of dislike for the man who made possible such a brutal betrayal.'¹⁸

William of Orange has often popularly been blamed for the disestablishment and subsequent persecution of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. In reality his ecclesiastical policy in Scotland favoured neither one party nor the other, but was one of pragmatism. However, several Episcopalian historians have written of William's generosity towards the Episcopalians, and have put the blame on Bishop Rose and his fellow bishops. In 1896 William Stephen wrote, 'Episcopalians have to remember that it was not William, but the Scottish bishops and the Jacobite laity who disestablished Episcopacy ... [William] endeavoured to accommodate them in the new Establishment.'¹⁹ Bishop Frederick Deane (Bishop of Aberdeen 1917 to 1943) blamed Bishop Rose for having 'linked the fortunes of the Church to a dying dynasty, and brought it down to ruin for the sake of a king who had fled his country and lost three kingdoms for a Mass.'²⁰ Bishop Frederick Goldie, in one of the 'what ifs of history' suggests that 'there is good reason to suppose that Episcopacy in Scotland would have retained its hold to this day if William had received the answer he seemed to expect.'²¹

The Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745 and their aftermath

The Jacobite cause was far from dead, and the accession of George I in 1715 gave rise to a rebellion under the leadership of the Earl of Mar, which was soundly defeated. Episcopalian clergy and members had supported this and so as Dean Skinner recounted, 'the whole of 1717 was taken up in executions and forfeitures ... It was not to be expected that our Episcopal Church, under the suspicions which had been long entertained against her, would altogether escape the public notice, as this trying and provoking occasion.'²²

Thirty years later, Charles Edward Stuart, the 'Young Pretender', left France for Scotland to make a further attempt to regain Scotland for the Stuarts. The Jacobite cause was finally defeated at the Battle of Culloden in 1746 and again Episcopalians had been implicated: the names of eight clergy were included in the lists of

¹⁸ SC, 13 July 1928.

¹⁹ Stephens, *History of the Scottish Church*, Vol. 2, p. 450.

²⁰ Edward Luscombe, *The Scottish Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: General Synod, 1996), p. 4.

²¹ Goldie, *The Episcopal Church in Scotland*, p. 26.

²² Alexander E. Nimmo, *John Skinner and the Resurgence of Scots Episcopacy* (Aberdeen University, Ph.D. 1996), p. 18.

imprisoned Jacobites. Various Acts of Parliament in the succeeding years restricted Episcopal worship severely and ‘practically destroyed Episcopacy in Scotland.’²³

With the death of Charles Edward Stuart in 1788, not even Scottish Non-Jurors would accept his brother, Prince Henry, who was a cardinal in the Roman Church, as king.²⁴ The way was opened for a fresh look at allegiances, and the next few years saw a series of letters and loyal addresses to the Hanoverians. In 1789 Bishops Skinner, Drummond and Strachan went to London to appeal to the Government for relief from the oppressive laws, which had so effectively crippled their Church. A Bill was introduced into the House of Commons and passed without any opposition. Both Houses of Parliament passed an amended Bill for the repeal of the Penal Laws, and royal assent was given in 1792 granting relief to the Episcopal clergy by permitting them to minister to their people.²⁵ The Synod of Laurencekirk in 1804 saw the reunification with the Qualified Chapels, which now came back under the jurisdiction of the Scottish Episcopal Church. One stipulation, asked for by Parliament and the Church of England, was that the Scottish clergy all subscribe to the *Thirty-Nine Articles*.²⁶

Henceforth Jacobitism would be a romantic notion, popularised by writers like Sir Walter Scott,²⁷ held along with unswerving loyalty to the Hanoverians. There were some, however, in whose hearts the Jacobite cause remained a principle. Among them was the Rev. George Grub, who had ministered along with Bishop Forbes, to the Irish in Dundee. Grub said that in 1871 he had been invited to the home of Sir Patrick Threipland ‘because of my avowed attachment to everything connected with the Jacobite cause. The Threiplands were noted for their devotion to the Stuarts and possessed many cherished relics.’²⁸

²³ Nimmo, *John Skinner*, p. 25.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 32.

²⁵ Edward Luscombe, *Steps to Freedom: Laurencekirk 1804* (Edinburgh: General Synod, 2004), Appendix 1, pp. 68 - 71.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Appendix 2, pp. 70 - 1.

²⁷ Scott’s *Waverley Novels* exemplified his ‘romantic Jacobitism’. Formerly a Presbyterian church elder, he became an Episcopalian, joining St. Paul’s Church in Edinburgh. He was one of the principle organisers of the visit of King George IV to Scotland in 1822. He persuaded the king to appear dressed in full highland regalia.

²⁸ George Grub, *My years in Dundee with Bishop Forbes of Brechin 1871-75* (Edinburgh: R. Grant & Son, 1912), p. 62.

It might be argued that such Jacobite clergy had acted dishonestly, or at least compromised their integrity by swearing the oath of abjuration and allegiance, as indeed it might also be said for several who signed the *Thirty Nine Articles*. Any lingering Jacobite sympathies would have coloured their views of the Ulster Protestants among whom some of them would shortly be ministering. The Irish saw the Stuarts and Jacobite sympathisers as their persecutors. Their sympathies were strongly with the Protestant Constitution of 1688, and they looked upon the Hanoverians with loyalty and affection, as being their protectors from ‘popish tyranny and arbitrary power.’

It was from the late 1830s that the Church began to grow, mainly through immigration to the cities and larger towns. Initiatives for mission were taken more by individual than by the Church at large. The General Synod of 1838 set up a Church Society to provide for poor and aged clergy, to assist candidates for the ministry, and to help open schools. Increasingly the clergy were beginning to regard their work as mission to the people of Scotland.²⁹ Goldie comments that ‘By 1838 the Church was emerging from the “doldrums”... so that at this time the Church was represented by about one hundred congregations.’³⁰

Just at the time the Church was beginning to look outwards and expansion was being noted, it was being divided again, this time over the use of ritual in worship, and this, would become the chief stumbling block in successfully bringing in the massive numbers of Episcopalian migrants, within the permanent fold of the Church.

Ritualism and Reaction

The main feature of the Episcopal Church which the Irish found distasteful was not its politics or its class. Those better informed among them understood the theological implications of Anglo-Catholicism, while the popular reaction was that increasingly, what was being observed, looked more like Roman Catholic worship than Protestant.

²⁹ Goldie, *The Episcopal Church in Scotland*, p. 87.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, there would have been few outward differences between Presbyterian from Episcopalian worship. The services were also very similar to those of the Church of Ireland. Drummond and Bulloch describe Scottish Episcopal Churches of that time: ‘Her churches had been simple and without chancels; her clergy had worn the black Geneva gown; her services had been lacking in music, the psalms had been said and not chanted, and communion had been celebrated only about three or four times a year.’³¹ George Grub’s description of the church service at Lochee near Dundee even in the 1870s was ‘with a precentor who gave the note with a tuning fork, and himself read the first lines of the psalm ... The Church itself was of the barest possible description.’³²

John Henry Newman always regarded the beginning of the Oxford Movement as July 1833 when John Keble preached his sermon on ‘National Apostasy’ before the Assize court at St. Mary’s, Oxford. The aim of the movement was not the reintroduction of Roman Catholic beliefs and practices into the Church of England. Worrell claims that ‘If there was a single basic aim of the Oxford Movement it was to recover the idea of the Church as a divine institution’³³ rather than a department of the State. Concerned with growing State interference, as seen in its dealings with the Church of Ireland, and a growing theological liberalism in the university, it sought to recover something of the Catholicity of the early Church. Its initial concern was not with Roman ceremony, but with Catholic doctrine, especially regarding the nature and independence of the Church. Yet despite that, ‘The principal changes which it brought in English life were changes in the mode of worship.’³⁴

Far from introducing liturgical changes, Edward B. Pusey was somewhat surprised at the amount of blame he personally was receiving, even to the extent that ‘Puseyism’ was becoming a derogatory term for ritualism. Pusey complained that ‘I am in this strange position, that my name is made a byword for that with which I never had any sympathy ... any innovations in the way of conducting the Service, anything of Ritualism, or especially any revival of disused Vestments.’ Pusey later explained this caution: ‘We felt that it was very

³¹ Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843 - 1874* (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1975), p. 211.

³² George Grub, *My years in Dundee*, p. 20.

³³ B. G. Worrall, *The Making of the Modern Church* (London: S.P.C.K., 1988), p. 17.

³⁴ Owen Chadwick, (ed.), *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1960), p. 12.

much easier to change a dress than to change the heart, and that externals might be gained at the cost of the doctrines themselves.³⁵

Within a few years however, the Movement was developing to include other ideas. Firstly it was distancing itself more and more from the Reformation. In 1839, John Keble refused to countenance the proposed Martyrs memorial at Oxford on the specific ground that ‘anything which separates the present church from the Reformers I should hail as a great good.’³⁶ Pusey in particular also detested the Glorious Revolution of 1688, likening it to ‘some dreadful taint taken into one’s system, poisoning all our strength, and working decay and all but death.’³⁷ Their antipathy would have arisen, not just on account of the overt Protestantism of that event, but that it furthered erastianism³⁸ and led into what they considered the Church of England’s most torpid period. The loss of the Non-Jurors had removed a great deal of spiritual life from the Church.

Secondly, although it did not initiate Roman practices in the Church of England, its ideals soon aligned with those of the Cambridge Camden Society, founded in 1839 by John Mason Neale and others, whose interests were the reconstruction of church interiors, architecture, rubrics, and following from this, the dress of the clergy.³⁹

‘Most of the principles of the Oxford Movement were, in fact, those of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, long before the days of the Tractarians’,⁴⁰ so it was here that many of their principles were enthusiastically adopted, but conversely, also strenuously opposed. A.W. Campbell maintained that ‘The Tractarian movement in Scotland was largely ... the work of enthusiastic English people, or at best, of natives under strong English influence. They built on the foundations of the High Church position of the Scottish non-jurors, but went beyond them in teaching and practice. The movement was in the main the work of a handful

³⁵ Peter B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), p. 213.

³⁶ John Keble to Edward B. Pusey 18 January 1839. Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 125.

³⁷ Edward B. Pusey to H. E. Manning 9 August 1844. Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 4.

³⁸ ‘Erastianism’ after Thomas Erastus (1524-83) a Swiss Protestant Reformer whose teaching on the validity of the State imposing capital punishment on religious offences, led to the ideas of the Englishmen, Selden and Hobbes in the seventeenth century that the State is supreme in Church matters.

³⁹ Chadwick, *Mind of The Oxford Movement*, p. 55.

⁴⁰ Drummond and Bulloch, *Church in Victorian Scotland 1843 - 1874*, p. 58.

of wealthy lay people ... the attitude of the bishops was one of reluctant tolerance rather than encouragement or leadership. The Scottish clergy of the older type sympathised with the movement ... but the laity for the most part were hostile or uninterested.’⁴¹

In Glasgow, the earliest ritualist was Alexander D’Orsey at Anderston who was censured by his bishop for introducing chanting (‘intoning’) and facing east while saying the Creed.⁴² From the 1840s to the 1880s ‘ritualism’ consisted mainly in surpliced choirs, the services being sung instead of said, bowing at the name of Jesus in the Creed, and processions. In church interiors it would have manifested itself in chancels being added, the altar becoming more prominent by having a reredos behind. An indication that clergy were moving in a more High Church direction was the abandonment of the black gown, even in the pulpit; its replacement with the surplice, and the wearing of coloured stoles. By today’s standards and also compared with what was to come, these were very innocuous changes. By the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth, incense was being used in some places, the sign of the cross was becoming more acceptable, and clergy were dressing in the vestments of alb and chasuble for the Eucharist. Because of the sensitivities of visitors to new churches, the *Year Book* described what might be expected at each service. St. Patrick’s Mission in Partick, in 1908, had ‘Five Ritual Points in use’ printed after its service. This indicated that ritualism was fairly advanced in that church by that stage. The Five Ritual points as defined by the English Church Union were, the priest facing east to celebrate the Eucharist, the wine in the chalice mixed with water, unleavened wafers used in communion, candles on the altar and vestments worn by priests at the Eucharist.⁴³

The Irish who objected to ritualism did so because it looked to them that the Episcopal Church was becoming too much like the Church of Rome by imitating its worship. Their antipathy towards Roman Catholicism, indeed it could even be argued, their fear of it, had been as a result of events in Ireland, both in Church and in the nation which has been discussed in the previous chapter.

⁴¹ *SG*, 19 August 1949. The ‘wealthy people’ would have included Lord Forbes, George Boyle (Earl of Glasgow), The Marchioness of Lothian and W.E. Gladstone.

⁴² See Chapter seven of this thesis on Anderston.

⁴³ Ollard, *Short History of the Oxford Movement*, p. 191. A sixth point, the use of incense, was later added.

It would be wrong, however, to suggest that it was only Irish who objected to ritualism in the Anglican Church. England had seen the rise of anti-ritualism sometimes taking very aggressive forms. Riots took place in 1845 when in Exeter, the police had to be called in to protect surplice wearing clergy. Riots and mob looting took place in many parts of England, especially in Sussex, London and Liverpool. In 1859 the Bishop of London, Dr. Tait, wrote to the churchwardens of St. George's-in-the-East in London, declaring that as to the use of vestments, 'he had announced his intention to put a stop to such follies ... this childish mimicry of antiquated garments ... the priest so dressing himself up that he may resemble as much as possible a Roman Catholic priest.'⁴⁴ By way of contrast, in Scotland, even although many objected vociferously to ritualism, there were never any scenes of violence or rioting.

In Scotland, there were objections to ritualism in churches even where there was no significant Irish presence. At St. John's, Dumfries, the new church built in 1864 was in the style of the Gothic Revival, the architecture so beloved by the Tractarians. Maxwell writes, 'St. John's was the product of the Catholic revival ... Mr. McEwan [the Incumbent] took the first steps towards that more elaborate ritual for which the church had most certainly been planned, the congregation was deeply shocked. The surpliced choristers walking in procession ... the abandonment of "Tate and Brady" ... turning east for the Creed ... all were viewed with distaste and a mounting resentment was finally to explode in the columns of the local press.'⁴⁵ One of the congregation wrote, 'all is changed, apparently for effect to simulate to the Machonochie [*sic*] practices. The preaching in the surplice; the frequent and demonstrative genuflections; the closer approximation to the doctrine of the Real Presence; the choristers dressed in surplices; their responses in a singing key.'⁴⁶

Among the Scottish bishops of this period were also several who opposed Tractarianism and the ritualism associated with the Oxford Movement. Bishop Walter Trower in Glasgow was a noted opponent of ritualism and was one of the leading protagonists in bringing the case against Bishop Forbes for his Anglo-Catholic views on the Eucharist. Lochhead claims that Bishop Alexander Ewing of Argyll and the Isles (1847 to 1873)

⁴⁴ Ollard, *Short History of the Oxford Movement*, p. 189.

⁴⁵ Jean Maxwell, *Centenary History of St. John's Church, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Robert Dinwiddie & Co., 1968), p. 52.

⁴⁶ On 'the Machonochie (*sic*) practices' see Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church: 1860 - 1901, 2 Parts* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1972), Part 2, p. 311: 'St. Albans, Holborn, under the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie became in the late 1860s the most notorious of the ritualistic churches.'

‘detested the Oxford Movement and its followers.’⁴⁷ The Cathedral of the Isles and College at Cumbrae had been founded by the Earl of Glasgow in 1849 along strict Tractarian lines. This was part of Ewing’s diocese and ‘far from commending Keble’s vision of it as a refuge, he dreaded an influx of Tractarians. He wrote, ‘Sooner or later I suspect there will be a secession of malcontents from the Church of England ... in order to form a second non-juring Church; but in the event of such a consummation, the loyal, Protestant clergy and laity of our communion would only be drawn more closely to the Church of England.’⁴⁸

Evangelicalism and the English Episcopal Church

Ritualism was seen by many in the Scottish Episcopal Church as an attack on the Protestantism of the Church and part of the slippery slope towards Romanism. Many Evangelicals within the Church were particularly concerned, and this issue, along with others to be considered here, brought about a secession of a number of churches in 1843, leading to the formation of a new schismatic denomination, which was to last for the next forty to fifty years: the English Episcopal Church.

Strong has claimed that there was no history of Evangelicalism within the Scottish Church prior to 1820 and even in the qualified chapels, the English and Irish clergy there ‘do not seem to have been Evangelicals.’ He adds that the first Episcopal congregation to choose an Evangelical as its minister was St. James’s, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, when the Rev. Edward Craig was appointed in 1820. He also feels that Evangelicalism was not a product of the native soil of Scotland but was ‘an imported product by way of Anglican migration from other countries in the British Isles.’⁴⁹

This view has recently been challenged by Meldrum whose work has unearthed a native Evangelical tradition predating 1820. From a study, mainly of sermons, she has discovered Evangelical principles in the preaching of Episcopal clergy such as William Ward (Old Deer Chapel, Aberdeenshire 1798 to 1888) whose book, *A Plain Account of Conversion*, was refuted by High Churchmen such as the Rev. John Skinner.⁵⁰ The sermons

⁴⁷ Lochhead, *Episcopal Scotland*, p. 89.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁴⁹ Strong, *Episcopalianism*, pp. 214 - 15.

⁵⁰ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalians*, p. 10.
David Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy: 1689 - 2000* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), p. 476.

of the Rev. William Wade (Paisley 1817 to 1845) show him to be a mixture of Evangelicalism and High Churchism.⁵¹

Evangelicalism as a term to describe a particular form of Protestantism began to be used from the 1730s. Sykes describes Evangelical Anglicans as recovering ‘the Protestant emphases on conversion, the supremacy of Scripture, and gospel preaching in reaction to the prevailing rationalism ... they reasserted the doctrine of justification by faith ... as a felt experience that became the badge of authenticity of saving faith.’ Their theological foundation of “moderate Calvinism” ... was the doctrine of total depravity, from which followed the necessity of conversion, justification by saving faith, the centrality of the atonement and sanctification by the Holy Spirit.’⁵² Sykes, however, points out that they were weak on church order, practicing itinerant preaching, thus undermining the parochial system and the authority of bishops. It may be argued that it was exactly this indifference to church order which led to the schism in the Scottish Episcopal Church.

Evangelicalism as a party term may have begun in the eighteenth century, but its principles, such as the supremacy of scripture and justification by faith, were foundational ideas of the Reformation and enshrined in the *Thirty-Nine Articles*.⁵³ Seventeenth century Puritanism could also be described as ‘Evangelical’ with its emphasis on conversion and spiritual experience. Perhaps the foremost seventeenth century exponent of the doctrines of Evangelicalism within the Scottish Episcopal Church was seen in the ministry and writings of the Rev. Henry Scougal. Scougal, whose father was Bishop of Aberdeen from 1664 to 1682, was Professor of Philosophy and Divinity at Aberdeen University from 1669 to 1678. His book, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man* was sent by Charles Wesley to George Whitefield, who attributed his evangelical conversion to reading Scougal’s book; ‘I never know what true religion was till God sent me this excellent treatise.’⁵⁴

⁵¹ On Wade see chapter ten of this thesis, on Paisley .

⁵² Perry Butler, ‘The Evangelical Revival’ Sykes (et al.), *Anglicanism*, p. 34.

⁵³ For example, Article XI: ‘We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deserving: Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome Doctrine.’

⁵⁴ First printed in 1667. This edition (Rosshire: Christian Focus Publications, 2001), p. 5. George Whitefield was an Anglican priest whose ministry and friendship the Wesley brothers were influenced towards Evangelicalism and the Methodist revival began in the 1730s.

Strong contrasts Evangelicalism with Anglo-Catholicism, bringing out their differences most clearly in their view of the Reformation: ‘Evangelicals fundamentally valued the English Reformation and were glad their church had embraced it. ... it was believed that the gross error, superstition, and idolatry of Rome, which was a total corruption of the Gospel had been replaced by Evangelical truth. This meant that Anglicanism was a totally Protestant church ... However, Anglo-Catholicism viewed Protestantism as the Evangelical did Catholicism – as a religion of total error ... Anglo-Catholicism sought to de-Protestantise Anglicanism, while the ... Evangelicals sought to preserve their church’s Protestant heritage.’⁵⁵

Within the next few years, several congregations seceded from the Scottish Episcopal Church to form the ‘English Episcopal Church’, and by 1849 six clergy had also left the Church to join them, while a further nine came up from England, in a year in which there were only one hundred Scottish Episcopal Clergy.⁵⁶ Drummond’s initial controversy was with Bishop Terrot of Edinburgh, over Drummond’s use of extemporary prayer at prayer meetings, a thing forbidden by a canon passed in 1838, which allowed only the use of the Prayer Book even in week day services. Other issues soon surfaced, such as a growing concern over ‘baptismal regeneration’, which Evangelicals felt was diminishing the role of faith and conversion.⁵⁷ S.C. Baker, a Curate at St. Thomas’s, Edinburgh described ritualism as ‘empty show ... Popery diluted and Protestantism defiled.’⁵⁸ Drummond described it as ‘the theatre transferred to the church’ and dismissed ‘altars gloriously decked, and priests beautifully arrayed in cope and stole ..’⁵⁹ The Scottish Communion Office also posed problems for Drummond’s followers, as they saw its words, suggesting that the communion included an ‘offering of sacrifice’, to be demeaning to the belief in the infinite merit of Christ’s death on the cross. They repudiated the invocation for the Holy Spirit to come upon the elements of bread and wine, as asking for a specific change in the elements, coming near to the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Strong, *Scottish Episcopalianism*, p. 256.

⁵⁶ White, *Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 75.

⁵⁷ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalianism*, p. 224. The Rev David Drummond was an Episcopal Minister in Edinburgh from 1832 – 1875, and leader of the English Episcopal Church which was nicknamed as ‘the Drummond schism.’

⁵⁸ S. C. Baker, *A Pastor’s Word against Ritualistic Innovations* (London, 1868), pp. 23 - 4 in Meldrum, *Ibid.* p. 242.

⁵⁹ John Witherspoon, *A Serious Inquiry into the Nature of the Stage with a Preface by D. T. K. Drummond* (Edinburgh, 1876), p. xix-xxx, in Meldrum, *Ibid.* p. 242.

⁶⁰ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalianism*, p. 278.

The Church of Ireland was divided as to how it would regard the English Episcopal Church. Bishop Robert Daly of Cashel, an ultra-Protestant and Evangelical, warmly supported them and ‘provided an important boost to the movement ... his correspondence published in *The Record* from June to December 1845, set out his opposition to the Scottish Communion Office, regretting that the Scottish Episcopal Church has departed so widely from the doctrines of the Church of England.’ By contrast, Bishop Richard Mant of Down disciplined one of his clergy, William MacIlwaine for preaching at Dunoon English Chapel.⁶¹

Theologically, the English Episcopal Church could have made some headway among the Irish, on account of its fervent Protestantism and anti-ritualism. However, it did not set up many churches in areas where the Irish were to be found in any great numbers. It did get Irish support at St. John’s, Dundee⁶² and in Glasgow at St. Jude’s.⁶³ Its most Irish congregation was St. Silas’ Mission in Partick.⁶⁴ The reasons might have included its strong middle-class and upper-class base; the fact that most of its clergy were brought up from England; its geographical locations, and perhaps, as discussed in chapter four, the Evangelical cultural taboos, which may not have appealed to the hedonism for which many of the Irish were known.

The ‘English’ schism came to an end in the 1880s as members, clergy and congregations slowly filtered back to the Scottish Church. The Scottish Church had made itself more accommodating by abandoning offending Canons, thereby allowing more freedom for non-liturgical services especially in the context of missions.⁶⁵ The lack of outside support either from England or Ireland, increased their isolation, and Drummond’s death in 1877 deprived them of their main leader. In the west, however, the Glasgow churches remained aloof, with the exception of the Rev. James McCann and St. Paul’s, Charing Cross.⁶⁶

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 356.

⁶² Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 656.

⁶³ For St. Jude’s see chapter four of this thesis.

⁶⁴ For Partick see chapter seven of this thesis.

⁶⁵ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalians*, p. 399.

⁶⁶ For McCann see chapter four of this thesis.

The Reformed Episcopal Church

The mantle of anti-Roman and ultra-Protestant Anglicanism which was left by the demise of the English Episcopal Church, was taken up by a new group, the Reformed Episcopal Church. This group has so far received no attention from historians of the Episcopal Church, primarily on account of the smallness of its numbers and its ministry, being almost exclusively to the disaffected Irish. However, it did succeed in creating Missions out of schisms at the Episcopal Churches at Paisley, Springburn, Clydebank and Glasgow, and concerned the Church enough, for there were occasional articles in the Church's press, warning its members off this group. Primary sources have not been uncovered apart from newspapers, but it seems to have had around eight churches in Scotland at its height.⁶⁷

The origins of the Reformed Episcopal Church are in America where in 1871, George David Cummins, Assistant Bishop of Kentucky resigned from the American Episcopal Church on account of its growing ritualism. That year a meeting of thirty-five Episcopal clergy was held in New York, and a new schismatic denomination was formed. Its stated principles included 'a rejection of baptismal regeneration, and of the Lord's Table as an altar, and that priests were no more than part of the royal priesthood of all believers.'⁶⁸

England had also seen a secession of clergy over ritualism in the 1830s and 1840s. Eventually various "free" and 'dissenting' groups using Anglican liturgy, formally grouped together to form the Free Church of England in 1863. Both the American and English Churches were in touch with each other but plans to unite did not materialise although cordial relations continued.⁶⁹

In 1877 the Rev. T. Hubbard Gregg, who had recently resigned his orders as Vicar of East Harbourne near Birmingham, on account of growing Tractarianism in the Church of England, wrote to the Reformed

⁶⁷ Telephone conversation on 4 May 2004 with the Rev. Paul Hunt, General Secretary of the Free Church of England. Most of the Church's records had been destroyed in a fire.

⁶⁸ Publications Committee, *A History of the Free Church of England, otherwise called the Reformed Episcopal Church* (Morecambe: Publications Committee, 1960), pp.50 - 73.

⁶⁹ *A History of the Free Church of England*, p. 77 and 'The Free Church of England' *The Church Times*, 24 September 2004.

Episcopal Church in America, with a view to setting up its English branch. He was ordained a bishop in New York and returned to England to continue his work among secessionist Anglican churches.⁷⁰

The Scottish Episcopal Church was first alerted to Gregg's ministry, when in 1878 *The Scottish Guardian* reprinted a debate from the Church of England's Upper House of Convocation. In this, Gregg's consecration was declared invalid, and his churches not in communion with the Anglican Church.⁷¹

When in 1885, Paisley's Holy Trinity Church suffered a split in the congregation, it was at first announced that 'an English Episcopal congregation would be established in the town in connection with St. Silas Church, Glasgow.'⁷² However, as the English Episcopal Church was coming to an end, this association failed to materialise and in May 1885, Moses Brown, one of the lay leaders of the dissenting group wrote to Bishop Wilson, 'We are about to connect ourselves with the Reformed Church of England. Bishop Gregg (who is a Bishop in the Canterbury succession) having kindly consented to come to Paisley and confirm our children.'⁷³ Gregg opened a new church building for them in 1888 and ordained Charles Tully, a former Mayor of Tynemouth, as their minister.⁷⁴

In 1886 St. James the Less Episcopal Church in Springburn also suffered a split, and the dissidents formed a new congregation, Trinity Church, in Keppochhill Road. This also came under the auspices of the Reformed Episcopal Church⁷⁵ as did churches in Clydebank, Greenock and Glasgow.

By 1908 the Reformed Episcopal Churches were beginning to provoke occasional articles in *The Scottish Chronicle*, which being aware that Irish Episcopalians were being drawn to these churches, warned that 'We observe that paragraphs have been circulating in the daily newspapers this week about a 'Protestant Episcopal Church' in the east end of Glasgow – Emmanuel Church, by name. It seems necessary to warn Church people

⁷⁰ *The Free Church of England*, p. 77.

⁷¹ *SG*, 31 May 1878

⁷² *PDE*, 19 January 1885.

⁷³ *DGGA*, TD 1382/154/2, Moses Brown to Bishop Wilson, 21 May 1885.

⁷⁴ For Charles Tully and the secession at Paisley, see chapter ten of this thesis.

⁷⁵ For Trinity Church, see chapter six of this thesis on Springburn.

in Glasgow that this body has absolutely no connection with the Scottish Episcopal Church. Strangers coming to the city, especially from Ireland, are apt to be misled by the name, and unwittingly identify themselves with a community which is unrecognised by the Anglican Episcopate.⁷⁶

By 1910 *The Scottish Chronicle* was making its point in stronger terms: ‘Although these congregations are weak in numbers and influence, their very existence is harmful to the Church in many ways. The title “Church of England” is misleading ... Its services being of a very bald type, many Irish people are led to believe that it is an Irish Church specially adapted for them, and in full communion with their own Church at home.’⁷⁷

The Reformed Episcopal Church, however, did not have any great success in Scotland. Most of its ministers were English, and there were indications, at least in Paisley, that they were tiring of the Irish and their issues.⁷⁸

Conclusion

Although this chapter has focused on the more divisive issues which beset the Scottish Episcopal Church during the nineteenth century, it would be a mistake to see this as the whole picture. The Irish were not particularly the cause of any of the divisions in the Church. These divisions were already in place and would have continued without them. But their numerical strength and, at times belligerent approach exacerbated some of them.

Despite these controversies and divisions, the nineteenth century was the one in which the Church saw its greatest advances and growth. However, the greatest numerical growth was not to be found in its traditional heartlands, but in the west of Scotland, whose new diocese would soon contain one third of all the Episcopalians in Scotland.

⁷⁶ *SC*, April 1908.

⁷⁷ *SC*, 21 January 1910.

⁷⁸ For Paisley see chapter ten of this thesis.

The Reformed Episcopal Church joined the Free Church of England in 1927. An article in the *SG*, 7 October 1938 said that there was a church at Parkhead Cross. The church at Clydebank was destroyed during the Second World War and not rebuilt. The last surviving church was Trinity at Springburn, which still held services in the 1960s.

Table 3:1
Growth of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1851 - 1914

| Year | Churches & Missions | Clergy | Members |
|-------------|--------------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1851 | 127 | 132 | 43,904 |
| 1878 | 226 | 225 | 58,904 |
| 1881 | 253 | 241 | 68,553 |
| 1890 | 304 | 267 | 94,750 |
| 1900 | 356 | 324 | 124,335 |
| 1908 | 403 | 336 | 148,470 |
| 1914 | 419 | 354 | 147,040 |

Sources: *Year Book of the SEC* 1878-1914; *Scottish Episcopal Journal* (Edinburgh, 1851) pp. 94-97

Chapter Four

‘This Orange element ... will either kill you or die for you’

Introduction

Certain factors suggest that the majority of Orangemen in Scotland, certainly until the 1880s, were Episcopalians rather than Presbyterians. J. McConechy, in criticising the Glasgow poet and editor William Motherwell’s membership of the Orange Lodge, remarked in the 1830s that Orangeism, identified as a creature of ‘the Irish episcopal establishment ... “was certainly not wanted in Presbyterian Scotland.”’¹ The Church of Ireland was the body to which most of the poorer Protestants belonged, and as the majority of those who migrated to Scotland were at the poorer end of society, Irish Episcopalianism provided a sizeable pool from which working-class organisations like the Orange Order, drew their membership. As most members of the Order in Ireland were Episcopalians at this stage, Orangeism in Scotland would have reflected this. The membership of L.O.L. 102 in Paisley, from 1859 to 1861, has demonstrated that almost every member of the lodge had a connection with Holy Trinity Episcopal Church (Appendix 4:6).

In this chapter Orangeism will be considered in terms of how it defined itself and also as it was perceived by others. It will be asserted that Orangeism in Ireland was primarily an Anglican movement in its early stages. The response of the Scottish Episcopal Church both at local and national level will demonstrate that Orangeism was a more significant aspect in the lives of many Episcopalians than has hitherto been recognised. The views of some Orangemen, both clergy and laity, will give insights into the personalities and thinking involved, will demonstrate that Orangemen were not all one type, and that the movement contained a diversity not often appreciated. The response of the Episcopal Church to Orangeism will be discussed and the divergence of the two movements will be seen as laying a foundation for the conclusion to this thesis.

Orangeism

Orangeism is the philosophy of the Orange Order, an exclusively Protestant society founded in Ireland in 1795 but by the early nineteenth century, mainly through Irish emigration, also operating in Scotland, England and in many parts of the Empire. Its objects were ‘by all lawful means, to support, maintain and

¹ University of Glasgow Special Collections, Robertson MSS, J. McConechy, *Draft of a Memoir of William Motherwell* (n.d.), quoted by McFarland, *Protestants First*, p. 115.

defend the Sovereign, the Protestant religion in Church and State, the Protestant succession to the throne, and the public safety. The association requires men firmly attached to the principles of the Reformation ... The members are called “Orangemen” in honour of William the Third, Prince of Orange ... whose name they assume, and whose memory they cherish, in grateful consideration of the deliverance from Popery and tyranny.’²

The Order had many facets and thus a broad appeal, though in Scotland it mainly attracted the working classes. It was a religious society in that it defined itself primarily as Protestant. Its meetings began with prayer and scripture readings, each lodge having a chaplain. Its Protestant emphasis also meant that it was anti-Catholic, seeing much Roman Catholic worship as idolatrous, and its spirituality as superstition. Roman Catholicism was considered to be tyrannous and persecuting when in power, and therefore its encroachments were to be resisted, not just for individual salvation but for national safety.

It was also a political society, being fiercely loyal to the Crown and Constitution, in so far as these were bulwarks in maintaining Britain’s Protestantism. Those joining resolved ‘to do all that in me lies, as becomes a loyal subject of Queen Victoria, to preserve from all violation or encroachment the Protestant Constitution of this country, as perfected in consequence of the Revolution of 1688.’ (Appendix 4:2) Despite its strongly proletarian base, it became reactionary, seeing political radicalism as allied with Catholic advance and Irish nationalism in a conspiracy to destroy Protestantism. In the early 1830s it was closely associated with ‘high Toryism’, which provided its leadership, and by the end of the century was allied with the Conservative Party.

Reflecting its roots and membership, Scottish Orangeism has always maintained a keen interest in Irish politics, for example, its opposition to the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869. Even its Presbyterian leaders saw the threat against the Irish Church as a threat against the other two established churches in Britain. The Grand Master, Dr. John Leech in 1866 said, ‘If the united Church of England and Ireland shall remain united, stable, unchanged, then the State shall remain secure ... The late illustrious Dr. Chalmers, and the still living Dr. Cooke of Belfast, have declared that the Protestant Established Church of

² GOLSA, *Laws and Ordinances of the Grand Protestant Association of Loyal Orangemen*. approved in July 1855. (Bradford: Brother Squire Auty. Kirkgate, 1868).

Ireland is one of the greatest bulwarks of our common Protestantism.’³ The Order also aligned itself with the Unionist cause over Irish Home Rule from the 1880s to the 1920s.

It was a fraternal association offering monthly meetings, social functions and mutual support. It had its own Friendly Society giving assistance to members when out of work or injured and sought to provide a respectable funeral in times when the ‘pauper’s grave’ was considered the ultimate stigma.⁴

The public face of Orangeism, and the most contentious, has always been its parades, particularly the Twelfth of July, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 when King William III defeated King James II: a victory seen by Orangemen as one of liberty over tyranny, of Protestantism over Roman Catholicism.

Being founded in Ireland by men who were also Freemasons, it adopted a Masonic-type system of symbols, esoteric mystery and ritual.

The Orange community as noted by Haddick-Flynn was far larger than those who were formally and currently in lodge membership. Describing Orangeism in County Wexford at the end of the eighteenth century he wrote of Protestants who felt themselves instinctively part of the Orange community: ‘The great bulk of Protestants felt themselves as belonging to this tradition and held the memory of King William in high regard. To many, the trappings and rituals of the Orange Order may have been outlandish, yet they could empathise with them.’⁵

Recent historians of Orangeism like Marshall and McFarland have emphasised its political side; while others like Macraird, its sociological; whereas in this study, its religious aspects will be the main focus of consideration.

³ *Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland Report of Proceedings*, 1866, pp. 6 - 9.

⁴ David Bryce, *A History of Scotland's Orange Friendly Societies* (Glasgow: 2004).

⁵ Kevin Haddick-Flynn, *Orangeism: The Making of a Tradition* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1999), p. 174.

Its Protestant and anti-Catholic ideas were extended to opposition to ritualism in the Anglican Church, mainly in England and Scotland, which was perceived to be a sign of those Churches forsaking their Protestantism and embracing Popery. As Brown asserts that 'Irish episcopalians were strongly Orangeist ... it seems clear that Irish episcopalians with a strongly Protestant tradition could not possibly have come to terms with the pro-Catholic tendencies of the Scottish Episcopal Church.'⁶

Orangeism and Anglicanism

It has often been assumed that the majority of Orangemen were Presbyterians; hence Handley's dismissal of 'The Twelfth of July as the brainstorm of the Presbyterian Ulsterman.'⁷ That would certainly be the case currently in Scotland, as Bradley in his study of religious identity in Scotland today identifies 73 per cent of members of the Orange Order as claiming affiliation to the Church of Scotland.⁸

However, in its formative years, 'The foundation members of the Orange Institution were Anglican laymen – with perhaps a few exceptions.'⁹ Although a number of Presbyterians were associated with the Order from the beginning, it was essentially an Anglican movement. The parishes in which it originated in the north of County Armagh were solidly Anglican, and Anglican clergymen adopted it quickly. Presbyterian historian A.C. Anderson agrees: 'It was from their ranks [the Church of Ireland] and not from the Presbyterians that the Orange Order drew the great majority of its members between 1795 and 1830.'¹⁰

In many areas, Orangeism spread rapidly through the involvement of Anglican clergy who quickly took on leadership roles. Their congregations were largely drawn from estate workers, whom they were ideally placed to influence. Among the best known of these was the Rev. Philip Johnson, Rector of Derriaghly for from 1772 to 1833. To counteract what he called 'the progress of sedition,' he organised Orangeism in several parishes. He had 'such a missionary zeal for the movement that several Lodges were formed by men

⁶ Brown, *Religion and Society*, p. 35.

⁷ Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, p. 356.

⁸ Joseph M. Bradley, *Ethnic and Religious Identity in Modern Scotland* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995), p. 83.

⁹ S. E. Long, *The Clerical Presence in Orangeism 1795-1900* (Belfast: Lodge of Research, 2001), p. 1.

¹⁰ A. C. Anderson, *The Story of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, in Drummond and Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843 - 1874*, pp. 64-65.

who he persuaded of its value.’¹¹ Another Anglican clergyman who played an important role in promoting the Order was the Rev. Dr. Snowden Cupples, Rector of Lisburn Cathedral (1796 – 1835) and Vicar General of Down and Connor.¹²

Presbyterians by contrast ‘formed a small proportion of the population of County Armagh and were for many years a conspicuous minority in the Order.’¹³ Most Presbyterians would have resented having to pay tithes to the Church of Ireland, and any organisation which appeared to bolster the power of that Church would not have been enthusiastically supported. Apart from some sporadic events such as the Rebellion of 1641 and the Siege of Londonderry in 1688, Ulster Protestantism did not exist as a solidified and resisting force. It would take several decades and crises to bring the two groups of adherents together in a common cause. In 1834, the Rev. Dr. Henry Cooke, in common with the Presbyterian Church authorities, did not look kindly on the Order and wrote, ‘out of 230 or 240 ministers belonging to the Synod of Ulster, not one-fiftieth part will be found even to countenance Orangeism.’¹⁴

An Irish Orange Chaplain wrote, ‘For many years the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland tended to be regarded ... as a Church of Ireland enclave ... For several generations, the Grand Masters of the Grand Lodge had been drawn from the peerage and aristocracy, while their denominational background was uniformly Anglican ... the Grand Chaplaincies remained predominantly in the hands of Church of Ireland dignitaries; one or two Bishops or an Archdeacon, or perhaps a Canon being the average complement.’¹⁵

Presbyterian reluctance to become involved in the Order, in any great numbers, was partly due to that strain of radicalism within Presbyterianism. Disadvantaged against the Established Church by various Penal Laws in

¹¹ Long, *The Clerical Presence in Orangeism*, p. 3.

¹² Haddick-Flynn, *Orangeism*, p. 158.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 10. He considers Sir Richard Musgrave’s claim that early Orangeism contained ‘Presbyterians of the lower order’ and gives reasons for believing Musgrave was wrong. James Wilson of The Dyan, County Tyrone was a Presbyterian founder of the Orange Order but soon ceased to be active in the movement. (p. 10).

¹⁴ Rory Fitzpatrick, *God’s Frontiersmen: The Scots-Irish Epic* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. 183.

¹⁵ The Rev. Canon Dr. M.W. Dewar, Grand Chaplain of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, ‘Some Changing Ecclesiastical Emphases in Orangeism,’ *Biblical Theology* (Belfast, 1971), Vol. 21, No. 2, May 1971, pp. 45-46. The Grand Masters he refers to were: the Earl of Enniskillen (1846 - 1886), the Earl of Erne (1886 - 1914), Sir James Strong (1914 - 24), and Sir Edward Archdale (1924 - 1940).

the eighteenth century, many had emigrated to America. Among those who remained, resentment of the Church of Ireland and the Protestant Ascendancy led to some of them joining Roman Catholics in the formation of the United Irishmen in 1791. But sickened by what turned into Catholic sectarian violence, especially in the Wexford area, most of the Presbyterians soon left the United Irishmen.¹⁶ Although many became Orangemen, others migrated to Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century where they helped foster radical views among the weaving community. Presbyterian radicals aligned with Roman Catholics would again clash with Orange Episcopalians in Girvan, Ayrshire in the 1830s.¹⁷

Orangeism in the Scottish Episcopal Church

Orangeism was first introduced into Scotland in 1798, the first lodge being formed at Maybole in Ayrshire. The second lodge was formed in Glasgow in 1813, while Orangeism was growing in Scotland mainly in Ayrshire, Galloway and Glasgow.¹⁸ Given that most of the earliest Orangemen were Irish and not native Scots and reflecting the denominational allegiance from home, especially in the early decades of the movement, it can be assumed that they were in the main Episcopalians. Apart from Glasgow, there were no Episcopal churches in existence in the early centres of Orangeism, in which case the Orangemen would have either practiced their faith privately, joined one of the other denominations or have become un-churched altogether.

Some of the earliest Orange church parades were to Episcopal churches as at St. Paul's Armadale in 1862 'when forty men marched through the village on Saturday 14 July to attend public worship in the Episcopal Chapel. They were addressed by the Rev. James McLaughlin, Episcopal Minister of Carrubers Close Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh, where the Edinburgh lodges met.'¹⁹ One of the earliest church parades was in

¹⁶ Finlay Holmes, *Our Irish Presbyterian Heritage* (Belfast: Publications Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1985), p. 90.

¹⁷ David Bryce, *The Girvan Riots* (Hamilton, privately printed, 2001), p. 26.

¹⁸ William Marshall, *The Billy Boys: A Concise History of Orangeism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press), p. 11.

¹⁹ Broxburn District L.O.L. 31, 'A History of Orangeism in Linlithgowshire and West Lothian', quoting a contemporary newspaper, n.d., available at www.broxburmdistrict31.org.uk/resourcewestlothianhistory.htm (13 February 2007).

1868 when ‘200 members of the Order walked to the Episcopal Church in St. James Place [Holy Trinity, Paisley] resplendent with Orange necklets and carrying bibles.’²⁰

By the 1870s Orangemen were forming a significant part of many Episcopal churches. In 1878 Mr. R.J.S. Speir in writing to Bishop Wilson says, ‘... there were Orangemen in the congregation, which I am quite aware, must be the case in almost every poor congregation in the west of Scotland in your diocese.’²¹ In some churches like Springburn they clearly predominated; ‘the majority of those attending the Mission have always belonged to that ... Order.’²² By 1882 the predominance of Orangemen within the Episcopal Church in Glasgow was noted by *The Scottish Guardian*: ‘It is a well known fact that an immense number of the professed members of the Church in this city are from the Sister Isle, and belong to the Orange and other kindred Societies.’²³

Although most of the upper echelons of the Church would have distanced themselves from the Order, at local level there were many instances of a closer relationship and reciprocal arrangements. Quinn in his study of the mission of the Episcopal Church to the Irish in Dundee noted the proximity of Orange Halls and lodge meeting places to Episcopal churches: ‘The Orange movement had definite associations with more than just St. John’s. St. Salvador’s within the other major concentrations of Irish immigrants was situated in the locality of Caldrum Street where many of the Orange Lodges met.’²⁴

A similar pattern can be seen in the Glasgow Diocese. A significant number of Orange Halls were built beside or near to Episcopal Churches particularly in Paisley, Greenock, Partick, Springburn and inner-city Glasgow (Appendix 4:4) Although the Irish did not live in strict ghettos, there were areas where they were often found in large numbers, and it was normally in these areas like the Sneddon in Paisley and Cartsydyke in Greenock where the Episcopalians had their Missions. St. Oswald’s Church in Maybole used the Orange Hall

²⁰ *North British Daily Mail*, 13 July 1868.

²¹ DGGA, TD 1382/173/11, R. J. S. Speir to Bishop Wilson, Christmas 1878.

²² DGGA, TD 1382/173/10, the Rev. W. E. Bradshaw to Bishop Wilson, 20 December 1878.

²³ *SG*, 31 March 1882.

²⁴ Quinn, *The Irish in Dundee*, p. 145.

for their social occasions,²⁵ and the Episcopal Mission at Irvine was held in the Orange Hall in that town.²⁶ There were occasions such as Maryhill and Rutherglen when, on acquiring new premises, the old church was sold to the local Orangemen to become their hall.²⁷

Anglican influence on early Scottish Orangeism may be seen in that several phrases in the lodge's formal Prayers were neither extemporaneous nor created for the occasion but were taken from the *Book of Common Prayer*. The phrases are borrowed from two services: The Accession Service said on the anniversary of the accession of the Sovereign; and the, now withdrawn, Service of Thanksgiving to be used on 5 November '... for the happy Arrival of his majesty King William on this Day, for the Deliverance of our Church and Nation' (Appendix 4:1).

A further influence may be seen in that the titles for various levels of Officers are not based on the Presbyterian idea of the parity of all ministers, but mirror exactly the titles of the Anglican hierarchy:

| Various levels of Orange Officers | The Anglican Hierarchy |
|--|--|
| The Most Worthy Grand Master of Scotland | The Most Reverend Archbishop (or Primus) |
| The Right Worthy County Grand Master | The Right Reverend Bishop |
| The Very Worthy District Master | The Very Reverend Dean (or Provost) |
| The Worthy Master (Primary lodge) | The Reverend |

Source: *Report of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, 1876*.

Orange Clergy

Throughout the period of this study, several clergymen of the Episcopal Church were members of the Orange Order (Appendix 4:5). In terms of ethnic origin they were divided between Irish, Scots and English-born. Those from Ireland were probably members of the Order at home, while those born in England or Scotland would have been attracted to the movement either for its pastoral and missionary opportunities or because it

²⁵ *SG*, 17 January 1890.

²⁶ DGGGA, TD 1382/803, 'St. John's Mission, Irvine' mss. Edith Hill, 1951.

²⁷ Archives of St. Mary's Cathedral, Glasgow, 'Album of Victorian Photographs' n.d. Written inscription under St. George's Church, Maryhill.

reflected their own ant-Catholicism or Unionism. Some were prominent in the Order, becoming either Grand Chaplains or speaking at public Orange meetings, while others kept a lower profile. By 1896 *The Scottish Guardian* had become aware of a growing number of Episcopal clergy who were active in the Order: 'The western side of Scotland was very busily engaged last Saturday in observing the day that is kept sacred to the memory of William of Orange ... Clergymen of the Scottish Episcopal Church were well to the front.'²⁸

The Very Rev. Robert Jackson Macgeorge was unique among the Orange clergy in attaining high office in the Church, eventually becoming second to the Bishop in the Diocese of Argyll and the Isles. He came from a well known Glasgow legal family and as a young man worked in his father's firm, writing poetry and producing plays in his spare time, some of which were staged in the York Street Theatre, Glasgow.²⁹ Brought up a Presbyterian, Macgeorge converted to Episcopalianism.³⁰

He was ordained in 1839, serving as Curate both to Robert Montgomery at St. Jude's and David Aitchison at Christ Church in the Mile End area of east Glasgow. When Aitchison resigned, McGeorge took over as Incumbent from 1840 to 1841.³¹

In 1841 he moved to Canada and was appointed as Minister of the Church of England at Streetsville, Ontario because 'of his knowledge of the emigrant community', as Streetsville was mainly populated by Episcopalians from the north of Ireland. His Orange sympathies and reputation for pastoral work among the Irish at Christ Church came to the attention of Bishop John Strachan who wrote, 'the village and neighbourhood contains a great number of church people, many of them Orangemen recently from Ireland, a class with which Mr. Macgeorge has been in the habit of dealing with in Glasgow.'³²

²⁸ *SG*, 17 July 1896.

²⁹ David Bryce, *They Wore the Colours: Some Interesting Orangemen* (Hamilton: privately printed, 2005), p. 13.

³⁰ *SG*, 15 June 1872. The circumstances of his conversion were around his father's legal defence of the Rev. John McLeod Campbell, Presbyterian minister of Rhu who was tried for heresy in 1831. McGeorge became convinced of the rightness of McLeod's views and the injustice meted out to him by the Church of Scotland.

³¹ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 347

³² Archives of Ontario, 'Letterbook of Bishop John Strachan', 6 October 1841, quoted by Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*, p. 168.

Macgeorge became involved with the Orange Order in Canada and within six years of his arrival was Grand Chaplain of British America. A fellow Orangeman wrote, 'Macgeorge used to discuss with John Rutledge their mutual hopes and fears for the Orange Association. Neither was to see its final triumphant growth, its successful fight for incorporation, and its gradual acquisition of political power, but they saw it in mind's eye. They realised that it was bound to come.' Throwing his influence behind Canada's Conservative politicians, at an early stage, he saw Orangeism's political potential in the new dominion: 'maps of the province are already everywhere dotted with lodges. Their machinery, if properly manipulated, could be of inestimable political value.'³³

He returned to Scotland in 1858 to take charge of St. Bartholomew's Church, Greenock. However, the following year he was invited by Bishop Alexander Ewing of Argyll and the Isles to take up the incumbency of St. John's, Oban. Ewing was by far the most ultra-Protestant of all the Victorian Episcopal Bishops.³⁴ In 1872 Macgeorge was appointed as Dean of the Diocese of Argyll and the Isles which he held until his retirement in 1880 when he was made an Honorary Canon of the Cathedral of the Isles on Cumbrae. He did not live to see his church become the Cathedral for the Diocese in 1920.³⁵

The Rev. Hudson Teape was probably the earliest Episcopal clergyman to take an active part in the development of Orangeism in Scotland. His younger brother, the Rev. Dr. Charles Teape held a higher profile in the Scottish Episcopal Church, being active in the Edinburgh Diocese.

Hudson graduated B.A. from Trinity College, Dublin and was ordained in the Church of Ireland in 1844. He was Curate at Christ Church, Belfast from 1844 to 1846 and then became Incumbent of its mission church, St. Matthew's on the Shankill Road from 1854 to 1860. The Rector under whom he served was the prominent Orangeman, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Drew. Teape came to Scotland in 1860 when he became Diocesan Chaplain in the Diocese of Edinburgh. This was a home missions ministry where he served as an itinerant priest to the new opportunities and congregations arising at this time. In 1864 he became Incumbent of St.

³³ William Perkins Bull, *From the Boyne to Brampton* (Toronto: George L. Mcleod Ltd., 1936), p. 133.

³⁴ Lochhead, *Episcopal Scotland*, pp. 161 - 182.

³⁵ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, pp. 347; 546.

Paul's Church in Armadale, and was, in addition, responsible for founding the Episcopal Mission at Bo'ness in 1870.³⁶

The year after his settlement at Armadale, Teape was appointed a Grand Chaplain of the Orange Order. Speaking at a Soiree in Glasgow on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot he said, 'When you honoured me by appointing me as one of your Grand Chaplains I highly appreciated the appointment, but I must admit that I did not realise the grandeur until tonight.'³⁷

In 1870 the following newspaper report of an Orange Lodge church service appeared:

The 12th was observed with the usual honour in Armadale, as the Williamites were favoured with a splendid day. At an early hour, the air was filled with the strains of two bands ... Six lodges were present with flags ... All proceeded to the Episcopal Church. The Incumbent walked down from the Church gates to meet them. He was habited in college cap, gown, hood and collar, and turning with them, all entered the church that could crowd within its walls. Divine service consisted of the Te Deum, a hymn by the band, a sermon and the National Anthem. The text was Luke xxii 48. As Mr Teape took occasion to show how much Protestantism has suffered from false brethren in Church and State, he especially impressed on them to consider the dignity of conduct which becomes the name of such a glorious cause.³⁸

Teape continued to take an active part in the affairs of the Grand Lodge and was a regular speaker at Orange meetings until he moved to Huntly in Aberdeenshire in 1873. He was appointed Synod Clerk of the Diocese of Moray, Ross and Caithness in 1885 which he held until his retirement in 1888.

The Rev. Dr. James McCann was in some respects a minor player in the history of the Church, yet he proved to be important in that he was the first minister of the English Episcopal Church to break links with that schism and to seek re-union with the Scottish Church in 1870. In the next twenty years other churches and clergy would follow, thus effectively bringing to an end that which began as 'The Drummond Schism of 1842.'³⁹

³⁶ Ibid., p. 459.

³⁷ *Belfast Weekly News*, 11 November 1865.

³⁸ Broxburn District L.O.L. 31, 'A History of Orangeism in Linlithgowshire and West Lothian', quoting a contemporary newspaper account, n.d.

³⁹ For the English Episcopal Church schism, see chapter three of this thesis.

McCann was Irish by birth but spent some time in Yorkshire where he was ordained in the Diocese of Ripon in 1863. He came to Glasgow in 1869 to become Incumbent of St. Jude's. St. Jude's had been Glasgow's only English Episcopal Church, offering a more robust evangelical and Protestant theology in the face of what was perceived to be the growing Rome-ward trend of the Scottish Church. Although intended for the poor, it increasingly became a middle-class church until 1863 when those of a higher social status broke away to found St. Silas Church in the west of the city. By the time McCann arrived, St. Jude's was a working-class church supported by a mainly Irish and Orange congregation.⁴⁰

However, within a couple of years of his arrival, McCann was unhappy about the English schism and realised that his future did not lie there. Bishop Wilson wrote in his *Journal* in October 1870, 'Had an interview with the Rev. James McCann lately minister of St. Jude's Chapel. Dr. McCann has lately resigned the position he held in connection with that chapel and has withdrawn along with a large proportion of the congregation to a hall in West Nile Street where he officiates as minister. The invitation took place at his request with a view to preparing the way for his being reconciled along with his congregation into communion with the Church in Scotland.'⁴¹

In July 1871 McCann wrote to his congregation, St. Paul's, Charing Cross, explaining why, having been critical of the Scottish Episcopal Church in the past, and particularly of the *Scottish Office* Communion Liturgy, he was now seeking to join it. 'I find in the introduction to her Canons, the Episcopal Church in Scotland adopts as a standard of her faith the *Thirty-Nine Articles* of the Church of England. Consequently, whatever is not in accordance with that standard is no part of her doctrine, and the *Scottish Office* can, therefore only be retained in the belief that it has this acceptance.'⁴²

McCann was not, however, about to surrender his Evangelical Protestantism, and wrote to Bishop Wilson, 'Should I become one of your clergy, I hope you will have occasion to stimulate my earnestness in advocating the evangelical principles of our reformed Protestant Church, or in bringing the ignorant to a knowledge of

⁴⁰ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalians*, p. 41.

⁴¹ DGGGA, TD/1382/75, *Bishops' Journal*, 21 October 1870.

⁴² DGGGA, TD/1382/159, printed copy of the Rev. James McCann to Bishop Wilson, 9 August 1871.

Christ, our only hope of glory.’ The fact for him, that there were clergy in the Scottish Church (as there were in the Church of England) who were ‘untrue to the spirit and letter of the *Articles and Prayer Book*’ was no justification for remaining aloof; in fact, ‘it ought rather to cause a firm determination to cling to her all the more tenaciously, and exert myself all the more energetically to counteract their erroneous teaching.’⁴³

McCann was a popular choice of speaker at the Twelfth of July Orange demonstrations, although by the mid 1870s his apology was more often tendered on account of his health problems. In 1873 he had been invited to second the resolution ‘Home Rule is Rome Rule.’ Harry Alfred Long, through remaining at St. Jude’s, publicly thanked McCann from the platform for his support during the local Glasgow School Board elections.⁴⁴

The Rev. William Winter was born in County Limerick in 1859 and was probably the most intellectually able of all the Orange clergy. ‘He was educated at Rathmines School, Dublin, where he gained the first prize in Latin and won the Lewis medal for English composition. At his entrance examination at Trinity College, Dublin, Mr Winter was awarded the first prize in English literature and a prize in Hebrew. During his university career [he graduated BA. and BD. from Trinity] he obtained distinction in English literature, Scripture and ethics, and was first in theology.’⁴⁵

Ordained in the Church of Ireland in 1882, his ministry was confined to the south of Ireland until he became Rector of St. John’s Church, Coatbridge in 1895. St. John’s had been founded in 1843 for migrants, both English who were employed mainly in the steel works, and Irish involved in the coal mines. After a thirty-four year ministry from English-born Edward Jonas, who had been ‘influenced by the Oxford Movement’, and as the majority of Episcopalians in Coatbridge were by this time Irish, Sir David Carrick-Buchanan, the Patron of the church who had disapproved of Jonas’s High Church tendencies, decided a change of style was

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 13 July 1872.

⁴⁵ *SC*, 15 April 1921.

necessary. On Jonas's resignation, Sir David secured the appointment of William Winter to the incumbency.⁴⁶

Winter admitted that he loved a good argument, which he put down to his Irish background, and was often in the midst of controversy over things he had written or said. In 1901 in *The Scottish Guardian* he and the Rev. Edward Jonas argued out the case for and against the use of incense. Winter, citing early Christian Apologists such as Tertullian, said that the use of incense was rejected by the early Christian Church on account of its use in paganism, and that it was not until the sixth century that it was first mentioned in the context of Christian worship⁴⁷.

Winter soon became actively involved in the Orange Order, firstly locally as District Chaplain for Coatbridge and then nationally as Grand Chaplain of Scotland. But even in these circles his catholicity of mind gave cause for concern. He was accused by some of 'ritualism' and a letter writing campaign against him caused the local Lodge to investigate. They did so, but declared that he was not guilty of this. At one stage he suggested that a portrait of St. Patrick should be on every Orange banner, but this was not proceeded with.⁴⁸

Soon after his appointment to Coatbridge he commenced an Episcopal Mission at the nearby village of Gartcosh 'devoting much time and energy in rousing the people of this particular district.' The local Orange Lodge in their regalia attended the laying of the foundation stone of what was to become St. Andrew's Church.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Church of St. John the Evangelist, Coatbridge: One Hundred Years of Concise History* (Coatbridge: John Williamson, 1943), p. 12.

⁴⁷ *SG*, 29 July 1901.

⁴⁸ Gina B. Cowan (et al.), *To Grow in Unity: A History of the Churches of St. John the Evangelist, Coatbridge, etc.* (Coatbridge: Monklands District Council, 1994), p. 84.

⁴⁹ *Minutes of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland*, June 1914: 'LOL 20 given permission to wear colours at the laying of the foundation stone of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Gartcosh.'

Prominent Orange Laymen

There were just a handful of prominent Orangemen who were members of the Episcopal Church; in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway, there were Archibald Campbell (Lord Blythswood) and Harry Alfred Long.

Archibald Campbell was born in 1835, eldest son of Archibald Douglas of Mains in Dunbartonshire, the family being descended from the Dukes of Argyll. In 1838 Archibald (senior) inherited the Blythswood estate in Renfrewshire from his cousin, Major Archibald Campbell, MP, on which occasion the Douglas family changed their name to Campbell.⁵⁰ Along with the estate came Inchinnan Parish Church, of which the Campbell family were hereditary Patrons. The Campbells like many landed families in the nineteenth century were Presbyterians, but as often the case in this period, through army service, education or marriage in England, also espoused Anglicanism. Archibald Campbell (junior) was one, and associated himself with the nearest Episcopal Church – Holy Trinity, Paisley.⁵¹

Archibald Campbell's political significance was his major role as a prime mover in reviving the fortunes of the Conservative Party in Scotland. His contribution to Orangeism was not through any formal role in its leadership, but in being 'the key figure in cementing the relationship between the Order and that party,'⁵² thereby enabling Orangeism some measure of political clout for a period, as well as helping to deliver tens of thousands of working class votes for the Conservatives.

He soon became embroiled in the theological controversies in the Episcopal Church which had resulted in the English Episcopal schism in 1842. By 1856 he had left the Scottish Episcopal Church and was worshipping at St. Jude's. In that year he wrote a letter to the *Glasgow Herald*,⁵³ which Bishop Trower described as 'A Presbyterian Journal', criticising the bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Campbell had chaired a meeting of 'Clerical and Lay members of the United Church of England and Ireland in Scotland' at which

⁵⁰ George Eyre-Todd, *Who's Who In Glasgow* (Glasgow: Cowans and Gray Ltd., 1909), p. 21.

⁵¹ D. A. Lockhart, *Holy Trinity, Paisley 1833-1933* (Paisley: M. & J. Wotherspoon, 1933), p. 24.

⁵² Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, p. 86.

⁵³ *Glasgow Herald*, 12 November 1856.

various Resolutions were passed and published. In 1856 the evangelical Bishop of Jerusalem, Samuel Gobat had visited Scotland on a fund raising mission, but also confirmed candidates from English Episcopal Churches including St. Jude's.⁵⁴ Campbell also asserted that when the Scottish Bishops stated that they concurred with the doctrines of the Church of England 'that they were not to be trusted' and that any assent they gave to the *Thirty-Nine Articles* was not sincere.⁵⁵

In 1863 Campbell and others left St. Jude's, and in November of that year, a meeting was held under his chairmanship to inaugurate the new St. Silas's Church, of which he became one of its patrons and most generous benefactors. At this he was at pains to point out this 'had not arisen from any desire on their part either to break off from those they were formerly in the habit of worshipping with, or of courting opposition. They were anxious that it should not be considered in opposition to St. Jude's or any other church, as they hoped to be able to assist and co-operate with their Protestant brethren.'⁵⁶ When the new St. Silas was opened in 1864 its Constitution required 'that the order of worship be conducted in strict accordance with the Protestant and Evangelical standards of the Reformation as embodied in the *Thirty-Nine Articles* and the *English Book of Common Prayer*.'⁵⁷

Although not a member of the Orange Order at this time, Campbell began to court Orange support. He stood for Parliament in 1873 and was elected as MP for Renfrewshire. The constituency contained a number of localities where the Order was numerically strong, including Johnstone, Pollokshaws and Renfrew. At an election rally in Renfrew, the chairman of the meeting, the Rev. Mr. Gillan stated: 'that Colonel Campbell is an uncompromising enemy of Popery. He opposes every practice that has either emanated from or that leads to the Church of Rome.'⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalians*, p. 372.

⁵⁵ The Rt. Rev. Walter J. Trower, *A Remonstrance Addressed to Archibald Campbell, Esq.* (Glasgow: 1856), p. 10.

⁵⁶ *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, 26 November 1863.

⁵⁷ GCA, G. 283.41435, *A Short History of St. Silas's Church* (n.d.), typed mss.

⁵⁸ *P&RG*, 30 August 1873.

Campbell became a regular attender at the annual Orange and Protestant Soirees, especially in Paisley. He told an audience of about 1000 Orangemen and friends, 'it gives me great pleasure and I feel it indeed to be a very great honour, to be allowed to be associated with those who I feel to be so thoroughly in unison with the principles I have been taught and the principles which I trust I may have life and health to uphold in the country.'⁵⁹

He lost his seat the following year and was again unsuccessful in 1880. He then threw his energies into revitalising the Conservative Party in Glasgow and it was probably in this year that he joined the Orange Order.⁶⁰ Relations between the Order and the Party were finally institutionalised in 1893 when the Conservatives set up their Western Divisional Council. The Order was allocated an official place on this policy making body of the Conservative party. Campbell had been instrumental in effecting these important initiatives which he considered were essential if the Party and the Order were to realise their possibilities and growth in the future.⁶¹

Lord Blythswood, as he became in 1892, was also a prominent Freemason and from 1885 to 1889 was Grand Master Mason of Scotland. He could also have added to this, being Grand Master of the Orange Order. Marshall considers that it 'was perhaps regrettable for both the prestige and future development of the Orange Order that Lord Blythswood could not have been persuaded to adopt a higher profile or public role within the movement. 'There is little doubt that he could have had the position of Grand Master of Scotland if he had wanted it when Chalmers Paton died in 1889.'⁶²

Archibald Campbell died in 1908, the title of Lord Blythswood then going to his brother, the Rev. Sholto Douglas Campbell, who had been incumbent of St. Silas from 1886 to 1899.

⁵⁹ *P&RG*, 8 November 1873.

⁶⁰ Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, p. 86.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

If Blythwood was discreet about his Orangeism, the same could not be said for Harry Alfred Long. Long came to public prominence after his success in the Glasgow School Board Elections of 1873, but before that had been a popular orator well known among the working class Irish of Glasgow.

Long was born in Cambridge in 1826 but moved to Glasgow where he was educated at the Presbyterian, Free Church Normal Seminary. He returned to England where he was a teacher until invited back to Glasgow in 1860 by St. Jude's Episcopal Church to become a full time evangelist (Scripture Reader).⁶³ St. Jude's, opened in Blythwood Square in 1837 as a more evangelical alternative to St. Mary's, seceded from the Scottish Episcopal Church in 1844. Built 'originally for the poor', it soon became 'composed mainly of the upper classes.' In 1863 a number of its 'socially upwards' members separated to form St. Silas's Church; thus St. Jude's was at its peak when Long came. Long however decided to stay at St. Jude's, which by this time was reverting back to being the church for poorer evangelical Episcopalians. Meldrum notes 'the rise of unskilled working people at St. Jude's, where the upper middle-class level, according to parents represented in the *Baptismal Registers*, dropped to zero in 1869.'⁶⁴

Long became a populist orator at Glasgow Green, the city's 'Hyde Park Corner', engaging in debate with atheists, secularists and Roman Catholics. He was known as the 'Glasgow Green Faith Defender' in recognition of his strident and uncompromising views on 'religious error.'⁶⁵

Long's Mission had an educational, polemical and philanthropic side to its ministry. Sunday evening services were held in the old Shakespeare Singing Saloon during the winter, and in the summer months, open airs on Glasgow Green. By 1886 it had distributed two million books and tracts, many of them written by himself. This included 40,000 copies of the Gospels and 10,000 Bibles.

The Mission also arranged for over 2,000 people to find employment, gave hostel accommodation to 1000, and provided meals for the destitute, as well as providing medical attention and pensions for the poor.⁶⁶

⁶³ *The Bailie*, 24 February 1886.

⁶⁴ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalians*, p. 174.

⁶⁵ Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, p. 76.

Long came into the wider political arena in 1873 when he stood for the first Glasgow School Board Elections. Education had historically been in the hands of the churches, but with the passing of the Education Act in 1872, the Government effectively took control of the schools. This would be done at a local level by an elected School Board. The only real issue at large was what, if any religious instruction ought to be included in the curriculum. The various parties stood on the religious or secularist ticket and Harry Long, as an independent, but with strong religious views, topped the poll. Roxburgh maintains that he ‘owed his successful election to his labours among the under-privileged and the destitute. Completely unknown outside Bridgeton until the School Board Election ... it was from the Orange element that his chief support was derived.’ Long continued to be successful in subsequent elections up until 1900.⁶⁷

Long spent his final years lecturing both in Scotland and Australia where he died in 1905. He had chaired the meeting which saw the closure of St. Jude’s Church in 1891. *The Bailie*, though recognising that his words could sometimes be pointed, but said that he ‘had not left any sting behind them’ and spoke of his ‘manly, upright character, his hard work and the large amount of good he was effecting in the lowest areas of Glasgow life.’⁶⁸ Rosie, in comparing Long with a Presbyterian Orange chaplain, the Rev. Robert Thompson who also campaigned in the School Board elections, maintains that ‘Long epitomised the “respectable” side of Orangeism, immersing himself in practical philanthropy as well as campaigning against Popery. Long was, effectively, a socially concerned Conservative, and thus represented the “moderate” wing of the Order.’⁶⁹

Issues and Controversies

A consideration will now be given to how Orangemen reacted to the various issues which were disrupting the unity of the Scottish Episcopal Church in the period covered by this study. This will be noted in official stands as taken by the Grand Lodge and expressed by senior officers. But the views of individual members and clergy will also be expressed, which were at times at odd with, or acted to modify, the official line.

⁶⁶ *The Bailie*, 24 February 1886.

⁶⁷ J. M. Roxburgh, *The School Board of Glasgow 1873 - 1919* (Glasgow: University of London Press, 1971), pp. 17 - 18.

⁶⁸ *The Bailie*, 24 February 1886.

⁶⁹ Michael Rosie, ‘Protestant-Conservatism and Protestant-Populism: From Harry Long to the Home Rule Crisis.’ Paper given at Aberdeen University, Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies, 10 May 2003, p. 11.

The Orange Order in England viewed the ritualism of the Oxford Movement with some alarm. In common with Evangelicals and many old High Churchmen, it saw it as a movement to negate the Reformation and de-Protestantise the Church of England. It was 'Popery through the back door', firstly by introducing into the Anglican Church, ceremonies which were alien to its ethos of reformed worship, and secondly, being a vehicle for corporate re-union with the Church of Rome.⁷⁰

In 1855 the Grand Protestant Association of Loyal Orangemen of England⁷¹ stated in its official *Laws and Ordinances* that 'An Orangeman ... should co-operate with true Protestants in preventing or removing in and from the Established Church, all changes, ceremonies, practices, and ornaments savouring of, or resembling the Church of Rome ... that every clergyman proposed for admission or office, is entirely free from any tendency to the doctrines or practices of the Church of Rome ... also from any inclination to introduce any procession, decoration, ornament, utensil or dress, or any other act, practice, matter, article or thing whatsoever belonging to, characterizing, imitating, or resembling the Church of Rome ...'⁷²

The established Church of Scotland, being Presbyterian, was largely untouched by 'ritualism'⁷³ and so the issue was not so significant. Aiming at Episcopalians in the Scottish Order, however, the prohibitions above were added to the general qualifications for Scottish Orangemen, and the following Resolution was adopted in 1881: 'that ... every brother who is presently attending in any Ritualistic Church, because he is aiding and abetting the re-introduction of Popery, and thereby violating his obligation as an Orangemen, be *ipso facto* suspended for two years and until he give proof of true repentance.'⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Walter Walsh, *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement* (London: Swan Sonnenschen & Co., 1899), pp. 359 - 363.

⁷¹ Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, pp. 28 - 31. After the Duke of Cumberland, as Grand Master, dissolved the Loyal Orange Institution of Great Britain and Ireland in 1836, the movement continued under the new name of the Grand Protestant Confederation (later, Association) of Orangemen. In 1855 Scotland and England had separate 'Grand Protestant Associations' which acted as Grand Lodges, See Appendix 8, p. 182 in Marshall, *ibid*.

⁷² *Laws and Ordinances of the Grand Protestant Association of Loyal Orangemen of England*, July 1855, pp. 4-6.

⁷³ McFarland, *Protestants First*, pp. 131 - 132 deals with 'ritualism' in the Presbyterian churches, which was, relatively, of a very innocuous nature.

⁷⁴ *Minutes of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland*, June 1881, p. 10. A Note appended to the Resolution added that specimen of Ritualistic furniture and ornaments of churches included: 'The Twelve Apostles in the chancel, the Virgin Mary and Gabriel, two lighted candles, the figure of our saviour on the cross, a chancel screen with large cross on the top of it, and at Easter and other occasions, processions with crossbearers.'

Orangemen were involved in opposing ritualism, and the church case studies in chapters six to ten of this thesis, for Paisley, Springburn, Anderston and Irvine are examples of where they clashed with innovating clergy. Mr. R. T. N. Speir, Convenor of the Church's Home Mission Council wrote to Bishop Wilson, regarding the Springburn Mission, that 'The Orangemen were likely to use such influence there, that any Priest working in that place might find his usefulness and service hindered and thwarted unless he was willing to dilute his teaching down to the level of what is considered among Orangemen to be orthodox Protestantism.'⁷⁵

Hinting that Orange Episcopalians were little better than Presbyterians with regard to worship, a letter to *The Scottish Chronicle* complained 'that a Church service levelled to suit almost the requirements of the General Assembly would answer well enough to the views of the average Orangeman.'⁷⁶

It appeared however, that after a few years the Grand Lodge was relaxing its attitude towards ritualism, and an interesting loophole was created which, while stating that membership of a ritualistic church was still inconsistent with being a true Orangeman, added, 'but brethren might visit a ritualistic church.'⁷⁷

This interpretation hinted that not all Orangemen felt as strongly about ritualism as others did. An account of St. Mungo's Church, Alexandria⁷⁸ states that the Priest-in-Charge from 1889 to 1893, the Rev. Walter Hildesley 'was a man of High Church principle, celebrating the eucharist daily in his own home. He used the Scottish Liturgy from the beginning of the Mission', and then adds, surprisingly, 'Yet despite his High Church leanings he was also Master of the local Orange Lodge.'⁷⁹

In 1908, Orange Order member and rector of Coatbridge, the Rev. John M. Johnstone told his Sunday evening congregation at Gartcosh that 'Irishmen coming to Scotland for the first time found differences

⁷⁵ DGGGA, TD 1382/173/11, R. T. N. Speir to Bishop Wilson, Christmas 1878.

⁷⁶ *SC*, 12 October 1906.

⁷⁷ *Minutes of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland*, June 1886. This answer came in response to a letter from Paisley District LOL 6.

⁷⁸ For Alexandria, see chapter eight of this thesis.

⁷⁹ 'History of St. Mungo's Episcopal Church, Alexandria, Dunbartonshire' Available from: <http://dSPACE.dial.pipex.com/town/plaza/aaj50/hist.htm> (18 October 2006).

between their accustomed services and those of the Scottish Church, which were apt to prove stumbling-blocks if they did not look below the mere externals to the heart of things. For example, they found that the Churches of the two countries differed in shape; the robes of the clergy were sometimes different, also the decorations of the chancel. But these were really not matters of vital importance.’⁸⁰

The Scottish Chronicle in 1923, perhaps in an attempt to show that ritualism need not be inconsistent with Orangeism, wrote an appreciation of Mr Robert Milligan who was leaving Coatbridge ‘to retire to his native Irish home.’ It supplied Mr Milligan’s impeccable Orange credentials as a ‘staunch supporter of the Orange Order, being Master of Coatbridge District as well as his lodge, being a Depute Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, a founder of the Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland Friendly Society and a member of the Royal Black Preceptory.’ It lauded his personal Christian virtues, ‘all who knew him found in him a sympathetic friend and adviser. A keen, well-instructed Churchman, and a devout communicant, he has served the Church also for some forty years as Lay Representative, Secretary to the Vestry and prime mover in everything connected with the welfare of this part of the Master’s Kingdom.’ Then came the crunch: ‘Yet deeper and broader than this “Orange” tint goes his good works and a great many of a “Lemon” hue count him amongst their friends. He is a Catholic in the best and truest sense of the word, a warm supporter of the Anglo-Catholic movement, and a member of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament.’⁸¹ Milligan died six years later, and *The Scottish Chronicle*’s writer ‘can well remember the amazement of a visiting priest at seeing a real live Orangeman sniffing up incense at C.B.S. Vespers.’⁸²

Hildsley, Johnstone, Milligan and, no doubt others, may not have been typical Orangeman, but they did exist, and were not disciplined by the Order for their ritualism. In fact, there is no record of any member being suspended under the Resolution introduced in 1881.⁸³ The vast majority of Orangemen were staunchly ‘Low Church’ and eschewed any moves towards the ritualism of the Tractarians, but there were some who defied the stereotype. *The Scottish Guardian* printed a letter from a Belfast Orangeman to say that he had become an

⁸⁰ *SC*, 15 May 1908.

⁸¹ *SC*, 7 September 1923.

⁸² *SC*, 24 May 1929.

⁸³ No instances of suspensions have been found, and Mr. David Bryce, a former Grand Secretary has confirmed that the rule was never effective and soon fell into abeyance.

ardent ritualist and saw no conflict between Orangeism and 'High Churchism.' His contention was that Orange Lodge meetings were themselves highly ritualistic. He referred to the different colours, the bowing, and the whole sense of Masonic-type esoteric mystery which he found appealing both in his lodge and church.⁸⁴

For most of the nineteenth century, the liturgy used in the majority of churches in the Diocese was the 'English Office' or the *Book of Common Prayer*, finalised in 1662. It was favoured in the two southern dioceses of Glasgow and Galloway and Edinburgh; the northern dioceses retaining an affection for the older *Scottish Liturgy*. The *English Prayer Book of 1662* was considered more Protestant, and would have been most familiar to the Irish migrants. Its gradual replacement of the *Scottish Liturgy*, was seen by some as a triumph for the Protestant emphasis. However, by the twentieth century, the revived *Scottish Office* was coming into use again. It gradually replaced the *English Office*, and its final victory was the publication in 1929 of *The Scottish Book of Common Prayer*. William Perry hailed this as being 'catholic first and foremost... its liturgy can be traced back through the non-jurors of the eighteenth century.'⁸⁵ The new Prayer Book drew from the earlier *Scottish Liturgy* in the inclusion of its Communion Service. It also used material from the Church of England's 'deposited' *Prayer Book* of 1927. Perry again wrote, 'The *English Prayer Book* of 1927 which, it will be remembered, was first published in 1927, exercised more direct influence than any other liturgical work upon our *Scottish book*.'⁸⁶

The revised English Prayer Book, later known as 'the Deposited Prayer Book', which was a revision in a more Catholic direction, was agreed upon by the Church of England's National Assembly in 1927. However, Protestant opposition to it was organised effectively, especially in the House of Commons.

The Orange Order in Scotland, along with their Irish and English counterparts had opposed the Deposited Prayer Book. The Scottish, Grand Master, Lieut-Col. Sir A. D. MacInness Shaw, who was Member of Parliament for West Renfrewshire said on 10 December 1927, that 'Next week, in the House of Commons,

⁸⁴ *SC*, 7 September 1923.

⁸⁵ William Perry, *The Scottish Prayer Book: Its Value and History* (Cambridge: University Press, 1929), p. 16.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

they would find a proposed alteration of the *Common Prayer Book* of their country, and he thought they would further find that all loyal and true believers in their faith would be united to overthrow the machinations of the Anglo-Catholics, who were merely a disguised Church of Rome. As their Grand Master, it had been his pleasing duty during the last three weeks to do all he could to whip up members to go into the division lobby to defeat that Bill.⁸⁷

The Bill was defeated five days later when the House of Commons rejected it by 238 votes to 205. The Prayer Book was amended to suit Protestant sensitivities, but apparently not sufficiently enough, for it was defeated again in June 1928, this time, by an even larger majority of 266 to 220.⁸⁸

The Scottish Church had witnessed the defeat of the Bill with unhappiness, and in July 1928 *The Scottish Chronicle* lambasted the Order for its impudence in getting involved in the Prayer Book controversy: ‘Take for example, the celebrations at Kirkintilloch last Saturday. Some thirty thousand Orangemen pass a resolution of gratitude to M.P’s for the services rendered in defeating in the House of Commons a Prayer Book measure “by means of which it was sought to reintroduce into the National Church of England errors and doctrines repugnant to the Protestant people” This is the usual destructive, dog-in-the-manger policy of the Order. Nineteen-twentieths at least of the 30,000 could not name “the errors and doctrines repugnant.” The other one-twentieth would probably say “Reservation,” quite oblivious to the fact that they ... as we know from personal experience – have been most grateful for the blessing of the Reserved Sacrament in their homes.’⁸⁹

Scottish, English or Reformed Episcopal?

From the 1840s to the 1920s there had been in fact three Episcopal bodies each claiming to be the one to which Irish Protestants and Orangemen should align themselves. The Scottish Episcopal Church was of course the largest of these and emphasised the fact that it alone was in full communion with the Church of

⁸⁷ *Report of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland*, 10 December 1927, p. 9.

⁸⁸ Bernard Palmer, *Gadfly for God: A History of the Church Times* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991), pp. 163-164.

⁸⁹ *SC*, 13 July 1928.

Ireland, therefore the natural spiritual home for Irish Episcopalians. Its claim on Orangemen was ironically to their sense of catholicity and loyalty to the Anglican Communion.⁹⁰

The English Episcopal Church was formed out of the churches which had seceded after the 'Drummond schism' of 1842, and in Glasgow it had three churches: St. Jude's, St. Silas's and St. Silas's Mission in Partick. Its appeal to Orangemen would have been theological: that it had separated on the grounds of wishing to maintain pure Protestantism and was opposed to ritualism and sacerdotalism.⁹¹ Its duration as a separatist group lasted barely forty years. By the 1870's St. Jude's had 'veered back towards the Scottish Episcopal Church with candidates being confirmed at St. Mary's.'⁹²

The Reformed Episcopal Church⁹³ had taken the place of the English Episcopal Church and with four churches in working class areas, it seemed made just for the Orange Irish, and, 'if as usually happens, the minister is an Orangeman they need no further proof of its genuineness.'⁹⁴

Appendix 4:5 identifies thirty one Episcopalian clergy who were members of the Orange Order at this period. They were divided between the three groups as follows: five were ministers in the Reformed Episcopal, nine were in the English Episcopal, but the greatest number, seventeen, were in the Scottish Episcopal Church, and with the exception of Joseph Rice⁹⁵, none had seceded.

The English Episcopal Churches in Glasgow, though numerically fewer had a higher proportion of Orange clergymen. But the only clergy who were Orangemen were the Curates in charge of St. Silas's Mission, Partick. By contrast, none of the incumbents of St. Silas's were identified as Orangemen. This would reflect entirely the social make up of these three churches, showing that Protestant Evangelicalism on its own, especially in the context of a middle class congregation, would not have appealed to Orangemen.

⁹⁰ SC, 19 March 1909, quoting a sermon at St. Mary's Cathedral, Glasgow, by the Bishop of Down and Connor.

⁹¹ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalians*, p. 411.

⁹² White, *The Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 78.

⁹³ For the Reformed Episcopal Church see chapter three of this thesis.

⁹⁴ SC, 21 January 1910.

⁹⁵ For Joseph Rice see chapter six of this thesis, on Springburn.

St. Jude's, especially after the 1860s, would have been a staunchly Orange church given its clergy, the strong personality of Harry Alfred Long and the social background of its congregation. The Grand Lodge minute of 8th June 1888 read, 'Permission granted to the Orange brethren of Glasgow to attend Divine Service in St. Jude's Episcopal Church in full regalia on Sunday 1st July at 6.30pm.'⁹⁶ In the years before to its closure *The Christian Leader* reported, 'The Rev. W. Eccles Hodgkinson has been most successful during his short pastorate, and the large congregation drawn about him, with its varied Christian activity seemed to promise to St. Jude's a return of its former prosperity.'⁹⁷ St. Jude's still had plenty of members – but they were poor and unable to pay back the crippling financial debts. In 1893 the building was rented to a fervently anti-Catholic Highland group, the Free Presbyterian Church which then bought it in 1909.⁹⁸

The relics of St. Jude's congregation divided themselves between various chapels of the Scottish Episcopal Church.⁹⁹ One particular group of them formed St. Barnabas's in Bath Crescent which lasted until 1902. An Orange Lodge met in St. Barnabas's Church during this period.¹⁰⁰

Given the strength of Orangeism in Glasgow at this period, and the large numbers who were Episcopalians, it seems strange that the English Episcopal Church had no more than three churches, despite their possible attraction to Orangemen and their families.

Orangeism and Evangelicalism

A consideration will now be given as to how attractive Evangelicalism was to Orangemen. Of the seventeen Scottish Episcopal clergy listed, only one, James McCann is identified as an Evangelical in Meldrum's study on *Evangelicals in the Scottish Episcopal Church in the Nineteenth Century*.¹⁰¹ One of Meldrum's criteria for

⁹⁶ *Report of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland*, 8 June 1888.

⁹⁷ *P&RG*, 11 July 1891.

⁹⁸ White, *The Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 78.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁰⁰ *Report of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland*, June 1897: 'Anderston District No. 41, LOL 313 meeting in St. Barnabas's Church Hall, off Elmbank Street.'

¹⁰¹ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalians*, p. 10.

establishing such is an examination of printed sermons, but the Orange clergy seem to have left few, apart from speeches.

The Irish in Scotland had a reputation for drunkenness and general hedonism, which would have been reflected both in Orangeism as well as Roman Catholicism. This is not to suggest that there were no total abstainers among the Orangemen. There is evidence that many were, many temperance lodges being formed after the 1870s.

There is also the general finding that unskilled workers and the poor were not often in church anyway,¹⁰² and as Meldrum points out ‘the strict views of Evangelicals on drunkenness and sexual morality possibly alienated some of the unskilled working class.’¹⁰³ She also maintains that ‘Evangelical men ... were encouraged to be less hearty and aggressive than the traditional male.’¹⁰⁴ It is possible that while the Orangeman would be attracted by the Protestantism of Evangelicalism, its middle class ethos and cultural taboos would have alienated many of them. Many Evangelicals as well as middle-class Episcopalians would have distanced themselves from the Orangemen even on class grounds, considering them to be ‘the rougher sort.’ It is therefore too simplistic to equate ‘Low Churchism’ with Evangelicalism.

The Reformed Episcopal Church in Glasgow, of which little material has been found, never amounted to more than four churches and probably did not last more than a decade or two.¹⁰⁵

Orangeism: Some perceptions and experiences

Orangemen saw themselves purely as a law abiding and religious order to promote Protestantism and defend civil and religious liberty, but this was not always how they were perceived by others in the Church.

¹⁰² Drummond and Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843 - 1874*, p. 40.

¹⁰³ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalians*, p. 174.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹⁰⁵ Holy Trinity Church, Keppochhill, Springburn was the last of their churches, which closed in the 1960s.

Most of the attacks came from the editors of the various Church newspapers, all of whom were either clergy or laymen from the east and north. Yet surprisingly, in the fifty-six years between 1875 and 1931 there were only five such articles. Of these articles, the first three being re-prints from other periodicals. It was only towards the end of the 1920s and early 1930s that Scottish editors voiced their own personal criticisms.

The first was in 1875 when the *Church News: Scotland* quoted an English Presbyterian minister's denunciation of the Order, 'Dr Macleod on Orangeism.' Macleod's criticism was of the Liverpool Orangemen, but it was felt this would also apply to Scotland. Macleod drew attention to the physical conflicts with Roman Catholics which Orange parades provoked and argued that its only effect on public social life was one of disruption and 'therein constitutes the wickedness of Orangeism.' For Macleod, a Liberal, the religious side of Orangeism was a mere pretence, its real objective being political and to 'record a Tory vote.'¹⁰⁶

The Scottish Guardian five years later reprinted an article from the London *Pall Mall Gazette* which lampooned what in its view was a typical Orangemen: "'William McGettigan" ...feels that in doing all that in him lies to obstruct the religious practices of Popery and otherwise make the lives of the Papishers a burden to them, he is simply doing his duty as a good citizen. ... "McGettigan" is for eleven months of the year, a reasonable enough man, but for four weeks of the year (from mid June to mid July) he becomes quite mad ... during which time a Sister of Mercy with a cup of water in the desert would be an unwelcome sight ... The weak point in the parade is the musical side – if such a term can be applied to the two fifes and fifteen large drums that form the village band.'¹³⁶

On that slightly humorous note, Orangeism was left alone for the next forty four years until 1924 when *The Scottish Chronicle* quoting from a Canadian magazine, *Spectator* produced an article on 'The Weakness of Orangeism.' This article displays an ambivalence towards Orangeism in saying that on the one hand 'we cannot claim to have any interest in, or sympathy with the movement,' yet on the other, 'This Orange Order is a great Protestant organisation and is intended to be a strong stay and defence in the ever onward and tireless growth of the Church of Rome. It has played its part with considerable success in its way, and for its services

¹⁰⁶ *The Church News: Scotland*, 15 January 1875.

many will have expressed their hearty appreciation.’ The chief weakness of Orangeism, however, was that its reliance on physical power and force of numbers made it less reliant on prayer and the spiritual forces of public worship and private instruction in the revelation of God. ‘In other words’ the article concluded, ‘Orangeism and the Church of Christ, might perhaps differ in form, but they ought to be identical in purpose.’¹⁰⁷

By 1928, however, *The Scottish Guardian* had taken a strongly anti-Orange stance. The basis of this was firstly a rekindling its past Jacobite loyalties. The Scottish people, it claimed, still had a ‘a very living spark of love for the Stuarts. Their very failure even nourishes this love. So Scotland remembers that after William’s victory, the Scottish Church, because of its unswerving loyalty to the avowed king, was disestablished and disendowed and cast into the wilderness.’ So much, it lamented for William’s religion and William’s ‘Protestantism.’ As far as this editorial was concerned, ‘The Orange Order has degenerated into a political club, tacked on to the Conservative party.’ While appreciating that some Orangemen ‘have been a credit as citizens and Christians, and have contributed their many talents to the national life and well-being of the country’, it castigated ‘those fanatical Orangemen who are of no constructive value to Scotland.’ The article while admitting that the Order was based on a religious foundation condemned ‘the large percentage of them’ who only go to Church once a year – at the annual Church parade.’¹⁰⁸

The Scottish Episcopal Church’s experience of Orangemen, however was not entirely negative. The Rev. Charles Hyde Brooke who could at times be frustrated with them, could at other times be appreciative. While ministering at Jordanhill he found the Orangemen there ‘gradually adopted my views.’ Writing to Bishop Wilson, he advises that ‘patience, kindness and generosity towards them could make them supportive and that Once gained, [*he underlines*] this Orange element is a tower of strength.’¹⁰⁹

In 1906, following some letters in *The Scottish Chronicle* critical of Orangeism, Robert Young (not himself a member) contributed a letter of ‘Protest on behalf of the Orangemen.’ He wrote glowingly that ‘William of Orange, of glorious and immortal memory, is as much entitled to be canonised as many of the Black Letter

¹⁰⁷ SC, 1 August 1924.

¹⁰⁸ SC, 13 July 1928.

¹⁰⁹ DGGGA, TD 1382/147/12, the Rev. Charles Hyde Brooke to Bishop Wilson, 18 August 1879.

Saints in our calendar. To him we in a great measure owe our civil and religious liberties by the overthrow once and for all of Papistical tyranny.’ Mr Young continued, ‘In this our Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway we have thousands of Irish Churchmen, who are members of that body called Orangemen ... It has been my lot to work in harmony with Orangemen for over twenty-one years, and I am proud to say that if it was not for these Orangemen, who are so much looked down upon by a certain type of Churchman, that that mission church of St. Martin’s, Polmadie, in the south-east end of Glasgow, would not have been built. During the 21 years mentioned, the following clergymen connected with the charge can testify to the zeal and loyal Churchmanship of the followers of Prince William of Orange.’¹¹⁰

Within a few years, a gesture was made towards the Orangemen from a surprising quarter. The Very Rev. Frederick L. Deane, Provost of St. Mary’s Cathedral, was aware of the Cathedral’s pastoral role towards the many thousands of Irish and Orangemen in the several Missions and Churches which had sprung from St. Mary’s,¹¹¹ and in 1913 sent an invitation to the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland to hold a parade and a service at St. Mary’s Cathedral. A Minute from the Grand Lodge Committee read, ‘An invitation to attend St. Mary’s Cathedral was given by the Rev. Mr Deane, Provost of the Cathedral ... when the sermon would be preached by the Very Rev. the Dean of Derry. Mr Deane has kindly consented to leave all the arrangements, collection and everything in our hands.’¹¹²

Conclusion

The Episcopal Church had voiced its concern for most of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth centuries that it had failed to bring within the sphere of its pastoral influence and worshipping communities, the vast majority of Irish Episcopalians, and that would have included a proportion of its Orange families.

The Orange Order was suspicious and even hostile to certain ritualistic practices which they believed were a betrayal of scriptural Protestantism and an imitation of Romanism. Therefore on principle, many Orangemen would have been perceived as a hindrance and nuisance by those clergy who wished to implement such.

¹¹⁰ SC, 21 September 1906.

¹¹¹ For St. Mary’s Mission Churches, see chapter six of this thesis on Glasgow: North.

¹¹² *Minute of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, Committee*, 1 November 1913.

There is no doubt that the belligerent among the Orangemen would have been a contentious element in Missions, and there are examples of work being thwarted as a result. It is also apparent that the Church at times displayed an insensitivity in placing clergy among them whose practices would antagonise them.¹¹³

As for the Orange clergy, they would have constituted a very small group within the Church, but the significance is that they were there. None of them appeared to have been involved in any controversies, nor were any involved in anti-Catholic societies like the Scottish Reformation Society or the Glasgow Protestant Association. Their ministries seem to have been marked by a strong pastoral concern and all of them had fairly substantial sized congregations. Appreciative remarks were included about them in the church press either on the occasion of their death or moving to new spheres of service. But none of them appeared to have held major leadership roles within the Order nor wielded any great influence outside their immediate circle. Their anti-Catholicism would not have appeared so strange for their times, as even Bishop Trower in 1856 was happy to decry the 'Romish error of transubstantiation' and 'the false pretensions of the Church of Rome.'¹¹⁴

In the main they would have been considered on the 'moderate' wing of the Orange Order and sought to conciliate their people with the Scottish Church. *The Scottish Guardian* wrote in 1901, 'Our experience of the clergy who have crossed over from the sister country of Ireland ... is that they are too full of sympathy with all that concerns the work and conditions of the Church in Scotland to seek to do or say anything that would interfere with the harmony which has always happily prevailed between the clergy of the two countries.'¹¹⁵ But perhaps given the fact that so many of their people were drifting from the Church, which at times appeared unsympathetic, the silence of the Orange clergy may have amounted to an acquiescence, which may have resulted from personal timidity or a feeling that patience was running out with Orangeism in the Scottish Episcopal Church.

¹¹³ An example of this was seen in Dundee when Bishop Alexander Forbes appointed William Humphreys to St. Mary Magdalene's in 1867 even after he had told Forbes he was thinking of converting to Roman Catholicism. St. Mary Magdalene's was probably the most Orange church in the Brechin Diocese and Humphrey's appointment there split the church in 1868. Humphreys did in fact convert in 1868 and became a Jesuit in 1896. See Humphreys, *Scottish Episcopalianism*, p. 35.

¹¹⁴ Bishop Trower, *A Remonstrance to Archibald Campbell*, p. 14.

¹¹⁵ *SG*, 13 September 1901.

Yet as this chapter has demonstrated, many Orangemen both clergy and lay, were zealous Churchmen, faithful in their attendance at worship and received the highest accolades from their peers as to their faith, support and loyalty to the Church. As the Rev. Charles Hyde Brooke wrote, ‘they will either kill you or die for you.’¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ DGGA, TD 1382/147/12, the Rev. Charles Hyde Brooke to Bishop Wilson, 18 August 1879.

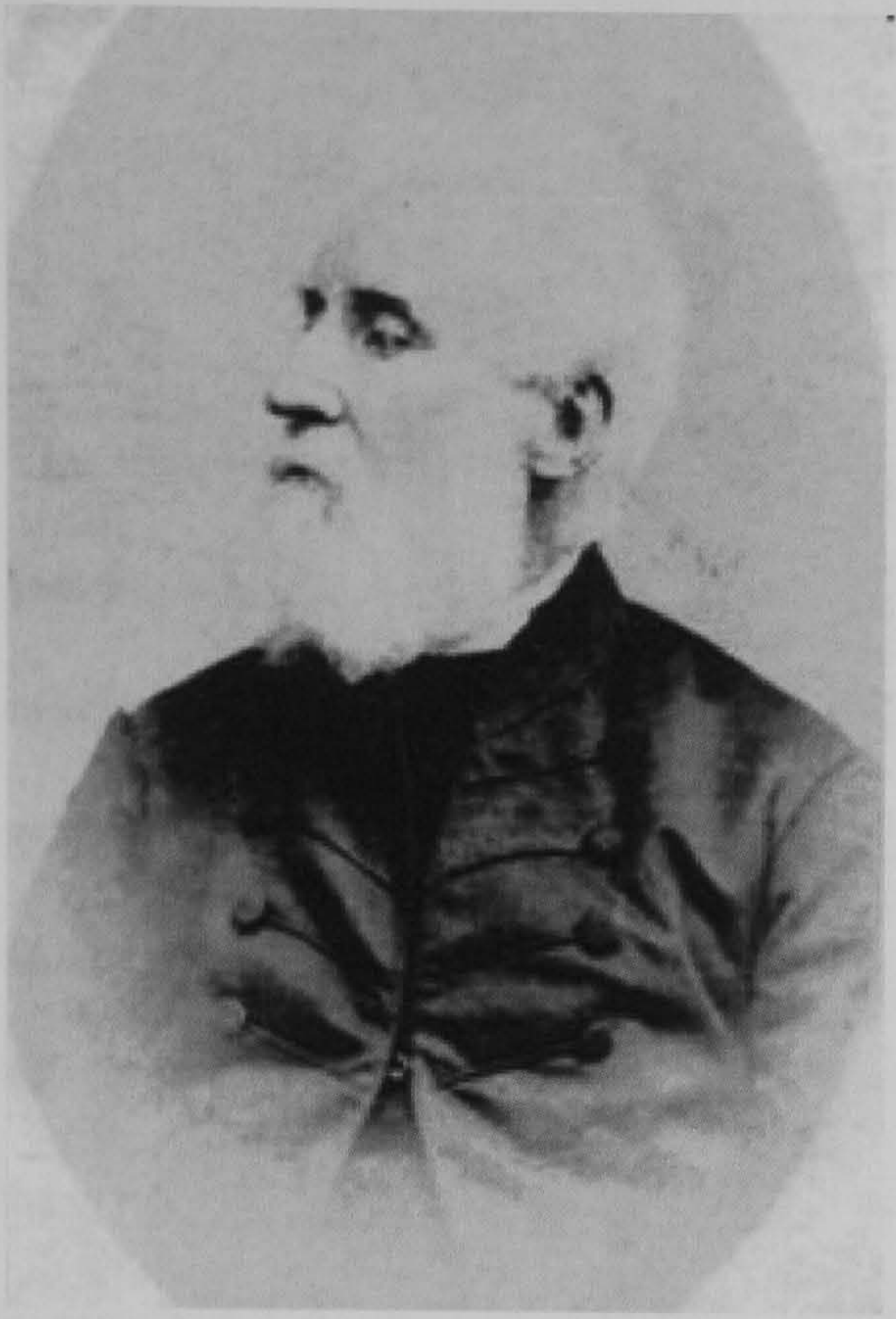


Plate 4:1
Very Rev Robert J. Macgeorge



Plate 4:2
Rev William H. Winter



Plate 4:3
Archibald Campbell (Lord Blythswood)



Plate 4:4
Harry Alfred Long

Chapter Five

‘The most missionary diocese in Europe’

This chapter will trace the numerical growth of the Scottish Episcopal Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway, seeking to understand why, from containing the least number of Episcopalians at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it contained more Episcopalians than any other diocese by the end of that century. That growth was primarily through the economic migration of Episcopalians from England, and more especially, from Ireland, and the response of the Church will be seen towards its new adherents in mission, the provision of worship and pastoral care. The total number of the Episcopalian community will be ascertained, both those who belonged to the worshipping life of congregations, as well as those whose church adherence was less committed, but who were still regarded as Episcopalians both by themselves and by the Church. In particular, the size of the Irish Episcopalian constituency will be estimated, as an indication of how their numbers created a major focus of mission.

This brief history of the diocese will be examined under the headings, in chronological order, of the first six bishops whose episcopates correspond with the time-scale of this thesis. Their attitudes towards the Irish will be noted in the context of their response to them through home missions.

There will be an examination of the various instruments of home mission strategy such as schools, missions, and general work among the poor. Although the diocese will be considered generally, as it extended from Dunbartonshire in the north to Dumfriesshire in the south, particular attention will be paid to the city of Glasgow, which contained the majority of the Church’s members and adherents, yet also contained a large number who were estranged from the Church, which became known as ‘The Glasgow problem.’

Of all the dioceses in the Scottish Episcopal Church, Glasgow and Galloway was to suffer most from the triumph of Presbyterianism over Episcopalianism in 1689. Lawson wrote, ‘Elsewhere ... a few remnants of the Church survived the catastrophe of the Revolution ... But in Glasgow and Galloway we were violently

and absolutely annihilated root and branch.’¹ In 1901, Bishop Harrison said, ‘The Episcopal Church in the West of Scotland seems to have been almost entirely wiped out. I can never find a West of Scotland man who is a hereditary Episcopalian. The Church seems to have been wiped away just as a man wipes a dish and turns it upside down.’²

Two of the earlier churches, Ayr and Dumfries became ‘qualified’ under the Act of Toleration and thus seceded from the Church, while a new one, St. Andrew’s by the Green in Glasgow, joined them in 1750.³ Of the earlier Non-Juring tradition, little remained except a few scraps of information to suggest that a congregation, which was eventually to become St. Mary’s, met intermittently in Glasgow and away from public gaze during the eighteenth century.

The nineteenth century opened, therefore, with just four Episcopal churches in the west of Scotland, and with probably around 400 Episcopalians in the area. By 1923, towards the end of the period covered by this study there were almost 110,000 Episcopalians living in the diocese, which by then was the largest in Scotland, containing one third of the whole Church’s membership.⁴

¹ John P. Lawson, *The History of the Scottish Episcopal Church* (Edinburgh: Gallie and Bayley, 1843), pp. 63 - 69 quoted in G. T. S. Farquhar (ed.), *Archibald Ian Campbell: Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway* (Edinburgh: Scottish Chronicle Press, 1924), p. 86.

² *SG*, 10 October 1901 reporting Harrison’s speech at the Representative Church Council, October 1901.

³ For the ‘qualified chapels’ see chapter three of this thesis. Dumfries rejoined the Church in 1812 and Ayr in 1832.

⁴ *SC*, 15 February 1907 claiming there were 400 Episcopalians in the area in 1800. The figure of 110,000 was the estimated number of Episcopalians, the actual membership was smaller at 55,000.

Table 5:1

Scottish Episcopal Church: Growth in number of churches, 1840 – 1900

| Diocese | 1840 | 1884 | 1900 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|
| Moray, Ross, & Caithness | 12 | 31 | 30 |
| Aberdeen & Orkney | 20 | 48 | 57 |
| Brechin | 9 | 28 | 33 |
| St. Andrews, Dunkeld & Dunblane | 14 | 37 | 61 |
| Edinburgh | 14 | 47 | 67 |
| Glasgow & Galloway | 8 | 62 | 73 |
| Argyll & The Isles | 4 | 29 | 34 |
| Total | 81 | 282 | 355 |

Source: *SEC Journal* May 1851; *Scottish Church & University Almanac* 1884; *SEC Year Book* 1900

The Growth of Glasgow

The beginning of the nineteenth century saw the Episcopal Church in the west almost having to start from scratch. With very few hereditary Scottish Episcopalians, its growth came from outside Scotland. It was becoming fashionable for young middle and upper-class Scottish Presbyterians to convert to Anglicanism, through being educated in England, but these would only have accounted for a small though significant group in terms of providing leadership and finances for the embryonic churches.⁵ The main numerical growth came from the many economic migrants from the working classes who were being drawn to Glasgow from the Highlands of Scotland, from England and from Ireland. Between 1831 and 1881 the city's population quadrupled to three quarters of a million, outstripping Liverpool and Birmingham, and making it 'the second city of the Empire.'⁶

Glasgow's industries in the 1820s were dominated by cotton; chemicals including soap; the food industries, glass and ceramics, metals, mining and engineering. The labour supply was constantly augmented by immigration. The beginning of the transformation of Glasgow's industrial structure was apparent by 1830, but the process led by engineering and shipbuilding was most rapid after 1850. The city which in 1800 had no shipbuilding firms, had twenty-two listed in 1864. Shipbuilding on the Clyde acted as a stimulus to many other industries and firms, and as new sources of demand arose, foundries and engineering works responded.

⁵ Young converts to Anglicanism in the diocese would have included William Thompson (Lord Kelvin), Archibald Campbell (Lord Blythswood), the Montgomery family of Ayrshire (Lord Eglinton), and the Bine-Renshaws at Johnstone, all from Presbyterian families.

⁶ Nicholas Morgan, 'Building the City,' W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver (eds.), *Glasgow: Volume 2 1830 - 1912* (Manchester: University Press, 1996), p. 10.



The demand from these increased the need for coal and ironstone which was mined in the west at Jordanhill and Knightswood, and in the south at Govan

Fraser summarises the downside of Glasgow's growth and prosperity, the environment which provided the context for much of the pastoral care and mission for the city's clergy: 'For many, the price paid for over-rapid urban growth and industrial change was a heavy one. By any measure, the levels of social deprivation which were generated were as bad, and often worse, than in any comparable British city. The economic growth of Glasgow was made possible by the relatively low wages paid to its workers ... Epidemic diseases again and again cut swathes through the poorest of the city's population from the 1820s until the 1870s ... ill health was the cost of badly built, badly designed, overcrowded housing and of largely unregulated working conditions ... the image of the city was being tarnished by the regular revelations that its slums were the worst in Europe.'⁷

The Irish in Glasgow

The Irish arrived in their largest numbers at a time when Scotland was about to experience the Industrial Revolution, from the 1820s to the 1850s. The success of that Revolution, depended on labour on a scale that Scots themselves, by virtue of their numbers, could not provide. The fact that the Industrial Revolution did gather pace in Scotland, and that Glasgow was to become the workshop of the Empire, was in no small measure due to that huge reservoir of labour which arrived from Ireland.

Table 5:2

Percentage of the population of Glasgow by place of birth, 1851 - 1901

| Where born | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Scotland | 78.75 | 81.00 | 81.91 | 82.83 | 85.24 | 85.72 |
| England | 2.45 | 2.60 | 2.99 | 3.07 | 3.58 | 3.62 |
| Ireland | 18.17 | 15.70 | 14.32 | 13.12 | 10.04 | 8.88 |
| Wales | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.07 |

Source: R.A. Cage (ed.), *The Working Class in Glasgow*, 1987 p. 18 Computed from Census data.

⁷ W. Hamish Fraser, 'Let Glasgow Flourish' in W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver (eds.), *Glasgow: Volume 2 1830 - 1912* (Manchester: University Press, 1996), pp. 4 - 6.

In 1819, the Glasgow statistician James Cleland, gave the number of Irish in the city as 15,208 of whom 8,245 were Catholics. In 1831 he calculated the total number of Irish as 35,554 of whom 19,333 were Catholics,⁸ accounting for 54 per cent of the Irish during these decades.

That same year, Cleland estimated that there were 8,551 Episcopalians in the city of Glasgow,⁹ and as subsequent evidence would suggest, most of these were Irish. In 1836 the Episcopal minister the Rev. David Aitchison, who ministered to a mainly Irish congregation to the east of the city, estimated that the total number of Episcopalians in Glasgow was around 7,000, 'consisting chiefly of Irish emigrants.'¹⁰

With churches having been founded for the Irish in Paisley (1817), Greenock (1824) and indications that there were hundreds of Episcopalians in Ayrshire, and as the Church's work in this area came under the Edinburgh diocese, it was appropriate to revive the former dioceses of Glasgow and Galloway.

The Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway

The Scottish diocesan structure, which divided the country into ecclesiastical areas for administrative purposes, was not formalised until the twelfth century under King Alexander I. They were, until 1472 under the Province of York. The area which would later become known as the Diocese of Galloway was the scene of the labours of St. Ninian, who founded a church at Whithorn around 397AD. The Diocese of Glasgow was founded on the missionary work of St. Kentigern (or Mungo) around 550AD.¹¹

In 1560 the reformed Church in Scotland inherited the thirteen dioceses as established by medieval Catholicism. In 1561 this was reduced to ten, each to be overseen by a Superintendent, which in some cases was the former Bishop.¹² The entire structure of the old regime remained intact: all the existing clergy, from bishops downwards, continued to draw their revenues, subject in most cases to the deduction of one third,

⁸ Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, pp. 54 - 55.

⁹ James Cleland, *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow and County of Lanark, 1831* (Glasgow: Office of Public Works, 1831), p. 30.

¹⁰ *SG*, 23 September 1932, quoting Bishop Walker's letter to the S. P. C. K. read at the Diocesan Synod in 1836.

¹¹ Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland*, pp. 64 - 70. Scotland became independent from York in 1472 and St. Andrews was made an archbishopric.

¹² Gordon Donaldson, *Reformed by Bishops* (Edinburgh: Edina Press, 1987), p. x.

which was collected partly to augment the revenues of the crown and partly to pay stipends to the men who were to provide reformed services in the parishes.¹³

For the next hundred and thirty years the diocesan structure was retained or dismissed as the office of bishop was subject to the fluctuations of the civil and ecclesiastical politics of the following century. In 1483 Glasgow became an arch-diocese, and from 1571, saw a succession of Protestant Archbishops of Glasgow until John Paterson was deposed in 1689. The diocese was later held in a titular sense by Alexander Duncan from 1731 to 1733, and from 1787 was held under the Bishop of Edinburgh. The Diocese of Galloway had a similar history, its last Bishop, John Gordon holding it until 1689; thereafter it too became part of Edinburgh.¹⁴

Luscombe, in surveying the progress of the Scottish Episcopal Church in the nineteenth century, notes that 'it was an age of expansion. Perhaps the most dramatic illustration of this was in the Diocese of Glasgow.'¹⁵

With tens of thousands of Episcopalians in the West of Scotland by 1837, Bishop Walker of Edinburgh oversaw the division of the diocese in order to create a new one. The two dioceses of Glasgow and Galloway were revived in 1837 and united under the reconstructed Scottish Episcopal Church.

Michael Russell 1837- 1848

'Michael Russell, Dean of Edinburgh and Minister of St. James Episcopal Church, Leith was appointed as first bishop of the new diocese.'¹⁶ A somewhat anomalous situation was created in that Russell continued his ministry at Leith, while at the same time administering the new diocese in the West. His episcopate lasted eleven years, from 1837 to 1848, during which ten new congregations were established. (Appendix 5:3)

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

¹⁴ *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, p. 925.

Bertie, *Clergy of the Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 52: 'John Gordon followed James II to Ireland and later became a Roman Catholic.'

¹⁵ Luscombe, *The Scottish Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century*, p. 6.

¹⁶ DGGA, TD 1382/2152, *Glasgow and Galloway Diocesan Synod Minute Book*, 30 August 1837.

At its commencement in 1837, it was estimated that there were around 10,000 Episcopalians in the diocese, yet only 426 of these were formally involved in congregational life.¹⁷ Despite this obvious mission field, there is no mention in the *Diocesan Minutes* during Russell's episcopate of the lapsed masses nor of any missionary strategy to reach them; the Church appeared to be wholly absorbed with internal matters.¹⁸ During this time new churches were formed, but if Anderston, Girvan and Maybole were typical examples, the initiative did not come from the Bishop or from the diocese, but from the masses of unchurched themselves who desired the ordinances of religion. The diocese also fortunately contained several missionary priests such as David Aitchison in Calton, William Wilson in Ayr and Alexander D'Orsey in Anderston who undertook local initiatives in mission. Given the growth of numbers and missionary potential, Snow's description of Russell seems almost incredible: 'He was a scholar who appeared shy and awkward in the presence of strangers. His sermons were weighty and well reasoned. He spent long hours at his desk and his Diocese did not make heavy demands upon his time or energies.'¹⁹

Walter John Trower 1848 - 1859

In 1848, the Rev. Walter John Trower from the Diocese of Chichester was elected bishop and also appointed to the incumbency of St. Mary's, Glasgow. Trower's episcopate was also to last eleven years, ending in 1859 when he moved back to England. Educated at Oxford, Trower had been a friend of John Henry Newman. Although he sympathised with some of the ideals of the Tractarians regarding apostolic succession and the Catholicity of the Church, he violently disagreed with them on ritualism.²⁰ His episcopate was not without controversy, being one of the prosecutors of Bishop Forbes of Brechin, on account of Forbes' High Church views on the Eucharist.²¹ In Glasgow he publicly censured Alexander D'Orsey for introducing ritualistic

¹⁷ SG, 15 February 1907 quotes 8,000 Episcopalians in Glasgow in 1837. Allowing another 2,000 for the rest of the Diocese, gives an estimate of 10,000.

¹⁸ DGGA, TD 1382/2152, *Diocesan Synod Minute Book 1837-48*. Internal matters related to St. Jude's Church seceding from the SEC, the Bishop's authority, discussion on the Marriage Bill, and on liturgical matters, especially the Communion Service.

¹⁹ DGGA, TD 1382/454, typed mss., W. G. Sinclair Snow, *William Thomas Harrison*, 1948.

²⁰ Gavin White, *St. Mary's Cathedral, Glasgow: A History* (Edinburgh: General Synod, 1995), p. 21.

²¹ Goldie, *The Episcopal Church in Scotland*, pp. 109-110. In 1857, Bishop Alexander Penrose Forbes of Brechin delivered a charge to his clergy on the Holy Eucharist, in which he laid chief stress on the presence of Christ in the sacrament, the lawfulness of the worship of Christ sacramentally present in the elements, and the Eucharist as a sacrifice as well as a communion. 'Bishop Trower ... showed himself clearly opposed to such teaching and urged his clergy so renounce such false teaching.' p. 110.

practises into St. John's Church at Anderston, which, he maintained, were offensive to the Irish poor for whom the church was built.²² Although ironically he dismissed D'Orsey on account of his non-residence, Trower himself only spent two months out of each year in Scotland, the diocese being mainly run at this time by correspondence from Tunbridge Wells.

By 1850 the Episcopalian population of Glasgow had grown considerably. The Diocesan Synod of March 1850 reported that in the eastern suburbs of Glasgow alone, there were '10,000 Episcopalians ... the vast majority of whom, on account of poverty or carelessness cannot or will not attend the services of the Church.'²³

The first mention of mission to the city's Episcopalians did not appear in the *Diocesan Synod Minutes* until 1850 when the opening of a mission in the south side of Glasgow was discussed.²⁴ This continued in 1851 when 'Some conversation took place respecting Missionary undertakings in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, in the course of which several clergy expressed a strong feeling as to the importance of bearing in mind the spiritual destitution of the increasing numbers of poor members of the Church.'²⁵ The following year it was reported that the western suburbs around Anderston, also contained around 10,000 Episcopalians.²⁶ Given that the city centre and the Gorbals and Tradeston area would have contained similar proportions, it may be fair to assume that the whole of Glasgow and surrounds would have had around 35,000 Episcopalians at this time.

During Trower's episcopate, the city of Glasgow had grown to 400,000, yet the number of churches had not grown proportionately, only three new churches around Glasgow having been opened, at Jordanhill in the west, and Baillieston and Green Street, Calton in the east. The church papers were alive with correspondence on the subject, one writer blaming the apathy of the clergy, adding that what is needed in the city is men 'of

²² The Rt. Rev. Walter J. Trower, *Letter to the Rev. A. J. D. D'Orsey on Certain Recent Charges in the Ritual of his Church* (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle & Son, 1851), p. 4.

²³ *Diocesan Synod Minutes*, 21 March 1850.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 March 1850.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 6 August 1851.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, September 1852.

Paul-like zeal, combined with that broad catholicity of spirit which is so much required amongst us in these times.’²⁷

Dr James Gordon, Incumbent of St. Andrew’s, replied with some frustration and quoting from a speech he had made at the Diocesan Synod of 1858 argued that it was not the fault of the clergy, but the indifference of the people themselves, and in particular the Irish, who were, in his view, of the lowest type: ‘In proportion, there are not fewer congregations in the town of Glasgow than there are in other towns such as Greenock, Paisley and Coatbridge. All of these have districts and hamlets surrounding them teeming with Irish and English “Episcopalians”’; and yet when the Church is brought to their doors, how do they attend and give it support? Although often in the receipt of high wages, and though they spend them in tobacco and whisky and extravagant weddings, yet any offering for the offices of the Church is like pulling a tooth out of their heads. In Glasgow, the evil is much worse, and much worse to amend. Manufacturing towns are generally the reservoirs into which the idle and dissolute of both sexes pour; and it is quite notorious that it is only the worst of the Irish who come over here, who were bad “at home” and become tenfold worse when they get up to town tricks.’²⁸

Gordon illustrated his case with a list of missions which had been started for those ‘poor Episcopalians’, which had not amounted to anything: ‘Several years ago I got the Bishop’s license to open the Southern Academy, Abbotsford Place, as a Mission to supply the “spiritual wants” on the south side. This was carried on for several months by evening services, when the labouring classes turn out best. Notwithstanding this, and the variety of clergymen, the Mission was only scantily attended ... Thirteen years ago I got the late Bishop Russell’s sanction to celebrate divine service at Pollokshaws... For several months I walked out and in to Pollokshaws – eight miles. I crowded a room with labouring people; but instead of bringing more from this large village to St. Andrew’s, what I had dropped off ... These “poor Episcopalians” soon burn out the “Paul-like zeal” of those who labour as I have done for fourteen years in murky Glasgow.’²⁹

²⁷ *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, 20 January 1859.

²⁸ *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, 20 January 1859.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

In 1858 Trower offered his resignation to the diocese, unless he could be allowed to reside ten months of the year in England. *The Scottish Magazine* found this a perplexing situation and wrote, 'In such a Diocese as Glasgow, where there are thousands of perishing souls, there is ample work for a hundred men of the most unbounded energies; and how one on whom rests the fearful responsibility of seeing all the sheep of the fold tended, and all the wanderers brought back, could reconcile it to his conscience to leave them to wander as sheep without a shepherd, we cannot understand ... A few Missions have been opened, but what is this compared with what ought to be done in such a field ... We feel the arrangement cannot endure long, or woe indeed be to the Church.'³⁰

Trower left Glasgow in 1859 to become Sub Dean of Exeter and in 1863 was appointed Bishop of Gibraltar.

William Scot Wilson 1859 - 1888

Trower was replaced as bishop in 1859 by William Scott Wilson, who was Dean of the Diocese and Incumbent of Holy Trinity, Ayr. Wilson, a Scot from Aberdeenshire had a mainly Irish congregation at Ayr and had been instrumental in the formation of the churches at Girvan and Maybole in 1846. His episcopate of twenty-eight years from 1859 to 1888 corresponded with the period in which the Irish presence was strongest in the churches.³¹ Reflecting the growth of the migrant population, he also saw the largest number of new churches and missions opened – a total of thirty one (Appendix 5:3).

Russell and Trower had in the main simply offered a positive pastoral response to situations which others had brought to their notice. Although Trower had started a 'ragged school' in Anderston in 1850, neither of them had personally been involved in starting churches. Wilson, by contrast, had been a missionary priest in South Ayrshire, and in his first year of office, instituted a Diocesan Association for Church Aid and extension.³² The Association reported in 1863 that 'it has been of much use in supporting the missionary operations which are being carried on in the poorer districts. By means of the assistance derived from the funds of the

³⁰ *Scottish Magazine*, February 1858.

³¹ The Irish presence being strongest between 1859-1888 is reckoned by the large amount of correspondence in the Diocesan archives, numerous articles concerning the Irish at this time in the Church's press, and the number of churches opened in Irish areas at this time.

³² *SG*, 17 January 1896.

Association, the Bishop has been enabled to appoint a supernumerary clergyman for the diocese, whose special duty is to visit the sick members of the Church in the Infirmary and other similar institutions in Glasgow, conveying religious impressions to many who are generally beyond the reach of the Church's ministrations.³³

The presence of a large number of Irish people in the diocese was noted, whose spiritual needs the Association sought to address: 'It is generally calculated that the number of Irish residents in the city amounts to little less than 100,000. Of these, the far greater proportion are Roman Catholics; but if it be computed that one-fifth [20,000] or even one-tenth [10,000] part of the have been reared in the communion of the Established Church in Ireland, it will at once appear that there must be a very large number of persons nominally belonging to the Episcopal Church, for whose spiritual wants no adequate provision had hitherto been made.'³⁴

In terms of liturgy, Wilson was, like his predecessor, of a more 'Low Church' persuasion. One of his former curates reminisced of him saying, 'As a rule he disliked ceremony and ritual of any kind.'³⁵ The liturgical debate of the time was whether the *Scottish Office* for Holy Communion should be abandoned in favour of the *English Office* as contained in the *Book of Common Prayer*. The *Scottish Office* had been crafted during the pro-Jacobite period when the Church was viewed suspiciously. Its language of 'offertory' and its invocation for the Holy Spirit to come upon the bread and the wine (The Epiclesis) marked it out as being in a more Catholic direction. Like most of the clergy in the two southern dioceses of Edinburgh and Glasgow, Wilson was not in favour of using the *Scottish Office*. He oversaw the 1862 Diocesan Synod which 'reduced the *Scotch Communion Office* from its position of primary authority.'³⁶ Apart from theological problems, the *Scottish Office* would have been regarded as un-Protestant by the Irish, whose scruples Wilson may have had in mind when he described its effect as 'the mischief which it caused in alienating many well meaning Churchmen.' At the Synod, he added 'the Scotch Office operated as a serious obstacle to the unity, peace and

³³ *SG*, March 1864 quoting the *Annual Report* for 1862 of the Glasgow and Galloway Association for Church Aid and Extension.

³⁴ *Annual Report of the Glasgow and Galloway Association for Church Aid and Extension*, 1864.

³⁵ *SC*, 27 February 1925, 'Reminiscences of Bishop Wilson' by the Rev. Charles Grub.

³⁶ *SG*, 17 January 1896 'Historical Review of the Diocese of Glasgow' quoting the 1862 Diocesan Synod.

progress of the Church, and as a cause of suspicion to many who might otherwise be disposed to enter it.' Although willing to allow its continuance where it was used, he was against allowing its use in new congregations.³⁷

The growth of the Diocese was seen not only in the large number of Baptisms being carried out in the churches during Wilson's episcopate, but also the growing number of Confirmations, all suggesting an influx of young families in the Church at this period. The 1872 Synod recorded that the total number of persons being confirmed last year was 446, a greater number than had been confirmed in the Diocese in any year since 1688. A further evidence of satisfactory progress was to be found in the congregational returns, and in the number of new churches built or in the course of erection in the Diocese. The Missions in Glasgow were flourishing.³⁸

Wilson had been a friend to the Irish poor, both as a priest in securing for them churches at Girvan and Maybole, and as a bishop, in the founding of thirty one new churches and missions. The greatest volume of correspondence in the Diocesan archives relating to Irish people and their issues were during his episcopate. On the one hand, those who were frustrated by the Irish were able to write freely of their complaints; on the other hand, his replies to the dissidents at Paisley, shows him doing everything he could to accommodate their views and to help them create a separate church, but within the Scottish Episcopal Church.³⁹ *The Scottish Chronicle* eulogised his care for the poor: 'In him, the poor had an emphatic friend. They knew him by his deeds as well as his words, and his never-failing assiduity in the attempt to relieve poverty and distress built for him a more enduring monument than any fashioned out of brass or marble.'⁴⁰

William Thomas Harrison 1888 -1903

In May 1888 the Diocese chose as their new bishop, William T. Harrison from Bury St. Edmunds. Unlike his predecessors, who held their episcopates along with an incumbency, Harrison was the first to hold the office

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Minutes of the Diocesan Synod*, September 1872.

³⁹ For Wilson's help in opening the churches at Girvan and Maybole, see chapter nine of this thesis. For Wilson's fairness in dealing with the Paisley dissidents see chapter ten of this thesis.

⁴⁰ *SC*, 27 February 1925.

of bishop full time. During Harrison's time the growth of the Diocese continued. The membership increased from 28,000 to 38,000; thirty new churches and mission stations were opened and the number of clergy rose from 67 to 79 (Appendix 5:3).

An article in *The Scottish Chronicle* states that 'A study of the Statistical Returns reveals steady progress, and the gradual increase in the number of charges is witness to the zeal of the new Bishop in the cause of Home Missions'.⁴¹

In 1864, Mr. R.T.N. Speir, Convenor of the Diocesan Home Missions Committee, in the face of criticism that figures were exaggerated, defended his calculation that there were 55,000 Episcopalians in Glasgow. He said that their method of enumeration was that 'They divided the city into districts, and in each district they selected a block of houses which they considered typical of the districts. They then engaged professional enumerators (the same men who collected statistics for municipal purposes) and sent them round the houses to find out the religious beliefs of the inhabitants. The people were not told for what purposes these returns were wanted, and therefore could have no object in making false ones.'⁴²

The following year, the Diocesan Council undertook a more thorough survey in order to ascertain the number of Episcopalians in the city 'to take into consideration the whole position of Glasgow, and the different localities where Missions have been established, with a view to map out a scheme of evangelism.'⁴⁶

Enumerators were organised to visit the streets in the districts of Bridgeton, in the east of the city, and Hutchensontown in the south, and from the returns thus obtained, it appeared that about 5 per cent of the inhabitants were Episcopalians. In a third, namely Partick and Whiteinch, there appeared to be as many as 10 per cent."⁴⁷ Guided by this information, and the knowledge of the individual members of the Committee, they recommended the following districts as the best centres for Church expansion: Hutchesontown (population 44,000), Kinning Park (29,000), Bridgeton (40,000), Partick and Whiteinch (40,000), and Rutherglen (14,000).⁴⁸

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *SC*, 11 November 1906.

The Irish were not mentioned specifically in the *Diocesan Synod Minutes* until 1894 when the November Synod noted that they represented a unique and distinct challenge in providing ministry for them: 'Church work in large and poor populations must always have many difficulties, and there were exceptional difficulties here. The people who claimed our services were scattered and poor, and there was on the part of not a few of our Irish fellow Churchmen, much suspicion.'⁴³

Bishop Harrison in response, urged sensitivity towards the Irish, and unlike some of his clergy, showed a generosity and catholicity of spirit, while encouraging the clergy to approach a Christ-like and loving attitude in order to bring them closer to the inner life of the Church: 'various answers were given [concerning the comparatively small number of Episcopalians in the diocese attending churches] but one he somewhat enlarged upon: A large number of the resident Episcopalians in Glasgow were Irishmen, and still kept the traditions of the Irish Church. Church ornaments, which may appear seemly and beautiful, are to them, on account of the tenets which they associated with them, not only are no help to devotion, but a positive offence. How were we to deal with them? Were we to argue that ours is a more excellent way and that every Christian soul was to be levelled up to our standard? St. Paul would not so teach us. If he became as a Greek to the Greeks that he might gain the Greek, and as a Jew to the Jew that he might gain the Jews, he would bid each one of us to be an Irishman to Irishmen that we might gain the Irishmen. But above all, we must get rid of the faults that were in ourselves, and be holier, more prayerful, more Christ-like. In conclusion he spoke of the priest's inner life, and the power of character in winning souls. He exhorted to care and thoroughness in Confirmation work, and in visiting, and to thorough self dedication in all things.'⁴⁴

At the annual meeting of the Representative Church Council of the Church in October 1901, the missionary needs of Glasgow were brought before the whole Church. Church members from Edinburgh, the traditional stronghold of the North East and those from the Highlands were made aware of the tremendous missionary potential of the city, which contained half the population of Scotland, and that the whole Church must share in this work, as the Diocese of Glasgow alone was not coping. The number of Episcopalians pouring into the

⁴³ *Minutes of the Diocesan Synod*, 8 November 1894.

⁴⁴ *Minutes of the Diocesan Synod*, 7 November 1895.

city was not being adequately met by the Church's pastoral resources. The Rev. Anthony Mitchell of St. Andrews in the east of Glasgow gave a stirring speech, which was referred to for many years to come. He began by saying that as concerned Churchmen 'walk along its busy streets, it is with a feeling of dejection they come to the realisation of how great that problem is, and how little equipped the Church is in Glasgow in its resources and strength for the task that is set before her. If they were to tread the grimy centres of population, that feeling of dejection would go lower and lower still, and even spread into a conflagration of alarm when they went into the districts where the hand of the builder is busy, where although with all his industry he can make streets to rise like mushrooms in a few months, yet his speed is not great enough for the rush of population into centres where the Church is unable to do single thing to meet the demand on her resources ... The diocese presents a problem and a task which is beyond the resources certainly that our Bishop can command.'⁴⁵

Contrasting the needs of Glasgow with the rest of the country, he reminded them that half the population of Scotland was under the care of six Bishops, but the Diocese of Glasgow, which contained a similar population was under one Bishop. In terms of statistics, their enumerators had found that in most areas the average percentage of Episcopalians among the population was six, and in areas like Partick and Govan it was ten. By this means, Mitchell estimated that there were 60,000 Episcopalians in Glasgow. He added, 'We know of and try to minister to 14,500, leaving the enormous deficit of 45,000 souls belonging to us by the birthright and heritage of their spiritual ancestry. This enormous mass of 45,000 lapsed Churchpeople living in our midst – if that does not constitute a duty and an opportunity to the Church at large, then I confess I do not know what is meant either by duty or obligation. (Loud applause).'⁴⁶

Bishop Harrison then rose to speak and informed the meeting that the poor and working classes of Glasgow were not entirely irreligious, as was sometimes presumed: 'They are not hostile to religion – many of them are hungering and thirsting after it. You cannot see the crowds to be met with at street corners Sunday and week-day, winter and summer, listening to street preaching without being reminded that the fields are white unto harvest, only waiting for the reaper to come and gather in the precious corn. Among the 400,000 unchurched

⁴⁵ *SG*, 18 October 1901. Report of speech at the RCC Annual Meeting in October 1901.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

of Glasgow there are many who certainly ought to belong to us. They have come from Church homes and Church families; in their youth perhaps they sung the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*. ... These Episcopalians have gathered around St. Mungo's home and they have come to us from other dioceses ... from the Highlands of Argyllshire, from below the border, and, as St. Columba, they have come from across the sea. They have come bringing no money with them, requiring us to provide religious ministrations for them.⁴⁷

Despite Mitchell's speech later being described as 'perhaps the most moving speech ever delivered to the Council', it was also felt that 'the results were somewhat meagre.'⁴⁸

Writing reflectively in 1925, the Rev. William Jenkins who had been a priest at Townhead and Clydebank, and had worked closely with Bishop Harrison in home mission work, felt that Harrison's episcopate represented 'perhaps the most momentous period of Glasgow diocese's history.'⁴⁹ However Jenkins admitted that 'For some reason or other, the Church took no action for years, and we often heard the taunt that it was merely a pious resolution of the R.C.C. The probable reason was that the immensity of the task overwhelmed even the most enthusiastic Churchpeople of that day. The appeal was made to the whole Church and the Church never redeemed its pledge.'⁵⁰

Bishop Harrison retired to Suffolk in 1903 becoming a rector and Assistant Bishop of Ely. By 1904 Anthony Mitchell had moved to Edinburgh, where after a short incumbency he took up academic work, eventually to become Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney.⁵¹

Archibald Ean Campbell 1904 – 1921

On the resignation of Bishop Harrison, Archibald Ean Campbell, the Provost of St. Ninian's Cathedral in Perth was appointed as Glasgow's new bishop. Campbell was a Scot of aristocratic blood, his family being

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Farquhar, *Archibald Ean Campbell*, p. 95.

⁴⁹ *SC*, 27 February 1925.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, pp. 289; 370.

descended from the Dukes of Argyll.⁵² Public school education at King William's College on the Isle of Man was followed by Clare College, Cambridge, then his theological education at Cuddesdon before being ordained into the ministry of the Church of England. He was appointed Provost of St. Ninian's in 1901, a cathedral which had been founded on very definite Tractarian lines. The building of St. Ninian's was the vision of two prominent High Church laymen, Lord Forbes and G. F. Boyle (later Earl of Glasgow), who were joined afterwards in the venture by W. E. Gladstone, the opening sermon being preached in 1850 by John Mason Neale.⁵³ Farquhar maintains that 'No one more suited for the occasion [the promotion of Anglo-Catholicism at St. Ninian's] could have been chosen ... Provost Campbell had received the deep impress of the Oxford Movement upon his theological beliefs.'⁵⁴ Campbell was thus Glasgow's first Anglo-Catholic bishop. This seems not to have affected his pastoral concern for the entire diocese, and as will be noted, he made real efforts to keep the Irish within the fold. It was also during his episcopate that the evangelical St. Silas English Episcopal Church was reconciled to the diocese.⁵⁵

Campbell's church-planting strategy was typical of the Anglo-Catholic vision of mission minded priests working in large towns or cities. His predecessors had allowed and even encouraged lots of small local missions, but these were mostly found in the dingy back streets of the city, were often rented upper rooms or at the back of shops, and all too frequently were in a dilapidated condition. It says a great deal for the commitment to Episcopalian worship, as the members who frequented these halls had to by pass large and beautiful buildings being constructed for their neighbouring Presbyterian and Roman Catholic congregations.

Campbell's vision was to close down many of these missions and to build large churches, with strong congregations, staffed by teams of priests, in various strategic parts of the city. In 1911 he wrote, 'I am pretty well convinced that working from strong centres, even though distance intervenes, is preferable to weak,

⁵² Farquhar, *Archibald Ean Campbell*, p. 60. His father was first cousin to the Duke of Argyll.

⁵³ William Perry, *The Oxford Movement in Scotland*, pp. 52-54.

John Mason Neale (1818-66) was a leader of the Oxford Movement, and helped found the Cambridge Camden Society which promoted ornaments and ritualism in the Church of England. He endured a great deal of opposition from the Church of England, including being inhibited by the Bishop of Chichester.

⁵⁴ Farquhar, *Archibald Ean Campbell*, p. 75.

⁵⁵ St. Silas however has always retained a certain amount of independence. In 1906 a concordat was signed whereby the congregation was recognised as being in communion with the Scottish Episcopal Church. In 1987 it became a Private Chapel within the Scottish Episcopal Church.

independent ventures. Had the Glasgow problem come before me at an earlier stage, I should have built ten great churches, holding from 1,000 to 1,500 people, and to each would have attached a staff of at least three men. As it is, we have some thirty places of worship, some of which are no better than rabbit-hutches, and a number of priests starving in solitude on £150 a year.’⁵⁶

The great church in the east was to be Christ Church, and to replace Aitcheson’s building, ‘the fine and commodious new Christ Church was built and dedicated in October 1915.’⁵⁷ The church for the west was to be St. Bride’s, Hyndland, and the church for the south was to be the newly built St. Margaret’s, Newlands.

White, somewhat scathingly has dismissed Campbell’s vision and reputation as a missionary bishop: ‘He held the ideas one might expect of someone from his background, but in fact they did not really matter as he could not implement them anyway. This was typical of an upper class Englishman (*sic*) who felt that most clergy had to be led by superior beings ... But in fact he had not the money to build these large churches. The only one built in his day was St. Margaret’s, and that depended not so much on the vision of Bishop Campbell as on Mr. R. A. Ogg’s successful career in gents’ suitings ... Campbell was a hard-working bishop, but the successful expansion of the diocese in his time depended more on the desire of people for churches than any skill in providing them.’⁵⁸

Campbell’s attitude towards the Irish in his diocese was both pastoral and missionary, especially considering his churchmanship and social background.

Part of Bishop Campbell’s strategy was to build closer relationships with the Church of Ireland, and an example of this was an invitation to Irish prelates to preach in Glasgow, with Bishop Campbell speaking more often in Ireland. The paper continued, ‘During the last two years the interchange of prominent preachers from both Churches is at least an indication that the closer bond of union between Scotland and Ireland is being cemented in an effective and appreciable manner, and it is an augury of a better understanding between the

⁵⁶ Farquhar, *Archibald Ean Campbell*, pp. 113 - 4.

⁵⁷ For Christ Church see chapter eight of this thesis, Glasgow: East.

⁵⁸ White, *The Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 55.

two countries than has existed before.⁵⁹ The Bishop of Down gave a Sunday afternoon *Lecture to Irishmen* at St. Mary's Cathedral, attended by 600 Irish Episcopalians living in Glasgow living in Glasgow, 'a welcome sign that the Church in Glasgow Diocese is not regardless of the claims of visitors to her borders, and we cannot but rejoice to see any overture that has for its object the extension of the right hand of fellowship to our brethren of the Irish Church.'⁶⁰

Campbell's biographer mentioned him preaching at Belfast Cathedral, and conducting retreats and preaching in Dublin Cathedral, 'and that he took a good deal of trouble to ensure that Irish Church people coming over to Scotland should be commended to himself.'⁶¹

White states that Bishop Campbell 'presided over the last programme of expansion before the Church ran out of steam.'⁶² He began his episcopate in 1904 with 42,235 members and under his leadership the Diocese reached its highest membership in 1920, returning 55,816 members (Appendix 5:4) Despite this, the 'seeds of decline' had already been planted. The number of new churches begun during his time decreased, and the number of churches closed began to increase (Appendix 5:2). This would have been as a result of his home missions planning, but also of other external factors. The percentage of Irish-born in Glasgow, which had provided the impetus for growth and mission in the previous century, was diminishing.⁶³ The missions which he closed had all predominantly Irish congregations, two missions in Partick, two in the Gorbals, Stevenston in Ayrshire and Harthill in Lanarkshire. Campbell somewhat naively thought that the members of the Missions would be prepared to walk that further distance to the greater churches, but there is no indication that they did. Even if they had, these churches would not have been to their taste. St. Bride's was becoming the foremost Anglo-Catholic church in the diocese, Christ Church was not far behind, as under John McBain's incumbency it modelled itself in liturgy and mission on the Tractarian churches of east London.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ *SC*, 26 February 1909.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Farquhar, *Archibald Ean Campbell*, p. 120.

⁶² White, *The Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 55.

⁶³ See Table 5:2

St. Margaret's was set in an affluent suburb of Glasgow, and was catering more for its middle-class business congregation whose villas were springing up around it.

In 1906, in the earlier years of Campbell's episcopate, Mr R.T.N. Speir reckoned that there were 60,000 Episcopalians in Glasgow, but lamented that 'not one-third of them are on our Church lists and known to our clergy.'⁶⁵ Although the membership was increasing, the number of Baptisms was decreasing. During Harrison's episcopate there had always been well over 3000 each year, but under Campbell's there were just over 2,000, a decrease of around a third (Appendix 5:4) The young families were not being reached to the extent that they had been in the previous generation. As the Baptismal Registers in the next few chapters show, this represented the wider Episcopalian constituency which was the missionary potential for membership and communicants, and it was a constituency which was mainly Irish in ethnic origin.

Edward Thomas Scott Reid 1921– 1931

Bishop Campbell died while still in office at the age of 64 and was succeeded by Edward T.S. Reid. Reid was also a Scot whose father was a partner in the firm of Neilson, Reid and Co. at the Hyde Park Works in Springburn, one of the largest locomotive factories in Europe. Born at Wellfield House in Springburn, Reid grew up seeing the Episcopal Church at work in its mission to the Irish in that part of northern Glasgow.⁶⁶ Having spent the whole of his ministry in Scotland, he was appointed incumbent of St. Bride's, Hyndland in 1910. St. Bride's was already developing a reputation for ritualism, and since the 1890s had used 'five of the Six Ritual Points such as the use of vestments, and altar candles.'⁶⁷ Reid took things 'higher' by introducing incense, which upset many in the congregation; the Vestry claiming it was 'illegal.'⁶⁸

⁶⁴ The Oxford Movement famously had large churches with teams of priests in the slums of London's east end as well as other cities. These included Fr. Charles Lowder at St. George's in the East, then at St. Peter's, London Docks and Fr. Dolling at St. Martin's who later ministered in the slum districts of Portsmouth.

⁶⁵ *SC*, 30 November 1906.

⁶⁶ *SC*, 10 June 1921 and chapter six of this thesis for Springburn.

⁶⁷ Helen Ball, *A Short History of St. Bride's Episcopal Church, Glasgow* (Glasgow: Vestry of St. Bride's Church, 2004), p. 23.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

Ball maintains that Reid was not excessively ritualistic at St. Bride's, that 'he never advocated praying to saints and held conventional Protestant views regarding the status of the Virgin. His position was that of a traditional High Churchman with a penchant for ceremonial rather than that of a classic Anglo-Catholic.'⁶⁹

Reid is not on record, as having specifically addressed the 'Irish issue' in the diocese, but the fact that it was during his St. Bride's time that the missions for the Irish at Partick closed, would suggest that he did not have any great sympathy with meeting their needs locally.⁷⁰

It was during Reid's episcopate that the decline in the diocese began. It is unlikely that this had much to do with Reid personally, as decline in membership was becoming apparent from 1921 throughout all the main Protestant denominations in Scotland. Yet in 1923 it was claimed that there were 70,000 Episcopalians in the city of Glasgow alone, of whom just 27,000 were attached to the Church.⁷¹ It was also estimated in that year that there were 109,297 Episcopalians living within the whole diocese. Of this number only 54,973 were known to be attached to the Church.⁷² This number had fallen to 48,037 near the end of Reid's time, in 1930, and would continue to fall throughout the twentieth century (Appendix 5:4) White observes that the 'decline began at the fringes, ate away the non-communicants, and left the remaining non-communicants aware of their isolation.'⁷³ It was also mainly during Reid's episcopate that the fringe, consisting mainly of the Irish, to a large extent drifted even further from the Church, while many left who had attached themselves to the Church. Whether this was coincidental or greatly accelerated the decline will be examined in the final chapter of this thesis.

Home Mission in the Diocese

The final section of this chapter will give an account of the various methods by which the Diocese, either through diocesan or individual initiatives, sought to meet the spiritual and social needs of the people to whom

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27 - 8.

⁷⁰ For Partick Missions see chapter seven of this thesis.

⁷¹ *SC*, 16 February 1923.

⁷² *SC*, 17 August 1923.

⁷³ White. *The Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 56.

it ministered. An article in *The Scottish Guardian* under the heading of 'The Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway Home Missions' described the purpose of the Church's Home Mission as 'To build up in the faith and fear of God those who through Baptism are its members; and to bring into the fellowship of the Body those who through ignorance stand outside ... to minister to all who call themselves Episcopalians ... to bear such a faithful witness to our beliefs that we may bring back to the Church of our forefathers ... those who deserted her ranks.'⁷⁴

Home Missions were directed towards the two-thirds of the Episcopalian constituency who remained outside the worshipping community. Many of these had been nominal in the place of their birth, the designation 'Episcopalian' probably meaning little more than that of their parents. Others had been 'church-goers when they lived in the country, but have lapsed in the town. Our clergy find frequent instances of this kind among working people who come to Scotland.'⁷⁵ The Rev. E. Balvaird Hewett, who worked among the Irish Episcopalians in the Gorbals in the early 1880s, suggested the Church provide a residential and recreation club for young migrant men, and wrote that this problem of drifting 'was especially the case of young single men, and among them the working classes. A young man comes into Glasgow for work in some warehouse, shipyard or engineering establishment. He finds himself for the most part amongst men who either have no faith at all, or who belong to some denominations to which he is unaccustomed and which he finds unattractive. His own Church, except by the merest accident, knows nothing of him – he drifts into the ever absorbing ocean of the lapsed.'⁷⁶

It was also recognised that poverty in itself was a barrier to church attendance. Many of the clergy had found that 'the remark that is so frequently made in response to invitations and exhortations to come to church, is that it is impossible to do so, when the only suit of clothes they possess, is a working suit. It is much to be regretted that the working men should regard as essential that which should be with them a matter of

⁷⁴ *SG*, 20 November 1931.

⁷⁵ *St. Mary's Magazine*, September 1886.

⁷⁶ E. Balvaird Hewett, *A Church Club for Glasgow* (Glasgow: 1884).

indifference ... they know that if they attend church in their working clothes, they stamp themselves in the eyes of their fellows as thriftless and improvident members of their class.’⁷⁷

Schools

In some instances day schools to provide education for children were set up, before the provision of Sunday services. Often, as in the case of Jane Smith’s work at Jordanhill, these led to the formation of mission churches.⁷⁸ The earliest Episcopal school in Glasgow was founded in 1849 at Anderston by Alexander D’Orsey a teacher in Glasgow High School. D’Orsey’s school did not last long and was replaced in 1851 by ‘The Bishop’s School’ founded by Bishop Walter Trower and part of the mission of St. Mary’s Church.⁷⁹

By 1853 there were 18 such schools in the Diocese, at a time when there were 25 churches. Thus most churches had one, the range of size and quality of teaching varying. *The Government Inspector’s Report* for that year noted, ‘Some of these schools are taught with great skill and success; some are less distinguished, but are taught with intelligence and efficiency.’ Accommodation varied as ‘At Bailieston, Kilmarnock and Airdrie, the schools are suffering from a lack of accommodation.’ Often there were just one or two teachers, helped by older ‘pupil-teachers’, but it was often difficult to hold these as ‘the demand for children’s labour at the mills, is remunerated by a higher payment than the stipend of the pupil-teacher.’⁸⁰

The schools were not primarily for the children of middle-class Episcopalians who would have been catered for in the various grammar schools and public schools in Glasgow and England. The Episcopal schools were for poor children. In 1852 the Scottish Bishops petitioned Parliament for the provision of their own schools inspector as ‘in our Church there is an increasing body of schools intended for the children of the poorer members of our communion; that in most cases these schools are planted in districts of such poverty.’⁸¹

⁷⁷ *SG*, 24 April 1885.

⁷⁸ For Jane Smith and Jordanhill see chapter seven of this thesis.

⁷⁹ *SG*, 9 October 1931.

⁸⁰ *Report by Her Majesty’s Inspectors of Schools: Elementary Schools connected with the Episcopal Church, Report for 1832* (Inspector: the Rev. Thomas Wilkinson, Carlisle), pp. 1378 - 79.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41, Letter from the Scottish Bishops to the Committee of Privy Council on Education, 22 April 1852.

The Scottish Guardian linked the provision of schools with the growth of the Church: 'We believe that the revival of the Church's energies is to be dated from the time when she felt that she must attend to the training and education of the children of the poor within her pale.'⁸²

Table: 5:3

Numbers attending sample of schools in the Diocese of Glasgow, 1853

| Church | Present at examination | Have left in past 12 months | Admitted in the last 12 months | Average daily attendance |
|----------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| St. Mary's | 89 | 74 | 79 | 78 |
| Ayr | 70 | 32 | 32 | 75 |
| Kilmarnock | 42 | - | - | 40 |
| Paisley | 68 | 106 | 169 | 67 |
| Greenock | 38 | 41 | 32 | 36 |
| Helensburgh | 47 | - | 130 | 40 |
| Baillieston | 69 | - | - | 56 |
| Airdrie | 125 | - | - | 115 |
| St. Andrews | 14 | - | - | 65 |
| Christ Church | 94 | 117 | 120 | 50 |
| Port Glasgow | 53 | 37 | 125 | 51 |
| Average | 64 | - | - | 54 |

Source: *H.M. Inspector for Episcopal Schools Report for 1853*

The above table, shows that on average there were 1152 children being educated each day in the 18 schools in the Diocese. The disparity between numbers enrolled and those attending show that there was no legal compulsion for parents to send their children to school until 1872. The need for child labour would have taken many away, and the migratory character of the Irish poor has to be considered. In 1853 there were 16 non-certificated teachers and 3 certificated teachers, with around 45 pupil-teachers spread throughout all the schools.

Hugh Scott of Gala, an Episcopal layman, wrote a series of pamphlets in 1870 entitled *The Schools of the Scottish Episcopal Church* and said that 'until our Church took up the School question, she made no solid

⁸² *SG*, September 1865.

advance in the country. The Schools have been the most successful part of our Church's operations and have reaped the largest fruit.'⁸³

Missions

The new churches formed in the nineteenth century, starting with Paisley in 1817, began as Missions. There are no instances until the latter part of the century of these being initiated either by the Bishop or by the Diocese as part of a home missions strategy. They mainly arose through individual clergy becoming aware of the large number of migrant Episcopalians. For example, William Wade came to Paisley in 1817 as a result of a petition to Bishop Russell from 'some titled and wealthy people ... who believed that the introduction of a ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church would prove beneficial.'⁸⁴ William Scott Wilson noticed this at South Ayrshire in the 1840s and assisted the local people to petition Bishop Russell to start a Mission church. Alexander D'Orsey through his work as a teacher came into contact with Episcopalians in Anderston and asked Bishop Trower to ordain him, in order that he might minister to their spiritual needs.⁸⁵

The Scottish Guardian in an article on 'Missions' in 1865 became aware that many Episcopalians 'lived at such a distance from the nearest Church that it was utterly impossible for them to avail themselves of the ministrations there.' It conceded that many, on account of convenience had joined the nearest Presbyterian church, but others 'had a love for the mother who nursed them, which will not let them forget or forsake her' The nearest clergyman 'where he can gather a few of the outlying parishioners together, to go to them, and give them the benefit of an occasional Sunday service.'⁸⁶

Difficulties arose, mainly on account of the people's 'inevitable poverty, and need of money. They have a Church to build, which they can seldom do without an appeal to Churchmen at large.' In 1838 The Church formed 'The Church Society' to 'provide a fund for congregations struggling with pecuniary difficulties', and

⁸³ Hugh Scott of Gala, *The Schools of the Scottish Episcopal Church*, a series of four pamphlets (Aberdeen, 1870), No. 1, p. 4.

⁸⁴ *Stephen's Ecclesiastical Journal*, August 1833, quoting Wade's sermon at the opening of Trinity Church on 19 May 1833.

⁸⁵ *Scottish Magazine*, September 1849.

⁸⁶ *SG*, September 1865.

from this, the missionary priests received their stipend of £100 per year, if the congregation had been able to raise £30.⁸⁷

In a series of articles on 'Home Missions' *The Scottish Guardian* said that 'Mission Guild' was formed, consisting of a band of lay people, and where possible, a licensed Lay Reader, who would assist the clergyman in conducting the services and in visiting. Tracts and hand bills were produced and 'distributed to the poor at their own houses.'⁸⁸

Services were at first held on week day evenings, but then moved on to Sunday evenings, which were considered more fruitful than mornings. *The Scottish Guardian* noted that 'working men took their Sunday breakfast at some time between the hours of 10 and 12, and then, with the half-penny newspaper of the previous evening in their hands, go to bed again until 3 or 4 in the afternoon. This pernicious habit largely accounts for the thin morning congregations which are so often to be seen in churches that are attended by the working classes.'⁸⁹

Visiting

Pastoral visitation in the homes was carried out diligently, not just in the initial setting up of the Mission, but for the life and nurture of the young church. But clergymen often complained that the poor were often very demanding on their services, requiring much visitation, and even this did not always result in firm conversions or commitment to the Church. The Diocesan Synod *Minutes* for 1894 recorded that 'It was extremely difficult to secure regular attendance at church from half and half Churchmen unless they were visited regularly in their homes.'⁹⁰

Ladies were particularly active in this work. David Aitchison, who ministered in the east-end of Glasgow in the 1830s, wrote that 'Females are of vast importance as beneficial auxiliaries, whether called deaconesses, sisters of mercy or district visitors; it is sufficient that the head of a mission have at his command a company

⁸⁷ Goldie, *The Episcopal Church in Scotland*, p. 85; *SG*, September 1865.

⁸⁸ *SG*, 5 March 1886.

⁸⁹ *SG*, 24 April 1885.

⁹⁰ *Minutes of the Diocesan Synod*, September 1894.

of females not bound by vows, but for Christ's sake devoted to ministering to the poor and sick. There are many things to be done for the poor which females can do far better than men can.'⁹¹ St. Mary's Church *Annual Report* for 1883 regretted, however, that there were 'not more men among their workers. It would be an immense boon to our work if some of the gentlemen of the Congregation would assist us, in taking Sunday classes, or giving lectures, upon any subject that would interest them, to our poor people during the winter months.'⁹² The weakness of the system was that it was mainly middle-class 'leisured ladies from the better off churches who engaged in visiting, for as the Rev. Charles H. Brooke at Springburn remarked of the working classes, 'it is the very old and infirm, who alone have leisure in this busy suburb.'⁹³

It was not until 1908 that a more culturally relevant approach was suggested to home mission visiting among the Irish poor. Commenting on the work of St. Gabriel's, Govan, 'set in the midst of a large working-class community, where the Irish element is very strong indeed.' *The Scottish Standard Bearer* advocated 'that there is room for several Irish priests and a band of Irish laymen, full of enthusiasm, loyalty and devotion to their Church, who could influence the thousands of their countrymen numbered amongst the lapsed Episcopalians in Glasgow.'⁹⁴

Social Care

Mission in the diocese was directed towards the 'whole person.' It was not just to the soul, in terms of evangelism and the provision of worship; nor for the mind in procuring education through its schools, but it also ministered to the body, in seeking to alleviate the appalling social conditions associated with poverty. *The Report* of the Representative Church Council for 1901 commented that good housing, temperance and an improved social life 'did not usurp the place of religion. Rather they are auxiliaries to it, but important and valuable auxiliaries. All one-sidedness is narrowing, and thus an enemy of the larger life. We cannot by neglecting one factor enrich the other; we only succeed in stunting both. Religion does take in the whole life

⁹¹ *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, 18 February 1859.

⁹² *St. Mary's Magazine*, December 1883. Annual Report for 1883, p. 8.

⁹³ *SG*, January 1883.

⁹⁴ *SSB*, May 1908.

and the whole man.⁹⁵ As illustrations of the Church's social care, the case studies of Partick and Cowcaddens will serve as examples of the provision of clothing, food and household necessities.

The Church was also committed to putting pressure on government, private landlords and local authorities to improve the housing of the working classes. *The Scottish Guardian* in 1884 stated 'that the Church is rapidly gaining ground amongst the poor and the artisans.' But then it noted that 'Evidence is too clear that thousands of our people are living in dwellings utterly unfit for human habitation. Not only in the city, but in the country, landlords are permitted to let, and tenants are permitted to occupy, places called houses, but in reality only centres of immorality, disease and death. Many of our clergy can testify that many of the deserving poor are living in houses which, by want of light, and air, and difficulty in obtaining water for cleanliness, render life a misery and almost a living death.' The Church members were encouraged to use the already existing legislation to advocate improvement in housing. It enjoined them to 'urge on their rich people to show sympathy for the poor, not afraid to point out the short-comings of the landlords, and to plead for the poor, who in many cases dare not plead for themselves.'⁹⁶

Several clergy acted as chaplains to the various Poorhouses and similar institutions in the city. A Home Mission report of the Diocese in the April 1871 issue of *The Church News* stated that 'The Poorhouses are under the spiritual charge of the Rev. W.M. Ramsay, curate of St. John's [Anderston]. That there were many Episcopalians in the Barnhill Poorhouse was attested by the phrase, 'A service is held for Churchmen and is well attended.'⁹⁷ Irish clergy like William McDermott and Patrick Phelan were particularly used as diocesan supernumeraries, ministering mainly in the hospitals, poorhouses and prisons.

Considering that the Episcopal numbers were reckoned to be five per cent of the population of Scotland, an article in *The Scottish Standard Bearer* in December 1899, stated that ten per cent of the total prison population of Scotland were Episcopalians.⁹⁸ Given such a large Irish, working class membership, and the

⁹⁵ *RCC Annual Report for 1901*, pp. 98 - 9.

⁹⁶ *SG*, 4 April 1884.

⁹⁷ *Church News: Scotland*, April 1871.

⁹⁸ *SSB*, December 1890.

propensity of the Irish for petty crime, it would be expected that the proportion of Episcopalians in prison, in the Glasgow area would be high. The Rev. Patrick Phelan at Springburn wrote to Bishop Wilson, 'I made my way last evening to the General prison at Barlinie. From the few inquiries made, I find that Episcopalians are pretty numerous, and to do the work in a satisfactory manner, it would be necessary ... to devote from three to four hours on two or three days of the week ... Most of the members of the Episcopal body who find their way to such places, are utterly ignorant of their duties both as Christians and Churchmen.'⁹⁹

McFarland's comment that the Scottish Episcopal Church 'seems to have had little concern for poor relief, or sense of duty towards the less privileged sections of society'¹⁰⁰ can to a certain extent be challenged, certainly in the Glasgow Diocese. If the Church did ultimately 'fail' the Glasgow poor, it was not through lack of awareness, desire or effort, but simply that it did not have the human resources to adequately minister to the massive mission field on her door step. The Glasgow diocese became synonymous throughout the Church as 'The Home Missions Diocese' and in 1908 *The Scottish Standard Bearer* declared it to be 'The most missionary diocese in the Anglican communion in Europe.'¹⁰¹

The remainder of this thesis will be an examination of the Diocese from local case study samples. Donaldson's high estimate of this method is particularly appropriate: 'I have always been a strong advocate of local studies, if only on the elementary ground that it is dangerous to generalise and hazardous to pronounce on what was happening throughout the country as a whole unless one knows what was happening in the localities.'¹⁰²

The presence of Irish Episcopalians in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway, and the Church's response to them in ministry and mission, as well as dealing with the more controversial areas concerning worship and cultural differences, will be looked at in detail in the following five chapters. The greatest concentration will be on the city of Glasgow which contained not only the majority of the Church's members, but also most of

⁹⁹ DGGA, TD 1382/173, the Rev. Patrick Phelan to Bishop Wilson, 15 June 1886.

¹⁰⁰ McFarland, *Protestants First*, p. 133.

¹⁰¹ *SSB*, February 1908.

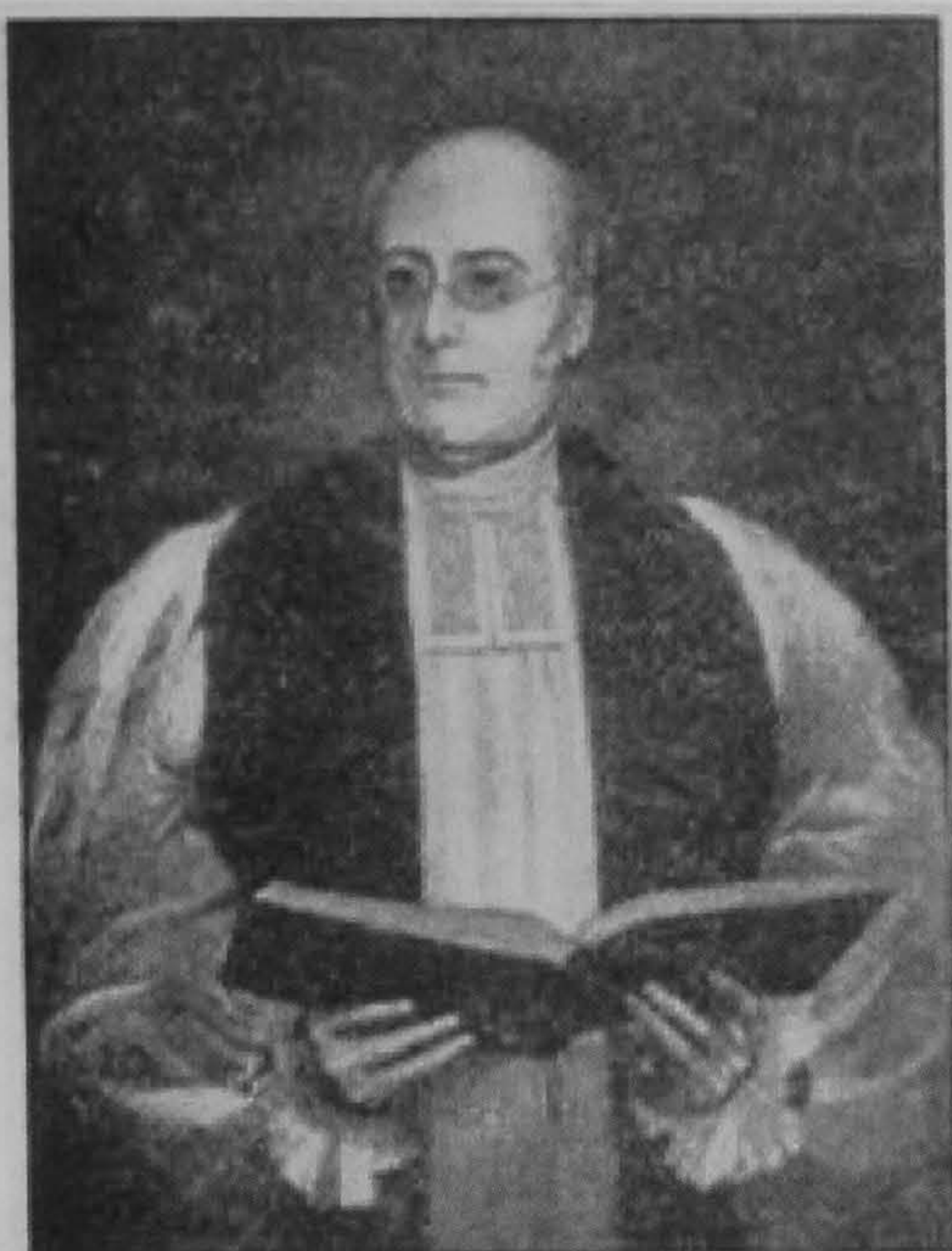
¹⁰² Donaldson, *Reformed by Bishops*, p. v.

its Irish. The areas surrounding Glasgow will next be considered, beginning with Dunbartonshire to the north of the city, and Lanarkshire¹⁰³ to the east of it. Two counties to the south of Glasgow, Renfrewshire and Ayrshire will then follow, with the Renfrewshire burgh of Paisley being a separate chapter, in view of the large amount of primary material uncovered for that particular church and town.

Not all the case studies will be of equal depth, the criteria for this, being the quantity and quality of primary source material uncovered. Major studies will include Springburn, Jordanhill, Paisley, Partick and Dalry, where church records have been well preserved and made available. Lesser case studies have been based on church newspapers of the time, and to a more limited extent, church records. This has enabled this study to present a wider picture of what was happening in the diocese.

¹⁰³ Glasgow is technically in the County of Lanarkshire.

Plate 5:1
The Bishops of Glasgow & Galloway 1837 – 1931



Michael Russell 1837 – 1848



Walter Trower 1848 – 1859



William Wilson 1859 – 1888



Archibald Campbell 1904 – 1921



William Harrison 1888 – 1903



Edward Reid 1921 - 1931

Chapter Six

Glasgow: North (St. Mary's and its Missions)

This chapter will examine various churches in the north of Glasgow, all of which were founded as Missions of St. Mary's Church, which became the cathedral for the diocese in 1908. Most of these have since closed with the exception of St. George's¹ and St. Matthew's.² St. James the Less at Springburn closed in 1980, but the congregation was relocated to Bishopbriggs, an expanding suburb to the north of Springburn. The Springburn Mission, which became St. James the Less, will provide the major case study in this chapter.

St. Mary's was the oldest Episcopal congregation in Glasgow, its origins being shrouded in the turbulent years of the eighteenth century following the Revolution of 1688 when Episcopalianism was becoming increasingly penalised. 'It seems to have been formed from time to time, out of fragments from several congregations, or individuals scattered about in Glasgow who adhered to the Stuarts. Its first formation is not upon record. According to the Lord Chancellor's letter of 13 January 1703, the Rev. Mr. Burgess was the first Minister in Glasgow after the Revolution, who performed Divine Service according to the forms of the Church of England....'³ There did not appear to be a continuous congregation from these early antecedents. A series of clergy and congregations met in different locations as need and opportunity arose.

In 1825 the congregation, under the Rev. George Almond built a new church on Renfield Street to be called 'St. Mary's.' It was a noble building and in the new residential and commercial area to the west of the old city. Not built for the poor, 'It is requested that payment of Seat Rents be made ... without delay. The sittings which remain unpaid ... will be re-let.'⁴ In addition to the well-to-do congregation who now attended St. Mary's, the church records of this period show by the fathers' occupations and addresses, that a large

¹ St. George's, Maryhill was set in a part of the city which has undergone a transformation in employment, housing and ethnicity, in common with many other urban areas. The dwindling congregation disposed of its building in 2005. A new style of more informal and charismatic worship and outreach is being pioneered still under the name of 'St. George's, Maryhill', by a Nigerian Anglican priest.

² St. Matthew's, Possilpark is now a small congregation in an area 'that has suffered for a period of years from the worst effects of de-industrialisation, unemployment, deprivation ...' (Advert in *The Church Times*, 6 October 2006).

³ Dr. James F. S. Gordon, *Glasghu Facies*, in White, *St. Mary's Cathedral*. p. 8.

⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 9 May 1825.

number of poorer people benefited from the ministry of George Almond, assisted by his Irish curate, Maurice de Burgh.⁵

St. Mary's endured a split in 1838 when Almond went on holiday, arranging for the Rev. Robert Montgomery to take the services during this time. The congregation was so impressed with Montgomery that when Almond returned, it wanted Montgomery to be their incumbent instead of Almond. Bishop Michael Russell suggested that as a compromise, a new congregation be formed further west, and so St. Jude's was built at Blythwood Square for Montgomery and his followers. St. Jude's, under its next incumbent, the Rev. C.P. Miles seceded from the Scottish Episcopal Church in 1844 and joined the English Episcopal Church.⁶

Walter John Trower was appointed Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway in 1848, becoming incumbent of St. Mary's at the same time. Richard Oldham was appointed as his assistant in 1851 and took over the senior incumbency three years later.

If the main Sunday worshipping congregation and paying congregation of St. Mary's was drawn from the wealthier and middle classes, its clergy were well aware of the pressing pastoral needs of the many poorer Episcopalians who were living in terrible conditions just a few streets away in Anderston and Cowcaddens. In 1851 there 'were appeals for the destitute Irish.' Oldham set up a Provident Fund 'for the poor Irish' which was a great success. This involved visits to the poor by the ladies of St. Mary's who collected a minimum of threepence per week, until December when all deposits were returned with twenty per cent interest in the form of orders for coal and clothing, though one third of the amount might be returned in cash.⁷

The first outreach was the commencement of a school at Anderston. Although the Rev. J.A.D. D'Orsey had founded St. John's Church there in 1846⁸, both Trower and Oldham rented a Baptist church hall in Brown Street which was called 'The Bishop's School' and advertised 'for the education of Episcopalians in the West

⁵ Sheena S. Macleod, *St. Mary's Episcopal Church, Glasgow 1871 – 1908* (Certificate in Scottish Studies, University of Glasgow Department of Continuing Education, 1994), p. 8.

⁶ White, *St. Mary's Cathedral*, pp. 15-16.

⁷ *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, March 1852, referring to St. Mary's in 1851.

⁸ For the Rev. J. D'Orsey and the Irish at St. John's Church, Anderston. see chapter seven of this thesis.

of Scotland.’ The daily fees were very modest: two pence per child, or one penny if two or more children from the same family attended. By October 1851 there were 105 pupils enrolled, with an average of 78 attending each day. Gaelic services were also held here on Sunday afternoons for the large number of Highland Episcopalians coming into Glasgow. By 1869 there were some 221 pupils enrolled, but the school closed in 1874, the money from its sale being put to improve St. Mary’s other school in the Cowcaddens.⁹

By the 1860s the area around St. Mary’s Church in Renfield Street was changing ‘and the better off were moving farther off.’¹⁰ It was around this time that consideration was given to relocating the church. MacLeod suggests some reasons for this: ‘Several other centrally based Churches had relocated or were planning to relocate to the western suburbs where increasing numbers of their congregations had taken up residence in the new villas and terraces. Another factor, particularly relevant to St. Mary’s as an Episcopal Church, would have been the increasing importance of worship not only of music but also of visual beauty related to ceremonial.’¹¹ The distance and the upwardly social classes which would form the majority of the congregation would both exclude the poor from attending, and so Richard Oldham who was ‘concerned that his poorer Episcopalian brethren would be inconvenienced by the move,’¹² realised that separate missions were imperative which would become churches in their own right.

The Cowcaddens Mission (St. Peter’s)

Victorian missionary strategy was often to begin with a school for educating children during the day. This was used successfully both by Roman Catholic and Episcopalian congregations as the beginnings of what would thereafter become Missions and then Churches. At Cowcaddens, what began as a school eventually became the largest mission Church, St. Peter’s, which at its height had a worshipping Sunday congregation of over 800 people, the largest attendance of any church ever recorded in the Diocese.

⁹ Macleod, *St. Mary’s Episcopal Church*, p. 52.

¹⁰ White, *St. Mary’s Cathedral*, p. 27.

¹¹ Macleod, *St. Mary’s Episcopal Church*, p. 11.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 55.

The area known as Cowcaddens which housed many of the poor attached to St. Mary's, was described by as one of the residential areas in Glasgow where there was a concentration of Irish.¹³ After 1866 living conditions in Cowcaddens began to deteriorate rapidly. With the cleaning of the slums around Glasgow's High Street, the poorest were forced to look for accommodation elsewhere and many moved to Cowcaddens. By the 1880s the area had developed into a new slum district. While most other areas of the city experienced some improvement in life expectancy during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was little sign of this in Cowcaddens and it remained the area with the highest levels of infant mortality (190 per thousand births) – almost three times the level in Glasgow's west-end.¹⁴

The work there was begun by the Rev. Richard Oldham who was 'shocked with the want of religious and educational work in the Cowcaddens and resolved to open a school in this district.'¹⁵ In 1859 the frequent applications made by families belonging to the working classes for the baptism of children, visits of sickness, etc. in the district of Cowcaddens, led to the opening of an Infant School in a hired room in the Milton Arcade. By 1866 the school had outgrown these premises and moved to the Mechanics Hall in Stewart Street where 'lectures and evening services given on week days, especially during Advent and Lent, where the attendance was so encouraging that soon a Sunday evening service was commenced.' The average attendance was 150 besides children. A Sunday School was begun with twenty teachers, a lending library had been provided; a penny Savings bank opened with 250 depositors, and a regular system of home visitation established.¹⁶

In 1867 a Chapel-school was built in Braid Street and served by the clergy of St. Mary's. The earliest surviving Baptismal Register for the Mission covers 1870 to 1882. Of the first twenty families from 1870 to 1871 identified in the 1871 Census, the largest group were Irish, accounting for fifty per cent of individuals and sixty per cent of families. Scots-born were thirty-nine per cent and English-born, eleven per cent.¹⁷

¹³ I. G. C. Hutchison, 'Working Class Politics', R.A. Cage (ed.), *The Working Class in Glasgow 1750 - 1914*, London: Croom Head, 1987, p. 130.

¹⁴ W. Hamish Fraser 'Cowcaddens', *The Glasgow Story* (online), available at: <http://www.theglasgowstory.com/story.php?id=TGSDG14> (accessed on 14 November 2006).

¹⁵ *SC*, 16 July 1926, 'Glasgow, St. Peter's: Notes on the early days'.

¹⁶ *SG*, April 1867.

The Bishop's School in Anderston closed in 1874 and the money from the sale was used to build a new 'St. Mary's School' close to the chapel-school which was then used just as a church. By 1893, despite the erection of many neighbouring Board Schools, St. Mary's School was full to capacity with 450 enrolled pupils. In 1902 the school was enlarged and by 1903 its roll was almost 500. In addition to an elementary education, religious instruction was given, and included the doctrines of the Episcopal Church as set forth in the Catechism of the *Book of Common Prayer*. As was the case in most Episcopalian schools, children of any denomination could enrol and parents could withdraw them from religious instruction should they wish – few did although over 50 per cent of the pupils were nominally Presbyterian. The School continued into the early twentieth century when slum clearance and redevelopment made it no longer viable.¹⁸

Meanwhile the Braid Street church continued to grow. In 1881 it was enlarged and re-named St. Peter's. The church held 300 and was always full so that in 1892 an aisle was built adding 150 further seats, but this too proved inadequate. The solution arose when land just a few hundred yards away became available and in 1898 the foundation stone for the new St. Peter's Church at Gardner Street (later named St. Peter's Street), to seat 800, was laid by the Ulster-born, Lord Kelvin who was a regular communicant at St. Mary's.¹⁹

By 1883 there were 3000 Episcopalians in the Cowcaddens, out of which there was a regular worshipping congregation of 800. *The Scottish Chronicle* gave the work the highest accolade: 'St. Peter's is perhaps the most striking example in Scotland of what might be done by really capable and zealous mission work.'²⁰

In the late 1920s cracks were found in the building, pointing to poor foundations in the early stages on land under which were disused coal mines. This financial crisis hit hard a working class congregation about to enter the uncertain economic post-war years. With the more 'respectable' working class people moving away, the surrounding area became a slum and in 1944 the houses surrounding St. Peter's were described as

¹⁷ GCA, TD 1378/3, Cowcaddens Mission, *Baptismal Register* 1870 – 1882.

¹⁸ Macleod, *St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral*, pp. 53-54.

¹⁹ *SG*, 20 February 1931. 'Our Church's Home Missions: St. Peter's, Glasgow'.

²⁰ *SC*, 16 July 1926.

'all single apartments with an average of eight living in one room, just about twice the size of St. Peter's vestry.'²¹

By this time the Scottish Episcopal Church was in decline, as were most churches in Scotland. But locally Cowcaddens was being transformed. The old housing was being demolished and the community from which St. Peter's gleaned its congregation was dispersed to the new housing schemes around Glasgow. The church finally closed in 1963.

The Townhead Mission (St. Mungo's / St. Luke's)

The Townhead Mission shared its roots with Cowcaddens in that Episcopalians from this district as well as the Garngad formed the congregation which met in the Milton Arcade and the Mechanics' Hall, Stewart Street, Cowcaddens commencing in 1865.²²

In 1867 when the chapel-school was built in Braid Street for the Cowcaddens people, the remainder, from Townhead and Garngad, continued to meet at Stewart Street. The Townhead members worshipped there until 1868, but the congregation had grown considerably, and so a year earlier the members from Garngad were formed into a separate Mission: 'to meet the great religious wants of these poor people, a Mission was opened in the Garngad Road, where for some time regular services were conducted in a schoolroom, kindly lent by Messrs Tennant of St. Rollox.'²³

A plot of land was purchased in Grafton Street, off what is now Cathedral Street, and it was at first proposed to erect a temporary iron church 'for use of the congregation which is almost exclusively a working one, consisting of mechanics, whose steady attendance at the various services is about the only encouragement their missionary has for continuing his work among them.'²⁴ The response of the wider Church was so great

²¹ White, *St. Mary's Cathedral*, p. 52.

²² *SG*, 11 August 1933. 'Notes in the History of St. Luke's, Glasgow'.

²³ *SG*, December 1872.

²⁴ *SG*, June 1873.

that ‘a neat, substantial brick building is to take the place of the proposed zinc church.’²⁵ The new St. Luke’s Church was opened in 1874. Architecturally it was in complete contrast to the new gothic St. Mary’s which three years before had moved to the Great Western Road. Reflecting the Low Church preferences of its congregation it was a square building, ‘having in its shape and in the disposition of its pews designed as a Meeting House rather than as an Episcopal Church.’²⁶

The growth continued so that by 1875 it was raised to incumbency status, the first mission to be independent of St. Mary’s, the Rev. William Bradshaw being its first incumbent with the Irish-born the Rev. Joseph Rice as curate. Reflecting the wishes of its largely Irish congregation, and to ensure that no clergy of Oxford Movement tendencies would ever be appointed there, its Constitution was worded ‘to exclude clergy of *extreme views* from holding the charge.’²⁷ In the 1878 *Year Book* its worship was described as, ‘Services Plain.’

The Rev. Frederick Smith, incumbent in 1895 described the area, giving an indication of the context of the church’s ministry: ‘the church is situated in as dense a population as in any part of Glasgow, within half a mile east of the church there are 50,000 people, the population of Townhead and its environs being 90,000 ... The population is rapidly rising ... An official canvass conducted in the area discovered that nearly 10 per cent of the 90,000 were Episcopalians – almost 9,000.’²⁸

In 1886 the membership was at its highest with 800 on the roll. By 1888 its incumbent boasted that ‘the church (sitting 350) is much too small for the congregation. Steps are being taken to enlarge it to sit 800. The number of communicants had increased eight fold during the last eight years.’²⁹ Despite that, White claims that ‘the later history of St. Luke’s was one of constant struggle’³⁰ and in 1913 the better off formed a new

²⁵ SG, 26 September 1873.

²⁶ SG, 18 August 1933 ‘Notes in the history of St. Luke’s Church, Glasgow’, quoting the Rector of St. Luke’s, (1879-1890), the Rev. A. T. Pullin.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ SG, 1 May 1896.

²⁹ *Year Book for the Episcopal Church in Scotland, 1888*, p. 155.

³⁰ White, *St. Mary’s Cathedral*, p. 49.

church at Dennistoun – St. Barnabas. In 1941, St. Luke's was badly damaged by enemy action, and was finally closed in 1950.

Springburn Mission (St. James the Less)

St. Luke's Church, set in the midst of a densely populated area with a sizeable Episcopalian constituency, on its own, would have been enough for the energies of its incumbent, the Rev. William E. Bradshaw. However, its northern catchment area included the burgeoning areas of St. Rollox and Springburn, whose Episcopalians were soon making demands on the pastoral resources of St. Luke's.

In the early nineteenth century, Springburn was little more than a few cottages, some country villas, and mansion-houses, having something of a rural air though just one and half miles from Glasgow Cathedral. Even by 1831 it was 'a pleasant pastoral scene. A few cottages inhabited by weavers and quarrymen.'³¹

The coming of the railway was to change all that and was to turn Springburn into the railway metropolis of the north. The first railway line was opened in 1827 to transport coal from Monklands some ten miles east of it, into the city. This relatively modest project also required workshops to house and service the locomotives. Parallel to the north of this was the Forth and Clyde Canal. The building of railways and canals required a non-local workforce, and as Thomas says, 'By the late 1830s the quiet Forth-Clyde valley was occupied from end to end by a raucous, itinerant army of navvies, Irish almost to a man. Some found lodgings in the Springburn cottages, most lived in the huddled camps made available by the contractors.'³² Thus the first Irish, unskilled labourers, had come to Springburn.

The rapid spread of the national railway network demanded more and more locomotives, and led to the expansion of the private locomotive manufacturing industry. In 1841, the Edinburgh & Glasgow Railway Company built their locomotive works at Cowlands; thus began 'the transformation of Springburn from a village of cotton and silk handloom weavers to a major industrial centre.'³³ Between 1842 and 1924

³¹ John Thomas, *The Springburn Story: The History of the Scottish Railway Metropolis* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1974), p. 33.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Mark O'Neill, *Ordinance Survey Maps, Springburn 1910*, Introduction (Consett: Alan Godfrey Maps).

Cowlairs built around 850 locomotives, as well as maintaining and repairing the stock of the extensive North British railway. The railway works pervaded every aspect of the life of the community. Smart comments, 'By the end of the nineteenth century almost every family in Springburn was dependent, directly or indirectly, on the railways for its livelihood.'³⁴

The spiritual needs of the growing population were ministered to firstly, by the Presbyterians, who opened the first church in Springburn in 1842.³⁵ Springburn Catholics attended St. Mungo's Church in Townhead which was formed in 1850. In 1855 the *Catholic Directory* reported, 'Springburn – a new Mission is to be opened here immediately ... there is a Day school with an average attendance of 100.'³⁶ In 1856, St. Aloysius' church was opened with seating for 500. There were estimated to be 1,600 Catholics in the Springburn area by 1859.³⁷

Episcopalian services began in the Argyll Hall from May 1875. Although Bradshaw was in charge of the Mission, the earliest *Baptismal Register* shows that he had the Rev. Frederick Courtney from St. Jude's and the Rev. James McCann to assist with the services.³⁸ Courtney was rector of St. Jude's in Blythswood Square which was in the transition of coming back under the jurisdiction of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The appointment of McCann was also strategic. He was both an Irishman and an Orangeman, whose congregation, St. Paul's Buccleuch Street, was composed mainly of poorer Irish.³⁹

Seeing the need of a more settled ministry, and in order to serve his growing, predominantly Irish congregation, Bradshaw appointed the Rev. Joseph Rice as curate, who was then given charge of the work. Rice was himself an Irishman, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin ordained by the Bishop of Tuam in 1870. As well as assisting Bradshaw in the mission, he was also commissioned with 'visiting the Poor Houses and

³⁴ Aileen Smart, *The Villages of Glasgow*, 2 Vols. (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), Vol. 1, p. 166.

³⁵ Frank Myers, *A History of Springburn Parish Church* (Glasgow: The Kirk Session, 1997), p. 2.

³⁶ Bernard Canning, *The Living Stone: St. Aloysius' R. C. Church, Springburn, 1882-1982* (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons), p. 15

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁸ *Baptismal Register 1875-1889 for The Episcopal Mission, Springburn.*

³⁹ For the Rev. James McCann see chapter four of this thesis.

Infirmaries.⁴⁰ His curacy was, however, short-lived. He seceded from the Scottish Episcopal Church and in a year's time reappeared in Springburn under the banner of the breakaway group, the English Episcopal Church.⁴¹

The Year Book gave the Sunday attendance figures as between 70 to 80, but noted its possibilities: 'A better field for Missionary labour it would be impossible to find, either at home or abroad. The professed Episcopalians are either English or Irish, of the artisan class.'⁴²

The following figures from St. James' *Baptismal Register* between the commencement of the Mission in 1875 to include the first four years show the high proportion of Irish families, and in the first two years an almost total absence of Scottish families. Although Baptisms do not reflect the entire ministry of the church, it does give an indication of its wider community.

Table 6:1

Ethnic origins of Baptismal presenters at the Springburn Mission 1875 - 1878

| Year | Baptisms | Number of families identified in 1881 Census | Irish one parent | Irish Both parents | Scottish One parent | Scottish Both parents | English One parent | English Both parents | Percentage of Irish families |
|------|----------|--|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| 1875 | 16 | 7 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 75% |
| 1876 | 14 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 71% |
| 1877 | 17 | 7 | 2 | 9 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 76% |
| 1878 | 10 | 9 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 53% |

Source: Springburn Mission (St. James the Less), *Baptismal Registers* 1875 - 1878

In 1878 Mr Biggar noted that there were 'at least 2000 members of the Anglican Communion in Springburn and the immediate neighbourhood.'⁴³ The Roman Catholic constituency was also around that number at that period.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ DGGA, 1382/75, *Bishops' Journal*, 22 February 1876.

⁴¹ For the English Episcopal Church see chapter three of this thesis.

⁴² *Year Book for the Episcopal Church in Scotland*, 1878, p. 229.

Despite this considerable Episcopal community, between October 1878 and May 1879 there were no Baptisms held during this six month period. Services had come to a standstill and the mission was in danger of coming to an end.

A letter appeared from Bradshaw in *The Scottish Guardian* to notify the wider Church that the work was now closed after just four years.⁴⁵ This caused William M. Biggar, a Lay Reader, to write to Bishop Wilson: 'All earnest churchmen must have heard with sorrow that the Church's Mission at Springburn has been abandoned. This is a great mistake and steps should be taken at once to have it resurrected.' That part of the problem was the lack of available clergy was hinted at: 'The services should be conducted by asking godly laymen to come forward and act as lay readers' adding, 'I feel heartily inclined, as no person more suitable seems willing to come forward, and offer my humble service. I am quite prepared at the same time to take upon myself the entire burden of the mission.'⁴⁶ Bradshaw then wrote to Bishop Wilson suggesting that Biggar's offer be taken up as he was not 'an extreme Churchman.'⁴⁷ This phrase may have suggested the issues which would have to be faced if the immediate future revival of St James the Less was to have any chance.

Various correspondence on the future of the Springburn Mission between R.T.N. Speir (Home Missions Convenor), W. Biggar (Lay Reader), William Wilson (Bishop), and William Bradshaw (Incumbent) from October 1878 to February 1879, suggest that the predominance and powerful influence of Orangemen in the Episcopalian community there was proving something of a stumbling block and would need to be engaged sensitively but firmly.

Speir reminded the Bishop that they had been charged with the task of drawing up a report for the Diocesan Council as to where grants for mission causes should go. Speir's own feeling had been that Springburn

⁴³ DGGA, TD 1382/147/2, W. M. Biggar to the Rev. W. E. Bradshaw, 28 October 1878.

⁴⁴ Canning, *The Living Stone*, pp. 19; 27. This is based on his numbers of 1,600 in 1859 and 3,000 in 1884.

⁴⁵ *SG*, 20 October 1878.

⁴⁶ Biggar to Bradshaw, 28 October 1878.

⁴⁷ DGGA, TD 1382/147/3, The Rev. W. E. Bradshaw to Bishop Wilson. 30 October 1878.

should have been the priority in the city, but said that there were many objectors to money going there, partly on the grounds of its already being considered a failure. It had also been rumoured round the Diocese that Springburn was an 'Orange church', and that further assistance would simply be seen as encouraging sectarianism. He added, 'If it is true that the machinery of the Orange lodges has been at work in connection with the Mission in interfering in any way with the conduct of the services, or seen in trying to make attendance at the services a party question, then I think it would be better to break fresh ground elsewhere; especially if as you say, that the Springburn people appear to be lukewarm.'⁴⁸ Bradshaw, in defending the mission admitted that most of the members were Orangemen: 'the majority of those attending the Mission have always belonged to that narrow and bigoted order.' He also admitted that the Orangemen had tried to put pressure on him, but that he had firmly resisted them. His solution was that 'with a good man and true, the Mission would undoubtedly prosper' and, 'were it not for St. Luke's Church, I myself prefer Springburn as a place of labour.'⁴⁹

A report from Mr Biggar to the Bishop in February 1879 portrays a good picture of life at the mission, the sort of people who attended and some of the conditions under which they lived:

The prospects of the Mission are encouraging. The great majority of the people are very poor earning only labourers wages, a very few are somewhat better off, and only one family may be said to be of higher rank than the working classes. It is the duty of the Church to minister to these poor members, for if she ceased to do so, they will either be absorbed into the various sects or be lost to Christianity altogether ...

The winter ... has been a very severe and trying one ... many could not venture out for want of proper and sufficient clothing. In consequence of a strike and the universal depression in trade, many have been for a long time out of employment. So the time when the mission was recommenced - the 15th November last year (1878) was far from auspicious...

I have visited a great many people in their homes including one young woman who died of consumption in the month of December ...

Three notables are present among the congregation: English, Scotch and Irish. The last probably predominantly.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ DGGGA, TD 1382/173/9, R. T. N. Speir to Bishop Wilson, 11 December 1878.

⁴⁹ DGGGA, TD 1382/173/10, The Rev. W. E. Bradshaw to Bishop Wilson, 20 December 1878.

⁵⁰ DGGGA, TD 1382/147/4, W. M. Biggar to Bishop Wilson, 20 February 1879.

Orangeism did not seem to be much of an issue for Mr Biggar, who simply noted that ‘The Irish as a rule are very low church.’ He seemed to have resisted Orange pressure by adding, ‘I have been asked to preach a sermon against the Pope. They may ask ten thousand times before I could comply with such an uncharitable request. On the contrary, I pray every Sunday that all may live in unity and Godly love.’⁵¹

Mr Biggar realised he was only a stop-gap and that soon a permanent clergyman would need to be appointed, advising that ‘a man of sound common sense, firmness and moderation is required at Springburn.’⁵²

Part of the new start was to put the Mission under the care of St. Paul’s Church. This had been McCann’s church and was itself composed mainly of Irish people. Its new rector, George Lakeman, had successfully opened a mission for the Irish in Ardrossan, Ayrshire. His new curate the Rev. Charles Hyde Brooke, was given the charge of the struggling mission. Brooke had been a missionary in Melanesia and for the past three years had been in charge of the mission at Jordanhill, to the west of Glasgow. Brooke was the first upper-class Englishman to minister at Springburn. His mother was the daughter of Sir Thomas Mostyn, one of the richest landowners in Wales. In seeking to endear himself to the Irish, he could also claim Ulster descent as his father was Charles Clement Brooke of the Brooke’s of Coleraine, a well-known family of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland.⁵³

In August 1879 Biggar gave Brooke a tour of his new parish. Biggar liked him, and felt he was the right man for the job. Commending the Bishop on his appointment he wrote, ‘There is not one I consider better adopted for the place than Mr Brooke... he is a man of much sense and moderation, with his simple unassuming manner.’⁵⁴

In the meantime, the Rev. Joseph Rice, seeing that the Episcopal mission was struggling and not making sufficient inroads into the Irish community, seized on its vulnerability to start a mission of his own under the

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² DGGGA, TD 1382/147/8, W. M. Biggar to Bishop Wilson, 30 July 1879.

⁵³ Information contained in a letter from Mr. Christopher Draper, Llandudno, 26 August 2004, who is researching Brooke’s earlier life and Welsh connections.

⁵⁴ DGGGA, 1382/147/9, W. M. Biggar to Bishop Wilson, 1 August 1879.

auspices of the English Episcopal Church. Mr Biggar was therefore relieved that Brooke had arrived just in time and wrote to the Bishop, 'I think Mr Brooke is just appointed in the nick of time as strange rumours are floating about the great things the "English Episcopal Party" are going to do under the Rev. Joseph Rice when he makes his second advent in Springburn. It is to be devoutly hoped that the scheme of the Rev. Joseph may be nipped in the bud by the excellent appointment made by your lordship.'⁵⁵

Rice promptly joined the Orange Order, as far as Brooke was concerned, for purely proselytising reasons: 'Mr Rice's policy has been to become an Orangeman in full form in order to gain the Orangemen.' He admitted that this could give Rice an edge over him. 'I distributed bills in shop windows announcing my appointment and calling upon Episcopalians, English, Irish and Scotch loyally to attend the services and to unite in support of the present effort. I do not think that Mr Rice has any strong point except his new-blown Orangeism.'⁵⁶

At Brooke's first service on 17 August 1879 he was well aware of the challenge which lay before him. 'I took my first service at Springburn yesterday where there was a good congregation. The *extreme* Orangemen ... it would be hopeless if not absolutely wrong to attempt to please them in their present uneducated condition Nothing deserving the name of the Catholic Faith will ever suit them as their religion is simply political.'⁵⁷

Brooke realised that it was now time to build a church as their meeting place in the Argyll Hall was 'altogether secular in character and by no means the most appropriate place for the celebration of the divine office and sacraments of the church.'⁵⁸ An appeal for funds was made through *The Scottish Guardian*. 'An earnest appeal is now made to the members of the Episcopal Church for the support of this Mission, and for the means of erecting a church at Springburn. The district comprises the Locomotive Works of the North

⁵⁵ DGGGA, 1382/147/10. W. M. Biggar to Bishop Wilson, 12 August 1879.

⁵⁶ DGGGA, TD 1382/147/11, the Rev. Charles H. Brooke to Bishop Wilson, 18 August 1879.

⁵⁷ DGGGA, TD 1382/147/12, the Rev. Charles H. Brooke to Bishop Wilson, 18 August 1879.

⁵⁸ DGGGA, TD 1382/147/9. W. M. Biggar to Bishop Wilson, 1 August 1879.

British Railway Company, at Cowlairs and other extensive works of a similar character and is inhabited almost exclusively by the artisan and labouring classes employed in these establishments.⁵⁹

Raising finance for a permanent church building was a difficult task in an area with such a poor congregation. The correspondence in the Diocesan papers first mentions the matter in 1879 when Biggar wondered where the money was to come from. Patronage was sought from the proprietor of Hyde Park Works, James Reid,⁶⁰ who although not a member of the Anglican Communion was expected to donate £100.

After a number of approaches to different local landowners, a site on Mollinsburn Street was secured following a gift to the Church by Thomas Christie of Bedlay.⁶¹ The foundation stone for the new Church now known as St. James the Less, was laid in October 1880, the architect being Mr Biggar of Edinburgh, the Lay Reader's brother 'for a fee considerable below what is usually allowed.'⁶² It was completed in October 1881, built of brick, with an apsidal chancel, seating 250.

By 1883 Brooke had spent five years at Springburn, during which time the new church had been built and the congregation had risen to 150. No records have yet come to light to suggest whether Brooke's time there was happy or not, or what circumstances led to his resignation. His comment about some of the Orangemen, 'it is very difficult to neutralise the inveterate prejudice of half educated men,'⁶³ might have showed an underlying contempt for his congregation. David Hilliard writing of Brooke's missionary days in Melanesia might suggest an insight into how a high-bred Englishman felt among a 'native population': 'Always, he revelled in the singular position he occupied in Niggela society: "There was I, the only white man on the island, without

⁵⁹ *SG*, 3 October 1879.

⁶⁰ James Reid's son, Edward became Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway (1921-31), see chapter five of this thesis.

⁶¹ Ann Donaldson, *A History of St. James the Less Episcopal Church* (Glasgow: The Vestry, 2005), p. 5. Thomas Craig Christie (1816-1910) was a merchant in the City of Glasgow, whose family came from Aberdeenshire. His grand father settled in Paisley in the eighteenth century and over the next three generations, the family were involved in manufacture and trade to the Baltic, Rio de Janeiro and latterly, Glasgow.

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 5.

⁶³ DGGGA, TD 1382/147/12, the Rev. Charles H. Brooke to Bishop Wilson, 18 August 1879.

so much as a pop-gun to defend myself with, dwelling amidst that crowd of eager bloodthirsty savages ... The romance of the life appealed to me strongly”⁶⁴

The Rev. Patrick Phelan was appointed to succeed Brooke in 1883. Phelan was ideally suited for the complexities of the Springburn mission. He would have endeared himself to the Orangemen, being Irish, but also as something of a coup being a converted Roman Catholic priest. He would also be an able exponent for the Scottish Episcopal Church against the followers of Rice, having been curate at the English Episcopal flagship in Glasgow, St. Silas, from 1878 to 1873.⁶⁵ As Donaldson observed, ‘During this period of rapid industrialisation and the growth of new urban communities caused by the influx of migrant and immigrant labour, the various churches and denominations of the period clearly felt they were competing for “territory” in the rapidly expanding “frontier” which was Springburn during this period.’⁶⁶

Phelan’s ministry saw considerable growth in terms of the congregation (those associated with the church) jumping from 150 to 800; Communicants (those who took Communion) from 72 to 176; and Baptisms rose from 17 in one year, to 65, the following year.

Table 6:2
Congregational Statistics for St. James the Less, Springburn, 1881 - 1890

| Year | Congregation | Sunday School | Communicants | Confirmations | Baptisms | Minister |
|------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|----------|----------|
| 1881 | 80 | 40 | 120 | | | Brooke |
| 1882 | 150 | 30 | 15 | 16 | | Brooke |
| 1884 | 150 | - | 72 | 60 | | Brooke |
| 1885 | 500 | - | 281 | 65 | 17 | Phelan |
| 1886 | 800 | 80 | 176 | 30 | 65 | Phelan |
| 1888 | 600 | - | 100 | 21 | 80 | |
| 1890 | 520 | 60 | 100 | 17 | 20 | Rollo |

Source: *Year Book of the S.E.C.*, 1879 – 1890.

⁶⁴ David Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission 1849-1942* (Queensland: Queensland University Press, 1978), p. 90. Brooke was expelled from the Melanesian Mission in 1874, before he became a home missionary in Glasgow, ‘when his overt homosexuality was discovered’ (Hilliard, p. 90).

⁶⁵ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 400. The Rev. William Rollo, later Rector of St. James’s conducted Phelan’s funeral at Maybole, when Phelan died there suddenly in November 1905.

⁶⁶ Donaldson, *A History of St. James's Church*, p. 3.

Under Phelan's ministry, the numbers and percentage of Irish in the congregation rose to an all time high. The following table shows something of the contrast between Brooke's and Phelan's ministry in this respect. As the years before and after 1885 came between the two census years, Phelan's families have been the most difficult to identify in the census, suggesting as in other places, a high mobility among the migrant community. But the families which have been discovered, indicate a very high percentage of Irish.

Table 6:3

Ethnic origins of Baptismal presenters at St. James the Less Church, Springburn 1881 - 1886

| Minister | Baptisms | Families found in 1882 Census | Irish One parent | Irish Both parents | Scottish One parent | Scottish Both parents | English One parent | English Both parents | Percentage of Irish families |
|--------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| Brooke 1881- 1883 | 70 | 42 | 7 | 21 | 8 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 58% |
| Phelan 1883- 1886 | 114 | 41 | 8 | 29 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 86% |

Source: *Baptismal Registers* 1881 – 1886 and 1881 Census

Although the Church news papers indicated that the members of the Mission were mainly 'of the artisan and labouring classes,' they failed to distinguish between these. Fathers' occupations as indicated in the *Baptismal Register* showed that there had always been a proportion of clerks, merchants and police constables in the church. But by far the largest proportion were skilled artisans. These included engineers, painters, boiler-makers, moulders, fitters, joiners and blacksmiths. There were also unskilled labourers such as chimney-sweeps, hammermen, canal labourers and general labourers. During Phelan's ministry however, which corresponded with the largest numbers and largest number of Irish, there was a big increase in the number of unskilled labouring families attracted to the church.

In a comparison between baptisms conducted by Brooke and those conducted by Phelan, the following results suggest a large unskilled labouring congregation by 1886.

Table 6:4

Occupations of Fathers at St. James the Less Church, Springburn 1879 - 1886

| Minister | Number of Baptisms | Managers, Clerks & Officials | Skilled artisans | Unskilled labourers |
|----------|--------------------|------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Brooke | 104 | 8% | 42% | 50% |
| Phelan | 113 | 4% | 20% | 76% |

Source: *Baptismal Registers* 1879 – 1886

Division had already occurred in the congregation while Phelan was there, and this may have caused him to leave soon after. Phelan's ministry lasted just three years from 1883 to 1886. For some unknown reason he left just at the time when the church was experiencing unprecedented growth. He moved to Greenock where he took on another Irish mission, St. Stephen's Cartdyke. Despite Phelan's appeal to the Irish, the congregation was slowly changing in its social and ethnic make up.

In a letter to the Bishop, the Rev. Alfred Pullin of St. Luke's said that his motivation in taking charge of the mission after Phelan's departure was 'solely the hope of being able to heal the differences between the two parties ... I addressed a large congregation and said that if I assumed the charge of them, I would come as a peace maker. They would have to trust me, they knew me, and no bullying on their part would make me swerve from the path of duty.'⁶⁷

With the appeal of a new and beautiful building, increasing numbers of skilled workers coming from England and wealthy landowners like Thomas Christie associating themselves with the congregation, St James the Less was not the homogeneous group it had been fifteen years before. There followed a couple of short pastorates during which time the divisions in the church became more obvious. Mr Christie, writing to the Bishop in December 1886, noted, 'Mr Pullin preached and gave the congregation a lecture on their unhappy divisions which had brought them to the position that no minister could live among them.'⁶⁸

⁶⁷ DGGGA, TD 1382/147/12, the Rev. A. T. Pullin to Bishop Wilson, Christmas 1886.

⁶⁸ DGGGA, TD 1382/147/16, T. Craig Christie to Bishop Wilson 2 December 1886.

Following Phelan's departure, it would appear that most of the Irish, who had been unhappy with the direction the church was taking, left the church, to form a separate congregation. It would be interesting to know what became of the English Episcopal Church's threat in 1879 to represent true Protestant Episcopalianism and be the church where the Irish could be most at home. Joseph Rice's ministry appears to have been short lived as a post script in one of Brooke's letters shows, 'Mr Bradshaw says Mr Rice has left the country.'⁶⁹

In 1886 a breakaway church was formed in Springburn under the auspices of the Reformed Episcopal Church, which later amalgamated with the Free Church of England and 'Holy Trinity Protestant Church of England' was built in Keppochhill Road.⁷⁰ Its first rector, the Rev. R. J. Campbell, reflecting after a six-year ministry there, traced the history of the church from its first meetings in the Vulcan Street Hall to its present location, saying, 'some had come and some had gone, but the men who first laid their shoulders to his in the cause of Evangelical Episcopacy in Springburn were still with him.' It is not clear if Campbell was an Orangeman or not, but his rhetoric showed the constituency he was aiming at: 'They had an object in holding their meeting near "Derry Day". Their motto was that of the men who lay behind the walls of Derry – "No Surrender." They had not surrendered and they did not mean to surrender.'⁷¹

As the more extreme Irish element were probably now at Holy Trinity Church, and the remaining Irish were more moderate; and there was a growing number of English families moving into the area, perhaps it was time to bring fresh impetus and a new direction. In 1889 the Rev. William Rollo, the son of Lord Rollo of Duncrub in Perthshire, was appointed priest in charge of the Mission. Rollo's ministry was a watershed in the life of the church; during his time, the Irish families were less conspicuous and a growing number of English families were taking their place. Indeed it is claimed that although 'Established originally ... as a Mission to the poor and mainly Irish population in Springburn in the 1870s, St. James survived through the influx of Anglicans, mainly skilled workers from England, in the late nineteenth century.'⁷²

⁶⁹ DGGGA, TD 1382/147/12, the Rev. Charles H. Brooke to Bishop Wilson, 18 August 1879.

⁷⁰ For the Reformed Episcopal Church see chapter three of this thesis, also chapter ten of this thesis for a similar split at Paisley in 1886.

⁷¹ *St. Rollox and Springburn Express*, 22 December 1892. 'Derry Day' was the 18 December, the commemoration of the shutting of the gates of Londonderry by the thirteen apprentice boys in 1688, against the troops of King James II.

⁷² Donaldson, *A History of St. James's Church*, p. 13.

A representative sample of 30 families from the Baptismal Register and identified in the 1891 Census for the first five years of Rollo's ministry would indicate this change.

Table 6:5

Ethnic origins of Baptismal presenters at St. James the Less Church, Springburn, 1889 -1893

| Irish One parent | Irish Both parents | Scottish One parent | Scottish Both parents | English One parent | English Both parents |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 4 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 13 |

Source: *Baptismal Registers* 1889 – 1893 and 1891 Census

Given that this represents the families connected with the church, Irish families now made up less than a quarter of the congregation whereas English families now comprised 63 per cent..

However as Donaldson has noted, ‘This picture of Springburn must also be balanced by the epidemics of smallpox, scarlet fever and measles which were rife in the area with a temporary fever hospital being set up at St. Rollox in 1892.’ The weekly death rate was noted at 25 per 1000 population in the week beginning the 15 February 1892. The Register of Burials for St. James during the period from 1889 to 1907, shows an extremely high proportion of infant and child mortality. Unemployment was high during this period and the church set up a soup kitchen in St. Rollox serving women and children only. Around 1500 were served every day. Men were employed at relief works in Springburn and Ruchill parks in stone breaking and were paid a minimum of seven shillings per week.⁷³

A consideration will now be given to how the Irish fared under Rollo's ministry. On the one hand, the *Baptismal Registers* show that few of the Irish families, who predominated in the registers previously, were now attending St. James. There were of course some, but then there were new Irish families attending who had not appeared previously and were not in the 1881 Census. The Confirmation Register for his first three years does however show that almost a third of the teenagers had been baptised in Ireland. Some of the children baptised at St James' would have been the children of Irish parents, which suggests a continuing Irish presence despite the rival Holy Trinity Church.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Irish people still held a leadership role in the church, and were held in much love and affection by their rector, including William J. Wakefield, who had founded and was secretary of the Literary and Debating Society.⁷⁴ Rollo recorded in the Burial Register after his death in 1896 a Latin inscription translated ‘a very faithful friend.’⁷⁵ Likewise Sarah Cadell was given the epitaph, ‘a wise woman.’ Martha Russell received the accolade, ‘A very loving mother, a very faithful wife, a very loyal friend.’⁷⁶ Dublin-born James Gee served as Church Secretary for most of Rollo’s ministry. The Irish families may no longer have been as numerous as before, but they had been assimilated into the congregation and any separate cultural or political ethos does not seem to have been an issue.

On the eve of the First World War, the ethnic origin of the congregation was by now becoming more English and this number was to grow during the 1920’s as the percentage of English born in Glasgow rose, overtaking those born in Ireland. This was reflected at St. James which by now had a rector, John Jowitt, a Cambridge graduate who had spent his whole ministry in England.⁷⁷

The place of Baptism as recorded in the Confirmation Register between the commencement of Rollo’s ministry in 1889 and the end of Jowitt’s ministry shows how within a generation the ethnic origin of the congregation had changed. By 1914, Springburn had the highest percentage of Irish-born for the whole of Glasgow,⁷⁸ but this was not reflected at St. James.

⁷⁴ *St. Rollox and Springburn Express*, 8 December 1892.

⁷⁵ *Burial Register* for St. James’s Church, November 1896: ‘fidelissimus amicus.’

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1889 – 1901.

⁷⁷ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 318.

⁷⁸ Donaldson, *History of St. James’s Church*, p. 6.

Table 6:6

Ethnic origins of Confirmation Candidates, St. James the Less, Springburn, 1890 - 1923

| Year | English born | Irish born |
|------|--------------|------------|
| 1890 | 7 | 10 |
| 1895 | 9 | 4 |
| 1903 | 4 | 1 |
| 1915 | 7 | 0 |
| 1923 | 18 | 1 |

Source: *Register of Confirmations 1890 - 1923*

Interestingly, during Jewett's ministry, three people who had been baptised in Holy Trinity Church were confirmed at St. James, thus showing that some had been drawn back from the schism into the Scottish Episcopal Church.

Another significant change by the 1930s was in the employment of the fathers in the *Baptismal Registers*. This reflected the growing diversification of industry and newer public services in Springburn. It showed that not only was the church no longer Irish, it had ceased to be dominated by unskilled labourers. Yet it could not be considered middle class or managerial, thus reflecting the continuing working class ethos of the area.

Table 6:7

Occupation of fathers at St. James the Less Church, Springburn, 1880 - 1934

| | 1880 - 1882 | 1900 - 1901 | 1931 - 1934 |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Employment | Percentage | | |
| Employers/Professionals | 0.00 | 0.96 | 1.56 |
| Shopkeepers | 2.50 | 2.88 | 6.25 |
| Clerks, Police | 6.25 | 6.73 | 4.68 |
| Shop & Retail workers | 1.25 | 3.84 | 7.81 |
| Drivers, Guards, Porters | 2.50 | 1.92 | 10.93 |
| Skilled manual workers | 36.25 | 52.88 | 43.75 |
| Unskilled labourers | 51.25 | 30.79 | 25.02 |

Source: *Baptismal Registers 1880-1882, 1900-1902; 1931-34*

Throughout most of the first half of the twentieth century, when Springburn railway works gave full employment to those in the area, St. James continued to play a significant part in the life of the community around it. Then came the rapid decline of Springburn in the 1950's with the closure of the brass and steel foundries, and suddenly all this, coupled with the planning blight, devastated the community and threatened the life of every church in the area. By 1974 the church was faced with demolition in order to build an Expressway. The compensation money was used, not to rebuild in Springburn, but re-locate some three miles north of Springburn to the growing suburb of Bishopriggs.

Throughout this chapter details of the Irish have emerged in terms of their social class and employment. A sample will now look at 58 households where either one or both parents were Irish-born. These have been selected from the period around the 1881 Census. In 1881 just 15 of the 23 families in the *Baptismal Register* were living in the same electoral ward, whereas three years later there were only 42 per cent and virtually none of them were at the same address as in the *Baptismal Register*. This would suggest a high mobility, with many who were just visiting or whose residence was very temporary. 78 per cent of them had their eldest child born outwith Glasgow, which would suggest that they had moved into the area in just the past few years.

In trying to determine where in Ireland they came from, the difficulty is that for place of birth the Census simply says 'Ireland.' However, in some cases the county is given. The Confirmation Register has been of more help in indicating, in some places, the parish where the person was baptised. From these two documents the following emerges:

Table 6:8

Ethnic origins in Ireland of families at St. James the Less, Springburn, 1875 -1923

| County | Percentage | Towns and villages mentioned |
|------------------|------------|--|
| Belfast | 13.68 | |
| Antrim | 18.18 | Ballymena, Lisburn |
| Armagh | 9.09 | Armagh City, Ardmore |
| Donegal | 4.54 | |
| Down | 9.09 | Hillsborough |
| Fermanagh | 0.0 | |
| Londonderry | 13.63 | Londonderry City, Colerain |
| Tyrone | 9.09 | |
| Southern Ireland | 22.72 | Dublin, Athlone, Longford, Birr, Limerick |

Source: *Baptismal Registers*, 1875-1902; Register of Confirmations 1889-1923; and 1881 Census

It will be seen that the majority came from Ulster (77.28 per cent), while 22.72 per cent came from Southern Ireland. The fact that Fermanagh returns as 0 should not be taken to assume there were none, simply that none indicated such in the records.

Forty-one of the households had Irish married to Irish; twelve had Irish married to Scots and only one was married to an Englishwoman. One was married to a Canadian and the others were either widowed or not included with their partners in the Census. This would suggest that the Irish in the main married within their own community, their next option being Scots, of whom many would have been the children of Irish parents anyway. In terms of surnames, only a few would be called 'Irish' surnames such as Kelly, Milligan, McNeice, Connelly, Kearney, Mateer Cloughley, and McElroy. The vast majority had either Scottish names like Wilson, Law, Kirkpatrick, Campbell, and Reid, or Anglo-Saxon surnames like Pennington, Edgar, Gee,

Hogg, Fullerton, Fox, Dickson, Tomlinson and Deans. The most popular first names for men were John, William, James and Thomas, while those for women were Margaret, Jane, Elizabeth and Mary.⁷⁹

St. Rollox Mission

As Springburn's population continued to grow, its northern frontier was pushed further back with new houses which included those for the better off. In the meantime, to the south, the areas known as St. Rollox and Garngad clustered around the chemical works and iron foundries, and were teeming with people considered poorer even than those of Springburn. This area was noted for its huge Irish population.⁸⁰

Forming a daughter mission from Springburn would have been the natural development, but Charles Brooke had just been at Springburn one year, an area which took all his attention. St. Luke's at Townhead which had begun the work at Springburn was now about to open another mission at St. Rollox. A new congregation first met on 8 December 1879, in a kitchen in Cobden Street off Garngad Road. Two rooms were taken in 1880.⁸¹

In a letter to the Bishop in November 1880, the Rev. Alfred Pullin wrote, 'The Irish Episcopalians in Glasgow are so successful that the folk are urging upon me the necessity of hiring the Masonic Hall in the centre of the district and opening it as a Mission ... It is new ground which has never been worked and I have so many families which I have linked up, suspecting now 500 souls. .. They have no clothes in which they could attend St. Luke's in so large a district, which unhappily has been hitherto totally neglected by our Church.'⁸²

The Scottish Guardian realised that there was a difference between 'the working classes' who attended Springburn Mission and the 'struggling poor' who attended St Rollox, and also that Irish Episcopalians would have stood out from their Scottish Presbyterian neighbours: 'Since the Incumbent of St. Luke's has taken the

⁷⁹ John Foster, et.al., 'Distinguishing Catholics and Protestants among Irish immigrants to Clydeside: A New Approach to Immigration and Ethnicity in Victorian Britain,' *Irish Studies Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2002, pp. 171 – 190. Their study in the most common forenames among Protestant Irish in 1901 resulted in: John (29.00%), William (22.59%) and Thomas (12.18%).

⁸⁰ Michael Keenan, *History of The Garngad 1650 - 1950*, Typed mss. Mitchell Library, Glasgow, 2006.

⁸¹ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 602.

⁸² DGGA, TD 1382/143/5, the Rev. Alfred T. Pullin to Bishop Wilson, November 1880.

Masons Hall, there has been a steady increased in the congregation. And now at every service there has to be seen there, not the ordinary well-dressed, so called “working-class” congregation, but men and women of the lower labouring class, the struggling poor, who have to make the greatest effort and self-denial to “sort themselves” before being able to appear in the light of a Sabbath day’s sun among the well-dressed crowd of kirk going ... Scotch people.’⁸³

In 1885, Pullin appealed to the benevolent on behalf of ‘the poor, very poor children attending St. Rollox Mission...’ added, ‘ I have 100 children, very many of them have only the shoes and stockings that never wear out, and live in the worst and most neglected part of Glasgow.’⁸⁴ That year the Church’s *Yearbook* claimed that there were about 1,500 Episcopalians in this area. Despite such a large constituency, the work seemed to have been a struggle. Writing some years later recalling his student days when helping out in the Mission there, Alex McPherson wrote, ‘Notwithstanding the energetic efforts of the Rector (the Rev A.T. Pullin), who was an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures, we could never muster more than 60 persons at our Sunday services. The usual number was 30, and these were for the most part natives of the North of Ireland. I do not remember ever meeting one native Scottish Episcopalian amongst them.’⁸⁵

Some in the wider Church felt like Thomas Craig Christie that ‘the St. Rollox Mission should be merged into St. James’ Springburn, as both, in our circumstances are unnecessary.’⁸⁶ It was around this time that St. James’ itself had reached its lowest ebb after the split following Phelan’s resignation, and it was suggested that both the Missions be merged into one as a Mission under St. Luke’s. Pullin, however, solicited for funds to keep both going as separate works: ‘Donations are respectfully solicited in aid of the maintenance of the mission of St. Rollox, Garngad Road and of St. James’ Springburn. The poverty resulting from long continued scarcity of work in these districts is most severely felt. If St. Rollox has to be abandoned, a congregation of bona fide poor will be scattered and a Sunday School with an average of 150 destroyed.’⁸⁷

⁸³ *SG*, 7 November 1884.

⁸⁴ *SG*, 17 July 1885.

⁸⁵ *SG*, 14 December 1906.

⁸⁶ DGGA, TD 1382/147/14, T. Craig Christie to Bishop Wilson, 11 November 1886.

⁸⁷ *SG*, 7 April 1887.

Something of the possibilities of this area were seen in that even during the difficult years for both congregations, an 'Argyll Cleric' writing in *The Scottish Guardian* of his visit to St. James and St. Rollox Missions found 'in both churches, large and devout congregations.'⁸⁸ Scenes like this, however, proved to be the exception and could not be sustained. The St. Rollox Mission closed in 1891. Yet Garngad was not entirely forgotten. In 1910 another attempt was made by St. Luke's when a new Mission Hall was built of wood and corrugated iron seating 130. The congregation was described as 'poor and struggling, consisting mainly of families from the Church of Ireland.' There was fourth and final attempt to create a church in Garngad in 1927 when St. Matthias Mission was built in Tharsis Street. It closed in 1934.⁸⁹

A reflection on the mission work at Springburn and St. Rollox will seek to draw some conclusions as to the effectiveness of the Episcopal Church's mission to the Irish in the north of Glasgow. Although the numerical possibilities for a strong church in Springburn were there, the foundations were considered shaky. Considering that the Episcopalians had a mission in Garngad in 1867 and would have been aware of the large numbers, it was not until 1875 that they got going, twenty-five years after the Roman Catholics. Bradshaw himself, due to his own congregation's pastoral needs, was probably not able to be that much personally involved in the day to day ministry and appointed clergy to help in the early years who were perhaps not the best suited for the task. Courtney was in his last year in Scotland before going to America, McCann was in poor health and would also soon leave for England, and Rice's loyalty to the Scottish Episcopal Church was lacking. By 1878, it was reckoned that there were over 2,000 Episcopalians in Springburn, yet in that year only 10 children were baptised and just 80 attended worship on a Sunday. When the Mission did temporarily close for a few months in 1878, it was simply that there were no available clergy in the diocese to help.

When a priest was eventually found, it might be asked if Brooke was the right choice. It is commendable that given his background he should opt for tough Glasgow mission situations. But his ministry showed some of the worst aspects of the decried 'Victorian paternalism' which marked much of Anglo-Catholicism's

⁸⁸ *SG*, 27 May 1887.

⁸⁹ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, pp. 601 ; 602.

priesthood in urban areas. This might certainly be the case given comments in his letters along with Hilliard's perception of his character in Melanesia.

Patrick Phelan was very different. Being an Irishman gave him a close affinity with his people. It was under his ministry that the congregation grew quite phenomenally and his appeal was felt among the labouring classes who normally felt excluded from the life of most of the Protestant churches. What is certain is that Phelan's style would not have appealed to Thomas Craig Christie and the growing number of English who were by now moving into Springburn. The divisions which were widening during his time resulted in a split after his departure. How inevitable was this? Such splits had occurred at Holy Trinity, Paisley, yet had been avoided at St. John's, Johnstone.

The growth under Phelan was more dramatic and immediate and was confined to one particular group. The flowering under William Rollo was more gradual, had an appeal to a wider base, and in the end was more sustainable. Again, given Rollo's background, it was surprising that he did so well and lasted so long. His comments annotating the *Burial Register* show him to have been a loving and affectionate man who made deep friendships.

The picture of the Irish from this period is one in which a heterogeneous group emerges, showing that Irish Protestants could not be lumped together into one stereotypical mould. To speak of 'the poor Irish' does not distinguish that even among them; poverty was relative, ranging from semi-skilled artisans of the 'respectable' type, to paupers and those who lived in squalid conditions. The Springburn church attracted the Irish who were both of the poorer labouring classes, including those out of work, as well as the better-off artisans or skilled engineers. The church at St. Rollox however, had more of 'the struggling poor'. It offers an insight that they did not feel able to attend the Springburn church because of, among other things, their dress. It is unlikely that in such poverty, the controversial church issues of the time would have been of any great interest; hence Holy Trinity Protestant Church of England would have been irrelevant to them. The fact that many Irish remained at St James the Less after the split, and that some later returned, shows that not all Irish were opposed to the changes in the Scottish Episcopal Church.

Maryhill Mission (St. George)

Maryhill, like most of the other villages surrounding Glasgow was a rural and weaving community until the Forth and Clyde Canal was extended there in 1775. The canal 'immediately became a busier port than the Broomielaw and a focus for industrial growth.'⁹⁰ The Glasgow – Edinburgh Railway line opened in 1842 allowing the greater distribution of goods from the growing industries of the area. It brought boatbuilding, sawmilling and iron foundering. Maryhill's growing nineteenth century industries included papermaking and calico printing. A power loom weaving factory was established in the 1850s at Wyndford. Several iron foundries were started along the canal by men from Falkirk. Several of the ironmasters brought their own labour force from the Falkirk area to work as skilled iron moulders and dressers, smiths and wrights. The remainder were from Ireland, plus a few from the West Highlands.

By 1850 the population of Maryhill had risen to around 3,000. Half of the families were Irish living mainly in an area alongside the canal called 'The Butney', where by 1851 three-quarters of the residents were Irish-born.⁹¹

The Presbyterians founded the first church in the area in 1824, and in 1851 the foundations of a new Roman Catholic Church were laid. In 1855, the *Baptismal Register* of All Saints Mission in Jordanhill records the first baptism of Episcopalian children from Maryhill. Each of the succeeding years saw baptisms from Maryhill until the 1880s when an Episcopal Mission was settled there.

Table 6:9

Ethnic origin of Episcopalian families in Maryhill 1855-1883

| Year | Total Families | Families from Maryhill | Percent | Found in Census | One or both parents Irish born | Percent |
|-----------|----------------|------------------------|---------|-----------------|--------------------------------|---------|
| 1855-1866 | 113 | 14 | 12% | 6 | 6 | 100% |
| 1867-1883 | 286 | 25 | 8% | 11 | 9 | 81% |
| 1872-1878 | 381 | 23 | 6% | 11 | 9 | 81% |
| 1879-1883 | 270 | 16 | 5% | 8 | 8 | 100% |

Source: All Saints Jordanhill, *Baptismal Register*, 1855-1863; Census Report 1861 & 1881

⁹⁰ Smart, *Villages of Glasgow*, Vol. 1, p. 91.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

All Saints Mission at Jordanhill provided a ministry to the Episcopalian families in Maryhill until 1882, but there was an attempt to begin a separate Mission there from St. Mary's from 1870 to 1871.⁹² Although the above table only identifies 32 Maryhill families, the Census shows that 88 per cent of them had either one or both parents Irish-born.

A second attempt in 1882 to start a Mission in Maryhill was more successful. Through the generosity of Lady Campbell of Garscube, an iron church seating about 250 people was erected on the banks of the canal close to 'The Butney' in Church Street (now Sandbank Street) known as St. George's.⁹³ In 1887 there were 150 children in the Sunday School. The numbers attending the annual soiree, meant that the gathering had to be moved from the church to the Burgh Hall and on one occasion a delighted Mr Ridgeway said that 'The Episcopal Church was often called the church of the rich, but he thought that meetings such as they had that night showed that it was the church of the poor also.'⁹⁴ As the congregation grew, a stone church was built in 1892, the old building being sold to the Orange Lodge for their hall.

The new building attracted a more affluent congregation, and it became apparent that the poorer people of Maryhill, the class who constituted the original Mission, no longer attended. In order to cater for their needs a new Mission was started in 1900 in Balgray Row, right in the heart of 'The Butney.' The Sunday School at 2.30pm and the Evening Service were conducted by a Lay Reader, George Longbotham.⁹⁵ Soon it had various organisations and was called 'St. Christopher's'. It closed in the 1920s.

At its height, in 1904 there were 1400 Episcopalians in Maryhill. By 1945 this had fallen to 345 and the church struggled on until it finally closed in 2005.

Frederick L. Deane became rector of St. Mary's in 1904 and Provost in 1907. He had become aware of the huge number of Irish people not only presently in the Mission congregations but also 'the continuous flow of Irish immigrants into the West of Scotland.' In 1907 he invited the Bishop of Derry and the Dean of St.

⁹² Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 598.

⁹³ Macleod, *St. Mary's Church*, p. 56.

⁹⁴ *St. Mary's Magazine*, March 1887.

⁹⁵ *Year Book for the Episcopal Church in Scotland*, 1900 – 1929.

Patrick's, Dublin to preach in the cathedral as a gesture of the commonality of the two churches. In 1909 the Bishop of Down and Connor was invited to give a 'Lecture to Irishmen', with the object of 'the extension of the right hand of fellowship to our brethren of the Irish Church.' *The Scottish Chronicle* suggested that an invitation be sent 'to the Orange Lodges within their district, as it is quite evident that the Provost has in view a unique and united effort for bringing together all Irish Churchmen who are within reach of the Cathedral.' Around 600 men attended the service in which he asked them to live and worship God that they might bring honour to the Church of Ireland. The best way they could do this was by worshipping in the Episcopal Church in Scotland 'which is in the truest sense a sister – a beloved sister Church.'⁹⁶

Conclusion

It might be asked to what extent the Mission churches retained their Irish congregations. There is no doubt that many of the curates were zealous, hard working and faithful. Many sacrificed their health through demanding ministry. In the main it seems to have been an uphill struggle to maintain the vitality of the churches a decade or two after their formation. The problems associated with the Irish were not so much their race, but their poverty. Churches opened 'for the poor' soon became respectable, so that the poor stopped coming. Most of the clergy of the missions were English-born and might not have appreciated the complications. Some were certainly paternalistic, which may have caused resentment. Others were impatient at the lack of commitment from their people. However, it may be that in seeking to bring about what they considered 'the highest and best' in worship, their efforts were not appreciated by their people.

Only St. Luke's and its missions at Springburn and St. Rollox continued to provide a ministry appropriate to their congregations. Most of the Missions struggled on for the first few decades of the twentieth century. Their demise was not just that they no longer catered for the people they had been founded for. The whole areas in which they had been placed were becoming vast slums and by the 1950s were subject to the Council's clearing of them and the movement of the people from their traditional communities to the new housing schemes being developed around the city.

⁹⁶ SC, 26 February 1909.



Plate 6:1
St. Mary's Renfield St, Glasgow



Plate 6:2
St Mary's School, Cowcaddens

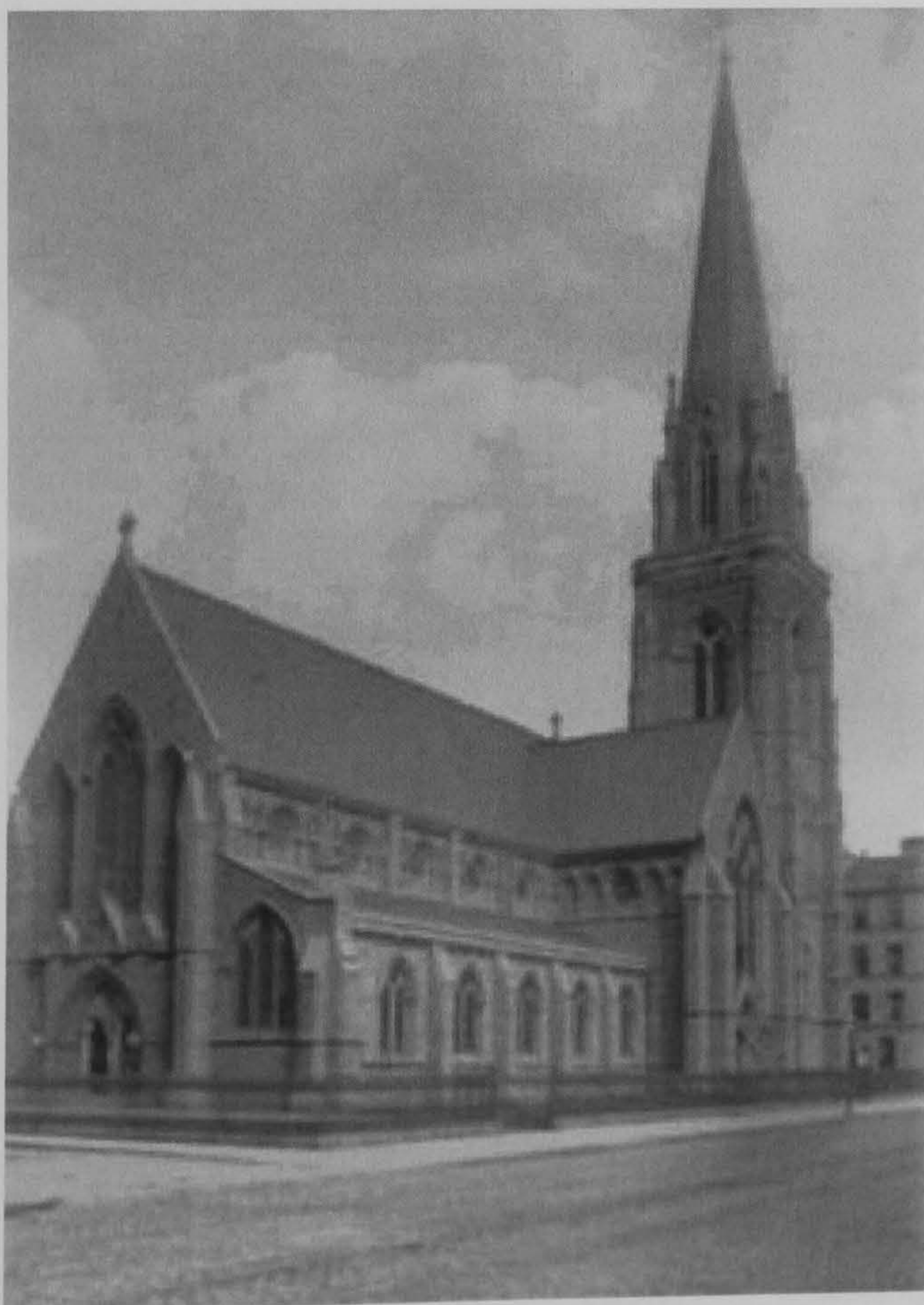


Plate 6:3
St. Mary's Cathedral, Great
Western Rd, Glasgow



Plate 6:4
St. Peter's, Braid St, Cowcaddens

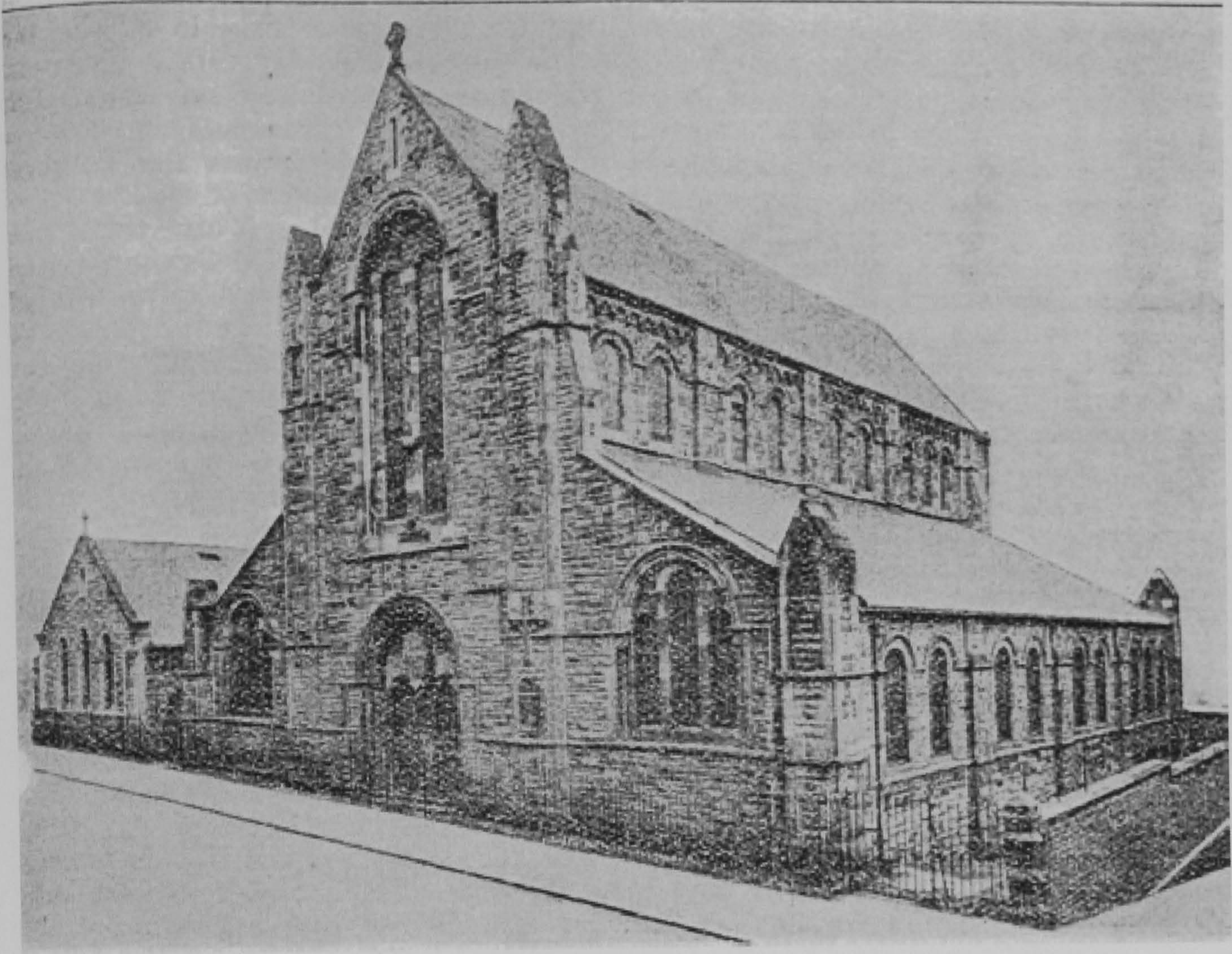


Plate 6:5
St. Peter's, Gardiner Street, Cowcaddens



Plate 6:6
St. Luke's, Grafton Street, Townhead



Plate 6:7
Children at Cowcaddens / Port Dundas, early 20th century



Plate 6:8
St. George's, Sandbank St, Maryhill (later Orange Hall)



Plate 6:9
The new St. George's, Sandbank St, Maryhill

Chapter Seven

Glasgow: West

The initial spread of Glasgow in the 1830s was in a westward direction as the Blythwood estate was feud and more fashionable houses were built.¹ Likewise, the Episcopal Church saw itself expanding to the west of the city and in the villages beyond that.

Three larger church case studies constitute this chapter on the west: Anderston (St. John's), Jordanhill (All Saints) and Partick (St. John's, St. Patrick's and St. Silas's Missions). Although they have similarities, they have their own different stories. The *Baptismal Registers* of the respective churches reflect the diverse local industries: Anderston's had many weavers and associated textile workers listed as fathers' occupations, such occupations not being found in the other areas. Jordanhill's entries reflected the various mineral mines evolving into workers connected with heavy industry as the century progresses, while Partick's baptism fathers showed a prominence of unskilled labour.

Anderston: St. John's

Mission work among the Episcopalians in Anderston began in 1846, thus creating a fifth church for the city's 30,000 Anglicans.

The history of Anderston began in 1725 when James Anderson, who owned the estate of Stobcross, laid out part of his land for cottages. In 1735 he sold his estate to John Orr who built cottages and enlarged the feuing plan to include land for factories. The feus were at first taken up by hand loom weavers, and as the weaving industry prospered, so did Anderston. In 1750 James Monteith erected a weaving mill, and in 1780, set up a web of pure cotton, the first ever woven in Scotland. Anderston can thus lay claim to being the cradle of the cotton industry in Scotland. By 1794 it had a population of 3,900, largely supported by weaving and related industries such as bleaching, dyeing and printing.²

¹ Nicholas J. Morgan, 'Building the City', Fraser and Mavor, *Glasgow, Volume 2*, p. 8.

² David Glenday, *Anderston as it was* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Libraries, 1992), pp. 5; 27.

The textile industry diversified into enterprises such as rope works and shirt making but declined in importance as iron-founding, tool works and engineering developed. The River Clyde grew in importance to Anderston. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it had hardly been dredged nor had its banks been built up, but the gradual deepening of the river allowed larger ships further upstream and made shipbuilding possible. The first shipyard to be opened in the upper reaches of the Clyde was at Stobcross in 1818.³

The rapid development of industry led to a demand for labour and Anderston soon became known as a centre for Irish migration. As early as 1831, ‘one quarter of the inhabitants of Anderston were Irish.’⁴ In June 1833 Henry Houldsworth, a local mill-owner and industrialist, was examined by the *Parliamentary Select Committee on Manufacturers, Commerce and Shipping*, and when asked about their growing numbers in Glasgow stated, ‘our mills are almost full of Irish.’ Houldsworth added that the Irish were prepared to do jobs the native Scots would not, ‘we can scarcely get a Scotchman for a porter or a watchman.’⁵

The following year Houldsworth was also interviewed to provide evidence for a *Parliamentary Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Britain*. A breakdown of the ethnic origins of his mill employees reflected the growing number of Irish workers at this period.

Table 7:1

Ethnic origins of Henry Houldsworth’s Anderston employees in 1834

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| Native Irish | 192 |
| Born in Scotland of Irish parents | 99 |
| Scots born | 137 |
| English born | 1 |
| Total | 429 |

Source: Parliamentary Papers: Poor Inquiry (Ireland) Appendix G *Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain, 1835, pp. 106 – 107.*

³ Glenday, *Anderston*, p. 7.

⁴ Smart, *Villages of Glasgow*, Vol. 1, p. 16.

⁵ *Parliamentary Papers: Report from the Select Committee on Manufacturers, Commerce, and Shipping, 1833*. Evidence given by Mr. Henry Houldsworth, paragraph 5233, p. 311.

Houldsworth described the Irish in Anderston as ‘coming in large families, father, mother and not infrequently six or seven children, from twenty years of age downwards. The adult males immediately betake themselves to out-of-door labour, partly because they cannot get into factories, and partly because there is a necessity for an income, till the others get placed in work... They are frequently invited over by relations ... Their relations often take them in as lodgers, and struggle hard to support them till they get into work. Their friends all assist them: they are very charitable; they will part their last shilling among one another.’⁶

It was a school teacher, Alexander J.D. D’Orsey who first had the vision to open a church for the Episcopalians in Anderston. Of English birth, D’Orsey became teacher of English in Glasgow High School in 1834. He soon gained a reputation for innovative approaches to education: ‘By use of visual aids, anecdotes and original composition together with elocution, he stimulated interest in English literature and history. His desire was to ‘implant a desire for scientific pursuits in after life.’ ...He abandoned corporal punishment, and developed more inventive approaches to teaching.’⁷

He left Glasgow for a while to study theology at Cambridge, graduating from Corpus Christi College in 1846.⁸ The needs of Anderston, however, had never left him and on 24 July 1846 Bishop Michael Russell wrote in his Journal, ‘This day I ordained to the office of deacon, Mr Alexander James Donald D’Orsey. The ordination took place in Christ Church.’⁹

In 1846 D’Orsey reckoned that there were 2000 Episcopalians in Anderston.¹⁰ Given that the population of Anderston was at this time 16,000 this would have meant that this area a high percentage of Episcopalians: twelve per cent.¹¹ In August D’Orsey petitioned the Bishop for permission to start a church as ‘there is a very great number of Episcopalians residing in Anderston, Finnieston and the western suburbs of Glasgow,

⁶ Parliamentary Papers: Poor Inquiry (Ireland), Appendix G, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain*, 1835, pp. 106 – 107.

⁷ Bernard Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820 – 1920* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984), pp. 75 – 76.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁹ DGGGA, TD 1382/75, *Bishops’ Journal*, 24 July 1846.

¹⁰ *Scottish Magazine*, September 1849, p. 461.

¹¹ For percentages of Episcopalians in Glasgow, see chapter five of this thesis.

most of whom are either natives of England or Ireland, or the children of English or Irish parents.¹² In actual fact, the majority were from Ireland, as Bishop Trower reminded D'Orsey, it was 'a Church built chiefly for Irish Poor.'¹³

A school room was hired in Catherine Street, D'Orsey finding 'the congregation formed with only eight persons; such was the lamentable indifference displayed.' He continued as a school teacher in order to support himself financially while he engaged in mission, adding, 'A house to house visiting system was established, and within six months I had personally gone to every house, garret, cellar and hovel in the densely peopled district.'¹⁴

Soon he had gathered a congregation of 400 with around 200 cramped into the hall for Sunday services at eleven, two and seven o'clock, and described as mostly 'in humble life, some being very poor, and not a few during the recent severe pressure often without the means of subsistence.'¹⁵

Bishop Trower was delighted with the results at Anderston: 'Palm Sunday. Confirmed at Anderston about 70 persons, principally from the humbler class of life. Their behaviour very reverent and becoming.'¹⁶

However it was not long before D'Orsey was becoming noticed by another class of adherents. *The Scottish Magazine* brought his work to the attention of the wider Church, soliciting their support: 'As Mr D'Orsey has long served gratuitously and still continues to do so, we sincerely trust that he will be assisted by the wealthy in his efforts to spread the Gospel among the almost heathen of the lanes of Glasgow.'¹⁷ His services began to attract those who probably felt that his talents were being wasted on his humble Irish congregation, and who

¹² *Scottish Magazine*, September 1849, p. 461.

¹³ Trower, *Letter to D'Orsey*, p. 7.

¹⁴ *Scottish Magazine*, September 1849, p. 462.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ DGGGA, TD 1382/75, *Bishops' Journal*, 24 March 1849.

¹⁷ *Scottish Magazine*, February 1849.

on lending their 'support' were also receiving the benefits of this 'remarkable man of varied talents ... extremely cultivated man – he played the harp – was more than a very effective teacher.'¹⁸ By 1849 he was lamenting, 'For the regular services, at eleven and two o'clock, originally intended chiefly for the poor, had been gradually more and more frequented by the middle and upper classes, and the others had been imperceptibly edged out, till not one-tenth could be fairly considered as the really poor. An evening service at seven had shared the same fate.'¹⁹

D'Orsey was becoming increasingly frustrated that the poor were no longer attending the services. Writing to the *Scottish Magazine* in May 1849, he asked 'Where are the poor?' He answered, 'Any Sunday you may see them in dozens and scores in our back streets, wynds, and closes, lounging at the close mouth, sauntering on the outside stairs, sneaking in at back doors of spirit-cellars, or staring out of garret windows, the very personifications of filth and misery ... to pass a tedious day in dreamy stupidity, amid smoke, and confusion, and dirt – occasionally varied by children screaming, wives scolding, and husbands storming.'²⁰

In the course of his visitations, D'Orsey found that part of the reluctance among the poor to come to church was their lack of decent clothing: 'comparatively few of the thousands who habitually neglect public worship have been induced to attend church. The objection they constantly urge is want of suitable clothing, though many at the same time express their willingness to go to any church in which the gospel is preached, and in which the dress of their fellow-worshippers is like their own.'²¹

His new plan was to create an eight o'clock morning service for the poor exclusively. 'The first Sunday, seven turned up, next twenty-two, next thirty-one; all in their common clothes, the men in fustian and moleskin, the women in course gowns and white caps, some without even these, and some bare-footed.'²²

The *Scottish Magazine* lauded his approach: 'We have the satisfaction of hearing that the Sunday services in

¹⁸ Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, p. 76.

¹⁹ *Scottish Magazine*, May 1849, p. 251.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 250 – 1.

²¹ *Scottish Magazine*, May 1850, pp. 265 – 6.

²² *Scottish Magazine*, May 1849, p. 251.

the temporary Church, Anderston, for the working classes in their working clothes, instituted some months ago by the Rev. A.J.D. D'Orsey are succeeding admirably. The experiment began with a congregation of three. One hundred and forty now attend and the numbers are increasing.'²³

August 1849 saw D'Orsey in London addressing a meeting at Pall Mall of the 'Friends of the Church in Scotland.' Chaired by Lord Lyttleton, its aim was to ask for funds to build a church as 'the school room accommodates at most but 200 persons, is imperfectly ventilated, often uncomfortably crowded, can seldom be had for divine service except on Sundays.'²⁴ The money was obviously pledged, for that very month the Contractor "broke ground" ... the Church is calculated to hold 600 persons, and will probably be ready at Christmas.'²⁵

Of the four Episcopal churches in Glasgow at that time, St. John's, opened in August 1850, was the first to be built in the new style promoted by the Tractarians – Gothic revival.²⁶ With this new style of church architecture, came new styles of worship, considered appropriate to the ambience. Mr D'Orsey had become influenced by the Oxford Movement and began to introduce several of the liturgical innovations of that school, into St. John's. Rumblings soon came to the ears of Bishop Trower, who being 'a very low Churchman, was quite out of sympathy with these developments.'²⁷ Trower's enthusiasm for D'Orsey was waning. In his *Journal* on 19 February 1851 he wrote, 'Considerable trouble as to the affairs of St. John's, Anderston. Mr D'Orsey having adopted extreme practices in Ritual. I thought it necessary to warn him against intoning.'²⁸

Trower wrote to D'Orsey saying, 'I need not remind you, that there are no members of the Church so sensitive as to anything that looks to them ... like Romanism, as the Poor Irish; nor any with whose very

²³ *Scottish Magazine*, April 1850.

²⁴ *Scottish Magazine*, September 1849, p. 462.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 466.

²⁶ Ollard, *The Oxford Movement*, pp. 222 – 3, 'the Oxford Movement, sprung in part from the same source as the Gothic revival, was to give it its greatest opportunity.'

²⁷ *St. John's Episcopal Church 1850 – 1950* (Glasgow, 1950), p. 8.

²⁸ DGGGA. TD 1382/75, *Bishops' Journal*, 19 February 1851.

natural prejudices on that subject it is more a duty to deal tenderly. To build a Church for the (Irish) Poor, and then introduce a mode of conducting the services, which was almost sure to be a stumbling-block to them, does seem to me sadly marring your own good work, and failing to fulfil the expectation with which ... the subscriptions were contributed.’²⁹

Apart from Trower’s own antipathy to Romanism and ritualism, many members of the congregation were upset at the services, and the numbers attending as well as the income had fallen.³⁰ Trower’s letter to D’Orsey was not simply advice, but a severe reprimand for upsetting his congregation so insensitively and for not seeking his (the Bishop’s) permission for such changes. The disputed points of worship were: the intoning or chanting of the liturgy which Trower felt was ‘generally unsuited ... and especially in Glasgow.’ Singing the service, he admitted might be appropriate in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, but he gave his ‘plain and unequivocal counsel against an unwise and hurtful course.’ Secondly, that the Psalms were being chanted in a way which made them practically un-singable by a congregation, and so the psalms should either be sung to simple tunes or said. The third area of contention was ‘turning to the East when the Creed is said.’ The fourth complaint was that D’Orsey omitted to pray before the sermon, which Bishop Trower found ‘singularly distasteful.’³¹

Ostensibly for health reasons, D’Orsey took himself off to Madeira, and the Rev. William Grant ministered as Curate but much to Bishop Trower’s annoyance he was also a ritualist. ‘Great disappointment with Mr Grant for bowing to the altar and mixing the cup and other ritual matters. Also for saying, “I bow not to the altar, but to the Divinity upon the altar.” I put him on a charge of Canonical disobedience.’³² Grant apologised to the Bishop and said he would desist from ritualism but resigned in 1859.

D’Orsey had not technically resigned his incumbency, and in the meantime was lecturing at London University. Trower in the end withdrew his licence for non-residence.³³

²⁹ Trower, *Letter to D’Orsey*, p. 4.

³⁰ *Scottish Guardian*, 1 April 1872.

³¹ Trower, *Letter to D’Orsey*, pp. 7 – 10.

³² DGGGA, TD 1382/75 *Bishops’ Journal*, 13 November 1855.

In 1865 the Rev. Dr. John Penney began what was to be the church's longest incumbency of 23 years. After an initial struggle to build up the congregation again, in 1869 the building was enlarged to provide seating for an extra 200, the average number attending being around 500. The services were all choral and 'the choir ... is well able to render the highest compositions of the best masters with good effect ... the organist is a musician of considerable attainments.'³⁴ Those attracted to such, would not have been the Irish poor as *The Church News* reported in 1871: 'From having been intended as a church mainly for the poor, St. John's has now almost entirely changed its character, and is now largely and fashionably attended by West Enders.'³⁵

By the early 1880s the high water mark having been reached the tide began to recede. As the Cranstonhill estate, on which St. John's had been built, gradually developed into a densely populated industrial centre, most of the well to do members of the congregation began to attach themselves to other churches recently opened.³⁶

Jordanhill: All Saints

The Episcopal Mission at Jordanhill was unique in that it was founded by a lay-person and not a clergyman, and by a woman, Miss Jane Charlotte Smith.

Jane Smith was in some respects typical of many upper middle-class Victorian women whose religious convictions were the cause of spiritual and philanthropic work among the poor, yet in the words of her nephew, James Parker Smith, MP, 'was a woman of great force of character, she was much ahead of her time in her desire to care for the neglected children.'³⁷ Another unique feature of this Mission was that the Episcopalians were the first to open a church in the area. Although by 1854 the Presbyterians had opened a

³³ *Ibid.*, 2 August 1859.

³⁴ *SG*, 1 April 1872.

³⁵ *SSB*, March 1895, quoting *The Church News*, 1871.

³⁶ *SC*, 23 October 1925.

³⁷ Margaret H. Macdonald, *All Saints Church, Jordanhill* (Coatbridge: Alex Pettigrew Ltd.). James Parker Smith was the Liberal Unionist M. P. for Partick, in 1890, and although he had been a Presbyterian, was a founder of St. Bride's Episcopal Church, Hyndland in 1891, see Ball, *St. Bride's Church*, p. 6.

Free Church school in Knightswood to the north,³⁸ the Episcopalians opened their school in 1853. Jane's sister, Sabina wrote, 'There is such a field open to anyone who will occupy it. The people are quite neglected by the ministers of their respective churches, and quite ready to receive anyone who will go amongst them, and they have no prejudice against Episcopalianism.'³⁹

Jordanhill itself was one of several villages and hamlets to the west of Glasgow. Its prominence was that it was the family home of the Smith family of Jordanhill House. The *Baptismal Register* of the Church, give as the addresses of the presenting families, the many villages alongside and to the north of it: Claythorn, Gartnavel, Anniesland, Double Row, Red Town, Blue Town, Temple, Netherton, Knightswood, Cloberhill and Blairdardie. Several of these were no more than a row or two of miner's cottages. In the nineteenth century they were not technically part of Glasgow, but were considered rural villages shared between the counties of Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire and Lanarkshire.

After the Reformation, the church lands at Jordanhill came into the possession of Thomas Crawford who became Lord Provost of Glasgow in 1577. The Crawford family remained at Jordanhill until 1752 when the house and estate were bought by the 'tobacco lord', Alexander Houston, whose son later built a mansion on the site from 1772 to 1774. In 1793 several of the merchant banks in Glasgow collapsed, including those holding the Houston investments, so the estate was sold in 1800 to Archibald Smith, a figure already well known in Glasgow, being Dean of Guild in 1799. On his death in 1821 the estate passed to his son James (Jane Charlotte's father).⁴⁰

The whole area was rich in minerals and had been mined since the 1680s. A geological survey carried out in 1887 stated that '(coal) had been wrought in this district for two hundred years.' Its dimensions were recorded as from north to south is somewhat over a mile, and from east to west rather more than 1 ½ miles, extending over an area of nearly 1,000 acres.⁴¹ Along with coal there were also large deposits of brick clay,

³⁸ University of Strathclyde: Jordanhill Archives, J/EST/1/2, typed mss., 1987, Max Donnelly, *Historical Sketch of Jordanhill*, p. 12.

³⁹ GCA, TD1/691, *Smith of Jordanhill Papers*, Sabina Smith to Susanna Smith, 28 February 1854.

⁴⁰ Jordanhill Archives, J/EST/1/1. typed mss. n.d., William Cowie, *Jordanhill: The History of a District*, p. 1.

boulder clay, ironstone and shingle. As the nineteenth century progressed, the coalfields dried up, but the brickfields took over supplying the growing demand for materials for the burgeoning city of Glasgow. It is therefore no surprise that the earliest entries in the church's *Baptismal Registers* states the fathers' occupations as miner, collier, labourer and carter – all unskilled labour associated with the various mines.

Although the Smith family were Presbyterians, Jane became an Anglican as a young teenager. As her sister Sabina wrote, 'It was at the bedside of a dying sister, in the island of Madeira, when she was about 11 years old that she first became intimately acquainted with the *Book of Common Prayer*, and first conceived that strong love for the Episcopal Church, which afterwards increased every year that she lived, till she could say "I think I could willingly give my life for the Scottish Episcopal Church".'⁴²

Jane was increasingly drawn to the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church and had desired to enter a religious sisterhood. In 1856 she spent a month in St. Elizabeth's Home in London, in connection with All Saints, Margaret Street. Reflecting on her Presbyterian days when she considered communion to be no more than 'eating bread and drinking wine in remembrance of Christ', she rejoiced that she now had "so strong and firm a belief in the Real Presence."⁴³ Many of the landed gentry of this period had affinities with both Presbyterianism and Episcopalianism, which was often reflected at their funeral services. But Jane specifically stated in her will that no Presbyterian minister should take part, and that the service be conducted entirely by Episcopalian clergy.⁴⁴

In 1853 she began visiting the miners' cottages, brick workers and other labourers employed in the district. Investigations into the miners' conditions had been undertaken by the *Glasgow Herald*, publishing their results that same year: 'At the Red Town the gables incline outward and probably would tumble down altogether but for rude insecure buttresses of timber, which a strong-limbed miner might kick away without greatly damaging his boots ... The area seems to have been a "nursery for disease" which was not helped by

⁴¹ James S. McLellan, 'Notes on the Jordanhill Coalfield', *Transactions of the Geological Society of Glasgow*, 1887, pp. 271 – 5.

⁴² GCA, TD1/548, mss. notebook, Sabina Smith, *Memoir of Miss Jane Smith*.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ CGA, TD1/483, Last Will and Testament of Jane Charlotte Smith, 7 November 1861.

the foul water supply. Sometimes the only water available was from stagnant pools in the pits ... The floors were generally of soft clay and in rainy weather, they were perennially damp. Whooping-cough, eye-disease and typhus were rife.⁴⁵ Jane decided that one of the answers to the problem lay in education, and she must be given the credit for first bringing teaching to Jordanhill.⁴⁶

In 1853 she started a Sunday School for the children of workers in the district in one of the rooms of Jordanhill House. The number of children attending soon necessitated the use of a barn in the grounds where she and other voluntary workers, including her sister Sabina taught the rudiments of learning and the fundamentals of religion.⁴⁷

The initial success of the work among children was followed by a desire to commence services for the adults. The first Baptisms were held on 27 January 1854, possibly in the barn and were conducted by the Rev. Richard Oldham of St. Mary's. On that first day there were eight Baptisms, but a month later on 21st February there were 40. There were 19 sets of parents in these two months, but many of them had several children baptised (some up to six) suggesting that they had not been in touch with the ordinances of religion for many years.⁴⁸

A hall was soon rented in Netherton in which services were now held, as it would appear that most of the families were from that area.⁴⁹ Netherton was described as 'An Irish colony.'⁵⁰ Many Irish had moved into the surrounding villages eager for work in the various mines. The earliest Baptism families have been difficult to trace in the 1861 Census, but those identified, show the predominance of Irish in the early congregation, probably over eighty per cent.

⁴⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 1853, quoted by Cowie, *Jordanhill History of a District*, p. 2.

⁴⁶ Cowie, *Jordanhill: The History of a District*, p. 2. Jordanhill College became a teachers' training college. It is now a campus of Strathclyde University.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Baptismal Register*, All Saints Mission, 1854.

⁴⁹ GCA, TD1/483, Jane C. Smith to the Rev. J. Watson Reid, St. Thomas's Eve. (20 December), 1856.

⁵⁰ *The News (Special)*, n.d. 1898.

Table 7:2

Ethnic origin of Baptismal presenters at All Saints Mission 1854-1858

| Year | Total number of Families | Found in Census | Irish families; one or two parents | Per cent | English |
|--------------|--------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|------------|---------|
| 1854 | 34 | 9 | 7 | 77% | 0 |
| 1855 | 37 | 14 | 13 | 92% | 0 |
| 1856 | 20 | 6 | 5 | 83% | 1 |
| 1857 | 15 | 6 | 4 | 66% | 1 |
| 1858 | 19 | 2 | 2 | 100% | 0 |
| Total | 125 | 37 | 31 | 83% | |

Source: All Saints Jordanhill, *Baptismal Register*, 1854 – 1858 Census Report 1861

Although these villages contained a lot of Irish, it would appear that most of them were Protestants, as Roman Catholic histories depict small numbers of their adherents. For the villages to the north surrounding Knightswood, 'some Catholics were resident here between 1840 and 1850' and 'among the newcomers were some Catholics of Irish extraction.' It was not until 1924 that the first Catholic church was built in the area, and even in 1927 taking in the areas of Knightswood, Anniesland, Scotstoun and Jordanhill, 'Father Reilly's flock was numerically small.'⁵¹

In seeking to discover whether the majority of Irish Protestants were Episcopalians, some comparisons between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians may be made by a study of the Baptismal Registers of the respective churches. Knightswood Free Church was founded in 1854 became West Hillhead Free Church and eventually Jordanhill Parish Church. A six year comparison between them and All Saints Church reveals the following:

⁵¹ *The History of the Catholic Community of Knightswood* (Glasgow: St. Ninian's Church, Knightswood, 1985), pp. 6 – 8.

Table 7:3

Ethnic origins of Baptismal presenters at Knightswood Free Church and All Saints Episcopal Mission, Jordanhill, 1876–1881

| | Number of Baptisms | Percentage found in Census | Number of Irish born Fathers | Percentage of Irish born Fathers | Number of Scottish born Fathers | Percentage of Scottish born fathers |
|--------------|--------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Presbyterian | 85 | 67% | 10 | 18% | 43 | 82% |
| Episcopalian | 309 | 49% | 101 | 66% | 43 | 28% |

Sources: West Hillhead Free Church Register of Baptisms, 1876 – 1881; All Saints Episcopal Church, Register of Baptisms 1876 – 1881; Census Report for 1881.

Both Registers include not just the villages around Jordanhill, but Partick as well. The total number of Episcopalian Baptisms on one hand might reflect attitudes to Baptismal disciplines, but even if this is considered, it still shows that they had a larger nominal constituency to draw from what was a possible mission-field. A higher percentage of Presbyterian families were found in the Census showing less mobility than the Episcopalians. The Episcopalians show that 66 per cent of their fathers were Irish-born compared with only 18 per cent of Presbyterian fathers.

In 1854 Jane was able to secure the interest and services of the Rev. J. Watson Reid, Incumbent of Christ Church in the east of Glasgow. He had served at the Irish congregations of Baillieston and Christ Church and was thus acquainted with the type of people around Jordanhill. Reid was to continue the association with the Mission for the rest of his life. For the first 23 years of the Mission, as well as being Incumbent of Christ Church, he worked single-handed, until in 1877, he was able to get one of his Curates, the Rev. Charles Hyde Brooke to become Curate-in-charge of the Mission. During Brooke's years of service at Jordanhill, he lived some three miles away in Cowcaddens. When Brooke left, Watson again took charge of the work and did so alone until 1881 when his Curate, the Rev. Charles Grubb became Curate-in-charge for the next three years, when Watson once again ministered.⁵²

The school continued to grow. Mainly through Jane's energies, a chapel-school was built at Jordanhill and opened on All Saints Day (1 November) 1861. The Mission and later Church was now known as All Saints.

⁵² *All Saints Magazine*, November 1953, 'Historical Notes on All Saints Church'.

The site was gifted by her father, Mr James Smith. The building was to be used as a school during the day and for church services on Sundays and other occasions.⁵³

Mr William Campbell, who moved to Jordanhill as a boy of six, attended the school from 1862. In 1931 he gave a talk to the Youth Group of All Saints Church, reminiscing of his early days at Claythorn School, as it became known:

The fees were nominal, and there were between 100 to 120 children in attendance. Our work consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic. Miss Jane Smith took a personal interest in all the children and one thing she insisted upon was an improvement in our manners. The boys of Oswald School [Presbyterian] used to call us 'Puseyites'; what that means, none of us knew nor cared. Beyond the fact that we were encouraged to attend the weekly services on Wednesday evenings and the Sunday School, there was no attempt at proselytising.

Campbell held the clergy of the Mission in high regard:

... Then there was Dean Reid. His work lay more among the children who attended Claythorn School. He visited them frequently, especially when they were sick, and when ever he left a house, he left the impression in the household that it had been visited by a saint. ... I also mention the Rev. Mr Brookes. He had been a missionary to the South Sea Islands and possessed wonderful tact and judgment. His work was mainly among the children attending Claythorn School, but he was always willing to help anyone. He gave me many educational hints and sound advice.⁵⁴

As well as being involved in education, Jane Smith had a pastoral concern for the people and was a constant visitor. Sabina wrote, 'In 1853 we returned to Jordanhill where she immediately began to visit among the colliers – and many a long weary walk she took that year, and the following winter. The doctors said that her overstretching herself too much at that time was one of the causes of her subsequent bad health.'⁵⁵

In 1860 Jane wrote to Sabina, 'Smallpox is in the village just now ... First after we came here, there was the fever, then smallpox, then cholera, then measles, and now the smallpox again. Of course, I must be very careful where I go. Those who really devote themselves to the work of labouring among the poor need to be prepared, for I suppose no place is ever entirely without infectious diseases.'⁵⁶

⁵³ SC, 27 October 1911, 'Jubilee of All Saints, Jordanhill'.

⁵⁴ Jordanhill Archives, J/EST/111, typed mss., William Campbell, *A Short History of Jordanhill*, 1931.

⁵⁵ Sabina Smith, *A Memoir of Jane C. Smith*.

Perhaps sensing the precariousness of her visiting among the poor, in 1861 she wrote her will, 'having heard from the doctor that my heart is affected, and therefore being, as I believe all who have anything the matter with their hearts are liable to sudden death.'⁵⁷ Three years later, Jane died at the age of 33 years. It was not, however, through heart illness, but from contacting typhus through visiting the poor. Her sister Sabina recalled the circumstances:

'On the Monday before All Saints Day, 1864, she had gone to tell the people who were in the habit of attending the chapel school service that there would be Holy Communion on the following Sunday. One of the women told her of a girl who was ill of typhus fever in the house below (it was a very wretched place), and asked if she would go and see her. This she did, and there caught the fever, of which she died. She had read in the Bible that Christians ought to be ready to lay down their lives for their brethren; and she laid down her life for those who were her brothers and sisters in Christ. Jesus.'⁵⁸ Among the many letters received by her father was one which read, 'Too many have no labours to rest from, and selfish rest here may be perpetual unrest hereafter; but how far otherwise with her – one who lived for God, for his poor, for his Church.'⁵⁹

In her will she left the bulk of her estate to the school and wrote, 'I hope the school may be gone on with. I hope that it won't fall to the ground.'⁶⁰ With the advent of the School Boards and national education, one of the functions of the chapel-school began to decline, and the increasing demands of the Educational Authorities compelled the school to be closed. Jordanhill was changing. The collieries, iron works, brick works were fast closing down, and the population was leaving the area. The school numbers were down to 75 and it closed in 1892.⁶¹

⁵⁶ CGA, TD1/483, Jane C. Smith to Sabina Smith, 8 November 1860.

⁵⁷ CGA, TD1/483, Last Will and Testament of Jane Charlotte Smith, 7 November 1861.

⁵⁸ Sabina Smith, *Memoir of Jane C. Smith*.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Last Will and Testament of Jane Charlotte Smith.

⁶¹ *All Saints Magazine*, November 1953.

A consideration will now be given to the Mission church itself. The first services were held in the barn at Jordanhill House, but by 1856 they were being conducted in a rented room at Netherton, 'disagreeable though it is, must be the best. I am afraid the one at Jordanhill is not safe.'⁶²

Appendix 7:2 shows a decline in the number of baptisms, perhaps reflecting the decline in the congregation which only began to grow in the 1860s when the new chapel-school was built. Jane Smith was concerned over the want of money and the inability or unwillingness of the congregation to support the work financially. Bishop Wilson appears to have helped out with money, and a frustrated Jane wrote, 'I am quite vexed at so much falling on the Bishop - I don't see how we can give more, and unless the people will give more, I am afraid the Mission must be given up ... it is the part of the people to give the money.'⁶³

The Baptism register for 1854 to 1858 along with corresponding entries in the Census returns give a picture of the early congregation. The fathers' occupations show that the congregation was made up mainly of unskilled labourers.

Table 7:4

Occupations of fathers at All Saints Mission, 1854 - 1858

| Year | Miner | Labourer | Collier | Carter | Furnaceman | Brickmaker | Hammerman | Skilled or Semi. |
|------|-------|----------|---------|--------|------------|------------|-----------|------------------|
| 1854 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 3 | - | - | - |
| 1855 | 3 | 6 | 8 | - | 1 | 3 | - | 4 |
| 1856 | 8 | 5 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| 1857 | 1 | 5 | 2 | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| 1858 | 4 | 6 | 1 | - | - | 1 | 2 | 2 |

Source: All Saints Church *Baptismal Register 1854-1858*

The Register gives the address simply as the hamlet: Gartnavel, Netherton, Knightswood, etc. The Census for 1861 has a column descriptive of the accommodation in stating the number of rooms containing at least one window.

⁶² CGA, TD1/483 Jane C. Smith to the Rev. J. Watson Reid, 20 December 1856.

⁶³ Sabina Smith, *Memoir of Jane C. Smith*.

The following information about Irish-born men in the congregation from the 1861 Census, would be typical, but is given in order to see the cramped conditions in which they lived.

Table 7:5

Number of rooms in house of families at All Saints Mission 1854-1858

| Name | Age | Occupation | People in house | Number of rooms |
|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| George Young | 66 | Pauper | 7 | 1 |
| Samuel Chalmers | 38 | Clay Labourer | 7 | 1 |
| William Gourley | 35 | Brick Labourer | 7 | 1 |
| John Conway | 48 | Furnaceman | 5 | 1 |
| John McComb | 36 | Iron Miner | 6 | 1 |
| James Moore | 47 | Labourer | 10 | 1 |
| John Robinson | 42 | Dock Labourer | 11 | 1 |
| William Pearson | 35 | Shipyard Labourer | 5 | 1 |
| Alexander Montgomery | 32 | Labourer Paper Mill | 5 | 1 |
| John Robertson | 50 | Ironstone Labourer | 9 | 1 |
| Robert Collins | 40 | Coal Miner | 7 | 1 |

Source: All Saints Church, Register of Baptisms 1854 – 1858; Census Report, 1861

William Campbell describes the Jordanhill housing in 1863: ‘some houses had no ceilings and one could lie in bed and through the opening in the tiles watch the stars passing overhead while it was not uncommon in the winter time for the snow to come sweeping through the roof. The houses were all of the one apartment type and earth floors were common.’⁶⁴ Netherton was described as ‘consisting of two streets. There is one row of single-storey houses, one apartment and room-and-kitchens.’ It was later condemned as ‘The most insanitary spot in Scotland.’⁶⁵ It was not until later in the 1860s that Jordanhill saw improvements in housing, largely due to the interest shown by the Smith family.

The community appeared to be a highly mobile one. This can be deduced from the fact that only 37 families out of 125, or 30 per cent of Baptism presenters between 1854 to 1858, could be found on the 1861 Census, and most of these were not now living in the hamlet where they were described as living in the Register. It is

⁶⁴ Campbell, *A Short History of Jordanhill*.

⁶⁵ *The News* (Special), 1898.

probable that several had returned to Ireland, others would have gone on further into Glasgow, Lanarkshire or even overseas, and of course, given the disease, work and housing conditions, several would have died.

The period of the 1860s saw some growth in the congregation as they now worshipped in the newly built chapel-school. The growth in the number of Baptisms continued throughout the 1870s, not only reflecting the growing industries around Jordanhill, but also the expansion of the heavier industrial areas of Partick and Whiteinch to the south. Indeed, during this period, most of those baptised were from Partick, which at least gave the Mission a new and expanding sphere of ministry, though this widening of the net was also a cause for criticism. A correspondence war took place in *The Scottish Guardian* in 1877 with 'A West Ender' writing that 'it does appear a waste of time from a clergyman from Calton [J. Watson Reid] going out to Jordanhill to hold a service for the benefit of one or two old women and a few Presbyterian children ...' and adding, 'The number of persons who go from Partick to have babies baptised ... cannot be looked on as any criterion.'⁶⁶ This was rebuffed by 'Charity' who said that there were in fact 'a good many Churchmen [Episcopalians] in the district, and many poor colliers would be brought to the knowledge of Christ, for in Jordanhill, the harvest is great but the labourers are few.' Likewise 'One who knows Jordanhill' wrote to say that most of the people at Jordanhill were colliers, very poor, and professed members of the Church [Episcopalians].⁶⁷

The late 1870s and early 1880s was to see the Irish element in the congregation still as strong as it had been thirty years before, to the extent that it was still very definitely a predominantly Irish church. The criticism of the number of families from Partick is unfair, as the Census of 1881 and the Baptism Registers show that many of these had an earlier connection with Jordanhill area and had moved to Partick for better housing and work prospects.

⁶⁶ *SG*, 28 September 1877.

⁶⁷ *SG*, 12 October 1877.

Table 7:6

Ethnic origins of Baptismal presenters at All Saints Mission, 1876 - 1881

| Year | Baptism Families | Number found in Census | Number of Irish families | Percentage of Irish families | Number of English families |
|-------|------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1876 | 44 | 20 | 14 | 70% | 1 |
| 1878 | 100 | 42 | 31 | 73% | 3 |
| 1879 | 65 | 30 | 20 | 66% | 2 |
| 1800 | 35 | 23 | 18 | 78% | 1 |
| 1881 | 58 | 38 | 31 | 81% | 3 |
| Total | 302 | 153 | 114 | 74% | 10 |

Source: All Saints Baptismal Register 1876 – 1881; Census Report, 1881

This shows a decrease in the percentage of Irish families from the 1850s, but by now many of those whose birthplace was indicated as Scotland, would have been the children of Irish parents. The number of English-born families was still small at this stage, but had shown a percentage increase from the 1860s.

By 1881 *The Scottish Guardian* reported that on the twentieth anniversary of the opening of the building ‘There was a very large congregation and in fact much difficulty was experienced in providing seats. The bulk of the congregation was comprised of the members of All Saints. Large mining district surround Jordanhill Mission and the congregation is chiefly composed of miners and their families.’⁶⁸

Orangeism existed in the congregation given the number of Irish and the existence of lodges in the area. However, there is no evidence that this was much of a problem. In August 1879, the Rev. Charles Hyde Brooke boasted, ‘found the Orangemen at Jordanhill gradually adopted my views, which being purely Catholic are strongly Protestant and violently anti-Roman.’⁶⁹

However, by the late 1890s the Irish phase was on the wane. The numbers of Baptismal figures showed higher figures around the 1870s to the early 1800s, but by 1884 the numbers showed a marked decline. This reflected the economic growth and decline of the period, connected with the fortunes of mining: ‘By the

⁶⁸ *SG*, 11 November 1881.

⁶⁹ DGGGA, TD 1382/147/12, the Rev. Charles H. Brooke to Bishop Wilson, 18 August 1879.

1860s many thousands of tons remained to be worked, yet by the 1870s these minerals were quickly running out. In fact, by the late 1880s the mines were almost exhausted and on 10 June 1892 were finally closed.⁷⁰

In 1892 All Saints School closed and by that time there were only 18 communicants in the church. The whole area was to undergo a dramatic change. With the decline of the mines came the introduction of the School Boards, the speculative builder and annexation to Glasgow. Thus Jordanhill was converted from a rural to a suburban and city area and the whole character of the district altered.⁷¹

The closure of the school house did have one advantage for the church, in that it provided accommodation locally for its priest for the first time in its forty-year history. In 1892 the Rev. Donald Maccoilchynie Shaw, Curate at St. Michael's, Govan took on the job as Curate-in-charge of Jordanhill.⁷² Although the congregation was tiny, it was about to change, not just in terms of numbers but in class and in the ethnic origin of its members. The former industrial lands were being sold to property developers and soon new streets with villa type houses appeared. A revival in fortunes was noticed by 1897 at the resignation of the Rev. Lionel Brandford who wrote, 'It is a matter of deepest thankfulness that both the attendances and offerings have more than trebled during the rather less than two years we have been amongst you. The finances of the Church are all in a flourishing condition ... The neighbourhood is growing so quickly, that, before many more years are passed, we may confidently expect to see a stately and handsome Church rising to take the place of the present building ... Our Church has the good fortune to be situated in one of the healthiest and most attractive parts of Glasgow, and may therefore certainly expect constant additions to the Congregation from amongst the rapidly increasing number of new comers.'⁷³

By 1901 *The Scottish Guardian* reported, 'This church ... now accommodates a congregation differing somewhat from those for whom it was at first intended.'⁷⁴ In 1911 reflecting on the growth over the past few

⁷⁰ Donnelly, *A Historical Sketch of Jordanhill*, p. 4.

⁷¹ Campbell, *A Short History of Jordanhill*.

⁷² *All Saints Magazine*, November 1953.

⁷³ *All Saints Congregational Newsletter*, October 1897.

⁷⁴ *SG*, 12 April 1901.

years, *The Scottish Chronicle* stated, 'lying in a pleasant situation on the western side of the city, Jordanhill had attracted a large number of residents. Many of these are English people, whose business has brought them to Glasgow. Consequently the Church began to fill up, and so large was the increase that in 1898 the Chapel was enlarged so as to give double the accommodation, but this only met the difficulty in a temporary way. So great was the increase of Churchpeople that a new Church had to be erected in 1904.'⁷⁵

Partick Missions

Situated on the north side of the River Clyde, it was not long before shipbuilding in the 1840s, and subsidiary trades associated with it changed for ever its rural setting. Greenhorn stated that between 1852 and 1912 the onward march of progress in every direction was almost unparalleled in the history of towns in Scotland. During this period all the characteristic marks of the rural village had completely vanished. The rapid increase in the population of the Burgh was consequent on the development of industries and the facilities for travel and the transport of goods. The greatest proportional increase was between 1851 and 1861 when the population increased from 5,043 to 10,917.⁷⁶

Smart comments upon the high profile of Irish labourers in Partick after the 1840s: 'Partick labourers, mostly Irish, worked on the punts which ferried the silt scraped upon from the river bottom by the dredgers to the riverside.'⁷⁷ By 1890 *The Bailie* noted that 'The Partick labourer ... more likely than not, is an Irishman either by birth or extraction.'⁷⁸

In 1820 there was only one Roman Catholic in Partick, and he was held in suspicion: 'A very quiet man, but his quietness was ascribed to his cunning, and it was believed he was ready to cut our throats if he had the power.'⁷⁹

⁷⁵ *SC*, 27 October 1911.

⁷⁶ William Greenhorn, *History of Partick, 550 – 1912* (Glasgow: John Thomlinson Ltd, 1928), p. 135.

⁷⁷ Smart, *Villages of Glasgow*, Vol. 1, p. 153.

⁷⁸ *The Bailie*, 29 January 1890.

⁷⁹ Greenhorn, *History of Partick*, p. 104.

By 1844 the village contained eleven Roman Catholic families. In order to educate their children a school was opened in a weavers' shop in Burgher Row. Between 1858 and 1864 Father Daniel Gallagher secured a house in Castlebank Street, known by the villagers as 'Paddy's Castle.'⁸⁰ The Great Famine of 1847 was to change the demographic make up of the population and its religious affiliations, driving thousands of Irish into Glasgow and its adjoining districts like Partick. St. Peter's Roman Catholic chapel was built in Bridge Street in 1858. In 1903 the congregation moved to a new red sandstone church in Hyndland Street designed by Peter Paul Pugin of London.⁸¹

Not all the Irish who settled in Partick were Roman Catholics, and the large number of Protestants who formed part of the Irish Diaspora there may be ascertained from the fact that the area became one of the strongest centres for Orangeism. Marshall notes, 'The focal point of much of this initial development was Partick. About 1858 or earlier, a District Lodge, Number 15, was formed which by 1864 comprised nine lodges. Ten years later, Partick was the largest Orange District in Scotland with a total of 18 lodges operating under its wing.'⁸²

By 1881 the Episcopalians were considered to be the third largest denomination in Partick in terms of adherents.⁸³ The nearest Episcopal Church was less than one mile to the north: All Saints Mission at Jordanhill. The Baptism Register there first notes the arrival of Partick families among the congregation as early as 1855. The next few years were to see a rise in the number of Partick families requesting baptism for their children.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁸¹ Smart, *Villages of Glasgow*. Vol. 1, p. 156.

⁸² Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, p. 41.

⁸³ *Centenary Brochure of Partick Methodist Church, 1881 – 1981* (Glasgow: Partick, 1981).

Table 7:7

Partick Families requesting Baptism at All Saints, Jordanhill

| Year | Total | Partick | % |
|------|-------|---------|-----|
| 1855 | 37 | 10 | 27% |
| 1856 | 20 | 6 | 30% |
| 1858 | 19 | 5 | 26 |
| 1866 | 22 | 19 | 86% |
| 1867 | 37 | 18 | 48% |
| 1868 | 27 | 18 | 66% |

Source: All Saints Church, Jordanhill, *Baptismal Register* 1865-1868

All Saints, however, was not in any position to begin mission work in Partick. Its own numbers were few enough and were among the poorest of labourers. Clergy were having to be brought across Glasgow to minister there. There was correspondence in the Church press were that Jordanhill should be abandoned, as 'A West Ender' wrote that most of the baptism families were from Partick anyway and not from Jordanhill.⁸⁴

Despite an increasing population and a growing awareness of many Episcopalian families from the Partick area since the 1850s, the Scottish Episcopal Church was not able until fifteen years later to seize the opportunity to establish a mission. The initiative for this was taken instead by the rival St. Silas English Episcopal Church which established a Mission and Sunday School at Heyburn Street in 1865. St. Silas had been founded only three years previously on definite Protestant and evangelical principles. It would have emphasised this to the Irish of Partick, in contrast to the Scottish Episcopal Church, which they considered was weak on Protestantism. Most of the curates in charge became members of the Orange Order. The St. Silas Mission would prove to be a strong competitor.⁸⁵

It was the Incumbent of St. John's, Anderston, the Rev. Dr. John Penney who first began the Scottish Episcopal Mission at Partick. Bishop Wilson wrote in his Journal 11 March, 1869, 'I have authorised the Rev. Dr. Penney to make arrangements for the opening of a Mission at Partick, with the assistance of the Rev.

⁸⁴ *SG*, 28 September 1877.

⁸⁵ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalianism*, p. 77. For Partick curates who were members of the Orange Order, see Appendix 4:5.

Mr. Heaton who has been appointed Chaplain for the hospitals and Poor Houses in Glasgow.⁸⁶ Penney was not one to be intimidated by the English Episcopal Church. It was he to whom the Rev. James McCann first confided when McCann wished to leave the English Episcopal Church and be admitted to the Scottish.⁸⁷ McCann would no doubt have shared with his new mentor a sense of the deficiencies of the schism and how by comparison, the Scottish Church was more attractive.

In October 1870 it was reported that ‘The St. John’s Mission Hall, Partick (meeting in St. Mary’s Masonic Hall) is almost now very largely attended.’⁸⁸ By July 1871 it was ‘proposed to erect an iron chapel at Partick, where there may be more frequent services and greater decency and order than are attainable in the hall where the services have been held for some time now.’⁸⁹

Nothing was to come of this iron chapel, but in 1873 the congregation had grown sufficiently to move to the Partick Academy. It was around this time that the first tensions with the Orange element in the congregation were being noted. By a humorous introduction to a serious issue, the *Church News Scotland* told its readers of a story of a country Incumbent in the diocese, that, had he complied with a request to substitute an orange hood in his ministrations for his green one, he could have materially increased the Orange interest. Implying that similar pressure was being put on the clergy at Partick the article continued, ‘Had certain overtures made at the outset we believe to the clergy in charge of this Mission been accepted, the promise was that “no hall in Partick would be big enough for them.”’⁹⁰

Describing the St. Silas mission in the most derogatory terms possible, an article in the *Church New Scotland* stated that It had been admitted, that by not conceding to their wishes, ‘a great deal of this “interest” [Orange] was therefore transferred to a Lay Missionary in connection with a meeting house, who gave himself out to

⁸⁶ DGGA, TD 1382/75, *Bishops’ Journal*, 11 March 1869.

⁸⁷ DGGA, TD 1382/159, the Rev. James McCann to the congregation of St. Paul’s, Charing Cross, 10 August 1871.

⁸⁸ *Church News: Scotland*, October 1870.

⁸⁹ *Church News: Scotland*, July 1871.

⁹⁰ *Church News: Scotland*, November 1873.

belong to the Church of England.'⁹¹ The following year this battle in the press continued: 'The same evil influence which is at work at Johnstone⁹² and other places is exhibiting itself here. The Rev. Dr. Hutton, Incumbent of St. Silas, has taken the hall rented by the clergy of St. John's (St. Mary's Masonic), and has started an opposition service at the same hour on Sundays as ourselves.'⁹³

Despite the mission work carried on by Dr. Penney and his Curates, it was obvious that an increasing number of Partick Episcopalian families still preferred to attach themselves to All Saints, Jordanhill, thus it can be seen that the Partick missions alone did not reflect the total Episcopalian constituency. The possibilities of growth were not being fully realised to build a strong work in Partick.

Table 7:8

Partick Families requesting Baptism at All Saints Jordanhill 1869-1876

| Year | Total | Partick | % |
|------|-------|---------|-----|
| 1869 | 56 | 35 | 62% |
| 1870 | 83 | 50 | 60% |
| 1871 | 83 | 61 | 73% |
| 1872 | 35 | 22 | 62% |
| 1873 | 104 | 77 | 74% |
| 1874 | 106 | 75 | 70% |
| 1876 | 36 | 20 | 55% |

Source: All Saints Church, Jordanhill, Register of Baptisms 1869-1876

The Mission, however, did not survive long after that. It was closed in 1876. A further attempt was made during 1884 to 1885 which was again ultimately unsuccessful.⁹⁴ Its closure was lamented by Irish-born, the Rev. Patrick Phelan who reported to the Diocesan Synod that there were '1500 Episcopalians in Partick and Whiteinch without service.'⁹⁵

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² For Johnstone, see DGG, TD 1382/ 145, letters re. Johnstone, 1872 – 1879.

⁹³ *Church News: Scotland*, January 1874.

⁹⁴ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 595.

⁹⁵ *SG*, September 1885.

A second attempt to start a Mission in Partick came in 1894, but this time it was initiated from St. Bride's, Hyndland. St. Bride's, founded in 1891, was itself a mission of St. Mary's. Its priest in charge, the Rev. Theodore Younghughes, soon realised the mission field which lay on his own doorstep. Ball writes of this period, '... just a couple of miles away lay Partick: rapidly expanding, grotesquely over-crowded, many of its residents were desperately poor. Theodore Younghughes calculated that of the 20,000 Partick people in his care, there were approximately 1000 Episcopalians.'⁹⁶

The Baptism Register for St. Bride's shows a dramatic increase in the number of Baptisms from two in 1894 to 83 in 1901. The following table shows that the increasing number of Baptisms corresponded with the opening of the Mission at Partick and for the five years between 1897 and 1902 provided around 70 per cent of them.

Table 7:9

Baptisms at St. Brides and its Mission (St. Patrick's), 1893 - 1902

| Year | Total Baptisms | Partick Families | % |
|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| 1893 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 1896 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 1897 | 2 | 1 | - |
| 1898 | 14 | 10 | 71% |
| 1899 | 9 | 4 | 44% |
| 1900 | 36 | 27 | 75% |
| 1901 | 83 | 67 | 80% |
| 1902 | 62 | 43 | 69% |

Source: St. Bride's Church, Hyndland, *Baptismal Register*, 1893-1902

Younghughes, with the support of Bishop Wilson, re-started mission services in Partick in 1894, but the work had to be suspended because of opposition, not from St. Silas Mission, but from St. John's Church in Anderston.

⁹⁶ *St. Bride's Church Magazine*, April 1902, quoted by Ball, *History of St. Bride's Church*, p. 18.

‘The Rev Mr Younghouse had started a mission among the poor of Partick. A day later the Bishop received a letter from the Rev. Mr Whittaker of St. John’s requesting him to forbid any church other than St. John’s conducting mission work in Partick. St. John’s protested on the ground that Partick was within its sphere.’⁹⁷

This dispute lasted for three years during which time neither church was allowed to open a mission in Partick. St. John’s had been given the first option to begin the work, but as this was not forthcoming, St. Bride’s was now allowed to commence.

An interesting comment appears in *The Scottish Guardian* in March 1897 to the effect that relations with St. Silas Mission had considerably changed to what they had been twenty three years earlier when they had been described as ‘an evil influence.’ The Rev. John Whitaker ‘stated that the matter of opening a mission in Partick had been allowed to be on the understanding that an effort was to be made to amalgamate a mission carried on there by St. Silas English Episcopal Church.’⁹⁸ This reflected the rapprochement nationally as the English Episcopal Church was by the 1890’s seeking realignment with the Scottish Church.

By 1898 the mission was running again, and by February it was enthusiastically reported, ‘eighty-nine people attended the evening service which was really surprising seeing how short a time the Mission has been started.’⁹⁹ It was dedicated to St. Patrick, perhaps in recognition that the congregation ‘included a considerable number of members of the Church of Ireland.’¹⁰⁰ Theodore Younghughes was technically ‘Priest-in-Charge’ as the St. Bride’s was still a Mission and had not yet been raised to an Incumbency. However, as the Irish they were seeking to minister to in Partick would be put off by the term ‘priest’, a special dispensation was given by the Bishop to refer to him as the “Incumbent”: ‘it seemed expedient in the face of much of our work among Church of Ireland members in Partick to make such a change ... With the Apostle, we hold that whilst all things are lawful, expediency may sometimes rule, and accordingly we have made the change.’¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ *SG*, 26 March 1897.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *StBM*, March 1898.

¹⁰⁰ DGGGA, TD 1382/330, typed mss., n.d., *History of the Episcopal Church in Glasgow*.

Younghouse observed Partick as 'dirt, disorder, misery and sin; the evils of overcrowding, intemperance and poverty' and added, 'The spread of the Gospel is the greatest hope; the only certain means of permanently raising the character of the people.'¹⁰² 'The Partick Mission became a focus for the energies of the women of St. Bride's. It was not really possible for them to hold many positions of responsibility in the mother church. Down at St. Patrick's, however, they could be leaders. They ran the mothers meeting and the thriving Sunday School, trained the choir and played the organ.'¹⁰³

An important aspect of care for the poor was jumble sales. Each successive *St. Brides Magazine* from 1898 appealed for old clothes and other useable household items. The poor were not to be given these items freely but were encouraged to buy them at an affordable cost: 'We are in need of old clothes, carpets, etc. for the poor in Partick. We can assure our readers that through our workers and local knowledge, we are able to do far more good by our reasonable sale of things sent to us than can many of our friends in the often indiscriminate giving to those sturdy beggars who besiege their doors.'¹⁰⁴ By this means, the Episcopalians of Partick would be seen as 'the deserving poor' and not as paupers. 'We know of no way better suited to help the respectable poor without taking away their self-respect or pauperising them than these private sales.'¹⁰⁵

The various buildings used by the Mission reflected both the poverty of the area and of those who attended them. Services were first held at 31 Anderson Street; then for a while the Mission was based in a rented shop at 122 Byres Road. In 1901 they acquired an old blacksmith's cottage in a timber yard in Douglas Street (now called Purdon Street). 'Situated in the centre of a population of 20,000, mostly artisans and labourers, with the usual percentage of Episcopalians.'¹⁰⁶ . Most of the residents of Douglas Street 'had an Irish background.'¹⁰⁷ But by 1904 the inadequacy of the building was being felt: 'We began mission work in the

¹⁰¹ *StBM*, February 1898.

¹⁰² *StBM*, April 1902.

¹⁰³ Ball, *History of St. Bride's Church*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁴ *StBM*, December 1901.

¹⁰⁵ *StBM*, September 1906.

¹⁰⁶ *SG*, 5 July 1901.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Jean Gray, *Mind these days: Partick between the Wars* (Glasgow: Partick History Group), p. 24.

very poorest quarter of the Burgh of Partick. Our present premises – an old disused cottage with a wooden chancel added by the mission workers themselves – have been condemned by the Burgh Surveyor. At present, in spite of constant repair, we cannot keep out the rain, rot and rats.’¹⁰⁸

In 1904 a second Mission, St. Faith’s, was opened at 663 Dumbarton Road in West Partick. The strategy was to begin ministering to the children by opening a Sunday School, but reaching the lapsed Episcopalian adult population was the long term goal: ‘it will doubtless be many a year before we can do more than minister to the young there, but there has been such an enormous growth of Partick in the past six years that we are compelled to do something, however small, to gather together our people ... and the appalling task of gathering in some of the lapsed.’¹⁰⁹

Theodore Younghughes left St. Brides to go to Baillieston in 1910. He was immediately followed by Edward T.S. Reid. Younghughes would have had sympathies with the ‘Catholic’ wing of the Church but he proceeded cautiously, although towards the end of his ministry he oversaw the service of Sung Eucharist replacing Matins once a month and on major festivals. Reid was not so cautious and was ‘determined to press ahead with liturgical reforms.’¹¹⁰ He first introduced eucharistic vestments to St. Brides in 1911, writing in the *Magazine* to justify his position. In 1915 ‘he surprised the Vestry with the announcement that he had been offered the gift of a censer, and argued that the moment of consecration at the Eucharist was the moment to introduce incense.’¹¹¹

Needless to say, as Ball observed, ‘Neither of the [Partick] Missions survived Reid’s arrival.’¹¹² St. Faith’s, which had reached a membership of around one hundred, was the first to close, in 1910. At the Annual Business meeting of St. Bride’s in March 1912, the Vestry reported that they were of the opinion that St. Patrick’s be closed. There was a debt of £434 owing and the site would need to be considerably upgraded if

¹⁰⁸ *StBM*, February 1904.

¹⁰⁹ *StBM*, October 1904.

¹¹⁰ Ball, *History of St. Bride’s Church*, p. 22.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹¹² Ball, *History of St. Bride’s Church*, p. 19.

further use was envisaged. In a complete turn around from animosity of the 1870's it was suggested that 'as St. Silas Mission was just three streets away', the remainder of the Partick congregation might consider attending there.¹¹³

The real mission possibilities of the area were never fully realised. In the late 1890s Mr. C. Mowbray, Convenor of a Committee of the Diocesan Council with the brief of ascertaining the number of Episcopalians throughout Glasgow found them to be around five per cent of the population. However, the Committee had found that in the area of Whiteinch and Partick the number of Episcopalians was ten per cent, and as such recommended Partick as a centre for Church expansion.¹¹⁴ Given the population of the area to be 39,000 the total number of people connected with the Church would not have exceeded 600 out of an estimated Episcopalian population of almost 4,000.

Table 7:10

Population of Partick 1820 - 1911

| 1820 | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1,235 | 5,043 | 10,917 | 17,707 | 27,410 | 36,538 | 54,274 | 66,848 |

Source: Greenhorn *History of Partick 550-1912* p

The first phase of the Mission, that undertaken by St. John's, Anderston saw a sizeable number of Episcopalian families in Partick choosing not to take their children to the Partick Mission for Baptism. Without anecdotal or other evidence, there is no way of knowing what local circumstances caused this. Among the Episcopal churches surrounding Partick, there was no consensus or united effort. It has been seen that in the second phase, namely that began by St. Bride's there were jealousies over boundaries. It is possible that given the struggling nature of All Saints, they needed to hold their Partick people in order to keep their own mission open.

¹¹³ *StBM*, March 1912.

¹¹⁴ *SG*, 26 March 1897, 'Report of the Committee appointed by the Diocesan Council.'

In the second phase, that begun by St. Bride's, the Episcopalians of Partick would have found Mr Younghughes a good and conscientious priest who according to his obituary was that the poor benefited from his vision of social care .

Under his ministry the membership of St. Patrick's reached a maximum of 260 members in 1910 and that of St. Faith's at 100.

Table 7:11

Number of Members and Communicants at Partick Missions, 1902 - 1910

| Year | St. Patrick's | | St. Faith's | |
|------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| | Members | Communicants | Members | Communicants |
| 1902 | 100 | 21 | | |
| 1908 | 200 | 41 | 100 | 15 |
| 1909 | 250 | 60 | 100 | 15 |
| 1910 | 260 | 44 | 100 | 15 |

Source: *Year Book of the Scottish Episcopal Church 1902-1910*

It had long been recognised that the physical state of the premises in which the services were held had worked against progress. As far back as 1873 it was commented that 'the wretched hall in which the services have been held have all militated against success.'¹¹⁵ However by 1905 it was still being lamented upon that the 'great drawback to the progress of St. Patrick's has been the uncomfortable and unsanitary condition of the building in which the services are held, the roof being full of holes, and in wet weather the seats and floor are covered with water.'¹¹⁶ Better premises were promised, but never realised. The Episcopalians were having to meet in hovels at the same time as the Presbyterians were building impressive sanctuaries all around Partick, and the Roman Catholics had moved into their lovely Pugin-designed building. The Methodist congregation, like the Episcopalians, had been formed by those not native to Scotland, yet by 1881 and with only 48 members, they had built for themselves a fine new church on Dumbarton Road.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ *Church News: Scotland*, November 1873.

¹¹⁶ *SC*, October 1905.

¹¹⁷ *Centenary Brochure of Partick Methodist Church*.

Conclusion

At St. John's, Anderston, there is no doubt that Alexander D'Orsey was zealous and pastorally motivated to win the Irish poor of Anderston for the Church. A man of extraordinary talents, he could have gone far in the teaching profession, but sacrificed this to be a missionary in the slums of Glasgow. In this respect, D'Orsey typifies that missionary spirit which made the 'slum priests' one of the most enduring icons of the Oxford Movement. However, as Bishop Trower advised, he was in danger of destroying his work through insensitivity to the liturgical needs and prejudices of his Irish congregation.

However, even if D'Orsey had adopted a Low Church approach to worship, his need for middle-class money and support, would mean that by attracting one particular class, he was now alienating the very class he had come to reach in the first place. Sadly, the Irish were lost for Anderston and at a very early stage in St. John's story and D'Orsey was lost for the Church. St. John's Church closed in 1959.

Given the growth of Partick and the awareness of the clergy at both Anderston and Jordanhill, the Church was somewhat slow in seizing the missionary possibilities of the area. The fact that St. Silas' Mission had started first, and with a greater sympathy towards Orangeism, meant that it always retained the strongest presence. Not only did the St. Silas Mission commence before the St. John's and St. Bride's Mission, it kept going during the time of the cessation of the latter, and in fact outlived them all. It continued until 1951 and even opened a second Mission in Ardley Street in 1910.

Despite the initial antagonism of the two Churches, by 1912 all the Episcopalians in Partick were being encouraged to attend St. Silas Mission. An opportunity had existed for the Diocese to create one strong church out of several missions; no such strategy, however, existed and Partick was allowed to drift on its own.

Bishop Archibald Ean Campbell's missionary policy was to close down the various missions which he described as 'hen-houses'¹¹⁸ of which the Partick Missions were examples. His preferred policy was to build fewer but stronger churches in strategic areas as missionary churches, but Partick somehow did not feature in his vision.

¹¹⁸ For Campbell's missionary policy, see chapter five of this thesis.

By 1911 it became difficult to find clergy who could take the services of Holy Communion at the hour advertised for St. Patrick's, and so the congregation there were encouraged to attend St. Bride's, which was becoming increasingly Anglo-Catholic, and would soon become the flag ship of that particular churchmanship for the diocese. Set in the growing west end, it was becoming a church for the affluent. Reid somewhat naively wrote that he hoped that such a move 'would emphasise the unity of the mother and daughter church'¹¹⁹ However, it is very possible that such a move would simply have reinforced the many differences between both communities.

Between 1896 and 1911 at least three books were published on the history of Partick.¹²⁰ All contained a chapter on Partick's churches, but none of them mention that Episcopal churches ever even existed in Partick. There has been no Episcopal presence in Partick since the 1950s.

All Saints, Jordanhill, has been the only one of the churches in the west founded for the Irish poor, to survive. Its clergy appeared to have been far less ritualistic than the other two, and no evidence of any controversy over this matter has been uncovered. In fact, Charles Hyde Brooke claimed that he was able to keep the Orangemen on his side. When the Irish did leave the church in any numbers, it was simply because of the demographic changes in the area. By 1890 the old infrastructure of mining had disappeared along with its traditional community, and Jordanhill's regeneration was enabled by a completely new landscape and people. Yet the Irish presence did not completely disappear and even after the new church was built in 1904, the descendants of the Irish continued to attend and make a welcome contribution. The failure of All Saints was that it did not attract a large local congregation but relied on a wider constituency. In this respect, it became not so much a local church but a mother church for poorer Episcopalians in the west until such times as other churches were built for them.

¹¹⁹ *StBM*, January 1911.

¹²⁰ William Greenhome, *A History of Partick 550 – 1911* (Glasgow: John Thomlinson, 1928); Charles Taylor, *Partick Past and Present* (Glasgow: William Hodge & Co., 1902); Henry Anderson, *Reminiscences of a Pastorate of Fifty Years 1844 – 1894* (Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1896).



Crow Road, (Opp. Whittinghame Drive) Jordanhill, 1880's
Left to Right: Woodend Brickworks, Claythorn Smithy, men under notice board "All Saints Episcopal"

Plate 7:1

Crow Rd, Jordanhill, 1880s, men standing by notice board for All Saints' Mission



Plate 7:2

Red Town near Jordanhill



Plate 7:3
Chancel of All Saints' Mission, Jordanhill, 1880s



Plate 7:4
School House and All Saints' Mission, Jordanhill, 1880s



Plate 7:5 Chancel of St. Patrick's Mission, Partick



Plate 7:6
Former Blacksmith's Cottage, Douglas St, used as St. Patrick's Mission

Chapter Eight

Glasgow: East and South; Dunbartonshire and Lanarkshire

R.A. Cage attributes the earliest population increase of Glasgow, between 1775 and 1800 to growth which ‘was dominantly eastwards where a booming cotton industry was fast expanding on greenfield sites in the industrial villages of Calton, Mile End and Bridgeton.’¹ It was in this area, that the Church first became aware of the presence of large numbers of Irish Episcopalians living there without the ordinances of their religion: and the first church for them in Glasgow was founded in 1834: Christ Church, Mile End, comprising mainly of Irish weaves and their families.

Bridgeton rapidly developed as an industrial village after David Dale and others set up the Barrowfield dye works and calico printing in 1785, its population growing from around three thousand in 1805 to 64,000 in 1875.²

Something of the living conditions of the weavers can be seen from the observance of Sir David Barry who toured the Bridgton area in 1833 in order to inspect the various factories and make an official report on the health and working conditions of the employees: ‘The spinners’ homes, for the most part, were two-apartment houses with a rental of about £4 per annum. He then visited some of the handloom weavers’ homes and found this a distressing experience. In the 1830s there were over 2,000 handloom weavers in Bridgeton struggling to keep their families on little more than what a teenager could earn in the mill, eating porridge, potatoes and sour milk; working all the hours of daylight in damp cellars.’³

Large numbers of Irish Protestant weavers had congregated in Glasgow by the 1830s, and before the Great Famine of 1846 would probably have formed the majority of Irish, especially in the east of Glasgow. Walker states, ‘the weaving centre of Calton and neighbouring areas such as Bridgeton, Dalmarnock and Camlachie

¹ R. A. Cage, *The Working Class in Glasgow 1750–1944* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 6.

² *Smart Villages of Glasgow*. Vol. 1, p. 30.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 37 – 39.

where literary evidence suggests there was a Protestant Irish concentration from an early period'⁴ and notes that, 'It has been shown that in 1831 of 6,890 Irish in the Calton – Mile End district of Glasgow only 2,688 were Catholic. This suggests that over 4,000 were Protestant Irish.'⁵ Walker's study of the Poor Law records for this part of Glasgow shows that Irish Protestants suffered poverty in much the same way as Irish Catholics.⁶

McFarland described Calton and Bridgeton as strong centres of Orangeism in the 1830s, noting the formation in 1831 of a Glasgow Orange Funeral Society originally based around the Calton and Mile End area.⁷ Marshall supports this by stating that in the 1830s, five of Glasgow's six Orange Lodges operated in the Calton, 'an area of concentrated Ulster Protestant settlement.'⁸

Glasgow East: Christ Church

In 1834, Episcopal services were conducted in hired halls at Main Street, Bridgeton and at Claythorn Street in Calton.⁹ The Rev. David Aitchison, however, was regarded as the real founder of the congregation which became known as Christ Church. He wrote, 'In 1835 I was commissioned by Bishop Walker to undertake an expedition to Glasgow in quest of 10,000 Episcopalians reported to be resident there, and not attached to any church. What their names and abodes were I was not informed.'¹⁰

Aitchison joined the two congregations together, conducting Sunday evening services in a school-room in Calton, from 19 August 1835. *Stephen's Ecclesiastical Intelligence* brought the nature of Aitchison's pastoral visiting to the wider Church: 'The congregation amounted to 250, of whom 110 heads of families enrolled their names as regular attendants on his ministry, and gave their addresses, that they might be visited during

⁴ Walker, 'The Protestant Irish', p. 54.

⁵ Ibid., p. 49

⁶ Ibid. p. 54. Irish Protestants accounted for 13 per cent of Poor Law applications, while Irish Catholics accounted for 14 per cent.

⁷ McFarland, *Protestants First*, p. 50.

⁸ Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, p. 11.

⁹ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 594. John W. Ferguson is mentioned as being the first minister of Christ Church, but appears to have been only there for a few months.

¹⁰ *SG*, 3 May 1878.

the week ... Mr Aitchison called on a number of these poor people, and was received invariably with every mark of gratitude and respect ... We would not make an assault on the establishment [The Church of Scotland], we merely desire to provide for those of our own household, and to rescue them from Popery, vice, and the dangerous delusions of misguided zealots ... In Bridgeton with a population of 12,000 there is only one place of worship, a dissenting meeting-house ... There is one cause which operates greatly to prevent the poor Irish from going to church, the badness of their clothes. To remove this objection, it is highly expedient that a Chapel should be built in that quarter of the town.'¹¹

By January 1836, it was announced that Aitchison had gathered together a congregation of 1000 people. A meeting was held in which it was resolved to solicit the wider Church for funds: 'We, the Protestant Episcopalians, have long experienced the want of a chapel where we may worship God according to the rites of the Church in which we have been baptised, and to which we are much attached ... Being most of us poor persons, it is not in our power to erect at our own cost a sufficiently commodious chapel.'¹²

The working-class nature of the congregation was seen in that, out of the seventeen signatories, eight were weavers, one was a tailor, a potter, a shoemaker; the others being labourers or gave no occupation. The list of subscribers to the new chapel was headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury [William Howley] who gave £10. The S.P.C.K. gave £100, but the largest subscription was £300 from Aitchison himself, showing he was a man of private means, and deeply committed to the project.¹³

Bishop Walker, in his Visitation on 31 August 1836 conducted a morning Communion service at Claythorn Street and described it: 'A congregation of poor and decent people was assembled, and the room crowded. I never was so much moved as when I heard these poor people raise their morning hymn. The whole service, though in a wretched place, was admirable. Fifty persons, old and young, all poorly but decently dressed, communicated with every mark of decency and true devotion ... Almost all are of the poor and working

¹¹ *Stephen's Ecclesiastical Gazette*, September 1835.

¹² *Ibid.*, January 1836.

¹³ *Ibid.*

classes, and a great proportion are hand-loom weavers. Many are Irish emigrants, and a very few are Highlanders.’¹⁴

In August 1836 the foundation stone was laid for the new Christ Church in Brook Street, the occasion being preceded by a procession with military bands and Masonic Lodges, and 200 Sunday School children taking part. *The Glasgow Constitutional* commented, ‘It was indeed pleasant to see so many children rescued from the streets, and, not only receiving religious instruction, but also trained up to attend the public ordinances of their Church.’¹⁵

In evidence he gave to the *Royal Commission on Religious Instruction in Scotland* in 1837, Aitchison said that his congregation comprised of 1,300 persons, ‘These were overwhelmingly poor and working class, mostly handloom weaves and a few tradesmen. Most were Irish, with just a few Highlanders.’¹⁶ Hinting at the misery which had caused them to leave Ireland, Aitchison reminded them in a sermon that ‘You endured the famine, and you have suffered from the pestilence.’¹⁷

Aitchison worked tirelessly for the Irish poor in his parish. He received no stipend, being entirely self-supporting. The congregational expenses were met by himself, so that the collection, averaging five shillings each week, could go entirely to poor relief.

He was most assiduous in pastoral visiting and in his sermon *The Christian Pastor*, outlined his method: ‘daily intercourse with some portion of the flock, as well of the whole as of the sick ... a sort of fireside preaching, which is often more efficacious than pulpit preaching ... The physician of souls must, by private, social conversation, find out the besetting sins of his flock and endeavour to correct them; he must ascertain on what subjects they are ignorant, and give them instruction.’¹⁸

¹⁴ *SG*, 23 September 1932, ‘Leaves from the Past: Christ Church, Glasgow’.

¹⁵ *Glasgow Constitutional*, August 1836.

¹⁶ Parliamentary Papers, *Appendix to the Second Reports of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland* (1836 – 1839), pp. 314 – 315.

¹⁷ David Aitchison, *A Vindication of the Ambassadors of Christ – Addressed to the Protestant Episcopalians scattered throughout the eastern districts of Glasgow*. (Glasgow, 1839), p. 17.

In 1837 Aitchison helped found the Bridgeton Board of Health, and in his capacity as a visitor on its behalf, witnessed the appalling conditions in which his people lived. In *A Charity Sermon* he said, 'I ... having been an eyewitness of the misery which exists both in Bridgeton and Calton. I have seen whole families lying sick of typhus fever. I have even known individuals of a family trying to support existence on one potato a day.'¹⁹

He pointed out the difference between the working labourers and paupers, and sought to idealise the 'deserving, decent poor' in their independence: 'There were many decent, hard working people whom disease had reduced to great poverty. They never had received parochial relief and were ashamed to apply for it, and, rather than reveal their misery, they patiently endured the greatest privations. Such persons would not go publicly for soup; their honest pride was hurt at being obliged to stand in the street. Whenever a working man sinks into a common pauper, he loses caste, falls in the esteem of his neighbours and frequently becomes idle, dissolute and reckless.'²⁰

Aitchison's anti-Catholic sermons made some in the Church a bit nervous, that given the area where he ministered, his provocative style could lead to sectarian clashes: 'from the state of affairs in the city where he is placed, there might have been some danger that he might provoke controversy, as might have tended to destroy than to confirm his usefulness among his own flock.'²¹ Aitchison, however, justified his attacks on transubstantiation, 'not from any wish to provoke controversy; but surrounded as we are in this city by so many who maintain it, I should deem myself wanting to my duty were I not to provide you with a few simple, and I think, unanswerable arguments from Scripture.'²² In his sermon *Rome not the Mother and Mistress of Churches, proved from Scripture*, he inveighed against the Church of Rome in these words, 'Not only has she claimed dominion and infallibility, but also the satanic privilege of cursing all who resist her claims ... A cruel and bloodthirsty mother she has been to all who ever put their trust in her promises.'²³

¹⁸ David Aitchison, *The Christian Pastor, A sermon preached at the opening of Christ Church* (Glasgow, 1835).

¹⁹ David Aitchison, *A Charity Sermon, on behalf of the Glasgow Board of Health* (Glasgow, 1838), p. 11.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²¹ *Stephen's Ecclesiastical Gazette*, October 1835.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Stephen's Ecclesiastical Gazette*, April 1836.

Despite Aitchison's anti-Catholic rhetoric, which should have appealed to the Irish, and that his church was full each Sunday with 1000 people, he became increasingly impatient by the lukewarmness, drunkenness and profanity of the Irish Episcopalians in his parish, who ought to be attending his ministry but were not. In *A Pastoral Letter addressed to his flock*, in 1837, he wrote, 'When the ministers of the Lord summon you to his holy temple – whither do many bend their steps, not alas to the Sanctuary of rest? Are they not to be found loitering at home? Are they not to be found in the spirit cellars? What excuse have they to offer for this profane desecration? I know the answer, their clothes are bad; but why are they bad? Because they do not make a proper use of their earnings. They are not careful to save from week to week a small portion of their wages to provide clothing.'²⁴

By 1839, his frustration was becoming apparent: 'I address myself to you who wilfully absent yourselves from church, and I will not spare you when I go among you! Would you, the people of the Lord, spend your money in strong drink, so that you will not even spare one penny in the week to procure a seat in church, though weekly you may spend 6d in a spirit cellar. Shall I fail to denounce this, your heinous wickedness?'²⁵

The following year, Aitchison resigned from Christ Church and went to assist at nearby St. Andrew's-by-the-Green, for two years before leaving Glasgow altogether 'amid many regrets.'²⁶

Aitchison later on reflected, with some sourness, on his time in Glasgow, which he regarded as a failure. In 1859 he wrote blaming ministerial isolation, a lack of team ministry and a proper diocesan plan. 'If one qualified could be found to open a mission in Glasgow, he should have the support of a staff of clergy, a company of laymen to attend to the temporalities of the mission ... a company of females devoted to ministering to the poor and sick ... Our Church herself is only yet groping her way in the wide missionary field which lies open before her. She has much to learn.'²⁷

²⁴ David Aitchison, *A Pastoral Letter addressed to his flock* (Glasgow: Thomas Murray, 1837), p. 8.

²⁵ Aitchison, *A Vindication of the Ambassadors of Christ*, p. 16.

²⁶ *SG*, 30 May 1879, 'In Memoriam: The late Rev. David Aitchison.'

²⁷ *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, 10 February 1859.

What Aitchison had failed to realise was that his own rather autocratic style may have antagonised his people. Coming from a wealthy family in Wigtownshire, with one brother an Admiral and another, a General,²⁸ he expected his inferiors to obey his commands. His somewhat paternalistic view of ministry was stated in his sermon *The Christian Pastor*, when he said, ‘It behoves a Christian flock to reverence their pastor ... They should wait humbly on his ministry with a gentle, teachable disposition. They should come to church, not ... to criticise ... but to benefit from the instruction contained therein ... The congregation should pay some deference to the opinions of the minister appointed to instruct them, and frequently refer to him for advice.’²⁹

Strong admits that Aitchison’s lack of success was also partly through a somewhat overbearing attitude. If one of his few published sermons was in any sense typical of his congregational instruction then the people would not have been encouraged to feel their priest understood their ways ‘... in its singling out of church absenteeism, failure to take up seat rents, and drink the sermon appears to denigrate the male culture of the lower orders from the perspective of the respectability culture of the middle class.’³⁰

Towards the end of Aitchison’s ministry, the Irish poor were less inclined to attend Christ Church, which was becoming increasingly dominated by wealthier people.³¹ Christ Church’s middle class phase, however, did not last long, and by the time of the incumbency of J. Watson Reid from the 1860s towards the close of the century the church and area had again changed. ‘In its early days, Christ Church had its carriage congregation from the big country houses of the Lower ward of ... Lanarkshire ... The military paraded every Sunday from the Barracks in Gallowgate. But by the end of Reid’s incumbency the entire district was one vast slum in which the valiant old man fought a losing battle to the end.’³²

²⁸ *SG*, 30 May 1879, “In Memoriam ... The late General Sir John Aitchison was a brother of the subject of our notice, as was the late Admiral Aitchison, who served with distinction under Lord Exmouth at Algiers.”

²⁹ Aitchison, *The Christian Pastor*.

³⁰ Strong, *Episcopalianism*, pp. 196 – 197.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

³² White, *The Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 53.

Glasgow East: St. Andrew-by-the-Green

St. Andrew's, opened in 1750, was the first Episcopal church to be built in Glasgow. There was at the same time a non-juring congregation meeting in hired rooms, but because of the various penal restrictions of the time, was not allowed to worship openly.³³ St. Andrews by contrast, was part of that group of churches known as the 'qualified chapels', in that they qualified for toleration under the law, having seceded from the Episcopal Church, while their clergy swore the oath of allegiance, and prayed for the Hanoverian Royal Family by name.

St. Andrew's was built by Glasgow Green in a fashionable area to the east of the old town of Glasgow. The Irish had not at this stage arrived in Glasgow in any great number. From its foundation until around 1825, St. Andrews was 'supported by most of the county families and eminent citizens; and competed with the High Kirk [Glasgow Cathedral] as the most influential church in the city.'³⁴ A short history of the church in *The Scottish Guardian* recalls those early days: 'Who cannot fancy Madam B. or Lady A. stalking up the aisle in all the pomp of stiff brocaded velvet, with snuff-box in one hand and a gold headed cane in the other, and escorted by a powdered footman ... carrying his mistress's and master's large Bibles and Prayer-Books?'³⁵

The Rev. William Routledge, incumbent from 1805 to 1843, witnessed a complete transformation of his church during those thirty-eight years. As Glasgow's population grew in the early nineteenth century, mainly due to migration, the city's wealthier inhabitants moved westwards, leaving their once fashionable large houses to be converted into multi dwellings for the poor, in which a single room often accommodated one large family.

When the Irish arrived in Glasgow in great numbers in the 1820s, they settled within reach of St. Andrew's. On the north side of the River Clyde was the Briggate, Saltmarket and Calton, all centres of early and numerous Irish settlement. Dr. James Gordon, later to be incumbent of St. Andrew's, described the Briggate which formed part of his parish:

³³ This was the congregation which became St. Mary's. See chapter six of this thesis.

³⁴ SC, 8 July 1921, 'St. Andrew's, Glasgow: Its History in Brief.'

³⁵ SG, 1 June 1871.

A glance at the signs shows the entirely Milesian character of the population in the Briggate. We have lodging houses kept by the O'Doughertys, the Trainers, and Widow Carroll; there is the Londonderry Hotel for the Orangemen, and the Emerald Isle Tavern for the Papists; spirit cellars are kept by the Kellys, the Conaghans, and the MacNamees ...

The Briggate may still be called our local Donnybrook. A row can be got up here in almost no time, especially on a Saturday night. At times, the district was wont to be so excitable that the appearance of an Orange flower or ribbon was enough to produce something of an insurrection, which was productive of sundry black eyes and bloody noses.³⁶

To the south of the river, but also within walking distance of the church, were the Gorbals, Tradeston and Hutchesontown, likewise areas of Irish concentration (Appendix 8:1).

By 1815 Routledge reported that the congregation now included 'The poorer sort, who are chiefly tradesmen and labourers from England and Ireland. They are very numerous and can afford to pay little or nothing for their seats.'³⁷

Thatcher in her study of St. Andrew's Church's *Baptismal Register* of 1842, shows that while the majority of parents were from Glasgow, thirty-three fathers were English-born, mostly soldiers from the nearby barracks, whereas forty-one fathers were Irish-born, being labourers and weavers and now part of the local population.³⁸

In 1844 Dr. James Gordon began an incumbency at St. Andrew's which was to last for almost 50 years. Gordon was a prolific writer and antiquarian, most famously for his *History of Glasgow* in two volumes. While glorying in the fact that he baptised around 1000 children each year, his baptismal policy of requiring no church commitment, but a fee of 'half a crown', was regarded as notorious by the wider Church.³⁹

³⁶ John McUre, (ed.), James F. S. Gordon, *History of Glasgow*, 2 Vols. (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1872), Vol. 1, p. 462. "Milesian": Literary term for Irish people. Supposed descendants of the mythological invaders of Ireland in 1 and 2 centuries BC. "Donybrook": A scene of uproar and disorder, a heated argument, after the Donnybrook Fair outside Dublin were the principle was "Wherever you see a head, hit it."

³⁷ Minutes of the Vestry of St. Andrew's Church, 31 August 1815, quoted by Barbara Thatcher, 'The Episcopal Church in Helensburgh in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', John Butt and J. T. Ward (eds.), *Scottish Themes* (Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1976), p. 111.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

³⁹ J. Wilkinson, *Centenary Souvenir of St. Andrew's Church* (Glasgow: D. Gilfillan & Co.), p. 34; William Perry, *Anthony Michell – Bishop of Aberdeen & Orkney* (London: Hodder & Stoughton), p. 94.

By the middle of the nineteenth century St. Andrew's 'had become much more an English or Irish working class church.'⁴⁰

It is unlikely that Dr. Gordon would have appealed to the Irish. In liturgical terms he was described as 'an advanced High Churchman.'⁴¹ Ritualism appeared to have been a contention at St. Andrew's, as evidenced by Mr W.J. Wallace's pamphlet of 1864, *Reasons for Seceding from St. Andrew's Episcopal Church*. Wallace outlined his objections: 'In January 1863 Dr. Gordon introduced a choral service ... twelve surpliced juveniles walked in procession through the Church ... This was converting the house of God into a house for mere theatrical display. This mania for outward show was further manifested by the Doctor setting up two lighted candles on the communion table ... Dr. Gordon intoned the liturgy. It was quite unnatural and artificial. The forced articulation and the grotesque gesticulations were utterly at variance with the solemnity which should pervade every act of prayer ... A nondescript mode of utterance between crying and yawning.'⁴²

Gordon held the Irish in contempt⁴³ and bemoaned the fact that his forays into the Irish areas south of the Clyde had produced very little fruit.⁴⁴ His latter years were marked by his eccentricities such as advertising his church in the local press as 'Susannah Rig' and believing St. Andrew's was his own property, offering to give it to the diocese.⁴⁵

By the time Gordon retired in 1891, the congregation numbered just a handful. Anthony Mitchell arrived to take over St. Andrew's in 1895 and commented, 'The church was deep in debt. The congregation, never large, had lost what cohesion it once possessed, and the district was a slum. The church was for more reason than one, a byword in the neighbourhood.'⁴⁶ *The Scottish Chronicle* stated that Mitchell's ministry there was

⁴⁰ Thatcher, 'The Episcopal Church in Helensburgh', p. 123.

⁴¹ White, *The Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 51.

⁴² W. J. Wallace, *Reasons for Seceding from St. Andrew's Episcopal Church* (Glasgow: W. Gilchrist), pp. 1 – 4.

⁴³ For Gordon's speech at the 1858 Diocesan Synod, decrying the Irish, see chapter five of this thesis.

⁴⁴ *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, 20 January 1859.

⁴⁵ White, *The Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 52.

⁴⁶ Perry, *Anthony Mitchell*, p. 91.

‘to awaken the whole Church to the crying needs of East Glasgow, where multitudes of poor people, from Ireland particularly, were waiting to be gathered into the Church to which they had been brought up.’⁴⁷

Mitchell’s working among the Irish of east Glasgow gave him a vision of the missionary possibilities of the Church. ‘He now began to see that his work in Glasgow Green was part of a much bigger problem, that of ministering to the vast masses of English and Irish people for whom, by virtue of their baptism at least, the Scottish Episcopal Church was morally and spiritually responsible.’⁴⁸ To facilitate this mission work, in addition to his incumbency Mitchell acted as a Diocesan Missionary. Sadly his vision was not shared by others, as Bishop Harrison said, ‘but the clergy at that time were not, I think, eager for missions, so that there was little scope for his great powers.’⁴⁹ He left Glasgow in 1904.

Glasgow South: The Southside Mission (St. Ninian’s)

To the south of the River Clyde lay the areas known as the Gorbals, Tradeston and Hutchesontown, where, in the nineteenth century the Episcopal Church ‘made endless attempts to begin work among the Irish and others.’⁵⁰

The population of the Gorbals grew from 3,000 in 1771 to 40,000 by 1891.⁵¹ The first of the immigrant groups to settle there were the Irish, who began to arrive early in the nineteenth century, and were often blamed for the overcrowding which occurred.⁵²

Both the Rev. David Aitchison of Christ Church and the Rev. Dr. James Gordon of St. Andrew’s had commenced services on the south of the Clyde, in the 1830s and 1840s respectively. But the first attempt to open a properly constituted Mission was brought before the Diocesan Synod in March 1849. Bishop Trower recorded in his *Journal*, ‘A Diocesan Synod was held for the purpose of considering the Petition from certain

⁴⁷ SC, 5 November 1915.

⁴⁸ Perry, *Anthony Mitchell*, p. 109.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵⁰ White, *The Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 54.

⁵¹ Smart, *Villages of Glasgow*, Vol. 2, p. 53.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

persons in Gorbals for an Episcopal Chapel at the Academy in South Portland Street. The opinion of the clergy was unanimous against the proposal: it was thought too near St. Andrew's Chapel.'⁵³

The following year, the clergy of Synod had a change of heart: 'The Bishop had received a notification of a public meeting held in the Southern Academy, Laurieston on 15 February, 1850, desiring the formation of a new congregation, south of the River Clyde ... Synod decided to the formation of a new Congregation south of the Clyde.'⁵⁴

That particular Mission does not seem to have succeeded, as there are no further records concerning it. A new attempt in 1862 laid the foundations of what was to become a permanent Mission which led to the formation of St. Ninian's Church. *The Scottish Chronicle* in 1908, looking back on the early days commented that 'There is sufficient material on this side of the river to form a numerous congregation ... with the district, composed of a population of 100,000 and yearly increasing – a comparatively small proportion being natives of Glasgow, but drawn from other parts of the country, and many from England and Ireland.'⁵⁵

To ascertain how many Episcopalians there were, a group of volunteers canvassed door-to-door in a sample of ten streets. They discovered in these 1,200 who professed to belong to the Church. It was asked that if ten streets produced 1, 2000, what might the whole of the south side yield.⁵⁶

A Sunday School was started in Bedford Street in 1862, followed in 1865 by evening services conducted by the Rev. J. Watson Reid of Christ Church in the Baronial Hall. A temporary building containing 320 was soon erected, but within a few years this was becoming inadequate for the growing numbers.⁵⁷

The Baptismal Register for 1866 to 1873 covering the years of the Mission church, in giving the fathers' occupations, shows the solidly working-class character of the early mission. Out of 572 entries, only 31 were

⁵³ DGGGA, TD 1382/75, *Bishops' Journal*, March 1849.

⁵⁴ DGGGA, TD 1382/2151, *Minutes of the Diocesan Synod*, 4 March 1850.

⁵⁵ *SC*, 13 November 1908, 'History of the South-Side Mission'.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *SG*, December 1865.

in the landowning, professional groups. 362 were shopkeepers, clerical or skilled manual workers, and 179 were labourers, including miners, carters and dockers. A historical account adds, 'Only 6 per cent can have been men of substance.'⁵⁸

An appeal to the wider Church appeared in *The Church News* in April 1871 asking for funds to build a permanent church to be called St. Ninian's: 'The population on the South of the River Clyde, which is composed exclusively of the middle and lower classes, is about 100,000. Amongst these, there is a considerable number of Episcopalians, including many artisans and labourers from England and Ireland, employed in the various public works.'⁵⁹

The new church, however, was not to be in the centre of the labouring and Irish population for whom it was intended, but in the more fashionable Pollokshields. This was because Sir John Maxwell of Pollok had bequeathed an annuity of £100 to the clergyman of the first Episcopal Church that should be built on his lands, or adjacent to it.⁶⁰

This drew a howl of protest from 'A Transpontine' who wrote in *The Church News*, 'The congregation is being swallowed up in the self-importance of a half dozen very respectable gentlemen. Mr Gardner (the late curate) would never have countenanced the monstrous idea of erecting the church on the site now proposed. He lived among his people, as any pastor should, and he knew that the bulk of them lived in the town, not in the "genteel suburb" of Pollokshields. Is it not a shame and a mockery to talk of a church at Pollokshields being intended for people mostly all resident in Tradeston and Laurieston? ... Now the South Side Mission is to be practically abolished ... Is our Church forever to be rendered obnoxious by the stigma of being 'the Church of the wealthy'? A Church to be truly great and powerful must be a church of the people.'⁶¹

By the end of 1873, the new St. Ninian's was opened for worship. In that same year, St. Ninian's opened its first mission church, St. Michael's Govan, and later in 1885, St. Martins at Polmadie.

⁵⁸ Richard F. Dell, *St. Ninian's Episcopal Church, Glasgow 1872 – 1972* (Glasgow, 1972), p. 2.

⁵⁹ *Church News: Scotland*, April 1871.

⁶⁰ *SG*, March 1871.

⁶¹ *Church News: Scotland*, March 1871.

Although the congregation grew in the next few decades, the class profile of the church changed dramatically from its Mission days. 'A look at the *Baptismal Register* for 1899 to 1906 shows some remarkable changes. The number of baptisms has fallen in these eight years to 332, of which the professional element grows slightly at 37, the small business and artisan group forms the bulk with 242, while the labouring group are now much reduced to 53 ... [The addresses show that] about a third came from the old Gorbals, Kinning Park and Kingston.'⁶²

The incumbency of the Rev. Gordon Boxer from 1929 to 1944 was a time of change, which caused deep division in the congregation and would have no doubt alienated any Irish remnant. Boxer was 'An exponent of the revitalised Catholicism ... which had developed from the Oxford Movement. Such changes – chanting, weekly and daily Eucharists, the use of *The Scottish Liturgy*, vestments, altar candles, incense and servers – all this was threatening to many. Resignations from church office and communicants' roll followed in increasing numbers.'⁶³ Between the years 1931 to 1939 only seventy-four baptisms were recorded, and of these, 'only six were from the labouring class. The working class allegiance had turned to newer foundations or had been lost to the church.'⁶⁴

Glasgow South: Govan (St. Michael's and its Missions)

Govan is situated on the south bank of the River Clyde, opposite the mouth of the River Kelvin at Partick on the north side. By the nineteenth century it included the villages of Plantation, Kinning Park, Ibrox and Cessnock. Before 1840 handloom weaving was the principal occupation. The arrival of shipbuilding in 1839 brought an increase in population, after which it expanded at a rate almost unmatched in Scotland, from around 9,000 in 1864 when Govan became a Burgh, to 90,000 in 1912 when it was taken into Glasgow.⁶⁵

Like most other shipbuilding and docking areas on the banks of the Clyde, Govan received a large number of Irish migrant workers. Foster and others in their study of the Irish in Govan show that 'Protestant and Catholic immigrants were not very different in terms of the jobs they did nor the incomes they received. Both

⁶² Dell, *St. Ninian's Episcopal Church*, p. 7.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶⁵ Smart, *Villages of Glasgow*, Vol. 2, pp. 75 – 77.

groups were at the bottom of the economic and social pile, and they were strikingly so, compared with those other immigrants to Clydeside who came from the Highlands.’⁶⁶

The Rev. John Macleod, Presbyterian minister of Govan from 1875 to 1898, conducted a religious census of all the people living in his parish and claimed that 10 per cent of them were Episcopalians. Considering the Church’s figure of 6 per cent as indicative of the size of their community in Glasgow, this put Govan on a par with Partick / Whiteinch as containing the largest percentage of Episcopalians in any area.⁶⁷

It was in 1874 that the Rev. John Penny of St. John’s, Anderston and the Rev. Michael B. Hutchison of St. Ninian’s, Pollokshields embarked upon establishing a Mission in Govan. Services were commenced in the Masonic Hall, Portland Buildings. The Mission was then put under the care of the Rev. James McCann of St. Paul’s, Charing Cross.⁶⁸

The following year, the Rev. James Paton, McCann’s curate, was appointed Priest-in-Charge of the Mission and in a printed leaflet solicited the Church for funds in order to build an iron church: ‘The population of the Burgh, including Kinning Park, Plantation and Ibrox may be roughly estimated at 50,000 and is rapidly rising. Among these is a considerable number of Episcopalians, including many artisans and labourers from England and Ireland.’⁶⁹ As a result, a site on Carmichael Street, off Copeland Road was secured, and a church was erected, named St. Michael’s.

The congregation claimed 300 members by 1881, with 108 Baptisms that year. By 1888 over 500 people belonged to St. Michael’s, with a further 110 children enrolled in the Sunday School (Table 10:1). In addition to the regular services of Matins at 11am and Evensong at 7pm, there was a Sunday afternoon ‘Kitchen

⁶⁶ Foster, (et al.), ‘Distinguishing Catholics and Protestants among Irish Immigrants to Clydeside’, p. 175.

⁶⁷ SG, 18 October 1901, speech of Anthony Mitchell quoting Macleod’s figures in 1901.

⁶⁸ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 601.

⁶⁹ DGGGA, TD 1382/139, Leaflet appealing for funds for new church.

Meeting', which also provided food, 'for our very poor',⁷⁰ showing that even in poor working class congregations, there was a hierarchy of poverty.

It was at St. Michael's that the "Episcopal Church of Scotland Working Men's' Society" was founded in October 1887. In commending this new organisation to the wider Church, a letter in *The Scottish Guardian* admitted that 'The Church still makes little headway among the working classes. The main difficulty is to reach the great body of working men. This organisation is being formed for the purpose of uniting working men communicants to work in conjunction with the clergy, to assist in whatever parochial work may be necessary.'⁷¹

The 'tin tabernacle' was sold in 1889 and the former public baths in Whitefield Road was converted into a new church for the growing congregation.

By the end of the nineteenth century, as an indication of the number of Episcopalians in the area, and the growth of the Church in Govan, four Missions were formed from St. Michael's. The first of these was The Holy Spirit Mission in Stanley Street, Kinning Park in 1888. An iron church was erected in 1893 in Shields Road, to be followed in 1910 by a brick building in Scotland Street, named St. Mark's. A letter in *The Scottish Chronicle* appealing for funds for St. Mark's stated, 'The communicants number 212, and in addition there are some 800 more in the district who claim to be Episcopalians, and have some connection with the Church. They are mainly of the working class, the usual type of resident in such districts as Kinning Park and Kingston.'⁷²

⁷⁰ *SEC Year Book 1888*, p. 158.

⁷¹ *SG*, 4 November 1887. It would appear that this society did not continue, as its existence is not mentioned in any subsequent *Year Books*. The 1889 *Year Book* lists diocesan organisations by not this one. St. Michael's had dropped it by 1890.

⁷² *SC*, 24 June 1910.

The Missions were mainly in the area to the south of the Plantation docks, which as Foster and others have identified as being a particularly Ulster Protestant district, and that the 'area had a reputation for Orangeism.'⁷³

In 1891, a second mission was commenced when a pawnbroker's shop was leased on Broomloan Street, which, following the usual pattern was replaced by an iron church on Greenfield Street, and then by a brick building known as St. Gabriel's. The Church Army was in charge of this Mission in its early days. 'Captain Kellett has been appointed Lay Reader and Evangelist here. We hope his engagement may prove permanent – at all events until the clerical staff can be increased. He will give valuable aid in visitation and other efforts to evangelise the populous streets off Paisley Road.'⁷⁴

Two Mission Rooms were further added to the ministry of St. Michael's, where Sunday services and Sunday Schools were conducted by laymen. The first opened in 1896 in the Central Hall, on Broomloan Street. The second opened in 1896 in Maclean Street, Plantation. These were both closed in 1918.⁷⁵

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Govan churches were being led in a particularly High Church direction; St. Michael's, perhaps less so. In 1893 it described its services as 'Fully choral, surpliced choir, eastward position, mixed chalice and coloured stoles.'⁷⁶ The Rev. Walter Riches from the Liverpool Diocese who was incumbent from 1903 to 1919 discouraged ritualism and encouraged a more Low Church ethos, which he felt was more culturally appropriate 'for North of Ireland people.'⁷⁷ Within three years of Riches' ministry, only the surpliced choir remained.

⁷³ Foster, et al., 'Distinguishing Catholics and Protestants among Irish Immigrants to Clydeside', p. 182.

⁷⁴ *SSB*, February 1894.

⁷⁵ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 601.

⁷⁶ *SEC Year Book*, 1893, p. 232.

⁷⁷ DGGA, TD 1382/803, mss. Edith B. Hill, *St. John's Mission, Irvine*.

Table 8:1

Congregational Statistics of St. Michael's, Govan, 1879 - 1945

| Year | Members | Communicants | Baptisms | Sunday School |
|------|---------|--------------|----------|---------------|
| 1879 | 200 | n/a | n/a | 30 |
| 1881 | 300 | n/a | 108 | 40 |
| 1885 | 200 | 147 | n/a | 40 |
| 1888 | 500 | 160 | 31 | 110 |
| 1890 | 516 | 213 | 51 | 108 |
| 1895 | 1000 | 200 | 112 | 270 |
| 1904 | 1000 | 280 | 102 | 300 |
| 1910 | 750 | 318 | 33 | 270 |
| 1929 | 300 | 150 | n/a | n/a |
| 1945 | 208 | 131 | n/a | n/a |

Source: *SEC Year Book* 1879 - 1945

St. Gabriel's, by contrast to St. Michael's became for a time more ritualistic, advertising in 1897 that 'The Ritual points are all in use except incense.'⁷⁸ Ritualism had not been to the satisfaction of some sections of the congregation as a 'A Govan Lay Correspondent' to *The Scottish Guardian* wrote: 'as one well acquainted with the state of affairs and feeling in Glasgow, although I am not against candles, I believe that the half and more of the Episcopalians in Govan are Irish, from the North of Ireland, and will not have them. Still, they are pushed upon them, to the ruin of the Church.'⁷⁹

St. Gabriel's seems in the next couple of years to have come to a standstill, as *The Year Book* for 1901 records no figures. A new building however, was procured through the generosity of 'A Layman' plus other donators, and this was opened on the site of the iron church, in 1901. *The Year Book* adding, 'From the eclipse which fell upon it for a time, St. Gabriel's has emerged into brighter promises than ever.'⁸⁰ There was no mention now of any ritual points being in operation, this presumably having been discarded, if the church was to have an effective revival. The next decade saw the church grow to around 1000 members by 1910, with 250 communicants and 200 children in the Sunday School.

⁷⁸ *SEC Year Book*, 1889, p. 277.

⁷⁹ *SG*, 24 December 1896.

⁸⁰ *SEC Year Book*, 1901, p. 266.

During a ten month clerical vacancy in 1905, when the services of a clergyman could not be procured, the laity were given full responsibility for running the church. The admirable way in which they rose to the occasion came to the notice of *The Scottish Chronicle*, which informed the wider Church: 'An interim committee was appointed, half to take charge of the finances, and half to take such steps as were open to them to maintain the services and keep up the interest of the congregation ... the place of clerical visitation was supplied by lay visitation, resulting in mutual encouragement and the generating of enthusiasm ... [It] has been due to the fact that responsibility was laid upon the congregation, and definite work given to its members. That is the lesson, and it should be laid to heart and the example followed.'⁸¹

The Scottish Standard Bearer in May 1908 commented that 'The Church of St. Gabriel, Govan, has an excellent sphere of work; it is in the midst of a large working-class community, where the Irish element is very strong indeed.'⁸²

Table 8:2

Congregational Statistics of St. Gabriel's, Govan, 1897 – 1945

| Year | Members | Communicants | Baptisms | Sunday School |
|------|---------|--------------|----------|---------------|
| 1897 | 476 | 73 | 103 | 70 |
| 1900 | 462 | 76 | n/a | n/a |
| 1903 | 500 | 123 | n/a | n/a |
| 1907 | 600 | 211 | 25 | 120 |
| 1910 | 1000 | 250 | n/a | n/a |
| 1929 | 600 | 238 | n/a | 180 |
| 1935 | 600 | 241 | n/a | 168 |
| 1945 | 601 | 302 | n/a | 100 |

Source: *SEC Year Book*, 1897 – 1945

⁸¹ *SC*, 16 June 1905.

⁸² *SSB*, May 1908.

Dunbartonshire

Dunbartonshire, a small county to the north-west of Glasgow, shared in the industrial advance of the west central Scotland area. In the early part of the nineteenth century the traditional industries of farming and weaving were replaced by coal mining, especially after the 1840s, until the last mine closed in 1920. From the 1860s, shipbuilding began to dominate the area. Iron foundries and engineering works also sprang up. In 1851 there were only 277 shipbuilding and marine engineering workers in the county, but by 1921 there were 19,000. For nearly half a century up to the First World War, the Clyde estuary area was the most rapidly expanding industrial area in Britain. The population of the county doubled from 58,857 in 1871 to 139,831 in 1911.⁸³

In 1841 the Irish formed 11.4 per cent of the county's population, increasing to 12 per cent in 1861, 'the proportion was nearly the highest for any part of Scotland.'⁸⁴

Dumbarton (St. Augustine's) and its Missions at Alexandria and Clydebank

The town of Dumbarton had an Irish population proportionally more numerous than the county as a whole. In 1868 the Chairman of the Dumbarton Parochial Board said that almost one third of the population of Dumbarton was Irish, and added that 'most all the labourers in the shipyards are Irish.'⁸⁵ The Census for 1871 gives the total of Irish-born as 17.6 per cent, but as Handley claimed, 'if those of Irish descent are included, the chairman's estimate may be correct.'⁸⁶

The Episcopalians in the town were first gathered as a congregation in 1846 and met in a rented upper room in Church Street, calling themselves 'St. Patrick's Mission.' A year after their first priest, the Rev. William Allen, had arrived; he converted to Roman Catholicism, which 'was a great obstacle to their increase, and a heavy blow to them.'⁸⁷ He was followed in 1848 by the Rev. Archibald Wilson who had recently been

⁸³ Margaret S. Dike and A. A. Templeton (eds.), *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Dunbartonshire* (Glasgow: Collins, 1959), pp. 43 – 45; 87.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁸⁵ Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, p. 332.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *SG*, April 1872.

pastor of the Irish congregations of Girvan and Maybole in Ayrshire. The third minister was the Rev. Henry Kennedy, an Irishman, who had been the first priest of the Coatbridge congregation in Lanarkshire.

During Kennedy's incumbency, the Mission saw growth, and a new church, to seat 150 people, was built on Cardross Road in 1856, 'chiefly for Irish labourers and their families',⁸⁸ now renamed St. Luke's, perhaps to distinguish it from the Roman Catholic Church, also called St. Patrick's, which had been founded in 1830.

The Rev. William Stephens arrived in 1858 to commence what was to become a forty three year ministry at Dumbarton. 'It was no light charge that he accepted, as the congregation was still young and struggling with difficulties, heavily in debt and inconveniently situated.'⁸⁹ During Stephen's time, the congregation grew not just in numbers, but in breadth of class appeal and ethnic origin. Stephens was a historian, President of the local Choral Union and Chairman of the School Board, and encouraged the formation in Dumbarton of the Philosophical and Literary Society, the School of Science and Art and the Free Public Library. He was an admirer of the principles of the Oxford Movement, hailing it as a 'new Reformation by which its promoters not only quickened, and in a sense, saved the Church of England ... no branch of the Christian Church has felt the vitalising influence of the Oxford Movement more than the Scottish Episcopal.'⁹⁰

Despite this, he appears not to have alienated the Irish in his congregation and endeavoured to make them feel welcome as Episcopalians, even if his main support was in future years to be from English incomers and middle-class local Scots who would join the congregation in increasing numbers as his ministry progressed.

A particular insight has already been noted at Govan and at Springburn,⁹¹ where it was recognised that there was a class within the 'Irish poor' generally, who were ever poorer. It may also have reflected a general improvement in the status of the members of the congregation after twenty years, when in 1864 a new missionary service was begun,

⁸⁸ *SG*, January 1866.

⁸⁹ *SSB*, June 1895.

⁹⁰ Stephens, *History of the Scottish Church*, Vol. 2, p. 600.

⁹¹ For Springburn, see chapter six of this thesis.

for the benefit of the many poor Irish members of the Church whom the prosperity in shipbuilding has drawn to the district in large numbers ... A school room had been built in the town centre among the houses of the poor ... and it is now being used two evenings a week for a service for that class who are usually beyond the reach of the ordinary church services, for want of decent clothing. It is a rule that the service must be attended by all in their everyday working clothes. Between seventy to eighty members of the Church, some of whom have been strangers for years to her services, are gladly using the opportunity of worshipping ... and there are many families in the district whom it is hoped the mission will be the means of rescuing them from dissent – and even worse, from practical unbelief and indifferentism.⁹²

By the end of 1865 the missionary services in the school room being evidently well supported, as was St. Luke's Church itself which, 'is no longer able to hold the present congregation; and an appeal will shortly be made to the wealthy members of the Church at a distance, to add a chancel for this *bona fide* Church of the Poor.'⁹³

The Rev. William Stephen wrote to *The Scottish Guardian* in January 1866, adding that 'There are now from five to six hundred Irish labourers and their families living in Dumbarton and the neighbouring villages. The extension of a chancel would give an extra fifty seats. To all who sympathise with the Church's work among the poor and neglected, we must look for help.'⁹⁴

The school, situated in the poorer part of the town, was by 1865 'Flourishing, having an attendance of 160, *The Scottish Guardian* claiming it had become the leading school in the town. The school room is partly used for mission services among the working class, who from poverty cannot get sufficiently good clothing to enable them, according to their notions of propriety, to attend Church.'⁹⁵ An Orange Lodge also met in the school room, *The Belfast Weekly News* in 1872 reporting, 'A meeting of L.O.L. 140 was held on Thursday evening in the Episcopal School, Risk Street, Dumbarton. The Royal Arch Purple degree was conferred upon several members, followed by a meal, toasts and speeches.'⁹⁶

⁹² *SG*, April 1865.

⁹³ *SG*, December 1865.

⁹⁴ *SG*, January 1866.

⁹⁵ *SG*, December 1865.

⁹⁶ *Belfast Weekly News*, 24 August 1872.

By the late 1860s it was realised that even an extra 50 seats in St. Luke's was not the answer for the growing congregation. Plans were set up for the building of a new church, and in 1873, St. Augustine's "stately sanctuary"⁹⁷ was opened, *The Church News: Scotland* admitting, 'Mr Stephen's congregation is now drawn as much from county families, as from the shipbuilding yards with which Dumbarton abounds.'⁹⁸

During Stephen's ministry, he opened two missions in nearby towns. In 1873, a congregation was gathered at Alexandria, and Stephens walked four miles each Sunday afternoon to conduct services held in shop premises in Bank Street. Services were next held in the Dalmonach Hall in Bonhill. With the growing population, the Vale of Leven Mission increased until in 1889 they became an independent Mission under their Priest in Charge, the Rev. Walter Hildesley. By 1890 there were 300 members in the church. 'It was made up of Scottish folk and many families from Lancashire in connection with the textile trade, but the largest part was of Irish extraction, who, being members of the Church of Ireland, naturally found their spiritual home in the Episcopal Church.'⁹⁹

By 1892 the church had acquired land for the building of the new church, to be named St. Mungo's, *The Scottish Standard Bearer* noted, 'There are at least 400 members of the Church here, all of the working class.'¹⁰⁰

The second mission which Stephens founded was at Clydebank. Before 1870, the area now known as Clydebank was largely rural. The 'new town' began in 1871 when J. & G. Thompson relocated their Clyde Bank Shipyard from Govan, to the wider estuary on the northern bank of the Clyde. Closely connected with shipbuilding were the marine engineering firms, most famously, John Brown & Company. The most significant newcomer to the area was the Singer Sewing Machine Company which opened in 1885, with

⁹⁷ *SSB*, June 1895.

⁹⁸ *Church News: Scotland*, May 1872.

⁹⁹ 'History of St. Mungo's Episcopal Church', p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ *SSB*, July 1892.

5,000 workers producing 10,000 sewing machines per week, making it the largest such factory in Europe. Clydebank's population rose from 2,700 in 1873 to over 43,000 in 1913.¹⁰¹

Episcopal services were started in 1888 with Stephens as incumbent, but the Rev. Malcolm MacColl as Priest in charge of the Mission. MacColl had previously ministered in the Irish missions at Christ Church, where he also served as Curate in charge of the Southside Mission. However, the last twenty years had seen him minister in a variety of Anglo-Catholic churches in south London.¹⁰²

There was a split of MacColl's congregation, as his successor wrote: 'Some years ago, a few malcontent Irish people quarrelled with my predecessor and constituted themselves as the "Irish Church" in Clydebank'¹⁰³ This group, known as St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, belonged to the Reformed Episcopal Church (Free Church of England)¹⁰⁴ and had already been involved in schisms in the Episcopal churches at Paisley¹³¹ and Springburn.¹³²

MacColl's successor, the Rev. William Jenkins, wrote scathingly about the Irish Episcopalians in Clydebank, and about the Church of Ireland, which in his mind, had fostered both bigotry and nominalism among its adherents: 'The Irish in these parts are not all Roman Catholics. There are hundreds, nay, thousands of Irish Episcopalians, and I regret to say the majority of them constitute the lapsed masses in this community.'¹⁰⁵ He continued, 'Any who knows the real state of the Church of Ireland, will know that the fault does not lie with the simple-minded church folks, but with the Orange and Conservative leaders and the political Irish Bishops.'¹⁰⁶ Jenkins kept up a tirade of letters in *The Scottish Chronicle* over five years, bemoaning the Irish Episcopalians in Clydebank, and the Church of Ireland generally. In the end, the situation broke him, and he moved to England: 'Bishop Campbell invited the Rev. W. H. Jenkins to tackle what he called "one of the

¹⁰¹ 'The Clydebank Story' (online), available at: http://www.theclydebankstory.com/story_TCSP02.php?PHPSESSI (30 October 2006), pp. 1 – 2.

¹⁰² Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 343.

¹⁰³ *SC*, 14 October 1910.

¹⁰⁴ For the Reformed Episcopal Church, see chapter five of this thesis. For REC schisms at Springburn, see chapter six and at Paisley, see chapter ten.

¹⁰⁵ *SC*, 14 October 1910.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

toughest jobs in his diocese.” Clydebank had been for generations a hotbed of industrial and social discontent, with religious difficulties that are inseparable from large communities with hybrid populations. The Church work was extraordinarily difficult, and it resulted, after four years of strenuous toil, in his physical collapse.’¹⁰⁷

The churches at Dumbarton and Alexandria appeared to have had no problems with the Irish and fostered a pastoral care towards them. St. Augustine’s, Dumbarton had built a new church hall in 1907, and it was hoped that ‘Their new hall must be a kind of meeting place for all new-comers of their communion who come to Dumbarton, many of whom were working people from Ireland. The Bishop [Campbell] said he had been lately endeavouring to get the clergy of Ireland to send along with their people “letters of commendation” and when they arrived, they should give their fellow-men a hearty welcome in these halls.’¹⁰⁸ At Alexandria, at least two of their incumbents had joined the Orange Order, Walter Hildesley, and John Ellison, rector from 1910 to 1915, who replied to Jenkins’s criticisms. He pointed out that there were many nominal Scottish and English Episcopalians, and that this was a not a uniquely Irish problem.¹⁰⁹

At Clydebank, however, things had been different. The first two priests had fallen out with the Irish, and there does not seem to have been any reconciliation. Clydebank had not proved an easy task for the Episcopal Church; the town had a reputation for agitation generally, and as the twentieth century progressed, became associated with militant socialism and the ‘Red Clydesiders.’ Even the church’s Scout Group had not been free from controversy: ‘It was a brave thing to do among this hot-bed of secularism where they called scouting ‘a militaristic movement’ and put every obstacle in its way.’¹¹⁰

Lanarkshire

Although the city of Glasgow is technically in Lanarkshire, for the purposes of this thesis, Lanarkshire will be considered as excluding Glasgow. Situated to the east of Glasgow, near to the city and being en route to

¹⁰⁷ *Scottish Churchman*, July 1925.

¹⁰⁸ *SC*, December 1907.

¹⁰⁹ *SC*, 22 March 1912.

¹¹⁰ *SC*, 2 November 1917. The “hot-bed of secularism” referred to the political radicalism and Communism that characterised this area of Glasgow from the 1910s until roughly the early 1930s.

Edinburgh and the east, it benefited from the industry, trade and transport associated with Scotland's Industrial Revolution. There had been a native flax industry, but by the 1780s this was being replaced by cotton. In 1786 the extensive mill at New Lanark came into operation followed in 1787 by that at Blantyre, both founded by David Dale and deriving their motive power from the Clyde. By the twentieth century, the textile industry had almost disappeared from the county. Collieries had been worked from the first quarter of the seventeenth century, but deeper workings became possible with the development of more powerful pumping engines and so transformed the coal industry of the area by the mid nineteenth century.

Ironworks were founded in the north of the county around Coatbridge, facilitated by growing transport links provided by canal and rail. The iron industry was fuelled by the supplies of coal available from the deep seams in central Lanarkshire around Bellshill, Blantyre, Hamilton and Motherwell, which developed from the 1870s.¹¹¹

The population of Lanarkshire grew from 70,307 in 1801 to 577,618 in 1901. From 1841 to 1931 the majority of incomers to the county outwith Scotland came from Ireland. The maximum proportion of Irish born residents was 16.85 per cent in 1851 when they numbered 89,330.¹¹²

It was in 1839 that the Diocesan Association of the Church Society was informed of many Episcopalians living in Lanarkshire. 'According to a moderate estimate, upwards of 300 families from Airdrie, Monklands, Lanark and other places in the neighbourhood apply annually to St. Andrew's Chapel for the solemn services of the Church. Now allowing five individuals to each family, there are 1,500 souls totally destitute of clerical guidance, and virtually deprived of the blessing of public worship.'¹¹³

The first Episcopal Mission in Lanarkshire was at Coatbridge, where in 1841, a mission was commenced for Episcopalian migrant workers to 'The Iron Burgh'. The church's first incumbent was the Irish-born, the Rev. Henry Kennedy, who left in 1851 to commence a similar work for the Irish at Dumbarton.

¹¹¹ George Thomson (ed.), *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Lanark* (Glasgow: Collins, 1960), pp. 29 – 41.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 120 – 123.

¹¹³ *SG*, 1 April 1932, 'Leaves from the Past' reporting the meeting of the Glasgow and Galloway Diocesan Association of the Church Society in 1839.

In 1853, Christ Church was begun in the textile village of Lanark ‘in which there are a great many poor Irish people belonging to the Church, hitherto debarred from the benefits of Her ministrations.’¹¹⁴ Further churches were started at Airdrie, Gartcosh, Harthill, Shotts, Blantyre and Mossend (Bellshill), all growing mining and industrial areas which attracted a great deal of Irish migration. Only one has been included in this thesis, as a case study: Motherwell.

Motherwell (Holy Trinity)

The rapid transformation of Motherwell in the nineteenth century, from a rural to an industrial area was brought about by the coming of the railway and the presence of abundance of coal. In 1848 the Caledonian railway line between Glasgow and the south extended through Motherwell giving the area its much needed transport links for the heavy industry, which was to cause such rapid growth in the economy and population. Iron manufacturing and coal mining developed. The event however, which decided the town’s future was the establishment in 1871 of Dalzell Iron Works, and the change-over from iron to steel in 1881, making the Dalzell works the largest individual steelworks in Britain. Other industries followed such as Findlay and Company bridge builders, and the Motherwell Bridge and Engineering Company, making steel plates for shipbuilding and heavy machinery.¹¹⁵

The population grew from 600 in 1801, to 3,000 by 1861 and to over 30,000 by 1901. The local population, not able to provide labour for the growing industries, the town grew mainly from migration. ‘By far the largest non-Scottish element in the population is of Irish blood. Labourers were brought over from Ireland in such numbers and have been so prolific that nearly one-third of the inhabitants are of Irish descent.’¹¹⁶

The Episcopal Church began a Mission in Motherwell in 1883, meeting in ‘Mrs Keith’s Schoolroom in Hamilton Road.’¹¹⁷ By November of that year 180 members had gathered to begin a subscription list ‘for the purpose of building a church capable of holding their largely augmented and constantly increasing

¹¹⁴ *Scottish Magazine*, September 1853.

¹¹⁵ Thomson, (ed.), *Third Statistical Account: Lanarkshire*, p. 355.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 609.

¹¹⁷ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 609.

numbers.’ The Rev. Alfred Pullin of St. Luke’s, Grafton Street, Glasgow addressed the meeting and claimed that there were upwards of 1000 Episcopalians in Motherwell: ‘It was true that they had no rich people; but if each and all made an effort, they could get a church large enough for their wants.’ *The Scottish Guardian* specifically mentioned that ‘there were many Orangemen present.’ Pullin ‘played the Orange card’ at the meeting, ‘Reminding them that they had once been proud to bleed for the Church they loved. Let them remember their churches and the faith they professed, and in which they were baptised in the old home country, and not shame their name and motto.’¹¹⁸

The following year, an iron church, named Holy Trinity, was erected at Avon Street. Of the large Episcopalian constituency, as in other parts of Scotland, the Church’s experience had been that most did not attend the church, but regarded themselves as members when it came to wanting the rites of baptism, marriage and burial. This was not resented, but accepted as the Church’s pastoral and missionary responsibility: ‘A large population of iron workers, steel workers, miners, etc. of whom it is estimated that about 1000 souls profess nominal Churchmanship, but many of them in Scotland, as in England and Ireland may not unfairly be included amongst the “lapsed masses”, although still owing a certain allegiance to their Mother Church as evidenced by their resort to the Mission Priest for baptism, marriage and burials.’¹¹⁹

By 1889, the Priest, the Rev. George Garwood realised that they were not reaching the lapsed Episcopalians in the town through ordinary parish ministry, ‘Therefore it was decided to ask the Church Army to send a trained working man Evangelist for a special mission, hoping thus to reach some of the careless souls.’¹²⁰ Yet even this did not have the desired effect as, ‘The recent three weeks mission conducted by a Church Army Evangelist, the fruits which have remained, being not so much direct additions to the Church from without, as the quickening of the spiritual life of those within the fold.’¹²¹

¹¹⁸ *SG*, 2 November 1883. Their motto was “No Surrender”. For ‘The Orange card’ see Haddock-Flynn, *Orangeism*, pp. 303 – 304. The phrase was first used by Lord Randolph Churchill in 1886 as a rhetorical device to rouse the sensibilities of Orange men against Home Rule. His subsequent speech in Belfast was described as “a violet Orange tirade, during which he unleashed a volley of backs-to-the-wall Protestant clichés.”

¹¹⁹ *SG*, 22 November 1889.

¹²⁰ *SG*, 11 October 1889.

¹²¹ *SG*, 6 December 1889.

To accommodate the growing numbers, a new stone church was opened in 1895, to seat 300. ‘The Rev. William Stephen of Dumbarton preached a most impressive sermon to a large congregation – mostly of the working classes.’¹²²

In 1902 *The Scottish Guardian* described the congregation as still being ‘chiefly labourers from the north of Ireland. The congregation is, besides being extremely poor, a very migratory one.’¹²³

It was ‘situated ... in the midst of a population having a strong admixture of Irish – Orangemen and Romanists cheek by jowl! – the church has lived through many storms.’¹²⁴ One particular storm was the subject of the Rev. William Pennie’s sermon as he addressed the Orangemen at their annual church parade to Holy Trinity in July 1909. Using the Lodge’s own statement of belief, *The Qualifications of an Orangeman*, which enjoined them to be regular in Sunday worship, he asked them if they had honestly lived up to this: ‘Your own conscience will tell you whether you all make an earnest endeavour to keep faithfully and loyally the principles of your Order.’¹²⁵

He then went on to speak of ‘the religious controversy which had broken out in the town some months ago’, and wondered why, all of a sudden, religious issues had become of interest to them, when previously they had shown none. ‘The welfare of your soul never gave you one thought. And when this excitement dies down, will the Evangelical Protestant Churches find you present there on a Sunday? God grant they may!’¹⁷¹

The incident referred to was a sectarian riot which took place in Motherwell in May 1909. Two Protestant lecturers, Mr James McDonald and the Rev. J. Caplin had come to address a crowd of some 15,000 at an open air meeting in Avon Park. A considerable number of Roman Catholics held a counter rally in the opposite park and when it finished, some of them infiltrated the Protestant meeting and rioting ensued. Caplin was

¹²² *SSB*, November 1895.

¹²³ *SG*, 19 September 1902.

¹²⁴ *SC*, 27 February 1925.

¹²⁵ *SC*, 6 August 1909.

arrested and charged with ‘making violent and disorderly speeches antagonistic to the views of the Roman Catholic population of the surrounding districts, and provoking and exasperating the Roman Catholics, whereby the gathering became disorderly, assaults were permitted, stones thrown, property destroyed and life endangered.’¹²⁶

The Sheriff at the trial said that the people of Motherwell were normally ‘a community of sensible people. Could they not come back to that state in which they were at the beginning of the year, and lead peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty, instead of going about brawling in the name of religion?’¹²⁷

Peace did return and Holy Trinity continued to grow. The storms of the future would be unemployment. ‘Since the main industries of Motherwell were in the heavy group, the community suffered severely from unemployment during the dark years of the late 1920s and early 1930s.’ In 1925 *The Scottish Guardian* reported, ‘The congregation is composed almost entirely of the artisan class, mainly steel workers, who have been severely hit by the widespread unemployment.’¹²⁸

¹²⁶ *Hamilton Advertiser*, 22 May 1909; 5 June 1909; 19 June 1909.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 19 June 1909.

¹²⁸ *SC*, 27 February 1925.

Table 8:3

Congregational Statistics of Holy Trinity Motherwell, 1884 – 1945

| Year | Members | Communicants | Baptisms | Sunday School |
|------|---------|--------------|----------|---------------|
| 1884 | 350 | 40 | n/a | 60 |
| 1888 | 1000 | 92 | 62 | 116 |
| 1898 | 1000 | 112 | 66 | 135 |
| 1915 | 1200 | 203 | 74 | 160 |
| 1929 | 900 | 375 | n/a | 225 |
| 1935 | 810 | 370 | n/a | 155 |
| 1940 | 810 | 385 | n/a | 155 |
| 1945 | 692 | 418 | n/a | 99 |

Source: *S.E.C. Year Book*, 1884 - 1945

Despite these troubled economic and religious times, the growth of Holy Trinity Church was impressive. Table 10:4 gives the membership as a static 1,000 from 1888 to 1905, probably indicating the Episcopalian constituency in the town. The number of communicants continued to grow until the middle of the twentieth century. Holy Trinity, unlike many of the other congregations in the Diocese, did not lose its working class congregation when a new stone church was built. Almost uniquely, nor did they lose their Irish element. The church was not particularly ritualistic, and coloured vestments, candles and the Reserved Sacrament were not seen until 1945.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ *SEC Year Book* 1945, p. 192.



Plate 8:1
Rev. Dr. James S. Gordon, Incumbent of St. Andrew's-by-the-Green
wearing eucharistic vestments, the first used in the diocese in 1857

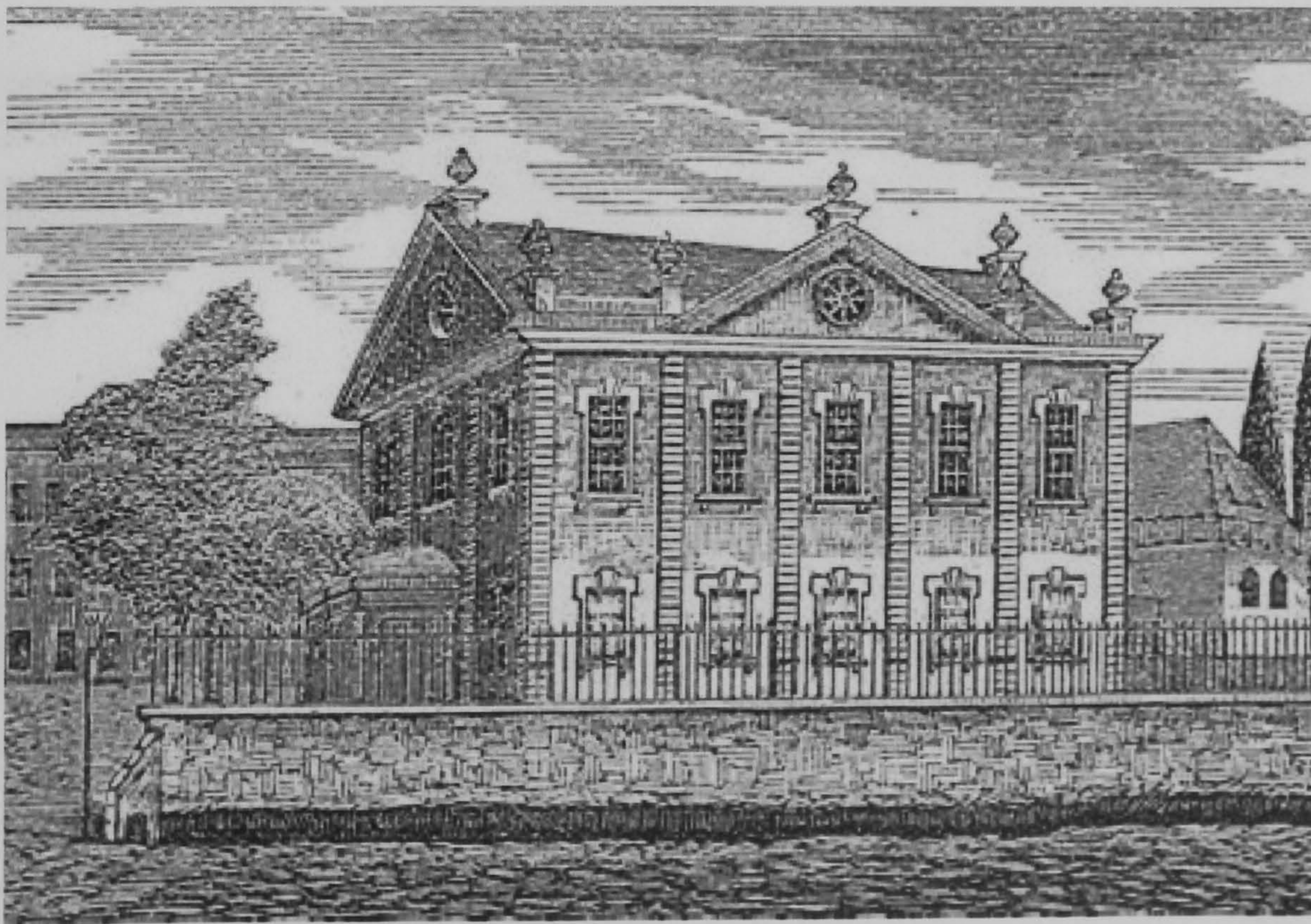


Plate 8:2
St. Andrew's-by-the-Green, Glasgow

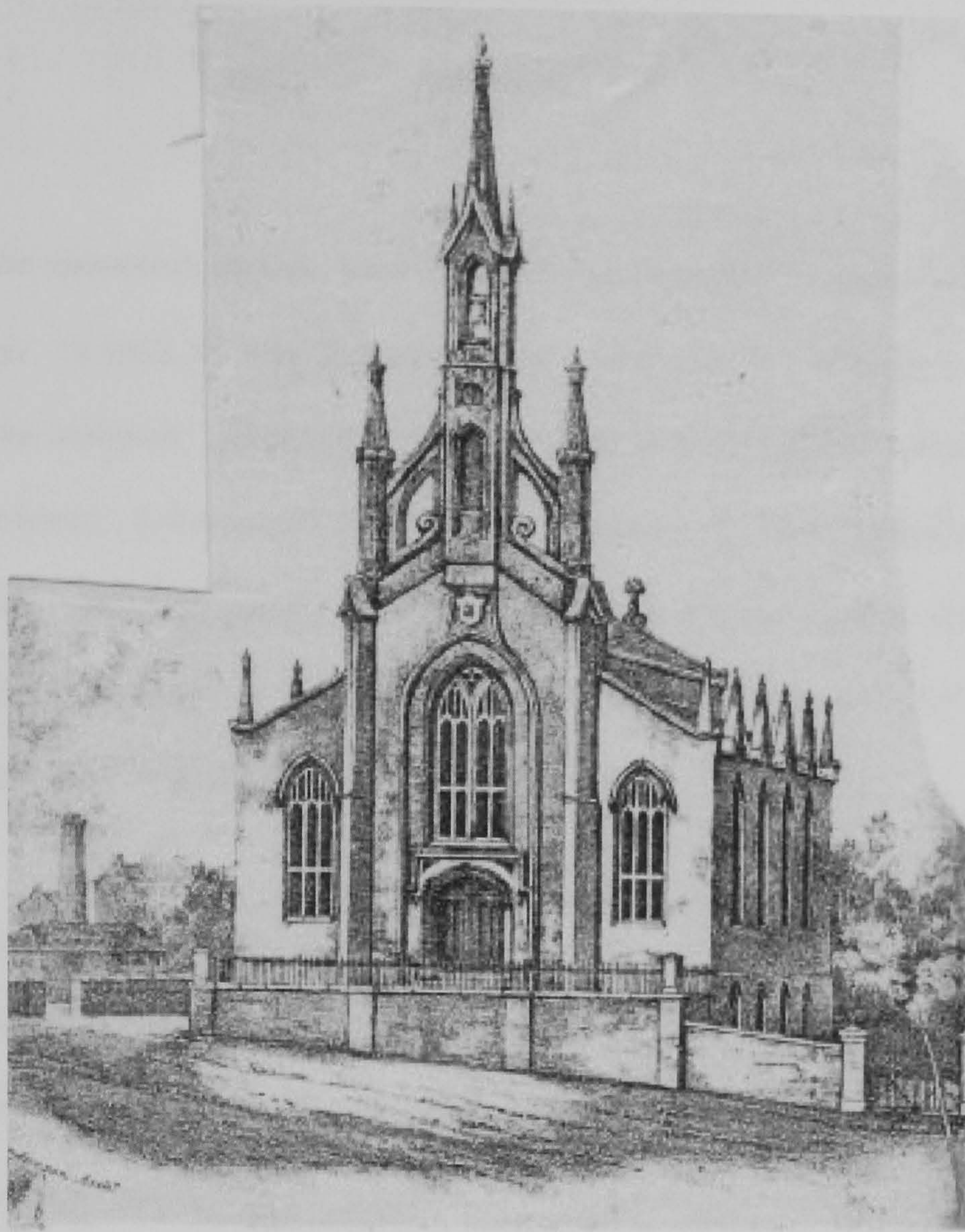


Plate 8:3
The first Christ Church, Brooke Street, Mile End, built in 1836

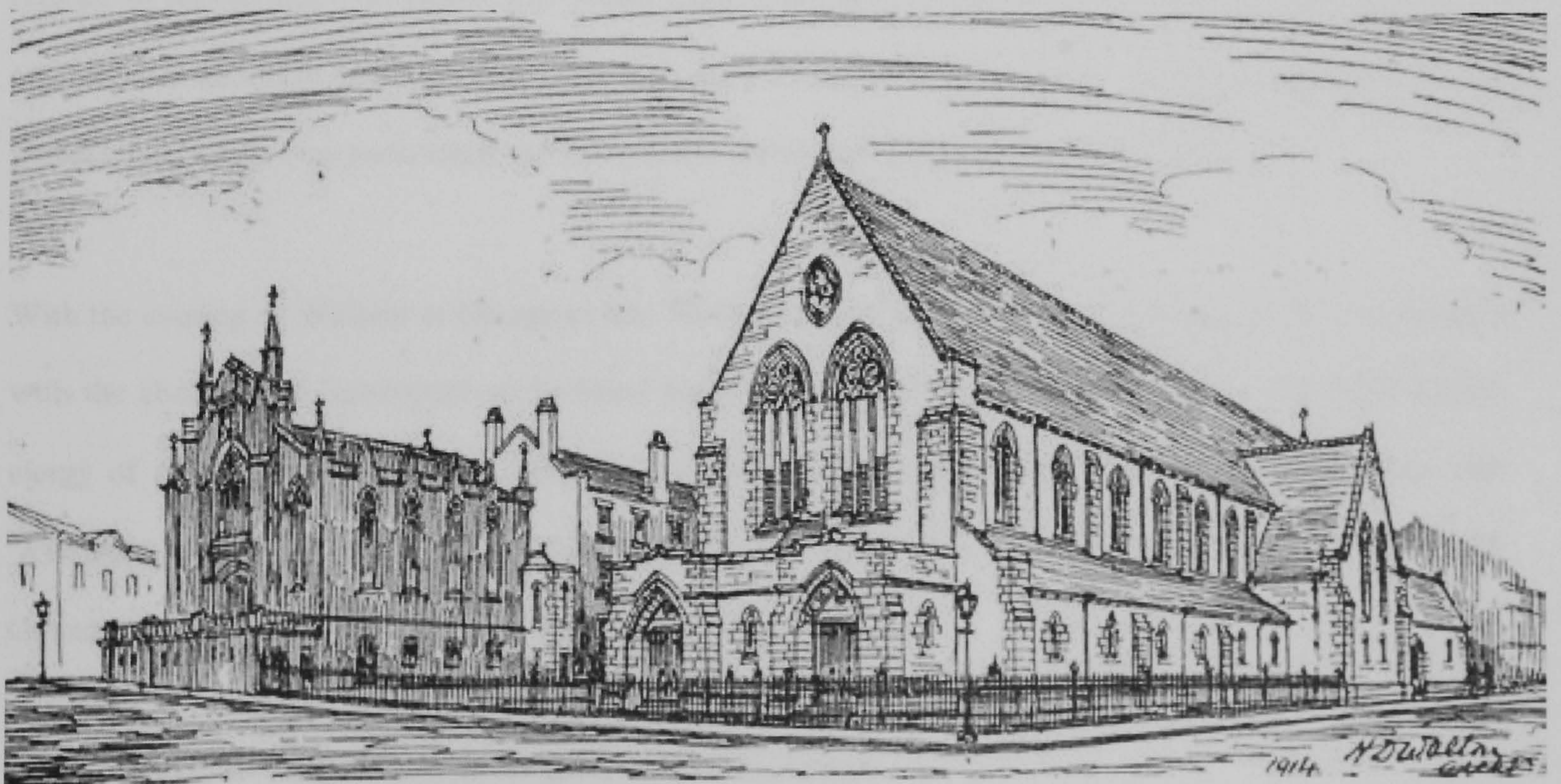


Plate 8:4
The second Christ Church, built beside the old one, in 1915

Chapter Nine

Ayrshire

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was only one Episcopal congregation in Ayrshire, and that was in the town of Ayr. In 1832 William Wilson was sent by the Church to minister to ‘a congregation ... of 400, many of them poor Irishmen ... meeting in the upper floor of a storehouse.’¹ Although in some respects this was a ‘new incumbency’, it was in fact a fresh start for the remnant of a congregation which had survived since the Revolution and was now seeking to be readmitted back into the Scottish Episcopal Church. In an area hostile to both Episcopacy and the Jacobites, the congregation had only survived by leaving the Church in 1747 and becoming a ‘qualified chapel.’

Ayrshire was a staunchly Presbyterian county where the Covenanters were held in high regard. In the struggle in the Kirk for ascendancy between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians, Ayrshire had contested strongly for the Presbyterian form of church government and worship. The National Covenant of 1638 denouncing Episcopacy and advocating Presbyterianism was subscribed among others by the Ayrshire peer, the sixth Earl of Eglinton. The new Episcopacy introduced by the restoration of Charles II in 1660 was immediately and widely rejected in Ayrshire. In the Presbyteries of Ayr and Irvine, out of 57 ministers, 30 refused to submit and with others who joined them later, these ousted ministers continued their ministry in conventicles and field meetings even after they were declared illegal in 1665. Events led to rebellion and persecution, which was particularly felt in Ayrshire during the ‘Killing times’ of the 1680s.²

With the coming of William of Orange at the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688, relief came to the Covenanters with the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland and the establishment of Presbyterianism. The Episcopalian clergy of Ayrshire were ‘rabbed’, that is, they were forcibly ejected from their homes and livings, like ‘Alexander Gregorie and William Waltersone of Ayr who were “rabbed out” by the hill men. The Covenanters had triumphed.’³

¹ *Church of England Magazine*, November 1836, ‘Diocese of Glasgow’.

² John Strawhorn, *Ayrshire: The Story of a County* (Ayr: Archeological and Natural History Society, 1975), p. 74.

³ *Scottish Churchman*, March 1934, ‘History of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Ayr.’

From the early seventeenth century there is evidence of migration from Ayrshire to Ireland in what became the Plantation of Ulster. Among Scots who obtained land in Ulster from James I were two important Ayrshire landowners, James Hamilton, and Hugh Montgomery of the Earl of Eglinton's family. Both these were given extensive lands on the Ards peninsula in North Down,⁴ laying the foundations for the most concentrated and substantial colony of British to arrive in Ulster during the first half of the seventeenth century. This would have included many of their Ayrshire neighbours. Smaller grants of land were given to 'undertakers', many from north Ayrshire.

When the descendants of these planters returned to Ayrshire at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was also economic forces and opportunities which attracted them. By 1830 a large part of the population of Ayrshire was Irish. The town of Ayr itself did not have a particularly large Irish population, and so it is probable that Wilson's congregation was drawn in from the surrounding villages. But in Newton and Wallacetown, suburbs of Ayr, the immigrants were numerous. In 1837 it was said, 'The inhabitants of Wallacetown and Content belong chiefly to the poorer class of Irish settlers, and consist of colliers, labourers, and weavers.' In the village of Crosshill, out of about 1000 inhabitants in 1838, 800 were Irish or of Irish extraction.⁵ The majority of the workers at the coal mines at St. Quivox were also Irish. By 1851, 11 per cent of the county's population were Irish-born.⁶

It was the growth of Ayrshire in the nineteenth century into one of the chief industrial areas of Scotland which brought about the large influx of Irish migrants. The traditional agricultural economy itself was revolutionised by the implementation of new machinery, some of it invented in the county.⁷

In the early part of the nineteenth century, Ayrshire shared in the prosperity of the Scottish textile industry. In the 1850s and 1860s, handloom weaving became depressed in the county, but power looms took their place in newly constructed factories; but in Ayrshire, heavy industry was also developing. The exploitation of the

⁴ Philip S. Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster: British Settlement in an Irish Landscape, 1600 - 1670* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1984), pp. 52 - 3.

⁵ Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, pp. 46 - 7.

⁶ Strawhorn, *Ayrshire: The Story of a County*, p. 119.

⁷ Strawhorn and Boyd (eds.), *Third Statistical Account*, p. 27.

Ayrshire coalfield was favoured by the growing export trade to Ireland and by the building of the railways. By 1840 some 345,000 tons of coal were being exported annually from Troon, Ardrossan, Irvine, Saltcoats and Girvan. By the 1840s the iron industry was being developed, especially in North Ayrshire, where coal and ironstone were being worked. By 1869 there were 40 blast furnaces in Ayrshire. Ayrshire became second only to Lanarkshire as an iron producing area. Along with blast furnaces an engineering industry grew up. Between 1840 and 1900 the face of the county had been transformed.⁸

As a direct consequence, the size of Ayrshire's population grew from 50,000 in 1700 to 254,000 in 1901.⁹ Many of these were newcomers, especially the Irish and their children, and to care for their spiritual needs, the Episcopal Church began several Missions, some of which were short lived and others became established as permanent churches. A consideration will now be given to the origins and early growth of the South Ayrshire churches of Girvan and Maybole, followed by those of North Ayrshire at Ardrossan, Irvine and Dalry. Extracts will be quoted from magazines and journals to show that other missions were attempted in various other towns, which never evolved beyond the early stages, but indicated that the numbers and needs were abundant throughout the county.

Girvan (St. John's)

The village of Girvan was one of Ayrshire's earliest and most numerous Irish settlements. The population grew from 2,260 in 1801 to 7,424 in 1841, according to the *New Statistical Account*, 'chiefly owing to the encouragement given to the building of small houses in the town, which are soon filled with the lowest orders of the people of Ireland, who come over with a view of obtaining employment in the weaving of cotton.'¹⁰ In 1830 the number of Irish in the village was stated to be at least three quarters of the population of 6,430. The chief trade in the town was weaving and it was considered that four fifths of the weavers were Irish.¹¹ The

⁸ Strawhorn and Boyd (eds.), *Third Statistical Account*, pp. 27 – 35.

⁹ Strawhorn, *Ayrshire: The Story of a County*, p. 119.

¹⁰ Peter McMaster, 'The Parish of Girvan', *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh, William Blackwood & Sons, 1845), p. 397.

¹¹ Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, p. 47.

parish minister, the Rev. Peter McMaster, gave a lower estimate, suggesting that half the population were Irish, adding that ‘more than half the Irish were Protestants.’¹²

McMasters, in his entry on Girvan for the *New Statistical Account*, made no secret of his dislike for the Irish of both sorts, comparing them unfavourably with the locals. ‘In no part of the kingdom are people more respectable than the native inhabitants of the parish. They are possessed of honourable feelings, strict integrity and great affability and kindness ... So much however, cannot be said of that portion of the population which is Irish. They are improvident ... On their first arrival from Ireland, many of them are much more like mendicants than people intending to support themselves by their own industry.’ He admitted however that, ‘This description does not apply to all; for there are certainly some ... who are careful, cleanly and comfortable.’ But then he continues that ‘the bulk of them are very much the reverse; and from their great numbers, they have certainly had a deteriorating influence.’¹³

The first Irish Protestants to arrive in the village were Presbyterians with the radical views of the United Irishmen, fleeing after their defeat in 1798. They congregated at the northern end of the town, near the Parish Church, in what became known as ‘little Ireland.’ Along with Irish Catholics and local Presbyterians, they took part in a series of reform demonstrations which were to clash with Orangemen, and would lead to the ‘Girvan Riots’ of 1831.¹⁴ Handley is keen to distance any Irish Catholic involvement with the Scottish radical and Chartist movements, but Mitchell asserts that ‘there is evidence which suggests that Irish workers were involved in reform processions in Ayrshire.’¹⁵

A larger and more sustained stream of weavers came next, and this group, who were supportive of Orangeism, and were Episcopalians. They settled in the southern end of the town in weavers’ cottages in an

¹² Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, p. 47 quoting McMaster’s evidence to the *Parliamentary Report on the Irish Poor in Great Britain*, 1835.

¹³ McMasters, *New Statistical Account*, pp. 397 – 8.

¹⁴ David Bryce, *Our Blood is on their Hands: The Girvan Riots* (Hamilton: privately printed, 2001), p. 2.

¹⁵ Martin Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797 – 1848: Trade Unions, Strikes and Political Movements* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998), p. 147.

area called Newton. It had a street called Sandy Row, a part called the Orange Arch, and by 1830, two Orange Lodges met in William Young's Inn.¹⁶

On Girvan's Fair day on 25 April 1831 the 'town lads' held an impromptu procession to celebrate the second reading of the Reform Bill. They processed into the Orange area, knowing the inhabitants there would have little sympathy for reform ideas. Orangemen's opinions on radicalism had been coloured by the events of the 1798 rebellion, where the mass murder of Protestants at Scullabogue was indelibly etched in their minds. The processionists, in an act of provocation, carried the French tricolour, which resulted in violent scuffles.¹⁷

Three months later 'the reform party, joined by the Irish Catholics, attempted to stop a Twelfth of July parade of Orange Lodges from in and around the town.'¹⁸ A series of reprisals ensured that the town was in some ferment for several months, resulting in a serious riot in July in which a policeman was shot by an Orangeman, Samuel Waugh, who was later hanged for it. Between this incident and the anti-Irish prejudice of the parish minister, it is unlikely that the Orangemen and their families from Newton would have found much solace in the parish church.

In 1837 McMaster stated that 'there is no Episcopalian chapel in the parish.'¹⁹ The Episcopalians would have attended William Wilson's church at Ayr, some 20 miles away. In March 1846 Bishop Russell received a petition in William Wilson's handwriting asking for an Episcopal Church to be commenced in the town:

That the number of Protestant Episcopalian (of all ages) in Girvan is considerably above 400. Most of whom are either natives of Ireland or the children of Irish parents, of the established church in that country.

The nearest Episcopalian church being in Ayr 21 miles away.

That as most of them are poor persons of the operative and labouring classes, it is not in their power to provide the means of supporting a Clergyman, or defraying the other expenses necessarily attended on the maintenance of public worship, but they are willing to contribute to the utmost of their ability and they trust that they will be aided by their wealthier brethren in obtaining for themselves and their children, the benefit of that spiritual instruction and superintendence of which they have long been destitute and which their limited means prevent them procuring by their own unaided

¹⁶ Bryce, *The Girvan Riots*, p. 5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁸ Mitchell, *Irish in the West of Scotland*, p. 147.

¹⁹ McMaster, *New Statistical Account*, p. 404.

exertions.... They ask the Bishop to endeavour to bring them more effectively within the pale of the Church, many of her children who have long been as 'sheep without a shepherd.'²⁰

This contained nine signatures including those of John McCarlney, Oliver McCafferty, James Donaldson, John Watson and Philip Johnston.

Services were commenced the following year led by a Greenock-born clergyman, Archibald Wilson. An entry in the Bishop's Journal confirms the poverty of the congregation: 'Preached ... to a congregation of very poor people ... in the room licensed for a Chapel at Girvan.'²¹ There followed a succession of ministers, none of them spending more than a couple of years, which must have been the cause of some discontinuity in the congregation. In 1855, the Rev. Robert Weldon became the priest, and during his fifteen year ministry the congregation grew, a building was erected, and a school commenced.

The Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal informed the Church in 1856 that 'In Girvan ... the only building procurable for Divine worship [is] very unseemly for that sacred purpose, and it is proposed to attempt to raise funds for the erection of a chapel ... at Girvan, where the room at present occupied is the upper floor of a dwelling house. The number of Episcopalians in that town and neighbourhood at the latest estimate exceeds 500 souls, who are, almost without exception of the poor and labouring classes ... The average attendance at divine service is 130.'²²

Later that year, the Duchess de Coigny granted a site of land on Piedmont Road, at the southern end of the town where the Orange and Episcopalian community was concentrated. The foundations were laid in 1857 and consecrated in 1859. It was a plain rectangular building.

Mr Weldon left in 1870 to take up an appointment in the Church of Ireland. *The Church News* indicated that the new incumbent, William Gallacher was 'continuing the school at Girvan. It is situated in the poorest district of the town and is the means of conferring a sound education on the children of the lower classes

²⁰ DGGA, TD 1382/146, Petition to Bishop Russell to form an Episcopal Church in Girvan, 2 March 1846.

²¹ DGGA, TD 1382/75 *Bishops' Journal*, 6 February 1849.

²² *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, February 1856.

residing in that neighbourhood; and its advantages are freely extended to persons belonging to all denominations.²³

The services in 1870 were described as 'simple, but hearty'; the congregation 'consists for the most part of people engaged in that poorest of all trades, handloom weavers. Most of them are either of Irish birth or descent and on a clear day can still behold the hills of the Green Isle in the home of their adoption.'²⁴

However, Girvan was about to change, and this was reflected in the congregation. The population had peaked through immigration to 8,588 in 1851, but by 1901 it had dropped by almost half to 4,872. The drop was due to the gradual disappearance of the weaving industry and to the decline of the port, as ships became too big for the small harbour.²⁵ The church, being almost entirely composed of weaving families, went into decline as its members moved to the central belt of Scotland in search of new work.

The recovery of the town came with the increasing vogue for seaside holidays for town dwellers and the replacement of local seaborne traffic by motor haulage on the roads. Girvan with its open sea front, proved attractive to holiday makers and brought new people to live in the area.²⁶ When the English-born F. Carlile Burton became incumbent in 1906, he found 'the work of his Church had become derelict and almost non-existent.'²⁷ Burton threw himself fully into the life of the local community being elected to the School Board, where he campaigned for increased time given to religious instruction.²⁸ Burton extended the church and had ambitious plans for it to be extended to become a large cruciform church with tower. This he felt would add appeal to the type of cliental whom he wished to attract. The appeal failed to raise enough money and the extensions remained incomplete.

²³ *The Church News: Scotland*, September 1870.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Strawhorn and Boyd (eds.), *Third Statistical Account*, p. 818.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *SC*, 28 May 1920 'Obituary of the Rev. F. Carlile Burton.'

²⁸ *SC*, 23 November 1906.

The incumbents from 1847 to 1903 were all Scots born, and those after 1904 were all English-born. Thus it was that along with the change in the congregation, St. John's changed from being an 'Irish Church' to being an 'English Church.' The 1920s and 1930's did not see any significant revival in the congregation.

Table 9:1
Numbers attending the services at St. John's, Girvan, 1923 - 1930

| Year | Month | Matins | 8.00am Communion | Evensong |
|------|----------|--------|---------------------|----------|
| 1923 | January | 10 | 2 | 14 |
| 1923 | April | 16 | 2 | 14 |
| 1924 | October | 46 | 6 | 56 |
| 1924 | November | 30 | 5 | 46 |
| 1927 | January | 31 | 8 | 51 |
| 1930 | July | 33 | 10 | 24 |

Source: St. John's Church, Girvan, *Register of Services* 1923 – 1930

With changes in the congregation's ethnic origin came changes in liturgy. From 1924, the incumbent had described the Communion Service in the *Register of Services* as 'Mass.' In 1951 the morning congregation numbered 40²⁹, and the tradition of the churchmanship was considered 'high.'³⁰ Girvan was a further example of having its hey-day in the first few decades when its congregation numbered 130 on Sundays, its liturgy was Low Church and its congregation, mainly Irish. Unlike other churches, it was not ritualism which drove the Irish from the church but migration to other parts of Scotland at the end of the nineteenth century, due to the failure of the weaving industry. No doubt, several of the original families remained, but with Episcopalians moving into the town from England and elsewhere in Scotland, the makeup of the church had considerably changed. It would not be correct to say that all English Anglicans were in favour of High Church worship, and so as in many other areas, they would have found their way to the parish church. St. John's struggled to find a new constituency of any great numbers.

²⁹ Strawhorn and Boyd (eds.), *Third Statistical Account*, p. 825.

³⁰ *SG*, 12 May 1933, 'The Rev. F. H. Keatch, Vicar of Seaforth was the preacher. Mr. Keatch spoke of the work of the Oxford Movement.' DGGGA, TD 1382/ Bishop Frederick Goldie to Canon H. A. Eagan, May 1975: 'Girvan has a fairly 'high' tradition, with vestments.'; the Rev. Philip C. Lempriere was Rector of St. Johns from 1935 – 1941. He had previously been Rector of St. Bride's, Hyndland, the leading Anglo-Catholic church in the Diocese.

Maybole (St. Oswald's)

The founding of the Maybole church, the ethnic origin of its congregation and its initial progress were similar to Girvan's and from its formation in 1847 until 1911, the same clergy served both churches as a joint incumbency.

From the close of the nineteenth century to 1837, the population of Maybole doubled from 2,000 to 4,000 due to 'the influx of Irish weavers.'³¹ Like his Girvan neighbour, the parish minister, the Rev. George Gray described the Irish of Maybole in disparaging terms: 'The introduction of manufactures ... has led many of the operatives into habits of dissipation, and the Irish in particular ... are but too generally drunken and filthy in their persons and houses.'³²

Apart from agriculture, the main trade in the village was weaving. 'The influences of Glasgow and the proximity of Ireland have drawn to the town and every little hamlet a great population of hand-loom weavers ... who are mostly Irish.'³³

Maybole was considered to be the home of Orangeism in Scotland, a lodge being formed here by the end of the eighteenth century. A company of Ayrshire Militia, the Loyal Carrick Volunteers, had been involved in suppressing the United Irishmen's Rebellion, and during their time in Ireland joined the Orange Order. When the regiment returned to Maybole in 1799, the lodge allowed civilians to join it from the local population. Marshall says, 'There would have been no shortage of potential recruits given the sizeable Ulster Protestant community in the area and this lodge was, in all probability, the first in Scotland.'³⁴

In May 1836, a Maybole resident, Henry Thornton wrote to the Rev. William Wilson at Ayr,

There are a number of members of the Church ... in this town and they have not had an opportunity of receiving the benefit of the ordinances of their Church. They are very desirous of having the services of the Church administered in this place, and they take the liberty of requesting you to come and see them.

³¹ George Gray, 'The Parish of Maybole', *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1845), p. 367.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 368.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

³⁴ Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, p. 9.

They are like sheep without a shepherd; for although they were inclined to attend the Established Church here, want of accommodation prevents them. They are strangers in a strange land; and they may literally say that they have hung their harps upon the willows, when they think upon Zion. They therefore entreat that you, Reverend Sir, would so far condescend as to let them have the pleasure of your services for a few times.³⁵

The following year, it was stated that there were 214 Episcopalians in the town, and Wilson had obviously conceded to their request as 'Episcopalians have the occasional services of the minister of that persuasion at Ayr.'³⁶

In that year Maybole witnessed religious clashes, involving the Irish, similar to those which had taken place at Girvan some years before. Orange Episcopalians in South Ayrshire had two adversaries: firstly there were Irish Catholics, where the sectarian tensions of the old country were translated to the towns of Scotland as Orangemen clashed with Fenians and Ribbonmen.³⁷ Secondly there were radical Presbyterians both Irish and Scottish who joined under the banner of reform and Chartism. There were outbreaks of violence when these two groups combined forces to fight with local Orangemen. This seems to have happened in Maybole in 1837 when the *Weavers' Journal* addressed 'the Operative Weavers of Maybole': 'Fellow operatives, it is time we were laying all our petty differences aside ... May we not, whether churchmen or voluntaries, Calvinists or Arminians, members of the Catholic faith or of the Episcopal Church of England [sic], support our principles without injuring our mutual friendship.'³⁸

By 1846 the number of Episcopalians in Maybole had grown to over 400, 'Most of whom are either natives of Ireland or the children of Irish parents of the established church in that country.' A similarly worded petition, to that for Girvan, containing 40 signatures was sent to Bishop Thrower asking for a clergyman and the establishment of a church.³⁹

³⁵ *Stephen's Ecclesiastical Magazine*, May 1836, Henry Thornton to the Rev. William Wilson, 16 April 1836.

³⁶ Gray, *New Statistical Account*, p. 374.

³⁷ Irish Catholic secret societies, though disapproved of by the Catholic Church.

³⁸ *Weavers' Journal*, 1 February 1837, quoted in Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland*, p. 45.

³⁹ DGGA, TD 1382/146, Petition to Bishop Russell to form an Episcopal Church in Maybole, 2 March 1846.

The earliest services, commencing in 1847, were held in a rented room in a small building in Abbott Street near the old Collegiate Church. But the same depression in the weaving trade was to hit Maybole, so that in 1870 when William Gallacher took charge of the church, 'it was almost extinct. There were not more than five or six communicants.'⁴⁰ Gallacher built the numbers up again, generous funds were raised for a permanent church by a poor congregation, and the school was continued. *The H.M. Inspector for Church Schools Report* for 1870 stated, 'Under most discouraging circumstances, arising from the extreme poverty of the population ... this large school is, on the whole, in a satisfactory condition ... The master has been successful with his two pupil-teachers.'⁴¹

Whereas Girvan had a church building by 1857, Maybole had to wait until 1883 before it could enjoy the same. An Appeal to the S.P.C.K. at London in January 1882 contained this information: 'The congregation was formed in 1847 and consisted at that time chiefly of persons engaged in the hand loom weaving trade, originally members of the Irish Church who have settled in Maybole with their families. The weaving trade having greatly fallen off, its place has been taken by an extensive development of the leather and shoe trade which has brought considerable numbers of Irish and English workpeople.'⁴² This is occupational description is shown in the Church Registers which state that almost all the older Irishmen whose burials were recorded between 1884 and 1911 had 'weaver' as their occupation, whereas almost all the younger men in the *Baptismal Register* described their occupation as 'shoemaker.'

St. Oswald's Church was opened in 1883, 'a neat little Chapel, a building in many respects a model of what a mission Church should be.'⁴³ Although the numbers of English and Scottish-born in the congregation were increasing as the century progressed, the church still retained its strong Irish element and even as late as 1890, 'the Christmas Festival for the children attending the Sunday School was held in the Orange Hall.'⁴⁴

⁴⁰ *SG*, 30 September 1881.

⁴¹ *Church News: Scotland*, October 1870.

⁴² *SG*, 27 January 1882. Applications to the S. P. C. K., a London based Church of England Missionary Society, always added the "English" presence, even when there were very few English people.

⁴³ *SG*, 25 November 1887.

⁴⁴ *SG*, 17 January 1890.

As at Girvan, the twentieth century did not see a congregation numbering anywhere near 400 as it had been in 1846.

Table 9:2

Attendance at St. Oswald's Church, Maybole, 1904 - 1961

| Year | Month | Matins | Evensong |
|------|----------|--------|----------------------------|
| 1904 | November | 35 | 75 |
| 1911 | March | 26 | 46 |
| 1913 | March | 32 | 28 |
| 1921 | March | 41 | Discontinued after 1916 |
| 1937 | March | 21 | - |
| 1941 | March | 15 | - |
| 1951 | March | 21 | - |
| 1961 | March | 17 | - |

Source: St. Oswald's Church, Maybole, *Register of Services* 1904 - 1961

The Church Registers for Maybole from 1884 show smaller numbers compared with Paisley and the Glasgow churches, but 50 families were identified on the 1881 and 1891 Censuses giving an indication of trends in the 1880s. These will now be considered as an indication of how St. Oswald's was changing and would continue to do so as the twentieth century progressed. Three generations of some families have been discovered, giving an interesting picture of the continuity of some of the older families.

Table 9:3

Ethnic origins of people buried at St. Oswald's, Maybole, 1884 - 1911

| Age | Irish | Scots | English |
|---------|-------|-------|---------|
| Over 60 | 58% | 28% | 14% |
| 11 - 59 | 20% | 60% | 20% |
| 0 - 10 | 100% | - | - |

Source: St. Oswald's Church, Burial Register, 1884-1911

Table 9:4

Ethnic origins of parents of children buried at St. Oswald's, Maybole 1884 - 1911

| Age | Irish | Scots | English |
|---------|-------|-------|---------|
| 11 - 59 | 60% | 20% | 20% |
| 0 - 10 | 49% | 26% | 25% |

Source: St Oswald's Church, *Maybole; Census for 1881 & 1891*

The Register of Baptisms from 1884 to 1887 gives the ethnic origin of the parents as follows: Scots (70 per cent), Irish (23 per cent) and English (7 per cent). The Confirmation Register for 1887 shows all the children to have been born in Scotland, although 20% had Irish parents and none had English parents.

The *Burial Register* had the greatest proportion of Irish, showing 60 per cent among the older people, but none among the infants. The next generation, as represented by parents having their children baptised, showed that the Irish had decreased to 23 per cent of the population; while the third generation, as represented by children confirmed, showed that none were born in Ireland. A comparison with Paisley, for example would show that whereas although the Irish in Paisley were still arriving in the 1880s and 1890s, even if in decreasing proportions, the Irish in Maybole were not being replenished by major new waves of migrants. The English at Maybole were still a small proportion by the end of the century, but were growing among the younger parents. The largest group were Scots born, but among them were a large number whose parents and grandparents were Irish.

Ardrossan (St. Andrew's)

The next two churches to be considered, at Ardrossan and Dalry are situated in North Ayrshire, which more than the southern part of the county became associated with heavy industry as the nineteenth century progressed. There was an intensification of coal mining in the Stevenson area, in the Garnock Valley and throughout north and central Ayrshire, where by the middle of the nineteenth century there were 60 pits.⁴⁵

From the 1840s a new phase in Scottish industrial history began with the development of the iron industry. Iron works were opened up in the Doon Valley and in North Ayrshire, where both coal and ironstone could be

⁴⁵ Strawhorn and Boyd (eds.), *Third Statistical Account*, p. 79.

worked. Ayrshire had a considerable variety of other mineral resources. Ironstone was worked at Dalry, Lugar and Dalmellington.⁴⁶ The county was well supplied with fireclays, worked between Dalry and Kilmarnock. These and other industries to be considered under the local case studies produced the need for labour which the Irish supplied in increasing numbers.

About five miles to the north west of Ardrossan lay the small town of West Kilbride, where a private chapel at Kirktonhall House, the home of physician Dr Francis Ritchie, was licensed for Episcopal worship in 1851. It was to this venue that Episcopalians from North Ayrshire came for occasional worship and to have their children baptised, the services being conducted by various itinerant priests.⁴⁷ The *Baptismal Register* for the chapel records that those coming for the baptism of their children, as well as from West Kilbride itself, came from Stevenson, Ardrossan, Saltcoats, Kilwinning and Dalry. All were of the working classes, signifying the fathers' occupations as Labourer (17) Weaver (7) and Miner (3), the only professional identified being Dr. Ritchie himself. But 'the want of an Episcopal Church had long been felt and lamented by so many members of the Communion residing in Ardrossan and the neighbourhood.'⁴⁸

Ardrossan grew in the nineteenth century, owing its prominence among the nearby towns to its harbour. The harbour and many of the town's houses were built with the freestone quarried locally, and the mining of coal and limestone in the parish soon overtook the traditional handloom weaving.⁴⁹ Colourful reference was made at the 1827 *Report on Emigration from the United Kingdom* to steamboats as floating bridges over which there passed daily great numbers of poor Irish labourers. A completion of a railway line from Glasgow to Ardrossan in 1841 with steamer extension to Belfast increased the flow of human traffic.⁵⁰ Many of them would be going on further to Glasgow and its neighbouring towns, but a large percentage would find that Ardrossan and its environs would offer the employment and accommodation they were looking for. For example, on 9 August 1847, 741 Irish people arrived at Ardrossan from Belfast and on the 14 August, 1,410

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁴⁷ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 612.

⁴⁸ *Minutes of the Vestry of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Ardrossan, 1876 – 1892*, 'Note on history'.

⁴⁹ John Bryce, 'Parish of Ardrossan', *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1845), p. 193.

⁵⁰ Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, p. 8.

showing something of the town's role as one of the main points of entry for the Irish coming to Scotland.⁵¹ In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, the town had grown from 1,518 in 1791 to 3,595 in 1831, part of its growth being 'many families from Ireland.'⁵²

Ardrossan was considered a central location for the Episcopalian families of North Ayrshire, and so in 1872 'a small Committee was formed and arrangements made for the opening of a Mission. A Mission was accordingly opened in the Town Hall at Ardrossan and licensed for services from the 1st June 1873.'⁵³ The Rev. George Lakeman was appointed curate in charge. An article on Ardrossan church's history admits that 'it cannot lay claim to a storied past, but that it was typical of the Church's struggle, particularly in the west of Scotland, where her life was well-nigh extinguished.'⁵⁴

The following year on St. Andrew's Day, the foundation of a new church was laid and a year later the church was opened for services. Despite the Earl of Eglinton being Chairman of the Vestry and other local dignitaries being involved, the congregation as a whole seems to have been a poor one in the early years. A Minute of the Vestry for 1879 records, 'The Treasurer was authorised to overdraw the Bank account ... the falling off in the revenues of the Church due to the smallness of the offertories and the giving up of sittings. Resolved that the next Easter offering, instead of going to the Incumbent, go to the Episcopal Church Society to pay off the debt.'⁵⁵ The second Incumbent, James de Courcelles, seemed unpopular as numbers decreased and several of the Vestry members, including the Earl of Eglinton, resigned in protest of the Incumbent's high-handedness.⁵⁶ The Rev. Robert Mordue took charge in 1881 and entered upon twenty-two years of stable ministry at Ardrossan.

Mordue initiated Missions at Dalry and Irvine, and in 1887 was involved in one of the county's earliest ecumenical endeavours. Along with the other churches in Ardrossan, he was instrumental in setting up a

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵² Bryce, *New Statistical Account*, p. 199.

⁵³ *Minutes of the Vestry of St. Andrews*, 'Historical notes'.

⁵⁴ *SSB*, July 1904.

⁵⁵ *Minutes of the Vestry of St. Andrew's Church*, 5 December 1879.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 19 April 1880.

temporary mission hut by the harbour for the 800 navvies, mainly Irish, who were involved in the repair of the harbour and construction of railway lines. His letter to Bishop Wilson gives an interesting account of the life style and religious attitudes of a large group of Irish normally outside the pale of the Church:

It is quite impossible at present to say what proportion of these men may be adherents of our Church ... The vast majority of them are non-church goers and know not what they are, but state in a vague sort of way that they are 'Protestant'. As for wives and children, a very small percentage of them are married, or at least are accompanied by their wives and families.

The navvies have but one suit of clothes – their work clothes, and these are the reasons why a mission hut has been built near the harbour within a few yards of where they live. It is thought that being at their very doors, and exclusively for their use, they may be thus induced to enter. They will use the mission hut during the day and on evenings when it is not required for religious services, as a reading and recreation room.⁵⁷

The ethnic origin of the early congregation can be ascertained from the *Baptismal Registers* and yields the following result:

Table 9:5

Ethnic origins of Baptismal presenters at St. Andrew's, Ardrossan, 1873 – 1881

| | Individuals | | | | Families | |
|-----------|-----------------|------------|------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|
| | Found on Census | Irish born | Scots born | English born | Found on Census | Irish born |
| 1873-1875 | 60 | 41 (68%) | 17 (28%) | 2 (4%) | 32 | 28 (90%) |
| 1879-1881 | 43 | 23 (54%) | 20 (46%) | 0 | 22 | 16 (72%) |

Source: St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Ardrossan, *Baptismal Register*; Census for 1881

Given the above data, it would appear that the *Third Statistical Account* for the Parish of Ardrossan has grossly exaggerated its claim that St. Andrew's Church was built in 1874 for 'the considerable number of English'⁵⁸ coming into the town. Of the 60 individual Baptism parents in the formative years of the congregation, only two were identified as being of English birth. There were no English found in the latter Baptismal entries, those nearest the Census enumeration date. It was easy writing in the 1950's when the English presence was larger, and earlier memories forgotten, to assume that things were always thus. In the

⁵⁷ DGGGA, TD 1382/148/15, the Rev. Robert Mordue to Bishop Wilson, 2 December 1887.

⁵⁸ *Third Statistical Account*, p. 329.

church's first decade, the Irish predominated, as between 1873 and 1875; ninety per cent of the families attached to the church had either one or both parents born in Ireland. The fathers' occupations were listed as labourer, miner, railway gate guard, and two were ships carpenters. The Irish presence declined as the century progressed, but there is some evidence from the Census returns that many of the Scots families, who increasingly became the majority, were the children of Irish parents.

It will be seen from Appendix 9:1 that St. Andrew's Church ministered to an Episcopalian constituency within a ten mile radius of the town. The immediate cluster of Ardrossan, Saltcoats and Stevenston accounted for 37 per cent of Baptisms in the church's first decade between 1872 and 1882. There was another large concentration at Kilwinning, but by far the largest group came from the villages in the Garnock Valley, around the town of Dalry, accounting for almost under half of all Baptisms. In the second decade from 1883 to 1893, people from Irvine were being contacted in growing numbers. Of these areas, Missions were started at Dalry and Irvine, and Dalry will now be considered.

Dalry (St. Peter's)

The villages of the 'Garnock Valley' consist of Dalry (the largest), Beith, Kilbirnie and Glengarnock, comprising the most northerly area of Ayrshire. The Industrial revolution changed the whole of North Ayrshire from an agricultural and weaving region to an area of heavy industry, second only to Lanarkshire. A local history gives a description of the industry, population and religious affiliation of Dalry in the nineteenth century:

By 1700 there were about 30 houses and a population of 100. By the middle of the eighteenth century, silk weaving had boomed due to an affinity with Paisley, sixteen miles away, and the parish had almost 2000 inhabitants. Later cotton weaving replaced silk weaving ... The industrial revolution came and weaving gave way to coal and iron stone mining. In 1833 there were 33 pits in the parish and the population increased to 11,000. ... Limestone abounds in strata of unusual thickness ... Ironstone of excellent quality is plentiful, and has of late years been smelted in extensive furnaces belonging to four great irons companies. The iron-works began to get into extensive operation in 1845, and made great changes on the face of the landscape.⁵⁹

The Irish population, no doubt already there at the beginning of the nineteenth century, received a great influx in the 1840s, and by 1851, ten per cent of Dalry's population had been born in Ireland. 'Many of the

⁵⁹ Douglas W. Martin 'History of Dalry' (online), available at: <http://home.clara.net/douglaswmartin/Olddalry/historydalry.html> (Accessed 20 November 2006).

immigrants were Ulstermen descended from the Scots who took part in the 1606 Colonisation of Ulster ... The famine was not selective of creed ... This is the background of the majority of Dalry's townspeople. They came from the poor and oppressed, children of the storm and loyalty was engendered among them.'⁶⁰

The presence of both kinds of Irish was noted by the Sheriff of Ayrshire, writing in 1848: 'Of late years numbers of Irishmen, amounting to a very considerable part of the population, have become resident in the parishes of Dalry and Kilbirnie where they are employed in the coal pits and ironstone mines ... there are amongst them a certain number of Orangemen. And an Orange lodge is established in each of the towns of Dalry and Kilbirnie.'⁶¹

The New Statistical Account claims there were only three Roman Catholics in Dalry⁶² in 1839, but by the 1840s Catholic services were being held in rented halls. The local population was described as 'unanimously Presbyterian from covenanting stock.'⁶³ In 1839 the parish minister, the Rev. Thomas Johnstone boasted that there were 'No Episcopalians in the parish.'⁶⁴

The following year however, saw an Episcopalian couple from Dalry, Thomas and Jane Banks, coming to Trinity Church in Paisley to have their son Thomas baptised.⁶⁵ Each year for the next decade, a trickle of baptisms were recorded at Paisley for families from the Garnock Valley. It was obvious that there was a large Episcopalian community in the Garnock Valley without the ministrations of their Church, and in 1850 the minister came down to Dalry where on 10 March 'at Evening Service held by license of the Bishop of Glasgow in the hall at the Black Bull Inn, Dalry', he baptised 20 children.⁶⁶ Of these families, half were identified in the 1851 Census, and all were Irish.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Report to the Lord Advocate of Scotland by the Sheriff Substitute of Ayrshire. *Lord Advocate's Papers AD 58-70*, SRO, quoted in McFarland, *Protestants First*, p. 65.

⁶² Thomas Johnstone, 'Parish of Dalry', *New Statistical Account*, p. 237.

⁶³ Martin, 'History of Dalry'.

⁶⁴ Johnstone, *New Statistical Account*, p. 237.

⁶⁵ Holy Trinity Church, Paisley, *Baptismal Register*, 24 August 1840.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 10 March 1850; Census 1851.

In 1851 the Rev. James Stewart became Incumbent of Trinity Church, Paisley. He had been incumbent of Girvan and Maybole, and now with a largely Irish congregation at Paisley, he was aware of how to minister to the Irish effectively. For the next twenty years of his incumbency he baptised on average 50 children each year in the Garnock Valley, the most being in 1863 when the total was 105 (Appendix 9:2).

Stewart was aware of the needs of that area, but was unable to do much owing to his own demanding parish. In 1864 the Bishop noted in his Journal, 'Application having been made by a body of members of the Church for a service at Dalry, I licensed a hall in the place and appointed Mr MacKinnon to officiate in the afternoon of each Sunday.'⁶⁷ There is no subsequent record of this mission continuing and numbers of Garnock baptisms decreased after that period. James Stewart continued to baptise Garnock children until he retired in 1871.

In 1873 a Mission was opened at Ardrossan, and this church then became responsible for pastoral oversight for Episcopalians in the Garnock Valley. As already referred to, Dalry and Kilbirnie continued to prove to be a strong Episcopalian area, accounting for forty-three per cent of Baptisms at Ardrossan.

In the 1850s the Episcopalians in Dalry were almost entirely Irish. A comparison twenty years later reveals the Irish element still predominating, though not so much as formerly. A sample of 60 families who presented their children for Baptism at Ardrossan between 1873 and 1878 revealed the following:

Table 9:6
Ethnic origins of Dalry Baptism presenters at Ardrossan, 1873 – 1878

| Individuals 116 | | | Families With 1 or 2 Irish parents |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| Irish | Scots | English | 47 (78.33%) |
| 73 (62.93%) | 38 (32.76%) | 5 (4.31%) | |

Source: St. Andrew's Church, Ardrossan, Baptismal Register, 1873 - 1878

⁶⁷ DGGGA, TD 1382/75, *Bishops' Journal*, August 1864. There is no mention of a clergyman named Mackinnon in *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, it was probable that he was a Lay Reader.

In 1885 a proposal to begin a Mission at Dalry was presented to the Vestry of St. Andrew's Ardrossan by their incumbent the Rev. Robert Mordue, and this time it would lead to a permanent and continuous Church:

your clergyman has even been in the habit of visiting Dalry for the purpose of baptising the children of members of our Church resident there ... My proposal is not to break new ground but simply to carry a step further, our work in that district. The people under my charge may be said to be those residing between West Kilbride on the one side of Ardrossan and Kilwinning on the other. Dalry, more than any other little town in the district is beyond the reach of the services of the Church, and indeed with the exception of two families it is quite impossible for the people there to be present at our services in Ardrossan.

I have during the summer made special enquiries of some 30 families representing about 150 baptised members of the Church. Without exception these people all received me with great pleasure and expressed an earnest hope that I would be able to see my way to give them occasional Sunday services. ... I propose to hold a service on the first Sunday of each month at Dalry in the Public Hall.⁶⁸

In June, Mordue reported to the Vestry, 'Monthly services have proved a success. I opened the mission on the first Sunday of the present year (January 1886) with 60 present and the numbers have steadily increased to 130. The average attendance is 90.'⁶⁹

In 1888, Dalry got its own priest, the Rev. Jeremiah Percy Neville,⁷⁰ who was Irish and had been a convert from Roman Catholicism, and weekly services began. The *Scottish Guardian* reported, 'The services are in the Town Hall. Most of the people however are very poor, being taken from the mining population, and for some time at least, there will be a hard struggle.'⁷¹ With a great deal of sacrifice and help from the wider church, the new St. Peter's was opened in 1889. Mr Neville's two year ministry was followed by 19 years of service from the Rev. William James Wilson, the son of Bishop Wilson.

Many local church histories were being penned by English clergy in the 1920s and 1930's, and the Rev. Gilbert Warwick's *History and Notes of St Peter's Dalry* might be typical. In it there is neither mention of the Irish nor of the poor. Instead, 'In 1886, there being a large number of Lancashire English employed in the mills and mines, and some keen laymen of fair means, steps were taken to collect and arrange for a

⁶⁸ *Minutes of the Vestry of St. Andrew's Church*, 17 October 1885.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 7 June 1886.

⁷⁰ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, p. 383.

⁷¹ *SG*, 13 July 1888.

building.⁷² Wherever this 'large number of English' had their children baptised would be difficult to ascertain, but the *Baptismal Register* would suggest that it was not at St. Peter's Episcopal Church.

Table 9:7

Ethnic origins of Baptism Presenters at St. Peter's Church, Dalry, 1900

| Individuals | | | Families With 1 or 2 Irish parents |
|-------------|----------|----------|---------------------------------------|
| Irish | Scots | English | |
| 12 | 28 | 7 | 10 |
| (25.53%) | (59.57%) | (14.00%) | 41.67% |

Source: St. Peter's Church, Dalry, *Baptismal Register*, 1900; 1901 Census

Compared with Table 9:6 above, it will be seen that a change had taken place in the make-up of the congregation. The Irish no longer predominated, although they still formed a quarter of the community and through mixed marriages, accounted for over forty percent of families. Many of the Scots-born were in fact identified as children of the Irish of the previous generation, and others were incomers from other parts of Scotland, particularly Argyllshire. The English still only accounted for seven per cent, but as this had shown an increase from 4 per cent in the previous table, it would suggest a growing English proportion as the twentieth century progressed.

William Wilson, like his father, knew how to minister to the Irish with sensitivity, but perhaps reflecting the change in the congregation, after his death in 1919, worship at St. Peter's went in a 'higher' direction. 'In Mr Simpson's time (1921 to 1922) the Choral Eucharist began ... In 1925 Mrs Knox of Parkhill gave candlesticks to the church In 1927 ... the priest vests for the whole service ... On the first Sunday in the month some parts of the service are sung.'⁷³

The graph in Appendix 9:2 with the numbers of Baptisms from 1840 to 1960 shows that Dalry's Episcopalian congregation was at its peak in the 1860s long before the church was built. The Rev. James Stewart baptised

⁷² Gilbert H. Warwick, *History and Notes of St. Peter's Church, Dalry*, mss., 1927

⁷³ *Ibid.*

a higher number of infants each year than in subsequent years. As there were no special missions or building projects, it would suggest that the number of baptisms was due to the sheer force of numbers living in the area. Yet it was at this stage that the Church seemed powerless to create a strong Mission, in what was undoubtedly a staunch Episcopalian area. Numbers dipped in the last years of Stewart's ministry, but picked up again significantly when the Ardrossan Mission was started in 1883. But Ardrossan, by its own admission, was too far away for nominal Church folk to attend, apart from the occasional offices such as Baptism. The third main peak was in 1888 to 1889 when new church was opened; this was sustained by nineteen years of ministry from William Wilson until 1919.

The dramatic decline in baptisms after Wilson's death may be coincidental, or it may indicate that the services no longer appealed to its traditional community. If the English did begin to attend in greater numbers from this period onwards, there is no indication that their presence was numerous or that numerical downward trends were reversed. The church seems to have settled from the 1940s with an average of seven baptisms per year.

Ayrshire seems to have had quite a considerable Episcopalian community, initially in the south of the county at Girvan and Maybole in the first half of the nineteenth century, and then predominating in North Ayrshire in the second half. Ayrshire is unique in this thesis as it was the only county where there were no schisms, and so neither the English Episcopal Church nor the Reformed Episcopal Church had any churches in the county. In part, this must be attributed to the fact that Ayrshire's Episcopal Churches were not very 'high' and thus ritualism was not much of an issue. Where ritualistic clergy did minister, as occasionally at Irvine, 'numbers went down considerably'⁷⁴ and so the point was made. 'High Churchism' is of course a relative measurement, and even Dalry's 'higher' ritual, would not have been considered so, apart from the more extreme Protestants, in the light of the 'more advanced' ritualism in parts of Glasgow and Lanarkshire.

The initiative for mission did not come from the Bishop or the Diocese, although they were keen to respond positively when situations arose. Initiatives came locally, from priests like William Wilson (Girvan and Maybole) and Robert Mordue (Dalry and Irvine). The downside of this was that the fortunes of the Missions

⁷⁴ DGGGA, TD 1382/803, St. John's Mission Irvine, mss. Edith B. Hill, 1951. .

waxed or waned depending on the availability of certain clergy. With the exception of the Irvine Mission,⁷⁵ all the other churches in Ayrshire, again uniquely, have continued until the present.

⁷⁵ Ibid. Miss Hill's manuscript gives an interesting account of the St. John's Mission, Irvine, as having been founded for 'Irish Protestant labourers.' She writes that 'Protestant Irish predominated and would stand nothing in the nature of High Church which sometimes we had to endure on the fourth Sunday and then down went the attendance.'

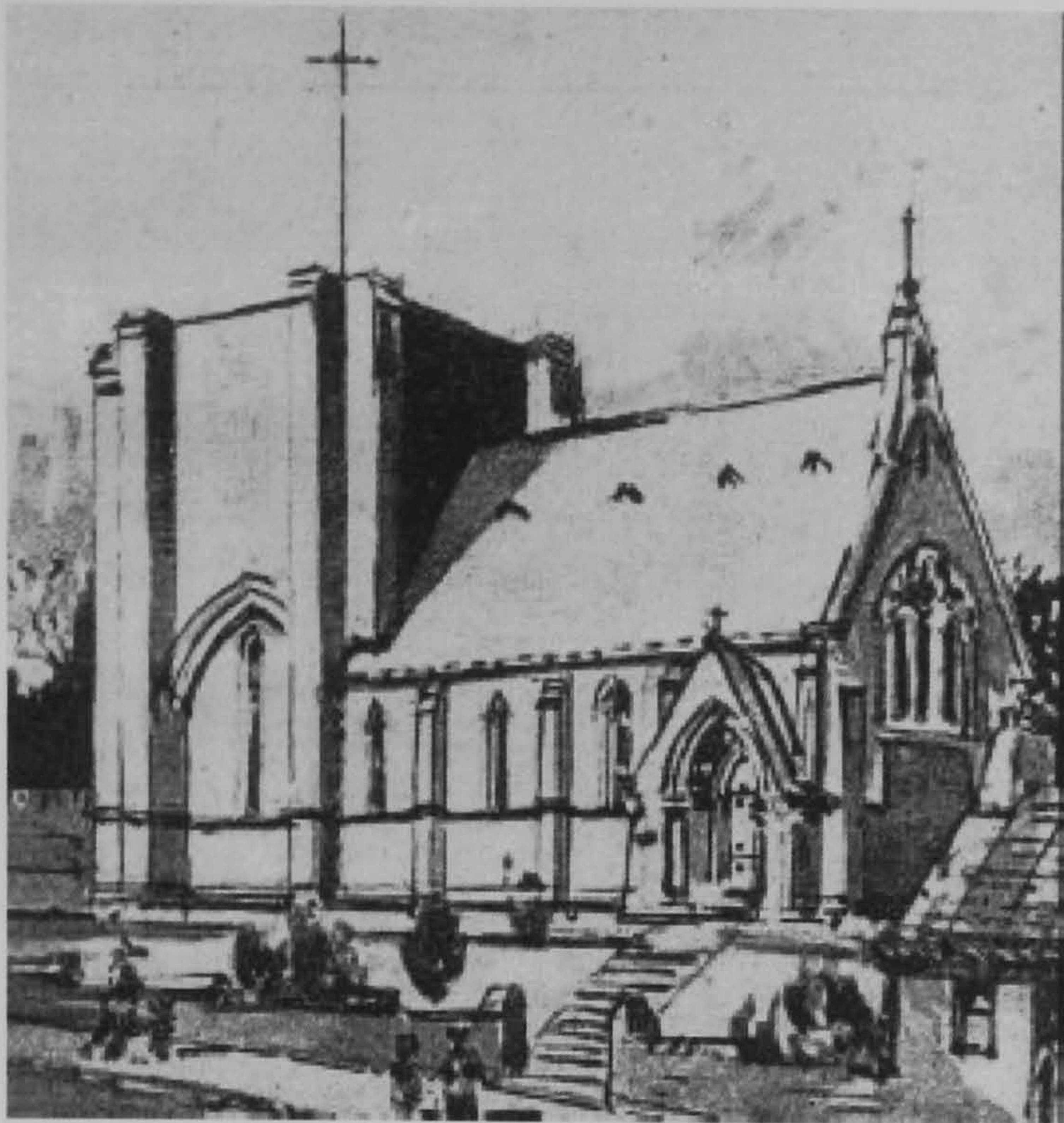


Plate 9:1
St. John's Girvan, tower added, 1910

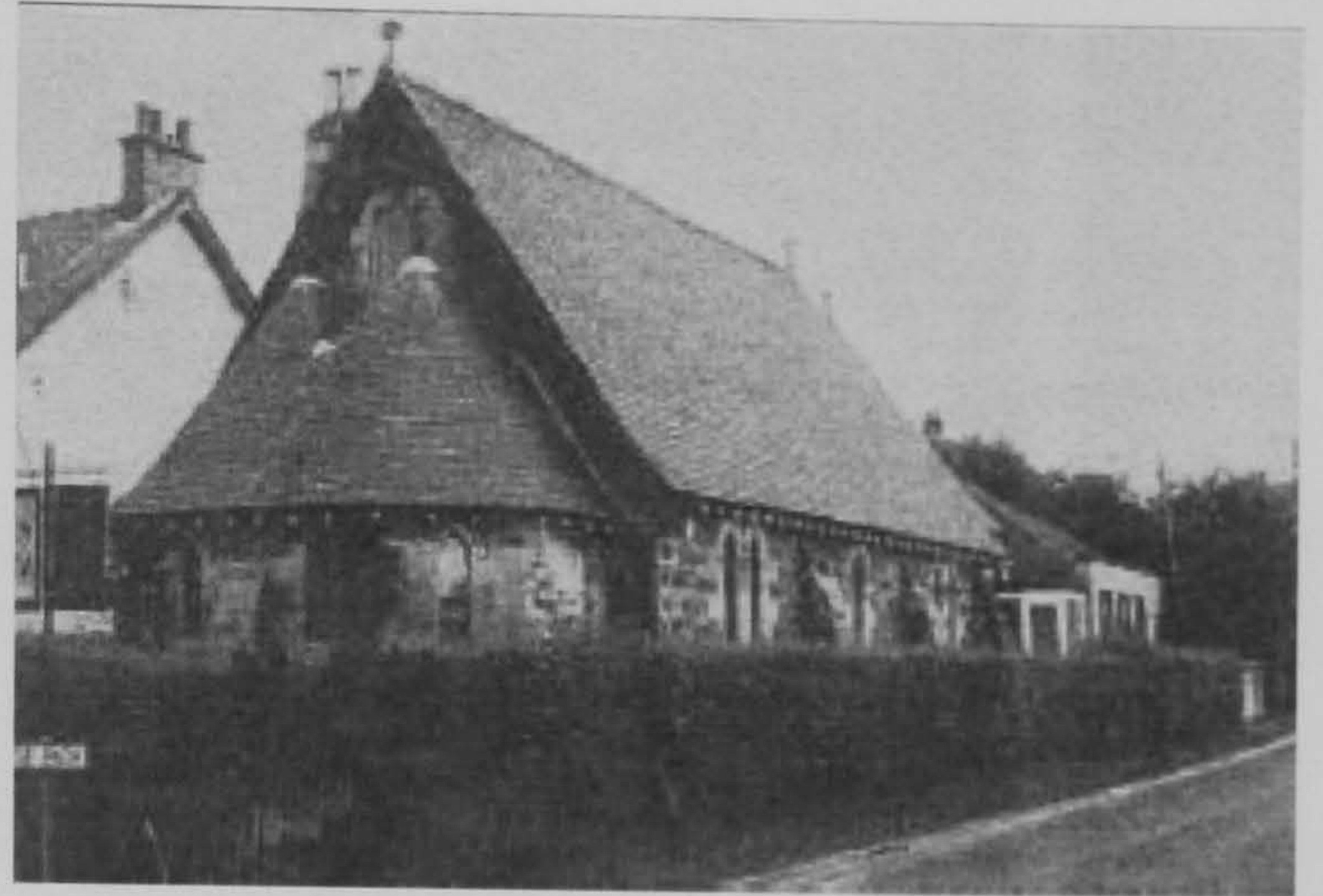


Plate 9:2
St. Oswald's, Maybole

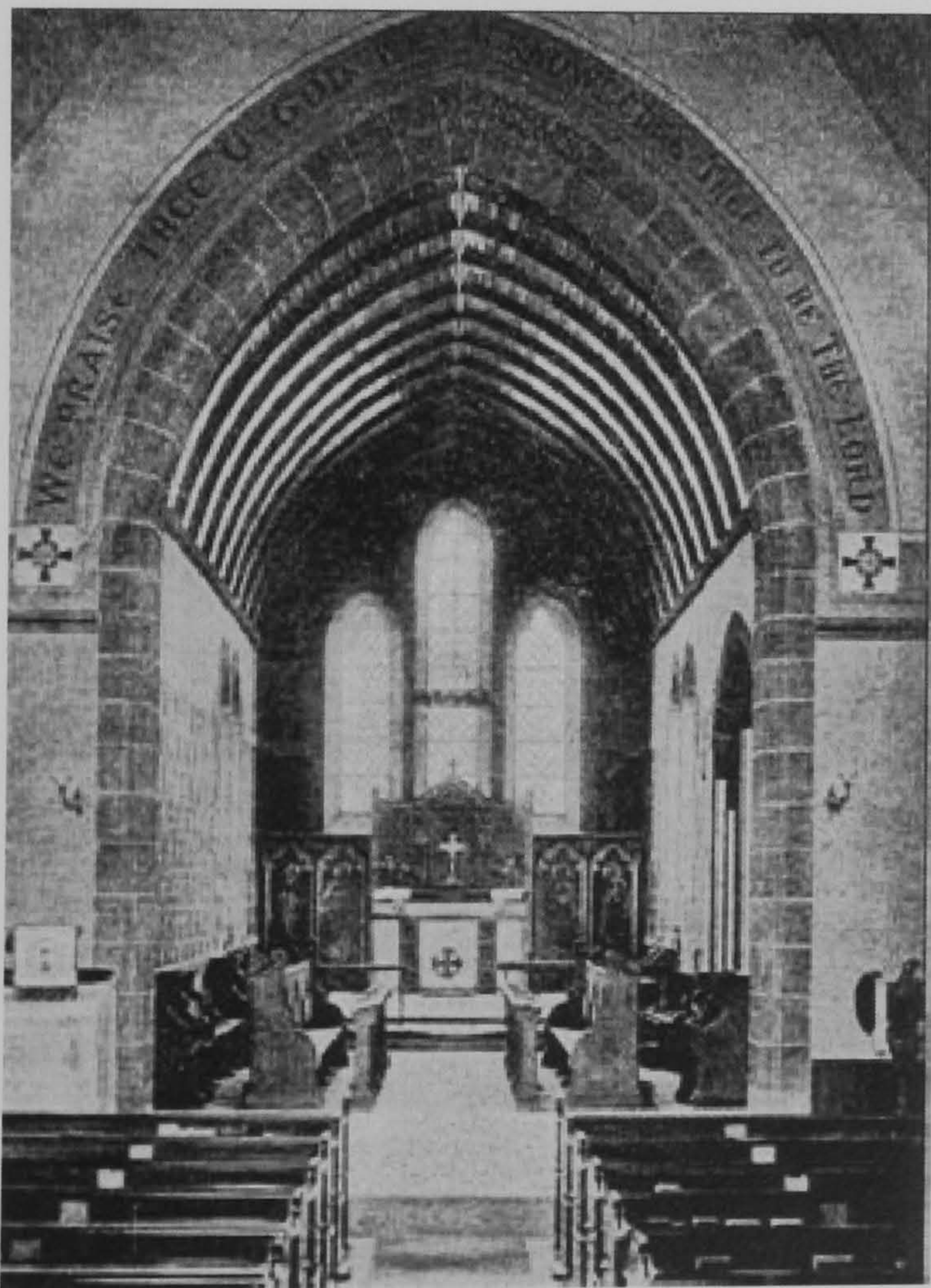


Plate 9:3
The chancel, St. Andrew's, Ardrossan



Plate 9:4
St. John's, Girvan as originally built
in 1859

Chapter Ten

Paisley

The Rev. J. Skinner Wilson, in surveying the history of the Scottish Episcopal Church during the nineteenth century wrote, 'Home mission work ... was first begun in Paisley in 1817.'¹ The founding of that church, therefore, marks the beginning of the period considered by this thesis. Trinity Chapel, later named Holy Trinity Church, has yielded a great deal of primary source material; this together with records of the local Orange Lodge, and the Bishop's correspondence, has provided a greater detailed, and thus a major case study in this work. A more in-depth analysis has been made of data from the church registers and Census, than for other case studies, thus providing a fuller account of the domestic lives of the Irish Episcopalians. Given that the ethnic and class backgrounds of Irish in this thesis were similar in all case studies, it is likely that if such a detailed profile had been undertaken for the others, it would have yielded similar results, and would have become too repetitive.

An Episcopal Mission in Paisley would have had little appeal to local-born people. The town still revered the memory of martyrs from the Covenanting period, when in 1685 two young farmers were denounced as rebel sympathisers, and later hanged at Paisley Cross. They had done nothing worse than 'stay away from the Episcopalian services at the parish church.'² Their bodies were later interred in what was to become the Martyrs' Church at Woodside. In 1689 after the Revolution, the Episcopal minister of Paisley Abbey, John Fullarton, was forcibly ejected from his living, thus becoming one of the many curates in the West to be 'rabbled.'³

By the eighteenth century, Paisley was known as being an anti-Jacobite town, and 'shed no tears over Culloden and its aftermath. The Duke of Cumberland was highly regarded, and a weaving establishment was named after him, the Cumberland factory in New Street.'⁴

¹ *SG*, 25 October 1889.

² Sylvia Clark, *Paisley: A History* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1988), p. 16.

³ *SC*, 20 March 1908, 'The Church in Paisley: Historical and Descriptive Sketch.' Fullarton later became Bishop of Edinburgh from 1705 to 1727 and was Primus of the SEC from 1720 to 1727, Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*. p. 46.

Up until the mid 1700s, it had been a small regional market town on the banks of the River Cart, having grown up around the monastic settlement, Paisley Abbey, founded in the twelfth century. The factor which influenced the growth of the town and changed it from a weaving settlement into an international centre was the Industrial Revolution, in particular, the textile industry. By 1812 linen weaving had almost died out in Paisley because the town was turning to the silk and cotton sections of the weaving trade. Paisley became for a short time the rival of the silk weavers of Spitafields and later, the foremost shawl weaving centre in Great Britain.⁵ Taking the idea from Kashmir, the distinctive 'pine' motif on the shawls became known as 'The Paisley Pattern.' The shawl was a luxury item, requiring many workers in its manufacture and the importation of expensive raw materials. After 1850 cheap imitations were printed on cotton cloth, which in turn became a fashion accessory but caused the demise of the traditional woven shawl.

By the 1870s it was the manufacture of cotton thread which was providing the much needed boost to Paisley's failing economy, and providing employment for its glut of labour. The firms of Coats and Clark dominated this field. Paisley became the centre of a world trade in thread, far more extensive than either the silk or shawl industries.⁶

The arrival of the Irish in great numbers, was like all of lowland Scotland, due to the need for labour in the town's expanding industries, not only of textiles but soap making, candle making, tanneries and boat building. The Johnstone to Glasgow Canal was a major feature of Paisley at this time; begun in 1806, it attracted great numbers of Irish into the area. The men laboured in its construction, while their wives and children worked in the cotton and thread mills.⁷

The Rev. William Wade, having been invited by a few Episcopalians now resident in the town, arrived at Paisley, and recalled the earliest service: 'At first, a school-room was used as our place of worship, and on 17 November 1817, public worship, according to the forms of our Church, was, for it is believed, the first time

⁴ Clark, *Paisley: A History*, p. 24.

⁵ Mary McCarthy, *A Social Geography of Paisley* (Paisley: Committee of management, Paisley Public Library, 1969), p. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

since the Revolution of 1688, celebrated in this town ... Not more than 12 or 14 Episcopalians attended our first day's services, but by the middle of the following year ... the congregation had increased to about 80, or perhaps 100.'⁸

This initial congregation may not have been the Irish, as he admits that 'our little society did then comprehend not a few wealthy persons.'⁹ However, within just a few years of the Mission opening, the make-up of the congregation changed: 'deaths, removals and other circumstances have considerably diminished in number the original and more opulent seat holders. So that, although the congregation is much increased, and fast increasing ... it consists very principally of persons engaged in different kinds of manual labour, a class whose earnings have of late years lessened in amount.'¹⁰

In 1819 the congregation leased a building in New Sneddon Street, by then used as a granary store, known as 'The Garnil.' Ironically this had been used for worship by the Cameronians, the extreme wing of the remnants of the Covenanters who did not come into the Established Church of Scotland in 1688. They held it until 1809 when it was used as a meeting place by the 'Old Burghers' or the 'Original Secession Church' until 1818.¹¹

When the lease for this was coming to an end, the Episcopal congregation was growing, and it was proposed that a chapel be built. Writing some decades later, an Irish clergyman reminded Bishop Wilson 'that it is beyond all question that Trinity was built to accommodate Protestants from the north of Ireland; that it was Protestants from Ulster who were the first promoters of the building fund; that their friends in Ulster, England and even Scotland contributed and that the good Bishop [Bissett] of Raphoe...[Donegal] gave the Rev. Mr Wade £5 for the building fund.'¹²

⁸ *Stephen's Ecclesiastical Journal*, August 1833, quoting Wade's sermon at the opening of Trinity Chapel, 19 May 1833.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ William Wade, *Ten Sermons Preached at Trinity Episcopal Church* (Paisley: Murray & Stewart, 1839), Addenda No. 1. 'Memoir Relative to the Protestant Episcopalians of Paisley', March 1829, p. 154.

¹¹ Clark, *Paisley: A History*, p. 32.

¹² DGGGA, TD 1382/154/9, the Rev. Thomas Fullarton to Bishop Wilson, 7 May 1885.

On 19 May 1833, Trinity Chapel was opened in St. James's Place, 'a simple, yet beautiful Gothic edifice, one of the chief ornaments of our town ... it may accommodate 600 persons.'¹³ In that year Wade maintained that the number of Episcopalians in Paisley was growing almost daily 'owing chiefly to the resort of Irish families hither, in quest of employment.'¹⁴

A report of 1838 gave the number of Episcopalians in Paisley as 2000, but Wade expressed some frustration at the fact that most of them never attended church and prayed, 'May those of them who do not yet assemble in the house of God with us, be divinely aroused to a sense of duty.'¹⁵

It is difficult to determine the exact proportion of Irish Roman Catholics to Irish Protestants at this period. In 1834 'the Catholic clergyman of Paisley put the number of Irish Catholics in the town at between 6,000 and 8,000.'¹⁶ Of Irish Protestants he could offer no estimate beyond the remark that "there are not a few Irish here professing the Protestant and Presbyterian religion."¹⁷

In 1808 St. Miren's Roman Catholic chapel was built, the first in Scotland since the Reformation, for its mainly Irish congregation of 861, which by 1816 had grown to 1,000.¹⁸ In 1821 the Irish-born inhabitants accounted for eleven per cent of the town's population of 47,000 and an Orange Lodge was operating,¹⁹ suggesting an increase in the Irish Protestant population. By 1841, the number of Irish-born totalled 5,124, only a slight increase on the former Census. The Irish in Paisley reached their highest percentage total of the population before 1840. At no time were they more than 11 or 12 per cent of the population.²⁰ One witness at the *Parliamentary Enquiry into the Irish Poor in Scotland* said that 'most of the Irishmen in Paisley worked

¹³ *Stephen's Ecclesiastical Journal*, August 1833.

¹⁴ Wade, *Ten Sermons*, Addenda No. 2, 'Memoir Relative to the Protestant Episcopalians of Paisley', p. 157.

¹⁵ William Wade, *The Truth Spoken in Love* (Paisley: Murray & Stewart, 1840), p. 13.

¹⁶ *Parliamentary Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain*, 1834, p. 131, quoted by Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, p. 49.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 50.

¹⁸ McCarthy, *A Social Geography of Paisley*, p. 104.

¹⁹ Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, p. 11.

²⁰ McCarthy, *A Social Geography of Paisley*, p. 110.

as labourers to masons, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, etc besides being “navvies” in the building of roads, canals and railways.’²¹

The *Baptismal Register* of Trinity Chapel from 1817 to 1823 shows that the fathers of a large percentage of children baptised belonged to the various regiments stationed at the Paisley Barracks in Williamsburgh, where the radical weavers mainly lived, and which was the scene of many riots involving them.²² Most of the radical weavers were Paisley-born, but had been joined by some from Ireland. By contrast, Williamsburgh was the only part of Paisley not represented by Episcopalian families recorded in the *Baptismal Register*, showing that during the 1820s to 1830s, Irish Episcopalians did not live in the same area where Scottish radicals were a predominant force (Appendix 10:2). By the time Episcopalians started living in Williamsburgh, in the 1860s, it had ceased to be a weaving area and was a poor area of single-roomed houses.

The Episcopal Church began its ministry in a part of the town called ‘The Sneddon’ described as ‘a noted industrial and immigrant area.’ The first meeting room; the leased hall known as the ‘Garnal’ and the new chapel at St. James’s Place, were in this part of the town (Appendix 10:1).

McCarthy writes, ‘Generally speaking, the Irish in Paisley lived in decayed areas such as the Sneddon and parts of the New Town. In the Sneddon, there were closes or tenements wholly inhabited by Irish and known as “Wee Ireland.”²³ In 1825 Wade himself lived at 54 New Sneddon Street and the *Paisley Advertiser* of that year mentions that Mr Wade held a school at 32 Back Sneddon Street.

The addresses in the *Baptismal Register* show a widespread distribution which was not just confined to The Sneddon. This corresponds with Nair’s findings that ‘the Irish had, at least by 1851, settled more widely in

²¹ Quoted in McCarthy, *A Social Geography of Paisley*, p. 107.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

the town.’ Her study of 105 families in Storie Street shows that a third was Irish-born.²⁴ McCarthy also identified Castle Street as an area with a high percentage of Irish.²⁵

Wade’s pastoral ministry was not just confined to the town itself, but extended to the various villages surrounding Paisley, such as Neilston, Houston, Kilbarchan, Elderslie and Linwood. He appears to have been an energetic, popular and conscientious priest. He attempted to establish missions at Barrhead and Johnstone, but only failed for lack of funds. When an English or Irish regiment was quartered in Paisley Barracks, he acted as their chaplain.²⁶ His ministry was not just confined to his own people, and in defending himself from exclusiveness asked, ‘Have the sick of other denominations, when I have been called to their bedsides, found me denying them a part in covenanted mercy because they were not Episcopalians? Let these answer for me.’²⁷

Wade’s theological and liturgical conservatism was asserted when he said, ‘Our lot is cast in a period when novel modes of belief are boldly introduced; and by too many, readily adopted. We live in a time in which excitement in the political, has led to a corresponding excitement in the religious world, in which the peaceful kingdom of Christ is disturbed by agitation.’²⁸ Yet in other respects he was mildly innovative, wearing the surplice to conduct the services (though changing into a black gown for the sermon), and producing a hymn book in the days when Episcopalian music consisted mainly of metrical psalms.²⁹

In terms of his churchmanship, Meldrum on examining his sermons includes him in her list of Evangelical clergy in the Episcopal Church.³⁰ For him, ‘the simple, quiet and peaceful path of the gospel of salvation by Christ Jesus is repentance, faith and newness of life.’³¹ That his views were ‘Evangelical’ rather than

²⁴ Gwyneth Nair, ‘Poverty and the Household in Nineteenth Century Paisley’, *Essays on the Labour and Social History of Renfrewshire* (Paisley: Paisley University, 1999), pp. 18 – 9.

²⁵ McCarthy, *Social Geography of Paisley*, p. 116.

²⁶ Douglas D. A. Lockhart, *Holy Trinity, Paisley: 1833 – 1933* (Paisley: M. & J. Wotherspoon, 1933), p. 17.

²⁷ William Wade, *A Few Friendly Parting Words* (Paisley: Murray, 1841), p. 5.

²⁸ Wade, *Ten Sermons*, ‘The Favour of God Towards Man’, p. 8.

²⁹ Lockhart, *Holy Trinity*, p. 17.

³⁰ Meldrum, *Evangelical Episcopalians*, p. 10.

‘Catholic’ can be seen in, ‘Rest not in a mere profession of Christianity, added to a partaking of the outward privileges, and joining in the ritual observances of the church.’³²

Wade did not just look for a sentimental response to the gospel, nor was faith, unless accompanied by good works, of any value: ‘Some consider grief, accompanied by self-condemnation on account of personal sins to be repentance ... See that the faith you doubtless all profess, be in each of you a principle working by love ... There is no such thing as repentance disjoined from reformation. There must be a turning away from the evil way into the way of righteousness.’³³

He was aware of the teachings of the Oxford Movement, and while having sympathy for some of their ideas, was not in agreement with others: ‘the *Oxford Tracts*, not by any means to be by me in all things defended; yet to my certain knowledge often grossly misquoted and misrepresented.’³⁴

His was not a narrow, sectarian Episcopalianism, but he had very cordial relationships with most of his ministerial brethren in the town. In his sermon at the opening of Trinity Chapel in 1833 he said of the Established Church, that it was a body ‘towards which no enlightened and Gospel-principled Episcopalian does, or can, entertain hostile sentiments.’³⁵

During Wade’s twenty-eight years of ministry, the last two of which he was also Dean of the Diocese, he saw the congregation grow from a handful to several hundred. He died in 1845, and was eulogised in *The Renfrewshire Advertiser*: ‘His piety was unaffected, his erudition considerable and his knowledge profound and various. Amongst his own people his efforts were characterised by the best traditions of Christian people, unaffected simplicity and real kindness. He was to the utmost of his means a wonderful friend to the poor. A good man, followed to the grave by the tears of his sorrowing congregation.’³⁶

³¹ Wade, ‘The Favour of God Towards Man’, p. 9.

³² Wade, *Ten Sermons*, ‘On Faith’, p. 46.

³³ Wade, *Ten Sermons*, ‘On Repentance’, p. 29.

³⁴ Wade, *The Truth Spoken in Love*, p. 16.

³⁵ *Stephen’s Ecclesiastical Journal*, July 1833.

James Stewart, who became incumbent in 1851, was born in Glasgow in 1802 where his father was a merchant. Later in life he studied for the Presbyterian ministry at the Divinity Hall of Glasgow College, but went to Canada, believing that at his age, he would ever receive a charge. But while there he became an Anglican and was ordained by the Bishop of Montreal.³⁷

On returning to Scotland in 1849, he became incumbent of the churches at Girvan and Maybole which had just been founded two years previously for the Irish in these villages. Thus when he arrived at Paisley two years later, he already had a feel for the sort of people to whom he would be ministering.

Stewart arrived at Paisley in 1851 and lost no time at all in publicly supporting the Orange Order. In November of that year he chaired the annual Soiree of the Orange Lodge when upwards of 600 members and friends were present to enjoy “an able and eloquent address on the great principles of Protestantism.”³⁸

The following year his zeal for the principles of the Reformation again came to the fore. On hearing that a Church of England clergyman, the Rev. R.P. Blakeley of Birkenhead, had come to Paisley to lecture on the ‘evils of Romanism’, but had ignored Stewart’s church and had preached in the church of another denomination, Stewart wrote to him angrily, ‘I have here a place of worship, far more comfortable and capable of holding six times the number of people you had attending you ... You have endeavoured to weaken the hands of another who is, perhaps as warmly attached to the principles of the Reformation as yourself, and who has had much to contend against in this place keeping his people safe as well from the quick sands of Geneva as from the rocks of Rome.’ In that same letter, he expressed his admiration for the Rev. Hugh McNeil, the Ulster-born Protestant fire brand preacher of Liverpool: ‘Any one having the sanction of the Rev. Dr. McNeil of Liverpool is welcome at all times to the use of my church.’³⁹

³⁶ *Renfrewshire Advertiser*, 6 December 1845.

³⁷ *Paisley Papers*, 1871. A series of scrapbooks held at Paisley Public Library containing various newspaper cuttings. This one, from *PDE*, ‘Obituary of the Rev. James Stewart.’

³⁸ *The Protestant Layman*, 9 November 1851.

³⁹ *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, September 1852.

In 1856 Stewart was again addressing the Orangemen at their annual Soiree held on the 5 of November. At this he spoke of the 'mutual benefits Scotland and Ireland have received from each other from the very earliest of time ... in the field of religious controversy, as well as in that of actual warfare, the two nations are brethren, and, shoulder to shoulder, they will stand or fall.'

He went on to defend Orangeism against its attackers in these words:

If I had entertained any doubt as to the propriety of my being present at this meeting tonight, it would be completely removed on seeing the highly respectable and orderly company now before me. It is a fact too notorious to be called in question, that a very strong prejudice exists in the minds of many in this country ... against the Orange Society ... on account of the numerous scenes of riot which they have been led to believe it has been the cause. This I well know to be a slander of the enemy ... You have the truth on your side, and, therefore, you need not fear the result; contend for your principles as Christian men may be expected to do, firmly and honestly, giving soft words, but hard arguments.⁴⁰

It was no surprise therefore, that one of the earliest Orange Lodge church parades in Scotland was to Trinity Church in 1868.⁴¹ Stewart also involved himself in the support of the Conservative party, and 'at the last election [1868], he exerted himself to secure the return of Col. Campbell of Blythswood.'⁴²

Stewart was in poor health for the last few years of his ministry, and died within a few months of his retiring in 1871. His obituary in the local paper described him as, 'most assiduous in visiting his people. He had an open hand, and was truly hospitable.'⁴³

In 1871 the Rev. William Fowler Mills, from Aberdeenshire, was to take charge of Trinity Church and during his thirty-five years incumbency was to see the 'Irish issue' divide the church. The wider Church was aware of the hue of the congregation when this advice appeared in *The Church News* under the heading 'The Ordination of the Rev. Mills': 'The good folks of Trinity Church, we have been told, have been in the habit as

⁴⁰ *Report of the Protestant and Orange Soiree held in Paisley, 5 November 1856* (Paisley: J. & R. Parlane, 1856), p. 9.

⁴¹ *North British Daily Mail*, 14 July 1868.

⁴² *Paisley Papers*, 1871, 'Obituary'

⁴³ *Ibid.*

yet of keeping nothing but “The Sabbath” ... and we trust will be taught by their new Incumbent that Orangeism in itself is not Churchmanship; that there *are* holy days to be observed.’⁴⁴

Soon after his arrival, Mills was the speaker at the annual Orange Soiree in 1873 where his enthusiasm for Orangeism was fulsome:

I am glad to see that the Orange tree is in good condition, carrying many blossoms and giving promise of much fruit. No doubt it is making rapid progress in the land ... and if you only continue to increase as you have been doing so during the period I have known you, you need not care for, or fear Popery. The Orange principle is good – it is scriptural; and we are not here tonight for the purpose of expressing our hatred of our Roman Catholic fellowmen. We are here for higher and holier purposes – to give thanks to God for past mercies, and to honour and revere those who, with the help of the King of Kings crushed Popish ascendancy – may it be forever. We would be ungrateful if we suffered their memories to perish, or their deeds of glory to be forgotten ... and [to] resolve by God’s help and assistance to meet our dangers with the war-cry of Old Derry – ‘No Surrender!’, and to stop, as far as possible, any encroachment in an opposite direction, even with our life’s blood.⁴⁵

Despite the thousands of Episcopalians in Paisley and the hundreds of Baptisms each year, Mills expressed some frustration at the lack of church attendance still within the congregation. *The Daily Mail* had taken a census of church attendance in Paisley and had found that of Trinity’s 750 members, only around 171 were to be found in church on the given Sunday.⁴⁶ At the Annual Congregational Meeting in 1877 Mills mentioned the ‘trying circumstances to which the congregation had been subjected for some time ... As well as several going off to form a new church at Johnstone, they had sustained other losses by death and otherwise, so that it could hardly be expected that the congregation could be in a very prosperous condition.’⁴⁷ It is difficult to ascertain what numbers actually attended. In December 1877 Mills suggested there were just 80, but *The Scottish Guardian* in the same month claimed ‘the average attendance to be upwards of 200, and it is not an uncommon thing to see the seats belonging to the working class portion of the congregation very crowded.’⁴⁸

⁴⁴ *The Church News: Scotland*, March 1871. It caused some rumbles in the Church that Mills was appointed as an incumbent just one year after being ordained a Deacon. He had never served a curacy, but had been a diocesan chaplain for one year before taking Trinity Church.

⁴⁵ *P&RG*, 8 November 1873.

⁴⁶ *P&RG*, 15 April 1876.

⁴⁷ *P&RG*, 1 December 1877.

⁴⁸ *SG*, 14 December 1877.

Mills was moving closer to Orangeism, and in a town which had consistently returned a Liberal Member of Parliament and had a reputation for radicalism, he was one of only two ministers in the town who preached a commemorative sermon on the death of Benjamin Disraeli in 1881. Disraeli was an Orangeman and an opponent of ritualism in the Church of England. In his sermon Mills said that 'he was not *one* of Britain's noblest sons, but that he *was* Britain's noblest son.'⁴⁹

In 1882, Mills took the step of actually joining the Lodge, *The Minute Book* of 'King William' L.O.L. 102 for 26 June records, 'Bro. Mills passed in the Purple Degree. Bro Elliott congratulated the Lodge on being fortunate in having Bro. Mills as a member of our Lodge. Bro. Mills expressed his gratification at being amongst us.'⁵⁰ He rose to prominence in the Order, becoming Grand Chaplain of Scotland in 1883.⁵¹

The marriage between Mills and some of his Orange friends, however, soon came into difficulties, as it was obvious that other influences had also been at work in his life.

In 1884 he began to make changes in the way the services were conducted and in the structure of the building itself. During James Stewart's incumbency the interior was described: 'The altar (always then called the Communion Table) was placed where the steps to the chancel now are. No cross or candlesticks stood upon it. It had a frontal of red plush for all seasons ... For Holy Communion it was covered with a white linen tablecloth. ... The building was plain and rectangular in shape. The pulpit, though to the side of the altar was the more dominant item of furniture. It had a sounding board above it, and with boxed pews and galleries, it looked very much like a "meeting house."⁵²

Two or three years after his arrival Mills discontinued the old practice of preaching in a black gown and instead wore the surplice for the whole service. The Psalms were soon chanted instead of being said, or sung

⁴⁹ *P&RG*, 7 May 1881. Disraeli joined the Orange Order in Salford, Lancashire; see *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 3 April 1870. For Disraeli and ritualism, see Ollard, *The Oxford Movement*, p. 195: 'Disraeli succeeded in passing into law a Public Worship Regulation Act, the object of which was, in Disraeli's words, "to put down Ritualism."'

⁵⁰ *GOLSA, Minute Book of King William LOL 102*, Paisley, 26 June 1882.

⁵¹ *Report of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland*, June 1883.

⁵² Lockhart, *Holy Trinity Church*, p. 18. 'Mr. Thomas Graham ... who was baptised by Mr. Stewart, has kindly supplied some interesting information about the church from his early memories.'

to metrical tunes. But it was his having a chancel added to the building which brought rumblings to a head. Inside the chancel the choir now sat instead of previously in the west gallery and they were now arrayed in surplices. Behind the altar was placed a marble reredos with a carved cross in the centre surrounded by figures of Christ and various apostles.⁵³ The reredos was the gift of George Frederick Boyle the Fifth Earl of Glasgow. Boyle, while at Oxford University had embraced the Oxford Movement and returned to Scotland with an enthusiasm for its promotion. Mills was accused of ‘alluring the Earl of Glasgow to erect a reredos in the church and introducing a surpliced choir, without asking the opinions of the congregation on these points.’⁵⁴

The chancel was dedicated in November 1884, but the following month the Church’s A.G.M. witnessed some angry exchanges which led to a split in the congregation. One historian puts it that ‘a considerable section of the congregation abused Mr. Mills with many undeserved epithets. The chancel, they declared, was nothing less than Popery. If Holy Trinity was to have a chancel they would go elsewhere.’⁵⁵ A motion was proposed from the floor condemning these innovations, but Mills refused to allow a vote to be taken, apparently ‘bullying and repudiating his congregation calling them a lot of “dirty Irish”.’⁵⁶ At this, his opponents stormed out to an adjoining hall. Accounts differ as to the size of the contingent who withdrew. They claimed that ‘The vote being refused, the majority rose and left and returned to an adjacent hall where the action of Mr Mills was severely condemned.’⁵⁷ Mills’ assessment was different. Writing to Bishop Wilson he claimed that ‘At the annual congregational meeting about 17 left the meeting, but almost 40 more remained.’ Mills also boasted that ‘no one of any consequence has joined them’ and added that not all the Orangemen were with them, certainly nor Sir Archibald Campbell, ‘who says our services are now conducted decently and in order and the principal families like the change much.’⁵⁸

⁵³ Lockhart, *Holy Trinity*, p. 20.

⁵⁴ DGGGA, TD 1382/154/1, James Neil to Bishop Wilson, 5 January 1885.

⁵⁵ Lockhart, *Holy Trinity*, p. 20.

⁵⁶ DGGGA, TD 1382/154/9, the Rev. Thomas Fullarton to Bishop Wilson, 7 May 1885.

⁵⁷ Neil to Wilson, 5 January 1885.

⁵⁸ DGGGA, TD 1382/154/3, the Rev. W. F. Mills to Bishop Wilson, 9 January 1885. The reference to Sir Archibald Campbell, indicates Campbell’s change of mind towards the Scottish Episcopal Church, after having been involved in a schism from it in the 1860s. See chapter four.

With the season of peace and good will over, the dissidents met early in January 1885 which was to see the month full of meetings, resolutions and letter writing. James Neile on behalf of the protestors wrote to Bishop Wilson to inform him of the situation as they saw it. Their first meeting was 'to try and take some steps to remove the present grievances existing at Trinity Church ... Mr Mills is ... not looking to the spiritual wants of the congregation ... We as an Episcopal body are making no advance in this town where we should be the largest congregation, if we had a God fearing, hard working minister.'⁵⁹

By the 16 January, it was resolved that as Mr Mills would not resign, nor would the Bishop remove him, that steps should be taken to form a new congregation. A notice appeared in the local paper advertising 'A meeting of those favourable to the formation of an Evangelical Episcopal Congregation in this town to meet on Saturday night in the Hall, 134 George Street.'⁶⁰ *The Paisley Daily Express* carried a report of that meeting: 'The hall was filled ... Mr Livock was received with renewed cheering ... that the good old cause so deeply engraven upon the hearts of every true and loyal Protestant, and which will be best upheld by establishing in Paisley a branch of the English Episcopal Church, on Low Church principles where God's Word and the grand scriptural Liturgy of the Church shall be the only attractions for those whose hearts' desire is to worship in spirit and in truth.' It was resolved 'to do out utmost to establish an English Episcopal congregation in this town in connection with St. Silas's Church, Glasgow as we are bound, in duty to Protestantism, to disagree with the Puseyite innovations now existing in Trinity Church.' Services were advertised as commencing next Sabbath in the Templars' Hall at 6.30pm.⁶¹

Throughout the months of January and February the controversy was carried on in a series of letters in *The Paisley Daily Express*. An 'Irish Episcopalian' wrote to say that 'We contend that the doctrine and practice of the Scottish Episcopal Church are not in accordance with the Evangelical section of the Church of England and are of a decided retrogression to Rome. The question of doctrine turns mostly on the sanction by the Scottish Episcopal Church to the peculiar office, known as the Scottish Communion Office, and to the

⁵⁹ Neil to Wilson, 5 January 1885.

⁶⁰ *PDE*, 16 January 1885.

⁶¹ *PDE*, 19 January 1885.

doctrine of the real presence of our Lord in the Sacrament.’⁶² The wider context of the national divisions between the Scottish and the English Episcopal Churches were being dragged into this local disagreement.

On 5 February, an ‘English Episcopalian’ sought to remind the dissident group that Scotland was not Ireland, that the issues over here were different, and that their course of action was not necessarily the only one to be taken by those who wished to remain loyal to the Protestant faith.

A number of letters have appeared in your paper during the last few days for and against the schismatical position taken by a few of the North of Ireland Episcopalians who are apparently endeavouring to make themselves believe that they are championing the cause of Protestantism ... it was a deep-rooted antipathy to Mr. Mills, who apparently has become personally objectionable to each of the righteous few who addressed that meeting. Eighteen out of every twenty Episcopal churches throughout the kingdom have all that these few cry out against.

Our Irish Episcopal brethren ... must remember that men good and true as themselves, men who have the real interest of the Protestant faith as much at heart as they have, men tried and proved, still remain in the Church, and see no reason why they should leave it.⁶³

The ‘Paisley Evangelical Episcopal Mission’ was, however, to proceed and in February a notice appeared in the local paper that as a result of their advert in *The Dublin News*, out of seven applicants, they had decided to appoint the Rev. Thomas Fullarton, a Church of Ireland clergyman from County Armagh as their minister.⁶⁴ The group appeared to have found a *bona fide* Anglican priest and proclaimed themselves as the legitimate Episcopal Church in opposition to Mills. Fullarton wrote to Bishop Wilson to inform him that he was the duly elected Incumbent and that the building belonged to the new group, as they contained the backbone of the membership and were the true inheritors of Trinity’s Protestant tradition.⁶⁵

Fullarton enlisted himself as a supporter of the Conservative party, appearing on its platform in October.⁶⁶ Two years later, he was a speaker at the July Orange demonstration seconding the resolution ‘That the British

⁶² *PDE*, 27 January 1885.

⁶³ *PDE*, 5 February 1885.

⁶⁴ *PDE*, 25 February 1885.

⁶⁵ DGGGA, TD 1382/154/11/12, the Rev. Thomas Fullarton to Bishop Wilson, 9 May 1885.

⁶⁶ *P&RG*, 3 October 1885.

Constitution, being Scriptural, Protestant and Christian, cannot consistently with its own safety, furnish equal rights and privileges to infidels, Papists and atheists who deny its principles.’⁶⁷

In May 1885 Mills decided to make some enquiries in Ireland as to Fullarton’s past. On 5 May, the Rev. James Wilson, who had taken over from Fullarton at Templecarne in the Diocese of Clougher, wrote to say that Fullarton was in fact mad: ‘the Rev. Thomas Fullarton was Incumbent and my predecessor. He was there sufficiently long to destroy the parish in every respect. He had been curate to the former rector who died. He was then nominated but the Primate refused for eleven months to Institute him knowing him to be a lunatic ... Since then he has been more or less in the Asylum ... The people who are employing him are to blame.’⁶⁸ This was confirmed by a letter to Bishop Wilson from the Archdeacon of Clougher who confirmed Fullarton’s mental state and added that ‘we could not continue to employ him in this Diocese.’⁶⁹

For some unknown reason, the intended link with St. Silas and the English Episcopal Church came to nothing. Instead the new group came under a group known as the Reformed Episcopal Church, whose Essex-based, Bishop Gregg, exercised episcopal functions for the new church.⁷⁰

Within a few month’s of Fullarton’s ministry, there were ‘mixed messages’ coming from what was now called ‘Christ’s Church.’ A letter to Bishop Wilson from Mr Moses Brown, President of the church, boasted of ‘the large number of Episcopalians who have seceded from Trinity Church ... our efforts in establishing a congregation have been successful beyond our expectations. Our funds and members are increasing weekly.’⁷¹ It appeared that Bishop Wilson was still working to effect a reconciliation between the two groups, and was willing to suggest some compromises. Brown then wrote that if only Mills could be replaced ‘by a clergyman of decidedly Evangelical opinions, I feel assured that this would meet the views of our congregation and that it would be well, for indeed I can foresee nothing but wranglings and quarrellings if

⁶⁷ *P&RG*, 16 July 1887.

⁶⁸ *DGGA*, TD 1382/154/1, the Rev. James Wilson to the Rev. William F. Mills, 15 May 1885.

⁶⁹ *DGGA*, TD 1382/154, the Archdeacon of Clougher to the Rev. W. F. Mills, 4 June 1885.

⁷⁰ *PDE*, 16 March 1888, ‘Bishop Gregg, Lord Bishop of Verulam’. For the Reformed Episcopal Church, see chapter three of this thesis.

⁷¹ *DGGA*, TD 1382/154/2, Moses Brown to Bishop Wilson, 21 May 1885.

there are to be two antagonistic Episcopalian congregations in a town the size of Paisley.’ In a further letter, Brown claims that they have a congregation averaging between 180 to 200, and that all would return if Mr. Mills was to leave.⁷²

Bishop Wilson had already said that Mills had done nothing to warrant his being put out of office, and that the only solution would be for Mills to volunteer to leave.⁷³ Mills, perhaps on the basis of what he knew of Fullarton and the fact that some who left were filtering back, and that he still retained a large Irish element at Trinity, decided to stay.

By 1887 there were indications that there were problems at Christ’s Church. An article in the local press in January reported the success of the Sunday School treat when 170 children were present. It went on to say that 8000 tracts had been distributed around the area by means of the children and their parents. But then, as if to name and shame, it recorded that ‘The Sabbath Superintendent Mr William Murphy, Mr Napier, Mr Mosses Brown and several other devoted friends of the church were conspicuous by their absence.’⁷⁴

In May of that year, Moses Brown wrote to Bishop Wilson that the Rev. Mr Fullarton ‘having been ill in health, resigned, and has been replaced by Mr. Charles Tully (late Mayor of Tynemouth).’ He then suggested a union of the two congregations if Mr Mills was removed, a new incumbent put in place with Mr. Tully as his curate.⁷⁵ Needless to say this offer was declined on the basis that whereas Fullarton’s orders were at least valid, Tully’s ordination at the hands of Bishop Gregg was invalid.

When Tully arrived at Paisley he found ‘a small number of people, in whom there was a great deal of zeal and a great deal of hard work.’⁷⁶ Mills, on hearing of Tully’s appointment wrote, ‘It is most unfortunate that such

⁷² DGGGA, TD 1382/154/4, Moses Brown to Bishop Wilson, 26 May 1885.

⁷³ DGGGA, TD 1382/154/3, Bishop Wilson to Moses Brown, 22 May 1885.

⁷⁴ *P&RG*, 8 January 1887.

⁷⁵ DGGGA, TD 1382/154/6, Moses Brown to Bishop Wilson, 13 May 1887.

⁷⁶ *P&RG*, 24 March 1888.

a person should come amongst them for they were certainly falling off and coming to nothing. They were just beginning to come back in singles and in families to the Church.’⁷⁷

Charles Tully succeeded in reviving the congregation, for in March 1888 they open an iron church to seat 300 in Brown’s Place off Underwood Road, opened by Bishop Gregg. In a newspaper advertisement he described the Reformed Episcopal Church as one which ‘adopts Episcopacy and discards Prelacy; uses a Liturgy but abhors formality; possesses a ministry without priestcraft; meets at the Lord’s Table, not at mans’ altar; preaches salvation by faith, not by sacraments.’⁷⁸

This enthusiasm was not maintained and Tully, who only lasted two years, was replaced in 1889 by the Rev. W. Whigham who admitted that since ‘last June they had been building up a new congregation, which was plodding through many difficulties and trials.’⁷⁹

It is possible that the Reformed Episcopal Church was beginning to distance itself from Orangeism. If not, it was regarded with ambivalence, or perhaps had just become weary with conflict and controversy. At its 1889 Soiree, the speaker said that ‘Protestants should work in a more Christian spirit. He would like to see more of “building up” than “taking down”, and less of that empty boasting, “We’re the boys who fear no noise.”’⁸⁰ Yet two years later it made one last attempt to attract Orangemen by advertising ‘Tomorrow’s Religious Services – Speaker, the Rev. J.W. Hodgkinson, Grand Chaplain of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland.’⁸¹

⁷⁷ DGGGA, TD 1382/154/33, the Rev. W. F. Mills to Bishop Wilson, 25 May 1887.

⁷⁸ *PDE*, 16 March 1888.

⁷⁹ *P&RG*, 16 November 1889.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, quoting an Orange ballad commemorating the shutting of the gates of Derry on 18 December 1688: ‘We’re the boys who fear no noise, and never will surrender; the gates were closed against our foes, on the eighteenth of December.’ The leading members of Christ’s Church: Hamilton Coates, George Crowe, Thomas Hazlet, James Neil, James Caldwell and Robert Oaks (*Paisley Directory and General Advertiser*, 1885 – 1894), were all Irish-born (Census 1881), and were members of the Orange Order (GOLSA, various records of Paisley District LOL 6).

⁸¹ *PDE*, 18 March 1893.

Although claiming in 1893 that ‘The members of Christ’s Church are pleased to have a ministry which promises to be permanent, and they are strong in the hope of good success in the future’⁸², that was to be the final year of the church’s less than ten-year existence. By 1895 the church was no longer functioning. It had gone through six different ministers in ten years, had met at many locations and had undergone several changes of name. Mr George Crowe, the church’s principal lay member, continued to hold services for a ‘Protestant Mission’ in the Orange Hall on Sunday afternoons.⁸³

Although Christ’s Church was led by Orangemen, and its congregation was predominately Irish, it appears that official Orange support for the break away group was never strong, and that an Orange and Irish presence continued with Mr Mills at Trinity Church. The *Minutes of Paisley District L.O.L. 6* during the years of Christ’s Church’s existence never refer to it. Of its six ministers, only the first two were members of the Order, but neither Fullarton nor Tully had been asked to be District Chaplains, and no church parades were ever recorded as having gone to Christ’s Church.

It would appear that Holy Trinity did not suffer unduly through the schism. The number of Baptisms, in Table 101, for the five years before the split averages 93 per year while those for the five years after average 86, a negligible difference.

Table 10:1

Ethnic origins of Baptism Presenters at Trinity Church before and after split, 1881 - 1886

| Year | Total | Irish | % | Scots | % | English | % |
|------|-------|-------|-----|-------|-----|---------|----|
| 1881 | 122 | 65 | 53% | 30 | 44% | 4 | 3% |
| 1882 | 34 | 18 | 52% | 14 | 45% | 2 | 5% |
| 1885 | 114 | 50 | 43% | 57 | 51% | 7 | 6% |
| 1886 | 50 | 21 | 42% | 25 | 50% | 3 | 8% |

Source: Holy Trinity *Baptismal Register*, 1881 - 1886

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ GOLSA, *Minutes of Paisley District LOL 6*, 1889 – 1897.

But for the first time in the history of Trinity Church, in 1885 Scottish parents were more numerous than Irish. The number of Irish parents decreased from 52 per cent before the split to 43 per cent after it. This showed a nine per cent drop in just three years, but it should also be considered that the percentage of Irish born in Scotland as a whole showed a corresponding decrease.

Table 10:2

Percentage of Irish-born compared: Scotland, Paisley and Trinity Church, 1841 - 1891

| Year | Irish-born Scotland | Irish-born Paisley | Irish-born Trinity Church |
|------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 1841 | 4.8% | 8.4% | 74.3% |
| 1851 | 7.2% | 9.0% | - |
| 1861 | 6.7% | - | 74.7% |
| 1871 | 6.2% | 14.0% | 67.3% |
| 1881 | 5.9% | 8.5% | 53.2% |
| 1891 | 4.8% | - | 36.8% |

Source: *Baptismal Register*, 1841 – 1891; Census, 1841 – 1891

If the split had not occurred, the percentage of Irish would have decreased anyway in line with the general population trends, but perhaps not so markedly. What is of interest is the numbers of Irish who remained at Trinity after 1885, which included many Orange families.

In 1890, Trinity's Bazaar was opened by the Orange Tory grandee, Sir Archibald Campbell, M.P., who recommended that they do everything in their power to make the Lord's house beautiful. He publicly endorsed Mills' ministry by saying 'For many years the minister of the church had ministered to the wants of a growing congregation and it was absolutely necessary that the church should be enlarged. He believed he only needed to look around to note the work that Mr Mills had done.'⁸⁴

The significance of this act and statement was that it indicated Campbell's later reconciliation with the Scottish Episcopal Church, having in the 1860s been one of the leading members of the schismatic English Episcopal Church.

⁸⁴ *P&RG*, 8 November 1890.

Certainly by 1894 a reconciliation had been effected. The Orange demonstration was held at Paisley that year and the Lodge extended an invitation to Mills to be on the platform.⁸⁵

Mills finally retired in 1906 and offered himself as a non-stipendiary Priest at Ayr to minister at St. Oswald's Church in Maybole, which was founded for the Irish there, and where his predecessor James Stewart had once been incumbent.

The Rev. Charles Weatherburn, was incumbent from 1910 to 1924 and led Holy Trinity Church along a more Anglo-Catholic route. He replaced Matins with Holy Communion as the main Sunday service, and had it sung. It was during his ministry in 1920 that candlesticks first appeared on the altar. He enrolled young men and boys as altar servers and vested them in albs, and replaced the English *Book of Common Prayer* with the *Scottish Prayer Book*.⁸⁶

Yet paradoxically, Weatherburn did much to attract the Orange people to Trinity Church. He had the offending reredos covered by a curtain, ostensibly because of its artistic ugliness. In October 1913 he invited the District Orange Lodge to parade and attend a Dedication Service. The Lodge debated this invitation and by 16 votes to 2 decided to parade there, but without a band.⁸⁷ Their presence in great numbers was approvingly noted by *The Scottish Guardian*.⁸⁸ He continued to invite the Lodge to special services, for example when the Bishop was to be the preacher in October 1916.⁸⁹

Having considered the narrative of Trinity Church and how the Irish presence there provided the context for the Mission, it remains to look at the Irish there generally, in terms of their numbers, proportions, place of origin in Ireland and some observations on domestic life and mobility.

⁸⁵ GOLSA, *Minutes of Paisley District LOL 6*, May 1894.

⁸⁶ Lockhart, *Holy Trinity Church*, p. 27.

⁸⁷ GOLSA, *Minutes of Paisley District LOL 6*, October 1913.

⁸⁸ *SG*, 13 October 1913.

⁸⁹ *Minutes of Paisley District*, October 1916.

Table 10:3

Ethnic origins of Baptismal presenters (Families) at Holy Trinity 1841 – 1891

| Year | Found on Census | 2 Parents Irish | 1 Parent Irish | Percentage of Irish families | 2 Parents Scottish | 1 Parent Scottish | 2 Parents English | 1 Parent English | Other |
|---------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------|
| 1841 | 40 | 22 | 10 | 80% | 6 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| 1861-68 | 43 | 26 | 9 | 81% | 5 | 8 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| 1871 | 50 | 27 | 13 | 80% | 6 | 12 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 1872 | 27 | 12 | 8 | 74% | 3 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 1873 | 36 | 22 | 6 | 77% | 6 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 1874 | 42 | 17 | 12 | 70% | 10 | 10 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| 1881 | 64 | 26 | 15 | 64% | 17 | 16 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 1882 | 18 | 6 | 6 | 66% | 4 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| 1885 | 60 | 19 | 13 | 53% | 23 | 13 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| 1886 | 28 | 4 | 13 | 60% | 7 | 11 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| 1891 | 22 | 6 | 6 | 54% | 6 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

Source: Baptismal Register of Holy Trinity Church, 1841 - 1891

Table 10: 4

Ethnic origins of Baptism presenters (Individuals) at Holy Trinity Church 1841 – 1891

| Year | Total | Irish | % | Scots | % | English | % | Others |
|---------|-------|-------|-----|-------|-----|---------|----|--------|
| 1841 | 74 | 55 | 75% | 18 | 24% | 1 | 1% | 0 |
| 1861-68 | 83 | 62 | 74% | 21 | 26% | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1871 | 98 | 66 | 66% | 31 | 31% | 3 | 3% | 0 |
| 1872 | 51 | 32 | 62% | 15 | 29% | 4 | 9% | 0 |
| 1873 | 73 | 51 | 69% | 21 | 28% | 1 | 3% | 0 |
| 1874 | 82 | 46 | 56% | 30 | 37% | 6 | 7% | |
| 1881 | 122 | 65 | 53% | 30 | 44% | 4 | 3% | 1 |
| 1882 | 34 | 18 | 52% | 14 | 43% | 2 | 5% | 0 |
| 1885 | 114 | 50 | 43% | 57 | 51% | 7 | 6% | |
| 1886 | 50 | 21 | 42% | 25 | 50% | 3 | 8% | 1 |
| 1891 | 38 | 14 | 36% | 23 | 60% | 0 | | 1 |

Source: Baptismal Register, Holy Trinity Church 1841 - 1891

From the above tables it can be clearly seen from the 1841 Census, being the first in which the ethnic origin of the residents is recorded, that 75 per cent of individuals identified in the *Baptismal Register* were Irish-born. On the basis of one parent constituting an Irish family, 80 per cent of the families were in this ethnic category. Given that a whole generation had been in the church before 1841, it would be safe to assume that a high proportion of those born in Scotland were born of Irish parents. This proportion both of families and individuals continued up until 1871, when the percentage began to decline. A comparison of the figures in Table 10:2 show that the percentage of Irish at Trinity Church was far higher than their proportion in the town and that their decrease was not as marked. It was not until 1885 that the number of Scots-born overtook those Irish-born. However, from parents and in-laws mentioned on the census, compared with earlier Census data and maiden names in *Baptismal Registers*, of the 23 Scots-born, almost half were the children of Irish parents. Given that in the 1880's approximately half the parents were Irish, the Irish presence at Trinity would have continued to be noticeable certainly up until the 1920s. By contrast, the percentage of parents born in England was increasing each year, but even at the end of the century, would hardly have been 10 per cent.

Census reports beyond 1901 are not available, but the *Register of Confirmations* from 1893 to 1925 Appendix 10:4 shows that the number of children who were Irish-born (63) had been over these years, overtaken by the number of children who were English-born (121), thus setting the scene for a larger English congregation as the twentieth century progressed.

In ascertaining whereabouts in Ireland, the Episcopalian migrants to Paisley came from, there are four main sources: firstly, there are the Church Registers themselves. *The Baptismal Registers* do not offer much help, but occasionally the entries will be annotated by a comment such as 'late of Caledon, Tyrone.' *The Confirmation Registers* are more helpful, giving the parish of Baptism. However, this useful detail does not appear in the Registers until as late as 1894. Secondly, there are the *Census Reports* mainly for 1881. In most cases these simply state country of birth as "Ireland", but occasionally the county of origin is given, and in a few instances, the town. Thirdly there are various family histories in which surviving descendants have traced their families roots, and these will be considered. Finally there are Orange Lodge *Transfer Certificates*. Houston and Smyth in their study of Irish emigration to Canada have attested to the importance of these documents and have described their function. Irish Orangemen who wished to join lodges in Paisley, having already been initiated into the Order, simply required a *Transfer Certificate* from their home Lodge.⁹⁰ At first these were given to the members when they left home and acted as a kind of 'passport' into the Orange family. Later these were exchanged only between the respective lodge secretaries in Ireland and Scotland. Many of the Ulster Protestant names were similar, but where more unusual names in the Church Registers correspond with lodge *Transfer Certificates*, it may be assumed these were the same people.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*, p. 181.

⁹¹ Ulster Protestants had a fondness for using surnames as forenames, for example, Hamilton Coates, Johnston Little, Noble Morris, and Torrance McGrun are among such names in church registers.

A sample of 158 names from these sources revealed the following:

Table 10:5

Place of origin in Ireland of Irish in Holy Trinity Church

| County | % | Main Areas | Common Surnames |
|-------------|----|--|---|
| Fermanagh | 25 | Enniskillen, Drumkeeran, Kesh, Derrynivee, Maguiresbridge, Lack, Irvinestown, Tubrid, Drumrush, Langfield | Barton, Marshall, Irvine, Keys, Barclay, Stevens, Moore, Thomson, Armstrong, Wilson, Elliott, Porter, Johnston, Morris |
| Tyrone | 22 | Caledon, Fivemiletown, Omagh, Clougher, Edenderry, Dungivin, | King, Smith, Clements, Blyth, Stanford, Nelson, Nixon, Trimble, Tate, Virtue, Barton, McCormick, Croll, Reid |
| Antrim | 15 | Portglenone, Ballymoney, Larne, Carrickfergus, Craig, Lisburn, Cloughmills, Ballymena, Glenavy, Portrush, Bushmills, Ballinderry | Dunlop, Campbell, Miller, Bingham, Porter, Martin, Wallace, Anderson, Ross, McKendry, Dorman, Leighton, Harrison, Harbison, Macgill |
| Donegal | 13 | Raphoe, Pittigo | Watson, Muir, Keys, Thomson, Blair, Cassidy, Cooney, Holms, McIntyre, Mckay, Virtue, Cook |
| Londonderry | 8 | Londonderry City, Colraine, Lissan, Limavady, | McFarland, Allison, Mackay, Douglas, Falconer, Craig, Charles, Harbison, Kane, Blair, Holms, Smith |
| Down | 7 | Saintfield, Newry, Belfast, Conlig, Soldierstown, Gilford, Banbridge | Collins, Shearer, Campbell, Brown, Smith, Mckay, Gibson, Dorran, Barbour, Hoylack, Woods |
| Armagh | 3 | Seago, Ballymore, Rathcarbury | Harper, Stevenson, Hemphill, |
| Cavan | 2 | Belturbet | Lamb, Oakes, Beith, Gough |
| South | 5 | Drogheda, Athlone, Dublin, Cork, Ballyshone (Louth) Mayo | Keith, Gibbons, Harwood, Priestly, Walker, Harbison, Johnson, Lendrum |

It will be seen that the majority, 60 per cent came from the Counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone and Donegal in the north west of Ireland (Appendix 10:5). An interesting comparison can be made with McCarthy's study of Roman Catholic migration from Ireland to Paisley, in which she identifies Donegal as being predominant followed by Tyrone and then Fermanagh.⁹² Fermanagh was the county in Ireland which contained the largest

⁹² McCarthy, *Social Geography of Paisley*, p. 106.

proportion of Anglicans,⁹³ and the recurrence of English surnames in the above table might suggest an English predominance among the original planters. County Antrim produced comparatively few Roman Catholic migrants to Paisley, but the 15 per cent in Trinity Church would indicate this to be the next main area of migration. The predominance of Scottish surnames, along with those of Londonderry point to an early Scottish plantation.

A study of 86 Orange Lodge *Transfer Certificates* from Ireland to L.O.L. 4 in Paisley yields the same names appearing in the Registers of Holy Trinity Church. By an interesting coincidence, the origin of the emigrants corresponds almost exactly with the above table relating to Trinity Church.

Table 10:6

Irish Orange Lodge Transfer Certificates to Paisley – Counties of origin, 1890 - 1929

| Fermanagh | Tyrone | Donegal | Antrim | L/derry | Cavan | Monaghan | Down | Armagh | Leitrim |
|------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| 41% | 27% | 5% | 10% | 6% | 5% | 1% | 2% | 2% | 1% |

Source: Archives of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland

The three north-west counties again provide the majority of Protestant migrants to Paisley, 73 per cent. The next area is County Antrim with 10 per cent. County Fermanagh again is the most numerous, producing 41 per cent.

A consideration will now be given to the social conditions of the Irish families in Trinity Church. This has been based on a sample of 78 families who presented 93 children for baptism in the four years between 1871 to 1874 and were identified in the 1881 Census. These findings will also be compared with Nair's study of nineteenth century -housing and McCarthy's conclusions in her *Social Geography of Paisley*.

In determining where the Irish Episcopalians in Paisley lived, in 1881 the largest concentration (41 per cent) was still to be found in the traditional area of The Sneddon. The next concentration (12 per cent) was to be found in the town centre mainly in the High Street and Storie Street. This was followed by the New Town where 9 per cent were to be found. After this comes the West End around Well Street and Canal Street,

⁹³ Rory Fitzpatrick, *God's Frontiersmen: The Scots – Irish Epic* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989), p. 29;

yielding 7 per cent. The remaining 31 per cent were spread throughout the town and in the outlying areas of Renfrew, Barrhead and Neilston.

In terms of mobility, Irish migrants often continued to move even once they had arrived in Scotland. Any consideration of the families in this survey must therefore be put into the context of a wider population movement. In the four years of this survey, only 60 per cent of the families recorded in the *Baptismal Register* could be identified in the 1881 Census for Scotland. Given a margin of scribal error and illegibility, it still shows that a large proportion were perhaps no longer in Scotland. Some named in the *Baptismal Register* may have been visiting friends and took the chance of having their children baptised before going back to Ireland. Others may have been resident in Scotland for a few years and then returned to Ireland. McCarthy gives examples of Irish summer harvesters saying 'that before they set out for the farms in the Renfrewshire countryside, they lodged with the Irish residents in Paisley. Some came and went daily to the farms and lodged in the tenements in the Sneddon, Castle Street, Cross Street and George Street.'⁹⁴

Others would have gone south to England, and there is also evidence from family history accounts that several emigrated further afield especially to Canada, America and Australia.⁹⁵

However the 78 families in this sample do show a certain amount of stability and localisation. In determining to what extent there had been mobility of location in the previous ten years, the place of birth of children aged ten or under was described as 'Paisley' in the majority of cases. Thus these were not recent migrants, as only the older teenagers in some cases had been born in Ireland. This would confirm that Irish migration was slowing down by the 1870s compared with previous generations. That they had spent at least the past ten years in Paisley showed that there was enough work in the town without them having to go further afield. This is confirmed by the fact that in 1881 only four families had moved from Paisley.

If the sample does not show much mobility to and from Paisley in these ten years, this is balanced by a great deal of mobility within Paisley. In over 90 per cent of cases, the family was not living at the address in the Census as recorded in the *Baptismal Register*. Even in the year of the Census itself, more than half those

⁹⁴ McCarthy, *Social Geography of Paisley*, p. 113.

⁹⁵ For examples of emigration from Scotland, see chapter eleven of this thesis.

located were not at the address on the *Baptismal Register* for just a few months before. Several recorded many addresses in just a few years, which correspond with Nair's study of nineteenth-century housing in Paisley. She cites the example of the Young family 'who had several different homes over the previous years: they moved six times in three years. This is a common trend revealed by the Poor Law documents: Paisley's labouring classes were highly mobile.'⁹⁶

The sample shows not only that most of the people were living in the decaying parts of the town like The Sneddon and New Town, but that there was evidence of much overcrowding. The average number of children living in 1881 was five per family, but allowing that older ones may have left home and child mortality rates, families would have been large. This shows an increase in population but not in housing, as a similar study of the 1851 Census found 4.28 people per house in the Sneddon. A handful of the families in the sample had eight or nine children. 25 per cent of the families look in lodgers and boarders to supplement their meagre incomes, and ten per cent had extended families and in laws living with them. On average there were seven people living in each house which in most cases would have been a single room, or two rooms at the very most. There were cases of eleven people living in one house. A sanitary report of 1889 states that "four, six and eight of them [Irish] would be found crowded into a small two-bed room house along with the other occupants."⁹⁷

In 1861 Paisley had 'the lowest number of rooms in proportion to the population'⁹⁸ and by 1890 it had little improved: Paisley still had 32.24 per cent of all families in one-room houses.

Given the unsanitary condition of the general area and the overcrowding, it is little wonder that of the 93 children baptised in the sample; only 63 were recorded on the 1881 Census. It can be assumed that around one third had died in childhood. 'Overcrowding in the older sections of the town and polluted water supplies brought frequent epidemics and a high death rate.'⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Nair, 'Poverty and Household', p. 22.

⁹⁷ McCarthy, *Social Geography of Paisley*, p. 114.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 116.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

The employment of the fathers are summarised in the following table:

Table 10:7

Employment of fathers of children baptised, 1871 - 1874

| Percentage | Employment |
|------------|--|
| 6% | Grocers, Merchants, Police Sergeant, Contractor, |
| 11% | Skilled: Thatcher, weaver, engineer, cooper, shoe maker, iron moulders, baker |
| 20% | Semi skilled: Textile Mills, Bolt makers, rope spinner, miners, drivers |
| 61% | Unskilled: labourers, carters |
| 2% | Paupers |

Source: Baptismal Register, Holy Trinity Church 1871 - 1874

All were in what would be termed as 'working-class' occupations, although some like Henry Noble, James Ramsay and Thomas Bustard became grocers and merchants. There was only one weaver represented, thus showing the decline of weaving in Paisley by 1881, and most of those termed "semi skilled" would have been employed in the textile mills which had overtaken weaving as the main occupation in the town. McCarthy maintains that the Irish were in part responsible for the decline in the handloom weaving trade, by providing a workforce for the cotton thread industry.¹⁰⁰ Shoemaking was also a fairly common occupation among the Irish artisans.

But the largest group was the unskilled labourers. About half of these are described as general labourers while the rest are specified as labouring in agriculture, foundries, brick fields, gas works and ship yards. This employment table probably reflects Paisley as a whole and shows that it had a much broader-based economy than its reputation as a textile town would lead one to believe. It was during this period that its varied pattern of industry first started to emerge. In 1896 the bulk of the town's labour force was occupied in five shipyards, thirteen marine and general engineering works, 112 chemical and soap works, two fireclay works and several food firms.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ McCarthy, *Social Geography of Paisley*, p. 12.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

Two of the families had been reduced to pauperism by 1881. Edward Johnstone and his family were in the Workhouse at Cadder, Lanark. The records of the Paisley Poorhouse, apart from designation Catholic or Protestant, do not specify what Protestant denomination. But in the above sample, Richard Knox, who was dead by 1881, had made application to the Paisley Burgh Poorhouse.

Trinity Church was one of the most substantially Irish congregations in the Diocese, maintaining its ethnic make-up for most of the nineteenth century. It held its Irish during the very long incumbencies of James Stewart and William Mills, both of whom were sympathetic to Orangeism. Wade makes no mention of Orangeism, certainly never criticising it, and it is evident that his moderate form of Evangelicalism would have provided a similar theological ethos to that in which his congregation had been raised. Yet it was not a narrow Evangelicalism and held a catholicity which delivered it from sectarianism.

The clergy of Trinity Church were all devoted pastorally and seem to have been assiduous visitors, caring for a people, many of whom lived in appalling social conditions. That the church recorded between 100 to 200 baptisms each year, yet seemed to attract a regular congregation of just 200 on a Sunday, reflects the lack of church attendance which was always going to be a problem for those seeking to minister to the Irish.

William Mills remains something of a curiosity: an Orange Lodge Grand Chaplain, yet accused of being a 'Puseyite' and considered by a successor in office as a devotee of the Oxford Movement. Given the ritualistic innovations which were around towards the end of the nineteenth century, it seems that his 'crimes' consisted of little more than a re-ordering of the chancel, and a change in ritual which was in keeping with main line Anglicanism in England at the time, and would not be considered excessive. Yet there were fears, and not just among Irish, that such things were the 'thin end of the wedge' in what were being perceived as difficult times politically and religiously for conservative Protestantism. The Irish Church had been disestablished, Gladstone was pressing for Home Rule and on the mainland Roman Catholicism, through Irish migration, was growing in self-confidence.

Mills's prophecy that the schismatical group would fade out was in fact fulfilled, yet it took ten years for it to expend its energy. There is no doubt that a second Episcopal Church could have justifiably been created, but there was neither the manpower nor resources in the Diocese. The fact that Christ's Church had at its peak

around 200 people, yet Holy Trinity was not significantly diminished, proved that there was a great mission field for both churches.

There is no doubt that Trinity held its Irish into the 1920s, longer than most of the other churches in this study. The *Burial Registers* up until the 1940s contain the familiar names from the *Baptismal Registers* of the 1860s. The church became known in the later part of the twentieth century for its Anglo-Catholic ritualism.

On the occasion of the centenary of the opening of the Church, the rector of the time was an Englishman and an Anglo-Catholic. He reported that the Centenary Festival had seen the celebration ‘of two Masses a day ... About 60 people were present at the three Masses on Corpus Christi’¹⁰² In the centenary booklet, Lockhart asked a rhetorical question which summed up the change which had taken place in 100 years: ‘If one of Mr Wade’s flock were to return from the grave and visit Holy Trinity, say at 9.30 on a Sunday morning, his first feelings would be of shocked dismay. “Had Rome bought his old church up” he would ask.’¹⁰³

There were no more Orange Lodge services at Trinity after the 1920’s, but anecdotal evidence confirms that there were often funerals up until the 1960s, with members attending ‘requiem masses’ in their regalia.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *SG*, 23 June 1933.

¹⁰³ Lockhart, *Holy Trinity*, p. 34.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Mr. Denis Meney, a life-long member of Holy Trinity Church, 4 May 2004.

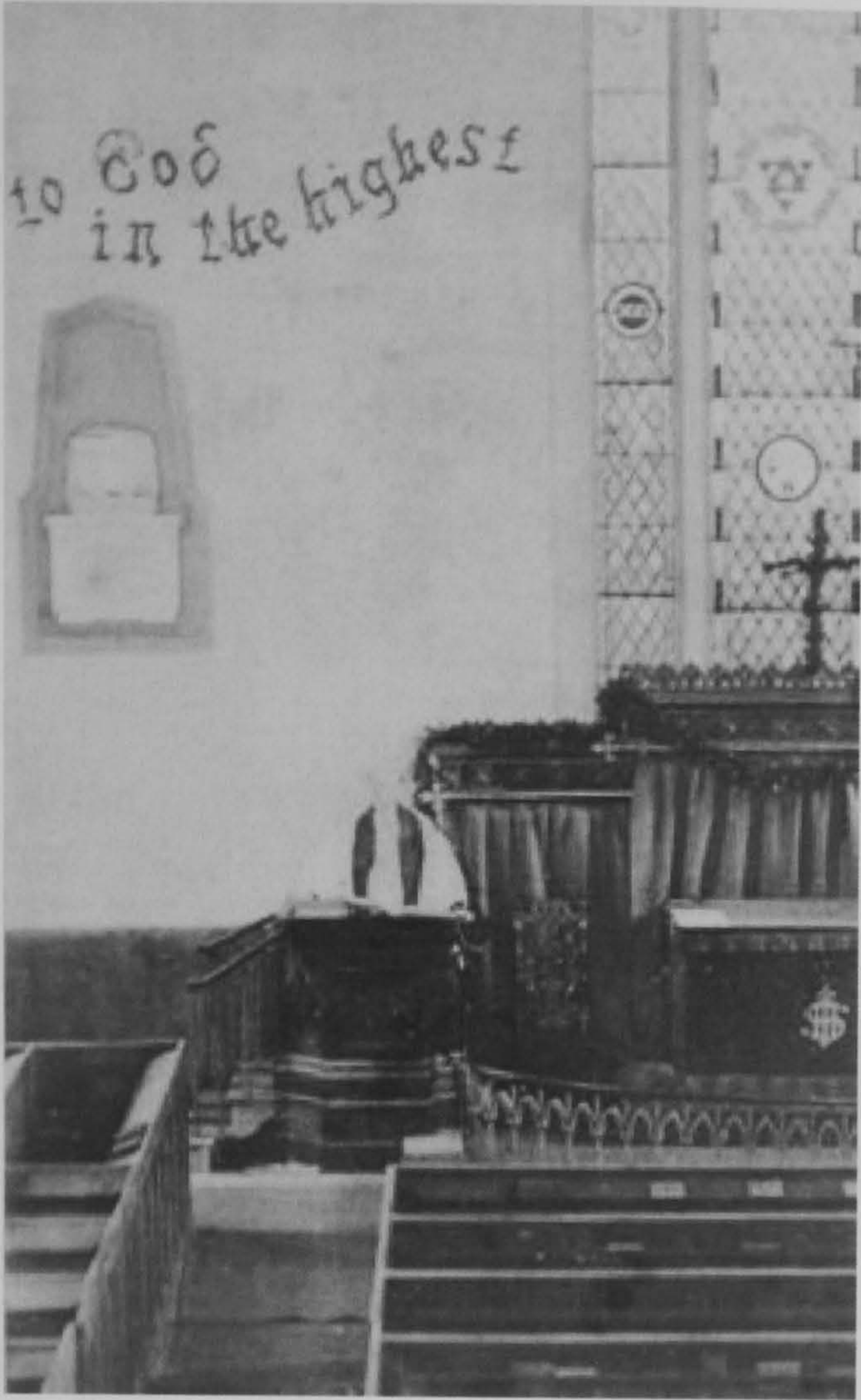


Plate 10
 Interior of Holy Trinity, Paisley
 Before the chancel was added, 1870s

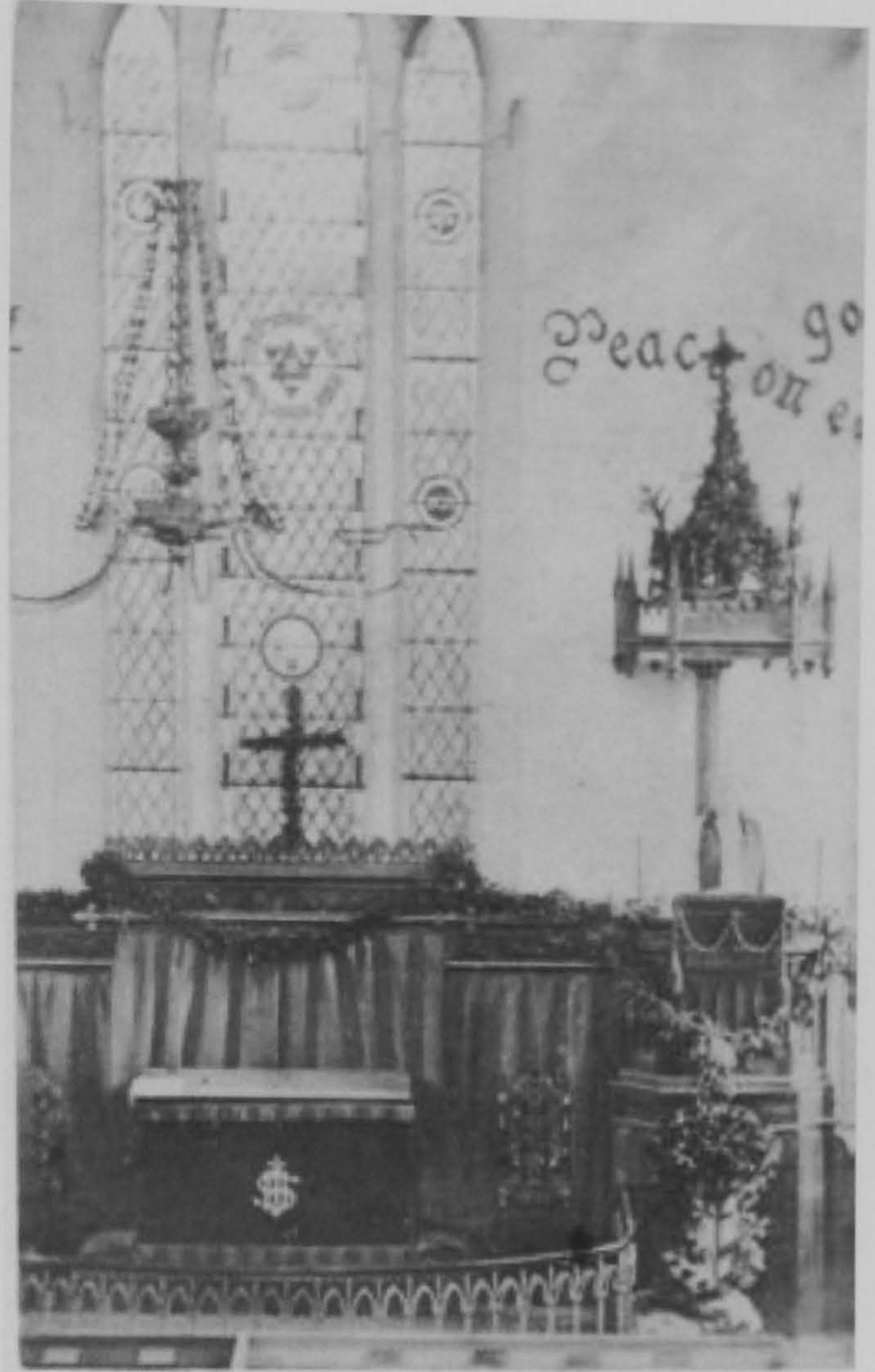


Plate 10:2
 Interior of Holy Trinity, Paisley
 Before the chancel was added, 1870s



Plate 10:3
 Holy Trinity, Paisley with chancel added

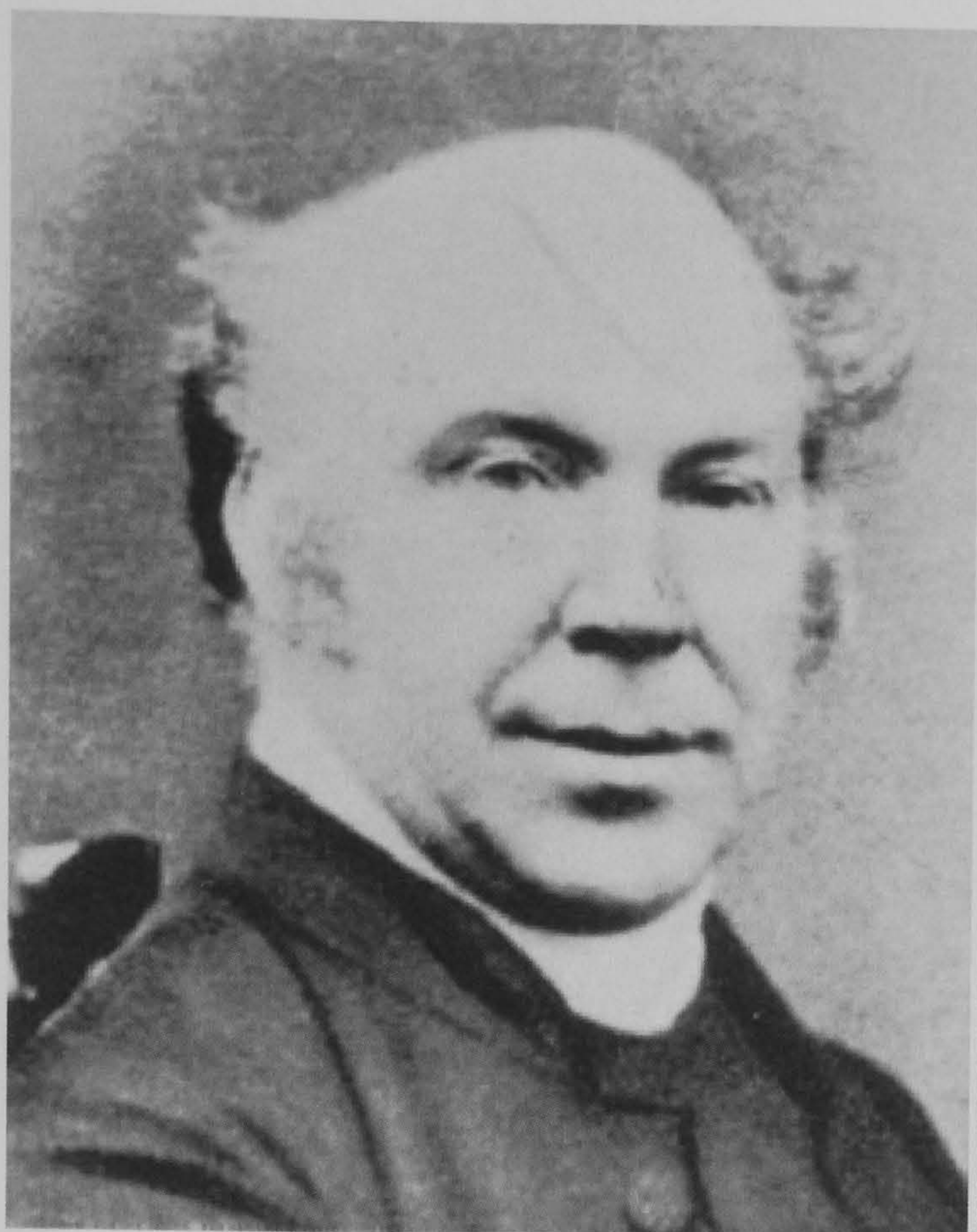


Plate 10:4
Rev. James Stewart



Plate 10:5
Rev. William F. Mills



Plate 10:6
Holy Trinity Church, Paisley



Plate 10:7
Back courts of 'The Sneddon'



71 High St
Plate 10:8
Back courts of 'The Sneddon'



Plate 10:9
Orange Hall next to St. Barnabas', Castle St., Paisley



Plate 10:10
71 High St., Paisley, home of William Marshall, 1867

Chapter Eleven

Family Stories and Biographies

This thesis has explored the aggregate experience of Irish Episcopalians in the Scottish Episcopal Church, and the Church's response to them in mission and ministry. Notice has also been taken of how the Irish Protestant thinking was formed and expressed, especially in reaction to the liturgical developments emanating from the Oxford Movement. Employment, housing, health, faith and apathy have been considered in a collective sense, neither giving room for expressions of individuality, nor allowing stereotypes to be challenged.

This chapter will provide a balance by presenting the personal histories of some of the migrants considered in this work. There is not a great deal of published biography concerning the lives of the ordinary people, and primary source material, such as letters is scarce. The six family histories represent stories now mainly known to their descendants, and describe the lives of what was probably representative of most of the Irish Episcopalians. Included at the end, however, will be accounts of two men who did achieve public prominence, simply because they were so untypical.

With an increasing interest in family history and genealogy, some personal biographical material has come to light, and memories have been recorded by their descendants. Various details have been verified and expanded through other sources, and so the wider historical and geographical context of the migrants' lives can be determined. These accounts reveal what is usually not seen: pieces of life behind the anonymity of the ordinary migrant.

Wilson Family (Kilbarchan / Linwood)

During the 1850s and 1860s, dozens of Church of Ireland families left the Parish of Drumkeeran, County Fermanagh, for Paisley in Scotland. These included the Crawfords, Virtues, Marshalls, Monaghans, Irvines and several branches of the Wilson family.

George and Mary Wilson and their seven children, who were all baptised at Tubrid Church (Drumkeeran Parish), left the townland of Letterkeen some time in the 1860s. On his son's marriage in 1863, George is described as a 'farmer', but by 1871 Mary was a widow, living with six of her children in a two-roomed house at the village of Kilbarchan, three miles from Paisley. The eldest son James, was listed in the 1871 Census as an 'Ironstone worker', and all his brothers as 'Millworkers.'

In 1830, *The Statistical Account* had boasted that Kilbarchan had sufficient labour for the local industries, so that 'there is little immigration from the sister isle, and accordingly, this parish is the only manufacturing village in the western district of a population exceeding 2000 souls, with only six Roman Catholics in that number.'¹ But that situation had changed by 1860, as nearby ironstone mines and power-loom factories required labour which the local population was not able to provide.

Mary latterly lived with her son Gavin and his family at 13 Napier Street, Linwood, a village close to Paisley.² She died in 1901 of 'Epithelioma of lip' after a year's illness. Gavin, her son, who could not read or write, signed his 'X' mark on her death certificate.

Gavin, also known as Guy was born in Letterkeen in 1842, and married Fanny Taggart, also born in Ireland, at Holy Trinity Church, Paisley in 1865. Gavin and Fanny had three sons and two daughters while living at Napier Street, Linwood, all baptised at Trinity Church. One daughter, Mary, died in 1873 at the age of two years from scarlet fever which she'd had for just one day.

Fanny died in 1879 aged thirty-five, leaving their youngest daughter at just three years. Gavin was a Coal Miner, and his son, John, an Ironstone Miner, died aged 16 years in 1884 of 'Acute Tuberculosis,' the duration of the illness being one month. That same year, Gavin lost a second son, Samuel, aged ten years. The youngest son, George, died in 1899 of 'Phthisis', aged twenty-two years and after being ill for eleven months. Gavin Wilson had known real tragedy in his life in Scotland. By the early part of the twentieth century, he had lost his mother, his wife and entire family.

¹ *New Statistical Account: Renfrewshire*, p. 372.

² Linwood, a small village two miles from Paisley developed in the nineteenth century through mining ironstone. Napier Street was one of only two streets until 1855 when the village expanded due to migration mainly from Ireland. In 1859 there was a riot in Linwood between opposing Catholics and Orangemen. See Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, pp. 35 – 7.

Gavin's brother, James and his family also lived at Napier Street, Linwood. He had married Margaret Virtue, from the neighbouring parish of Colaghty in Fermanagh, and at the time of her marriage in Paisley, was a mill worker. James was an ironworker and also signed his mark with an 'X' on his marriage certificate. They had five children, all born at Linwood, and baptised at Trinity Church, Paisley. In 1883, James and his family emigrated to Australia. They sailed from Dundee to Brisbane, a trip of some three and a half months. There were 451 people on board, including 213 Scots and 82 Irish; 19 passengers had died on the voyage, and 3 babies had been born, including a son to James.

On his arrival at Queensland, James worked as a ganger. 'He was not a gambling man and lived a straight life.' The family had left the Episcopal Church, and for the rest of the lives belonged to the Methodist Church.³

Marshall Family (Paisley)

William Marshall's family belonged to the townland of Climlin in the parish of Drumkeeran, in the northernmost part of County Fermanagh bordering Donegal. He was baptised at Drumkeeran Parish Church on 25 September 1836, his father being described as a 'farmer.' He married Margaret Keys in December 1858. *The Ordinance Survey Memoirs of Ireland*, for the parish of Drumkeeran, undertaken by the Government between 1830 and 1840, describe: 'Fences show the effects made by the poor cottier to overcome by industry, the opposing barriers of climate and bareness of soil. The generality of the cottages of the poor are of a miserable description, evincing neither comfort nor cleanliness. Unless in the bogs, few are built of sods, stone being the general material ... They are mostly of one storied, generally divided into two rooms. The usual diet of the poor is potatoes and meal with salt. The better class of the poor use bacon occasionally ... Emigration prevails to a great extent among the poor.'⁴

William and Mary emigrated to America in 1859 where their first two sons, Henry and Thomas were born. The 1881 Census records Henry as having been born in 'North America' and the 1891 Census records

³ Wilson family papers, supplied by Mrs. Bobby Edes, Queensland, Australia, 2005.

⁴ Angelique Day and Patrick McWilliams (eds.), *Ordinance Survey Memoirs of Ireland: Parishes of County Fermanagh II, 1834 – 1835*. (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1992), p. 66.

Thomas as being born in 'Canada.' It is likely that their first destination was New York City, but from there they moved to Canada. However, they did not remain there, and returned to Ireland around 1860.

On arrival back in Ireland they stayed with relatives until William decided to move to Scotland alone with the intention of securing steady employment and stable lodgings. With some money saved he could then send for the rest of the family to join him when circumstances were better. Paisley was chosen as the destination, Margaret having relatives in the town.

William soon affiliated with the Orange Order in Paisley. The records of L.O.L. 102 briefly mention a William Marshall in membership in 1863. He was a poor man, suggested by the fact that upon initiation into the lodge he struggled to pay the monthly dues of six pence, offering three pence instead. The following year he paid no dues and was suspended for non-payment of dues. It seems he never did as his name disappears from the lodge records.⁵ Putting aside the political and religious dimension of Orangeism, more importantly for some, it offered a social network of mutual aid and fellowship in an often hostile environment for immigrants. His involvement in the lodge coincides with the time he was alone in Paisley and that his active membership ceased at the time when his wife and family joined him. Margaret and the family moved to Paisley between 1865 and 1866.

William found work as a brickfield labourer and the family were living at in 1866 15 Moss Street; by 1867 they had moved to 71 High Street, next door to William and Sarah Keys, his wife's relatives. In that year, William found work at the starch mill of William McKean and Company beginning an association with this company which was to last for three generations.

Whilst not known to be church goers, they maintained a nominal attachment to the Episcopal Church and their daughter Margaret was baptised at Holy Trinity Church on 16 June 1867. By 1869, the Marshall family were living at 14 Glen Street, in an area known as 'The Sneddon', nicknamed 'Little Ireland' on account of the large number of Irish living there.⁶

⁵ GOLSA, *Minute Book* (1864-1905) and *Roll of Members* (1859-1905), of King William LOL 102, Paisley,

⁶ For the Sneddon, see chapter ten of this thesis on Paisley.

Tragedy struck on 24 October 1869 when Margaret died, aged thirty-three, the cause of death being recorded as 'icterus' (jaundice). On Margaret's death certificate, William is identified as the informant, but as he could not write his name, he left his mark, an 'X' on the document.

Within a year, William had re-married Irish-born Sarah Abraham and was living at 83 Causeyside Street.

They were married according to the forms of the Free Church of Scotland, the officiating minister being the Rev. William Fraser of the Free Middle Church, a Scots-born Orangeman and friend of the Irish Episcopalians in the town.⁷ William's occupation was 'stachworker' and her's was 'bleacher.' That he married someone from his own Irish Protestant background may have been indicative of the sense of ethnic and religious solidarity among Protestant Irish migrants, giving them a sense of the familiar and of security in an often alien environment. Sarah died on 10 May 1871, the cause of death being 'pnuyaral' fever (pneumonia).

By now, William had five children to look after, and married a third time to a Scots girl, Mary Brown in September 1871. Although William's second and third marriages were by Presbyterian ministers, all their children were baptised at Holy Trinity Episcopal Church (Appendix 11:1), indicating William's desire to have them baptised in his religious tradition. Several of the children died in infancy, as infant mortality was high, for children born into poor families. In all, William had twelve children.

The 1881 Census reveals two lodgers living with the family, no doubt in order to boost their meagre income. One was Mary Thompson who was Irish and worked at a starch factory; the other was Sarah Beattie from Dalry.

William died from face cancer in June 1885, aged forty-eight. He had endured much hardship during his life; had married three times and had fathered twelve children. Two of his wives had died and he had also suffered the deaths of five of his children.

⁷ William Fraser, *Reform but do not destroy the Irish Church: The Duty of Protestants in the Present Crisis*, (Paisley: J. and R. Parlane, 1868). Fraser was castigated by his fellow Presbyterian ministers for his support of the Church of Ireland.

The state of the family's precarious financial circumstances was highlighted by Mary's need to seek poor law relief within a week of William's death. She made an application on 23 June 1885. On 3 July 1885, she was 'enrolled' at three shilling a week, a huge drop in income from the thirty shillings a week which William had earned. In September 1890, Mary was struck off the roll for poor relief. By this time her children Stewart and Agnes would have been in employment and so Mary would have been denied any further relief.

The census of 1891 records the family as residing at 10 Caledonia Street. Mary was now aged forty-seven years. Stewart was eighteen and working as a shipyard labourer. Agnes was thirteen years old and working in a textile mill. David was nine years old and still at school. There were two lodgers in the house. One was Jonny McCormick who was aged twenty-two and born in Ireland. The other was Matthew Carrie, aged sixty-five and a foundry labourer. Mary died in 1897 aged fifty-two, and the cause of death was recorded as pneumonia.

The family continued to be associated with Holy Trinity Church up to 1913 when Henry's daughter, Margaret was baptised there. There was no more association with the Episcopal Church after that, the family having become Presbyterians.⁸

Elliott Family (Paisley)

The name Elliott originates in the Galloway region of south west Scotland, and a large number of them found their way to County Fermanagh in the seventeenth century.⁹ John Elliott was born in Fermanagh in 1859 and married Mary Ingram. Some time in the 1880s they moved to Paisley, and joined Holy Trinity Church where all their children were baptised. John died in Paisley in 1917 aged fifty-eight, but there was no record of his burial in the *Burial Register* of Holy Trinity. Presumably he had ceased to be an Episcopalian by then.

A family recollection gives a glimpse into an Ulster Protestant funeral wake, which seemed to include a degree of superstition, showing that 'folk religion' associated with death was not just confined to Roman Catholic Irish, as previously believed. John Elliott has memories of his grand mother's (Mary Ingram) funeral: 'I was allowed to attend the wake with all the other males, candles burning at each end of the coffin

⁸ From information on the Marshall family from Mr. William S. Marshall, 2005.

⁹ See chapter three of this thesis, for the Elliots of Galloway moving to Ulster in the seventeenth century.

with the male mourners sitting around to keep the spirits away. If I remember correctly, there were liquid spirits there also!'¹⁰

The family were of the 'decent and respectable' type of migrant worker and William, who was born in 1890, became a draughting engineer at the textile firm of J. & P. Coats, living in a house belonging to that company. He married Robina Wood and they had six children, three of whom were baptised at Holy Trinity. By 1910 his occupation is simply that of 'Thread Mill worker', living at 52 Broomlands Street. In 1913 he resided at 2 East Lane. When the First World War broke out in 1914, he was living at 2 Clavering Street, and served as a Private in the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. William had been a volunteer in the Militia, who were called up first.

During the war, William's wife, Robina, went to the Mill counting house to receive William's pay, which was still given while he was serving. One week she received an envelope with just a single penny in it. William had gone missing in action, therefore, his pay was stopped and the family had to leave the company house. William's brother, Frank, was killed at the Battle of the Somme in 1916, aged nineteen years.

William had been in fact, wounded in action and turned up in a hospital in Egypt. On being repatriated to Scotland and discharged from the army with poor prospects for continued life, he was advised to find employment in the open air. He eventually got a job as a gamekeeper some five miles outside Paisley.

After several locations living on the east coast of Scotland, in 1927, William and his family emigrated to Canada under the assisted passage and soldier's settlement scheme.¹¹

Nisbet Family (Jordanhill)

John Nisbet was the first of what was to become a large family dynasty, connected with All Saints, Jordanhill for several generations. John, his wife Margaret and their son Andrew moved to Scotland from

¹⁰ John Elliott, 'Memories of a Scottish Emigrant' (online). Available from: <http://www.phlonx.com/family/elliott1.php> (accessed 22 August 2004).

¹¹ Elliott, 'Memories of a Scottish Emigrant'.

Templepatrick, County Antrim in the 1850s, and as members of the Church of Ireland began to attend All Saints Mission which was started in 1853.¹²

Andrew married Sarah Murray, who was also from Ireland, at All Saints on 30 October 1863. In all they had around fifteen children, though several of these died in infancy. Five of the baptisms are recorded in the Church's *Baptismal Register*. He started work as a ship's caulker, the shipbuilding industry on the nearby Clyde, providing work for many of the Irish migrants. Andrew was blinded as a result of an accident at work and thereafter became a pig feeder, living in the village of Netherton, described even as late as 1898 as 'An Irish colony of pig feeders ... The village is now given over to the industry of keeping pigs and fowls on the Hibernian crofter principle, almost entirely by emigrants from the Emerald Isle.'¹³

Andrew and Sarah had six surviving children. One of his daughters, Frances, later, Mrs Fanny Hay was a nurse and midwife. Her obituary in the 1940s said that 'A gloom was cast over the whole of Knightswood Rows when her death became known. It was the common practice to call her in even the slightest mishap or illness. She could be met at all hours of the night, rushing to attend some unfortunate neighbour, perhaps unable to afford a doctor. She was everyone's friend and adviser ... this quiet, tireless "Florence Nightingale" of her working-class friends. Her death is a very great loss to the district, and particularly to the poor people. Born in old Netherton, "Aunt Fanny" was the daughter of Andrew Nisbet, the blind pig feeder, who was a well-known figure to the older generation of residents.'¹⁴

One of Andrew and Sarah's sons, John was born at Bargeddie in Lanarkshire in 1874, thus showing the mobility of Irish labourers to the areas where work was more available. John was a teetotaler and a member of a Temperance Orange Lodge. He married Sarah Marquis, also of an Irish family. They lived at first in High Knightswood, but later moved to a tenement at 6 Howth Terrace, Temple. Earlier in life he had been a brickfield labourer, but by 1909 was a gas work carter. They had seven children, all entered in the *Baptismal Register* of All Saints Church, the first being in 1891.

¹² For All Saints Mission, see chapter seven of this thesis.

¹³ *The News (Special)*, n.d., 1898. 'Netherton – The most insanitary spot in Scotland.'

¹⁴ Nisbet family papers, newspaper cutting, n.d., 'Obituary of Mrs. Fanny Hay.'

The village of High Knightswood where they lived was predominantly Irish and Protestant. They recalled only two Roman Catholic families who lived there and who walked to the chapel at Maryhill.¹⁵

Most of the earlier generations of Irish Nisbets married people within their own community, who were all connected with All Saints Church. These included the families of Marquis, Morrow, Gorman, Murray, McManus, Henderson and Coffey. All the family, for several generations, were members of the Orange Order, being Masters and Mistresses of the local lodges. The family recall All Saints as being “low to moderate” in its ritual, and that High Church innovations, experimented with in the 1940s, were unwelcome.

Today the only member of the Nisbet family still an Episcopalian, is a great-great grand daughter of the first John Nisbet. Growing up in the 1930s, she recalls her parents’ generation noticing that ‘The older, working class and Irish people had long since been replaced by ‘Jordanhill’ people. These were of the more professional classes and had many English-born among them.’¹⁶

Wilson Family (Johnstone)

John and Elizabeth Wilson came from Derrynееve, another townland in the Parish of Drumkeeran, County Fermanagh. Among their six children were William, who married Eliza Crawford also from Derrynееve, and Thomas, who married Catherine Reid from Tievemore, County Donegal. The Crawfords and Wilsons were tenant farmers with long term leases which normally passed from father to son over several decades. Apparently the leases could be sold and were also traded in marriage settlements.

John, a farmer, died in 1870, and within a couple of years, two of their sons, William and Thomas along with their wives and families, moved to Johnstone in Renfrewshire and took their widowed mother, Elizabeth, with them. Elizabeth died at Johnstone in 1879 of ‘Chronic Bronchitis’, which she had had for two years, and after that, the family made plans to emigrate to Australia.

¹⁵ The small number of Catholics in this area has been noted in chapter seven of this thesis. see *History of the Catholic Community of Knightswood*, pp. 6 – 8.

¹⁶ Nisbet family papers and interview with Mrs. Cathy Cheyne. Glasgow. June 2003.

They had kept in touch with their relatives in Ireland, and had obviously reported that life in Scotland had its hardships. Johnstone in the 1870s was the scene economic decline and industrial unrest, as workers were banding together in collective unions and using the strike as a bargaining tool. The carpet weavers at A. F. Stoddard had gone out on strike in 1875, as they discovered that their English counterparts were receiving higher wages.¹⁷ In April 1875 the local press also reported, 'The miners in the ironstone pit possessed by Mr. W. G. Dixon were thrown idle in consequence of the notification by the employer of a reduction of one shilling per day on the wages.'¹⁸

William Crawford wrote from Derrynivee to a relative in Australia in 1879: 'Henry, my son, is in Scotland with William Wilson. Scotland is a bad country to live in at present. There is (sic) a good many of the works stopped at present, and the works that William Wilson worked at is stopped this good while on account of a strike with the miners, that is the colliers, and this has stopped other works for the want of coal.'¹⁹

He continued mentioning some of the adverse conditions which had caused many to migrate from the area:

The oldest man in this country doesn't mind as wet a summer as this last summer has been. The floods have done a great deal of harm. We had more that 20 foot high floods in our river, and in some of the rivers, a man could not ride a horse over the bridge. The turn is all in the ground, yet it is November. With the wet summer the potatoes did not do well and they are hardly as good as they were the year they failed. There will be hardly the seed saved. Stock is low in price. There is no work for the labouring class of man in this country and tradesmen are idle.²⁰

William's brothers in law, Henry Crawford and William Crawford had already left Johnstone for Australia and were encouraging William and Elizabeth to do likewise, and offering some practical help. William wrote from Johnstone: 'Dear William, I must thank you for your assistance to me in going out to that country. As far as the out fit to the passage (sic) I will be able to do that myself, Brother.'²¹ Other Wilson relatives had also gone, as he continued, 'Henry and James Wilson is (sic) to sail from Plymouth to Brisbane on the 20 of May. We had a letter from your father (still in Ireland) a few days ago. I believe he has a mind to go to that

¹⁷ *P&RG*, 20 February 1875.

¹⁸ *P&RG*, 10 April 1875.

¹⁹ *Wilson family papers*, William Crawford (Ireland) to William Crawford, Jnr. (Australia), 2 November 1879.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Wilson family papers*, William Wilson (Johnstone) to William Crawford, Jnr. (Australia), 18 April 1880.

country, but I don't think he will get out very soon. I believe it is not very easy making sale of land in Ireland at the present time, to much advantage.²²

In 1879 Thomas Wilson and his family left for New South Wales, to be followed in 1880 by William Wilson. William was considered by his father in law to be 'A good man and honest, and you need not be afraid to trust him.'²³

The Wilsons were a religious family, but had left the Episcopal Church and had become Methodists.²⁴

McFarland Family (Glengarnock)

Thomas and Margaret McFarland came from Seskinore, a Townland near Omagh in County Tyrone. He worked on the local Knox McClintock estate as a coachman and hunt servant.²⁵ The family belonged to the Church of Ireland, attending the church in the grounds of the estate. When the McClintocks were not at home, Thomas was not paid and so he visited the Garnock valley in North Ayrshire, as a seasonal worker, working as a Blast Furnace Man in the local Iron works.

Margaret, his wife, 'having an unsettled wandering type of father, had been at Glengarnock in her teenage years and had worked in Knox's Mill in Kilbirnie. Her experience of living in Glengarnock inspired Thomas to try his good fortune here.'²⁶

Thomas and his wife Margaret moved permanently to Scotland in 1917. Having lost a brother and other family members at the Battle of the Somme in 1916, he took a dislike to the army, and retained an aversion to militaristic organisations, not allowing his sons to join the Boys Brigade.

²² Ibid.

²³ William Crawford to William Crawford, Jnr. 2 November 1879.

²⁴ Wilson family papers, Mr. Ross Wilson, Brisbane, Australia, 2005.

²⁵ The McClintock family settled in Ulster from Argyll. Lt. Col. John Knox McClintock was High Sheriff of County Tyrone in 1891. The McClintock family were enthusiastic huntsmen and in 1860 they established the Tyrone Hunt, renamed the Seskinore Hunt in 1886.

²⁶ John McFarland, *The Fading Breath of the Past: Memories of the Glengarnock Rows*, mss., 1992.

He came to work as a Furnaceman at Colvile's Glengarnock Steelworks, living in 'Rows' provided by the company, with a low rent. He could hardly read or write.

His son, John, in his *Memoirs* recalls the living conditions as 'The Rows':

Sanitation was of a menial standard. There was a "sheugh" (drain) running the full length of the Rows along the pavement, to take away the rainwater from the streets, but people habitually emptied their dirty water into it. Toilets were unknown in those days. They were at the bottom of the garden and grouped in blocks of six or eight over the main sewage pipe. Each closet was shared by three or four families; average families at that time having between four and ten children. Little wonder the diseases of diphtheria and scarlet fever were prevalent. The houses had no running water; instead water was collected in pails from communal pumps.²⁷

The houses were two-apartment, a room and a kitchen. The kitchen was larger and had recesses in the walls where beds were put.

'Having arrived from Northern Ireland, all our belongings were contained in a large wooden chest about four feet long and three feet deep. People were constantly emigrating, and it was from this came one's best opportunity to buy furniture cheaply, as the emigrants had always to sell off everything before their sailing dates. These people in their desperation to clear out, kept prices favourably low to the buyer.'²⁸

The McFarlanes were a deeply religious family. Although his parents could barely read or write, their son John recalls that the two books in the family 'kist' (chest) were *The Bible* and *The Book of Common Prayer*.

Father's reading capabilities were somewhat restricted and mother never being at school couldn't read at all. However, no matter how meagre their combined education was, father, in his own way read [the Bible] to mother, and what was well read was well planted in their memory for mother could always find a biblical quote or reference ... I was fortunate in being blessed with such Christian minded, kind, loving and caring and devoted parents. We were taught to be friendly and helpful to each other, guided by the teaching 'thou shalt not steal' and 'God will provide'. Our parents, in directing us in Christian practice didn't just tell us, they set the example. At the end of each day before going to bed, we had to kneel at the chair in front of the living room bed, and say 'The Lord's Prayer' and 'The Apostles' Creed'.²⁹

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ McFarland, *Memories of the Glengarnock Rows*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

Thomas McFarlane was also a staunch member of the Orange Order. He had joined in Ireland, and transferred into the local Glengarnock lodge, of which he was the Chaplain for many years. His sons also joined the Lodge.³⁰ He was also Master of the Royal Black Institution,³¹ one of the 'higher' orders in Orangeism.

Politically he was a Tory, and was an active member of the local Conservative Association, and regarded the Tory party as being the safest option for 'Crown, Empire and the Protestant faith.' He did not seem to have any aversion to Roman Catholics as people, as his best friend was a Lithuanian Catholic.

The Glengarnock community was made up of many groups, Scots, Irish, Poles and Lithuanians, yet in the 1920s and 1930s there seemed to have been little sectarian conflict. John recalls that

Religion was defended occasionally by a few hot heads on either side. The most aggressive of these seemed to come from mixed religion families, who, from time to time would in anger or frustration, refer to each other as 'Papish swine' or 'Proddy dogs', but that was temporary and soon forgotten by both sects as the impoverished way of life made everyone so dependent on each other, a grand communal way of life that has long since passed away with passing generations.

The McFarlanes got on well with the Roman Catholic neighbours. Again John recalls

I remember the time my mother had diphtheria and was taken to the infectious diseases hospital. All the bed clothes on mother's bed had to be washed: the mattress rigorously brushed with carbolic. At that time we were temporarily locked out and lived with Mrs Lynch next door. There were no thoughts whatsoever of that family catching the infection from us. That was the extent of their kind, considerate affection which prevailed in that great community. The Lynn lassies, who were reared true staunch Catholics, as we were as equally staunch Ulster Protestants, took all mother's bedding outside, plunged them into the big washing bin of disinfectant, lifted their skirts above their knees and got in bare-footed, trampling the blankets rigorously until satisfied that all traces of infection had been thus removed.

Later on in life came our turn to repay the Lynn family. Their mother died, and as was then the custom at Roman Catholic wakes, the coffin was placed on the kitchen table across the front window which had to be draped in white material, usually bed

³⁰ GOLSA, *Roll and Dues Book of LOL 100*, Kilbimie'Glengarnock, 1882 – 1935.

³¹ For the Royal Black Institution, see Haddick-Flynn, *Orangeism*, pp. 355 - 361. The Black Institution carries out ceremonial 'degrees' or stages of advancement on Orangemen, who want a more esoteric and symbolic approach to Orangeism. The Orange Order has two degrees, or stages of initiation, while the Black has eleven. (Haddick-Flynn. p. 419).

sheets. My mother coming from a family with weaving connections (Uncle Bob worked in the Linen Mills near Dungannon), all our bed sheets, covers and table cloths were real Irish white linen with crotched edging. Mother willingly loaned these to the Lynn family to enhance the laying out of Mrs Lynn whilst she lay the customary three days of mourning and wake. From both these incidents, it is obvious that we were, despite our differences of opinion, more or less of the 'live and let live' kind of community.³²

The family would have been marked out as Episcopalians by their devotional habits: they knelt to pray, recited the Apostles' Creed and used *The Book of Common Prayer*. But they ceased attending the services at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Dalry, finding them 'too much like the Church of Rome.' They sent their children to the Presbyterian Sunday School, their sons being active in the Church of Scotland for the rest of their lives.³³

In the main, Irish Episcopalians came from the working or lower middle classes. Within a generation they were assimilated into the indigenous Scots community, and few distinguished themselves in public life. Two important exceptions, however, were Lord Kelvin and John Ferguson. They will now be briefly considered, not simply because they became distinguished, but because each in their own way defied the stereotype of the assumed profile of the Ulster Protestant: Lord Kelvin for his academic brilliance yet combined with an antipathy towards Roman Catholicism; and John Ferguson, in espousing Irish nationalism against Unionism, and his antagonism towards Orangeism.

William Thompson (Lord Kelvin)

William Thompson's family were Scottish Presbyterians, having fled to Ulster in the seventeenth century, settling in the Ballynahinch area of County Down.³⁴ His sister wrote of the family that 'their sympathies ... were with the United Irishmen in 1798.'³⁵

³² McFarland, *Memories of the Glengarnock Rows*.

³³ Interview with Ms. Elaine McFarland, Ardrossan, on her father, John McFarland and her grandfather, Thomas McFarland, 2004.

³⁴ Crosbie Smith and Wise M. Norton, *Energy and Empire: A Biographical study of Lord Kelvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 5.

³⁵ Elizabeth Thomson King, *Lord Kelvin's Early Home* (London: McMillan & Co., 1909), p. 5.

William's father, James, became a mathematics teacher at the Belfast Royal Academical Institution, founded by Presbyterian radicals, and attacked by Dr Henry Cooke, the orthodox champion, as 'an establishment ... denying the Trinity, and corrupting students for the ministry.'³⁶

James Thompson left Belfast, with his family, including his eight year old son William, in 1832 to become Professor of Mathematics at Glasgow University.³⁷

In 1841 at the age of seventeen, William entered Peterhouse College, Cambridge. To be admitted, he had to sign his acceptance of *The Thirty-Nine Articles*, which he did so, thereby converting to Anglicanism. His conversion was no insincere pragmatic gesture, to be discarded when no longer required. It began a life-long adherence, as 'He was in fact a regular and reverent communicant of the Church of England. Later in life he had sittings at St. Mary's Episcopal Church in Glasgow and also attended the Episcopal Church at Largs.'³⁸

On the occasion of his death in 1907, Provost Frederick Deane said, 'he lived and died a loyal member of our Scottish Episcopal Church. Here in this church of St. Mary's, he worshipped for more than quarter of a century.'³⁹

In 1846, at the age of twenty-two, William Thompson became Professor of Natural Philosophy in Glasgow University. His acceptance of the chair was conditional upon his signing his acceptance of *The Westminster Confession of Faith*, which he gladly did, attending Presbyterian services at the University Chapel.⁴⁰ Smith and Wise have noted this ambivalence, recalling a similar attitude in his father: 'This characteristic latitudinarianism heralds James Thompson's distinctive position, but is identical with William Thompson's subsequent religious practice of attending Church of Scotland, Free Church, and Scottish Episcopal services

³⁶ Silvanus P. Thompson, *The Life of William Thompson, Baron Kelvin of Largs*, 2 Vols. (London: McMillan & Co., 1910), Vol. 1, p.23.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol 2, p. 1087.

³⁹ *SC*, 27 December 1907.

⁴⁰ Silvanus Thompson, *Life of William Thompson*. Vol. 2, p. 1087. *The Westminster Confession of Faith*, compiled by 121 divines in 1647, became the most influential authority for Presbyterian Churches.

without regard for denominational differences.’⁴¹ However in a letter to a friend, he expressed privately, ‘That he had adopted the habit of regularly conforming to the Episcopal Church and not appearing more than once or twice or three times a year in the course of a session at the Established Church.’⁴²

William Thompson was regarded as a distinguished scientist and engineer. He did important work in the mathematical analysis of electricity and thermodynamics, and is widely known for developing the Kelvin scale of absolute temperature measurement. In recognition of this, he was knighted in 1866, and was made President of the Royal Society in 1890 and Chancellor of Glasgow University in 1904 at the age of eighty. At his memorial service at Glasgow University, Professor Reid referred to Lord Kelvin as ‘a king among thinkers.’⁴³

In the 1880s, with the gathering momentum for Irish Home Rule, Thompson entered the political arena. Originally a Liberal and a supporter of Gladstone, ‘Sir William Thompson’s political campaigns centred on his deep personal opposition to Gladstone’s policy of Home Rule for Ireland. The liberal, commercial and Protestant values which had originated in the Ulster context of his father provided [William with] the principal motivation for his rigorous opposition to Home Rule.’⁴⁴

In churchmanship, Lord Kelvin was ‘An Episcopalian of low church sympathies.’⁴⁵ His latitudinarianism and credal indifference, however, did not extend any generosity either towards Anglo-Catholicism or Roman Catholicism. His nephew wrote, ‘Of sacerdotalism and ritualism in all its phases and forms he had an unconcealed detestation. He even went once so far as to say that the only sense in which he could regard the “High” Church as high, was the same as that in which game is said to be “high” – when it is decomposing.’⁴⁶

⁴¹ Smith and Wise, *Energy and Empire*, p. 12.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 55, William Thompson to G. G. Stokes, 14 January 1849.

⁴³ *SC*, 27 December 1907.

⁴⁴ Smith and Wise, *Energy and Empire*, p. 801.

⁴⁵ David N. Livingstone, ‘Calvinism and Darwinism: The Belfast-Edinburgh Axis’, John Erskine and Gordon Lucy (eds.), *Cultural Traditions in Northern Ireland* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1997), p. 51.

⁴⁶ Thompson, *Life of William Thompson*, Vol. 2. p. 1087.

His opposition to Irish Home Rule was motivated by his antipathy towards Roman Catholicism, which he regarded as the enemy of liberty and progress. Smith and Wise admit that

To capture Thompson's conception of Liberal Unionism requires that one ... focuses on their convictions that Britain and the British Empire were now the best guarantee of liberty for all citizens of Ireland. When he thought of Ulster's repudiation of Home Rule, he had in view, not the bigotry of a fanatical Protestantism, but the growing economic prosperity of a province – founded on industry, technology and ingenuity – which he believed could prove the means of salvation for the rest of rural Ireland ... Liberal Unionism implied anti-Catholicism, long a feature of Thompson's ... perspective.⁴⁷

John Ferguson

An Irish Episcopalian who took the complete opposite view of Lord Kelvin, and indeed of most of his fellow Ulster Protestants over Irish Home Rule, was John Ferguson.

Born in Belfast in 1836, his father's Presbyterian background had included support for the 1798 United Irishmen's rebellion, but this episode, which the family now viewed with embarrassment, was kept from him until his later years. His mother, Charlotte Ferris was from County Armagh; Church of Ireland by denomination and 'for generations had been adherents of the Orange and Protestant Ascendancy party.'⁴⁸

John grew up with a strong religious ethos, Sundays being used for the study of theology and spiritual matters. He had been a communicant member of St. John's Church, May Fields, a new congregation formed in 1853. He also joined the Church of Ireland Young Men's Society. The Rev. Charles Seaver, the first Rector of St. John's was a charismatic and powerful pastor whose theology was evangelical, low church and conservative. Undeterred by Seaver's fearsome reputation, John publicly disputed with him and for this impertinence was ostracised from his religious connections.⁴⁹

Ferguson migrated to Glasgow in 1860 and married Mary Ochiltree, from a Church of Ireland family in Markethill, County Armagh in 1863. They settled, with their three children in West Cumberland Street on the

⁴⁷ Smith and Wise, *Energy and Empire*. p. 806.

⁴⁸ *Glasgow Star*, 28 April 1906.

⁴⁹ Elaine McFarland, *John Ferguson 1836 – 1906: Irish Issues in Scottish Politics* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003). pp. 11 – 12.

border of Gorbals and Tradeston, in a bustling, densely populated area, 'which had long been a magnet for Irish settlement.'⁵⁰

Being brought up to consider himself a proud citizen of the British Empire and an Ulsterman, rather than an Irishman, within a couple years of arriving in the city, he discovered, 'Not only Ireland, but that I was an Irishman.'⁵¹ There followed much reading and study in Irish nationalist writing.

Unlike most of his fellow Ulstermen, the growing ritualism in the Scottish Episcopal Church gave him no problems; in fact he rather liked it, and was influenced by aesthetic considerations in his choice of worship, finding Episcopal 'services more beautiful than any of the Scottish churches.'⁵²

In 1873, he became a communicant of St. Cyprian's Episcopal Church in Lenzie, but within three years had left the church in protest. Whereas the Irish normally left in protest because of ritualism, Ferguson left because ritualism was forbidden. The Vestry had deposed the previous two rectors, one for his 'ritualistic mode of conducting services, such as reading the communion with his back turned to the congregation.'⁵³

Ferguson became the leader of the Irish Home Rule movement in Glasgow, becoming the founder and President of the city's Home Rule Association in 1871, remaining acutely conscious of the anomaly of a Protestant leading an overwhelmingly Catholic organisation.

Ferguson had a special venom for Orangemen, whom he regarded as 'the henchmen of England.' Orangemen in their turn, hated Ferguson and often 'haunted his political career like a discordant chorus', disrupting his meetings and organising opposition against him.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵¹ *Irish Packet*, 14 November 1903, quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵² *Glasgow Echo*, 1 September 1894.

⁵³ *Minute Book of the Vestry of St. Cyprian's Episcopal Church, Lenzie*, 8 September 1873; 2 February 1876; McFarland, *John Ferguson* p. 55. Ferguson thereafter described himself as being a member of 'The Church of England', which meant, according to the *Glasgow Star* that 'when away from home he always attends the services.' His funeral in 1906 was conducted by a Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Joseph Johnston of Lenzie United Free Church.

⁵⁴ McFarland, *John Ferguson*, pp. 65; 203.

He identified with Gladstone's Liberal party, being aware that it was only from a Liberal government that an Irish parliament could be obtained. However, in the 1880s he became increasingly associated with the emerging socialist and labour movements. Ferguson supported Keir Hardie as an Independent Labour Party Candidate at the Mid-Lanark election of 1888. Hardie had moved away from Liberalism, believing that only an independent Labour Party could properly represent the working classes. The Scottish Parliamentary Labour Party was born in 1888, with John Ferguson taking a prominent role and becoming one of the party's Honorary Vice Presidents.⁵⁵

Conclusion

What has emerged from these sketches is that the Irish Episcopalian community was far from being a homogenous group, and to this extent, represent a microcosm of the whole constituency. The letters from the Crawfords and the description of life in the parish of Drumkeeran, show that Protestants as much as Catholics suffered from the poor conditions of these times. Being members of the Orange Order in Ireland, for example, did not constitute a form of protectionism from unemployment or poverty which had necessitated migration in the first place. Conditions in Scotland were little better for them, as noticed in the prevalence of disease and high child mortality and the state of housing, and recourse to poor relief, as in the case of the Marshalls.

Within Scotland, there was a degree of migration as work became available, as can be seen in the careers of John Elliott and Andrew Nesbit. Many of the Irish emigrated further a field to countries like Canada and Australia. Scotland was not the first choice for William Marshall or the final destination for William Wilson.

Many of them could neither read nor write as evidenced by several putting their 'X' as witnesses on death and marriage certificates. Others like John Ferguson were self educated through reading, while again others like William Thompson achieved academic brilliance. Nor should anti-Catholicism be seen as the exclusive domain of the uneducated, as Lord Kelvin illustrates.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

Almost all these families had ceased their associations with the Episcopal Church by the 1920s, and in very few cases, has this adherence been maintain in succeeding generations. The final chapter will seek to ask why this was.



Plate 11:1
Thomas McFarland, Glengarnock



Plate 11:2
Drumkeeran Parish Church, Tubrid, County Fermanagh



Plate 11:3
Andrew and Sarah Nisbett and family, Jordanhill

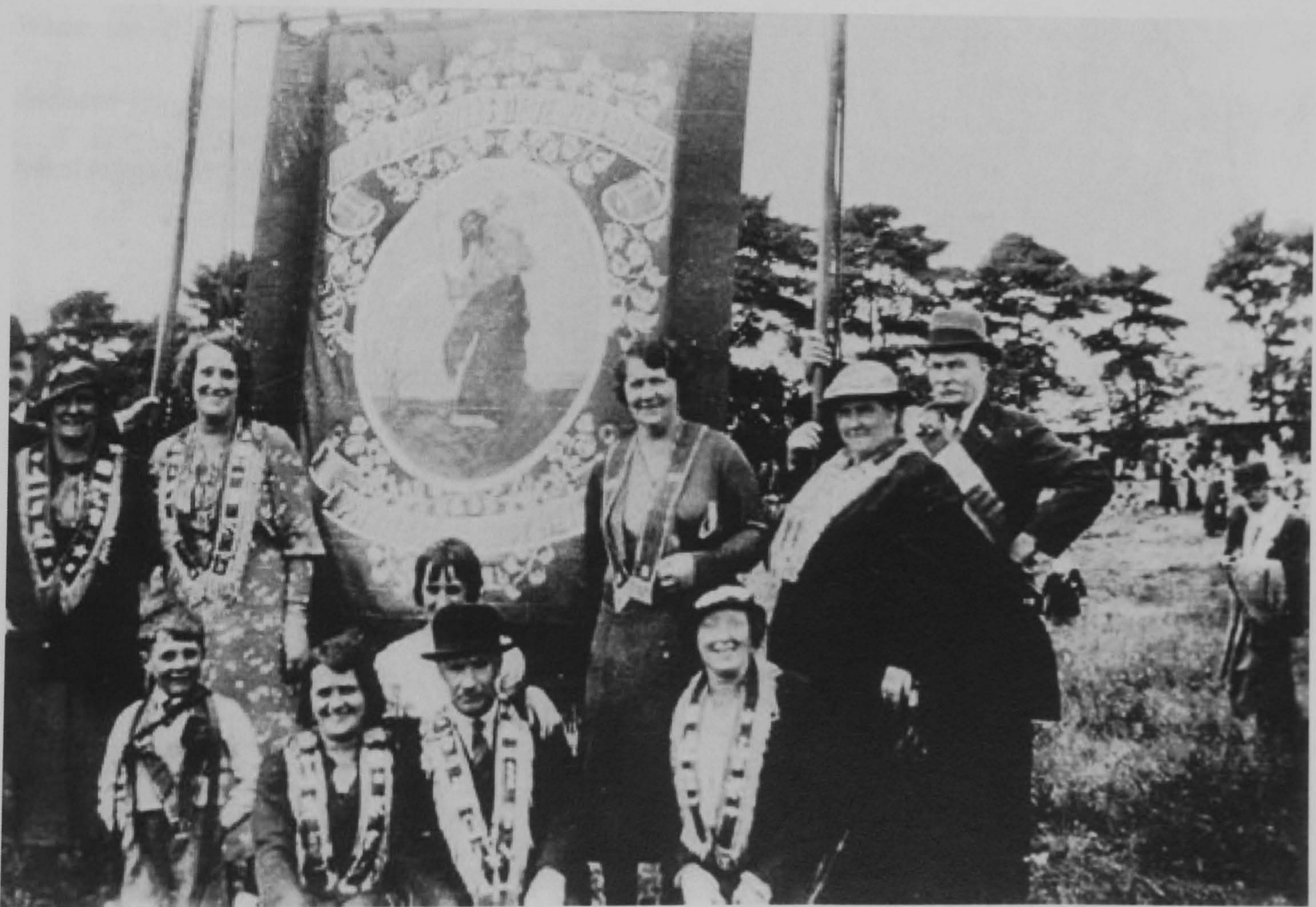


Plate 11:4
Andrew Nisbet, family and other friends from All Saints', Jordanhill
at Orange Walk, Glasgow, 1920s

Chapter Twelve

‘There has been a vast leakage in our ranks.’

This chapter will draw from the various themes and case studies already referred to and will seek to offer a conclusion. Certain questions will be answered, such as why the Scottish Episcopal Church became known as ‘The English Church’, and to what extent this was an accurate description. It will show that the Irish element, which made up the majority of its constituency throughout the nineteenth century, left the Church and some possible explanations for this will be considered. The missionary possibilities for the Church were massive in the Glasgow Diocese, but the strategies and practices of the Church will be examined as having been a contributing factor in the ultimate failure to gather the migrant Episcopalians into the worshipping life of the congregations. The cultural development and religious-historical perspectives of the Irish will be shown to be a factor in their withdrawal, particularly as they engaged with increasing ritualism in worship.

English or Irish

When the Rev. William Stephens addressed the congregation of Holy Trinity, Motherwell in 1898, he declared that he had often heard the Scottish Episcopal Church referred to, not only as, ‘The English Church’, but also sometimes as ‘The Irish Church’.¹

This thesis has shown by the extensive use of newspaper reports, letters and various church records, particularly *Baptismal Registers*, that in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway, although there were waves of English Episcopalian migrants, these were not very significant, and that the majority of Episcopalians in the diocese for most of the nineteenth century were Irish. Detailed sample case studies, where *Baptismal Registers* were cross referenced with Census records such as Paisley, Springburn, Maybole, Dalry, Jordanhill and Ardrossan, show the Episcopal constituency to have been overwhelmingly Irish and not English. Primary sources such as newspaper reports, Bishops’ correspondence and pamphlets relating to churches at Anderston, Christ Church, Motherwell, Girvan and Govan, all indicate an Irish majority, particularly in the early days of the congregations. The Irish dominated the Church, certainly in the numbers of laity, for two generations; a period of seventy years between the 1820s and 1890s.

¹ SG, 29 April 1898.

Their numbers, however, were not reflected in the leadership of the Church in general, where most of the clergy in 1881 were English (Table 12:1 and Appendix 12:1). Nor were they generally included in the leadership even of 'Irish' congregations in the diocese. Almost without exception, the *Year Books* show the Vestry and Lay Representatives to have been drawn from the middle classes, in most cases, not even living within the parish. Of the fifty-eight female student teachers at Dalry House Episcopal Teachers' Training College in Edinburgh, the *1881 Census* showed that only one was born in Ireland. By contrast, over half (thirty-two) were born in England, and twenty four were born in Scotland. Where the place of birth in Scotland is indicated, all came from the centre, the east or north-east of the country, and none came from the west.

The English constituency was exaggerated, even by Bishops and other leaders, especially when applying for funds from Church of England societies like the S.P.C.K. This can be seen not just at Coatbridge,² but also in thoroughly Irish congregations such as at Anderston, for whose benefit a fund raising meeting was held in London, and who were described as 'chiefly members of the Church of England.'³

The epithet 'English' was first used of the qualified chapels in the eighteenth century, which were described locally as 'English Chapels', not so much on account of the ethnic make up of their congregations, but because their liturgy was the 'English' service of *The Book of Common Prayer*, as distinct from the Scottish rite which came to be associated with the Jacobite and Non-Juring congregations. The qualified chapels were required in law to have only clergy in English or Irish orders; hence many Englishmen would have been their ministers. English clergy would have been dominant in the Scottish Episcopal Church throughout the period covered by this thesis, particularly from the middle to the late nineteenth century. Knight notes that Bishop Torry of Edinburgh 'was one of only a few influential voices that were not English either by birth or

² Gina B. Cowan (et al.), *To Grow in Unity: A History of the Churches of St. John the Evangelist, Coatbridge, etc.* (Coatbridge: Monklands District Council, 1994), pp. 20 -2. Bishop Russell wrote to the SPCK in London in 1841, 'On behalf of a colony of English workmen who have settled in my Diocese ... [Coatbridge] I plead for the Englishmen and their families ... There are, besides them, a considerable number of Irish, chiefly miners.' This drew a response from 'A Presbyterian' writing shortly afterwards in *The Witness*, 'Now, whether there be in the district any poor labourers from England, I am not aware.'

³ *Scottish Magazine*, September 1849.

It was technically correct to describe Irish Episcopalians as 'Church of England' as from the Act of Union in 1801 to Diestablishment in 1869, the Churches of England and Ireland were united to form 'The United Church of England and Ireland'. Primate Alexander said that 'in the simple days of the Established Church of Ireland, most of us learned to call ourselves members of the Church of England.'" Eleanor Alexander, *Primate Alexander: A Memoir* (London: Edward Arnold, 1913), p. 7.

education. In southern Scotland, as the 1851 clergy figures bear witness, a priest of Scottish ordination was a rarity.’⁴ In 1881 at the height of the Irish presence, there were only three Irish clergy in the diocese while the English formed the majority (Appendix 12:1). As these were the voices most often heard in the services, together with lay leaders from the local gentry whose accents would have betrayed either an English birth or education, it is not to be surprised if the general population thought of the Episcopal as the ‘English Church.’

Table 12:1

Ethnic origin of clergy in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway

| Year | Total | England | Scotland | Ireland | Other |
|-------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1881 | 48 | 27 (56%) | 18(37%) | 3 (6%) | 0 |
| 1910 | 74 | 30 (40%) | 38 (51%) | 4 (5%) | 2 (2%) |
| 1929 | 83 | 30 (36%) | 49 (59%) | 3 (3%) | 1 (1%) |

Source: SEC Year Book 1881, 1910 & 1929; Bertie "Clergy of the SEC 1688 – 2000"

In February 1909 *The Scottish Chronicle* brought to the attention of the Church that ‘A noticeable feature of the increased population in the West of Scotland during recent years has been the continuous flow of Irish immigrants. The Church in these parts has been alive to her responsibilities in welcoming and shepherding members from the sister Church in Ireland, yet it is generally conceded that in spite of all efforts made to weld together Churchpeople from the two countries, there has been a vast leakage in our ranks, which is somewhat depressing.’⁵

Although the Irish were continuing to arrive in Scotland in tens of thousands each year, successive *Census Reports* saw the actual percentage of Irish-born in Scotland decrease from 6.7 per cent in 1861 to 3.7 per cent in 1911. As the nineteenth century progressed, there was a greater propensity for the English to move northwards. The proportion of English-born residents in Scotland rose from 1.44 per cent in 1841 to 4.0 per cent in 1921.⁶ This change is reflected in the Church’s Baptismal Registers, giving the birth place of the parents.

⁴ Christopher Knight, ‘The Anglicising of Scottish Episcopalianism’, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 1989, Vol. 23, Part 3, p. 371.

⁵ *SC*, 26 February 1909.

⁶ Flynn, *Scottish Population History*, p. 458.

The presence and proportion of Irish in the Church can also be seen in the reporting in the Church's press. Before the 1850s there was very little mention of them, even though they had been providing the church planting impetus in the diocese since the 1820s. But by the 1880s to 1890s, the presence of Irish in the mission congregations, and of Orangeism in the diocese, was being increasingly noted, added to which was the external interest provided by Home Rule and other Irish issues. Yet by the 1920s, comments had diminished, with very little mention after 1926.⁷ The remaining Irish in the congregations apparently no longer gave rise to 'issues' nor were of any significant number to warrant a mention.

Most of the printed church histories from the 1920s and 1930s were written by Anglo-Catholics, who were by now in the ascendancy. Only William Perry mentions the Orange Irish at St. Paul's, Dundee, but dismisses them as 'a large number of poor people, among them a good many Irish, of Orange antecedents, who seldom set foot within the chapel.'⁸ Perry and succeeding writers, even historians writing of the Glasgow diocese,⁹ have completely written them out, as though they had never existed in the first place. The Irish have not been given any lengthy serious consideration as a factor in the Church, until Rowan Strong's book, *Episcopalianism in Nineteenth-Century Scotland*, published in 2002.

Appendix 5:3 listing the churches opened in the diocese in the nineteenth century, shows that from 1817 until 1902 most of those opened were in areas of Irish concentration. However, after 1905, the new churches opened, with a few exceptions,¹⁰ were in areas not associated with Irish migration, but would have reflected a growing English-born population such as at Gretna and Eastriggs; or Scottish middle-class congregations such as those at Kilmacolm, Troon, Prestwick and Clarkston. By contrast, the churches closed at this period were all in Irish areas such as Partick, Gorbals, Harthill, Kingston, Balgray and Larkhall.

⁷ The earliest reference to the Irish in the SEC was found in *Stephen's Ecclesiastical Journal*, September 1835, reporting on Christ Church. After 1929, the only other references were on 'Orangeism' *SG*, 24 July 1931 and 'Belfast Bigotry' in *SG*, 8 May 1936.

⁸ Perry, *Alexander Penrose Forbes*, p. 40.

⁹ Lochhead, *Episcopal Scotland*, pp. 222 – 28; Farquhar (ed.) *Archibald Eam Campbell*, pp. 86 – 110.

¹⁰ The exceptions being Shotts, Stevenston, Larkhall and Rutherglen.

Family histories in chapter eleven, which should be considered as representative of the Irish Episcopalian community as a whole, also show that by the first few years of the twentieth century contact with the Episcopal Church had ended. By the early part of the twentieth century, the parents in these case studies were no longer bringing their children to be baptised in the Episcopal Church, whereas in the previous generation, even for the most nominal, this would have been a point of connection with the Church, and at the same time represented the Church's most fruitful mission field.

Traditionally the Orangemen of Paisley had attended Holy Trinity Church for their annual service, but the *Minute Book* of Paisley District L.O.L. 6 shows that 1913 was the last occasion. Church parades were suspended during the War, but by 1919 the Lodge had resumed its annual service, attending variously the Methodist Central Hall, The Middle Parish Church and Paisley Abbey, but no longer the Episcopal Church.¹¹

A Church census of 1912 to ascertain the country of origin of the membership of the Glasgow Diocese resulted in: Scottish 36 per cent, English 36 per cent, and Irish 28 per cent.¹² One interpretation of this shows the Irish by then to be the smallest of the ethnic groups represented. However, it must also be considered that the survey was of the committed members, rather than the wider constituency, and that among the Scots-born would be many children and grandchildren of the Irish, then the Irish and their descendants still formed a sizeable proportion. An interesting comparison is that by 1891 the majority of Roman Catholics in Glasgow and the west of Scotland were also Scots-born, but it is conceded that these would be second and third generation Irish.¹³

The membership in the diocese became more English as the twentieth century progressed, in keeping with the general population trend. In Glasgow, the English increased in population from 2.45 per cent in 1851 to 3.62 per cent in 1901. During the same period the Irish decreased from 18.17 per cent to 8.88 per cent.¹⁴ By 1911 the percentage of English-born had overtaken the percentage of Irish-born in Scotland, their numbers being similar. This increase continued for the remainder of the twentieth century.

¹¹ GOLSA, *Minute Book of Paisley District LOL 6*, 1913 – 1929.

¹² *SC*, 30 January 1914.

¹³ Damar, *Glasgow: Going for a Song*, p. 57.

Table 12:2

Birth place of Irish-born and English-born population of Scotland, 1841-1911

| Year | Irish-born | | English-born | |
|------|------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| | Numbers | Percentage | Numbers | Percentage |
| 1841 | 126,321 | 4.8 | 37,796 | 1.44 |
| 1851 | 207,367 | 7.2 | 45,903 | 1.59 |
| 1861 | 204,083 | 6.7 | 54,920 | 1.79 |
| 1871 | 207,770 | 6.2 | 69,401 | 2.07 |
| 1881 | 218,745 | 5.9 | 90,017 | 2.41 |
| 1891 | 194,807 | 4.8 | 108,736 | 2.70 |
| 1901 | 205,064 | 4.6 | 131,350 | 2.94 |
| 1911 | 174,715 | 3.7 | 161,650 | 3.40 |

Source: Registrar General for Scotland

Despite growing English migration to Scotland, the membership of the Church continued to decline, proving as Drummond and Bulloch suggested that the English, despite their numbers, made little impact on the Scottish Episcopal Church: 'particularly in the Church, the English have disappeared without a trace. Where have they gone? ... In particular, the incoming English have had no visible effect on the statistics of the Scottish Episcopal Church.'¹⁵ Succeeding generations of Episcopalian apologists have bemoaned the fact that the English generally did not enter the Church in the numbers expected. They have sometimes suggested that instead, they drifted unthinkingly into the Church of Scotland, believing it to be the equivalent of the Church of England. What has often escaped these writers is firstly, that many English Anglicans had been accustomed to more 'Low Church' services and found the Anglo-Catholicism of the Scottish Church not always to their taste. But secondly, that the English were to a great extent nominal in their faith, and perhaps displayed a greater indifference to religious controversies than the Irish, and 'There is reason to think that the great majority went to swell the numbers of the unchurched.'¹⁶

Growth and Decline

The Scottish Episcopal Church began to decline nationally from the mid 1920s, as can be seen in Table 12:3, which mirrors the figures for the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway in Appendix 5:4.

¹⁴ Cage (ed.), *The Working Class in Glasgow*, p. 18, Table 1:5.

¹⁵ Drummond and Bulloch, *Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843–1874*, p. 70.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Table 12:3

Growth and decline in the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1900 – 1970

| Year | Membership | Churches | Clergy |
|------|------------|----------|--------|
| 1900 | 116,000 | 354 | 268 |
| 1910 | 142,000 | 404 | 306 |
| 1920 | 144,000 | 416 | 315 |
| 1930 | 124,000 | 415 | 314 |
| 1940 | 124,000 | 404 | 306 |
| 1950 | 109,000 | 397 | 300 |
| 1960 | 94,000 | 369 | 279 |
| 1970 | 77,279 | 341 | 260 |

Source: *Year Book of the S.E.C.*, 1900 – 1970.

This corresponds firstly with the decline generally in the Scottish Protestant Churches, and secondly with the leakage of the Irish from the Episcopal Church. Although membership figures for all the main denominations continued to grow between 1900 and 1925, Brown has pointed out that the proportion of the population who were members of churches began to decline from 1905. Likewise, the annual growth rate in the Presbyterian Churches fell from 0.6 per cent in 1900 to 0.1 per cent in the 1920s,¹⁷ therefore it would only be a matter of time until the actual membership figures reflected this decline.

White, in noting the decline of the Scottish Episcopal Church from the 1920s, maintains that ‘whatever was happening to the Episcopal Church could not be blamed on internal factors which were not present in other churches.’¹⁸ However, there had been one factor in the growth of the Episcopal Church in Glasgow in the nineteenth century, which, apart from the Roman Catholic Church, was not so present in other Churches: the Irish migrants. Likewise, their leakage in such great numbers as has been demonstrated, would have had a bearing on the overall decline. Table 12:4 suggests that an internal factor was in fact at work in the decline.

Table 12:4

¹⁷ Brown, *Religion and Society*, p. 64.

¹⁸ Gavin White, ‘Ideals in Urban Mission: Episcopalians in Twentieth Century Glasgow’, *The Church in Town and Countryside*, Derek Baker (ed.), Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979, p. 444.

Growth & Decline in the S.E.C. and the Established Presbyterian Church 1851-1925

| Year | Episcopal Church | | Established Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) | | Total aggregate of both churches |
|------|------------------|----------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|--|
| | Membership | Percentage of total aggregate | Membership | Percentage of total aggregate | |
| 1851 | 43,000 | 7 | 566,000 | 92 | 610,000 |
| 1878 | 58,000 | 10 | 515,000 | 89 | 574,000 |
| 1881 | 68,000 | 11 | 528,000 | 88 | 597,000 |
| 1890 | 91,000 | 13 | 593,000 | 86 | 685,000 |
| 1900 | 116,000 | 14 | 661,000 | 85 | 778,000 |
| 1910 | 142,000 | 16.58 | 714,000 | 83.41 | 856,000 |
| 1920 | 144,000 | 16.30 | 739,000 | 83.69 | 883,000 |
| 1925 | 145,000 | 15.96 | 763,000 | 84.03 | 908,000 |

Source: Robert Currie (et al.) *Churches and Church-Goers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles Since 1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 128 – 135. (Numbers rounded to nearest Thousand).

Although the Established Presbyterian Church had far greater numbers than the Episcopal Church, as the century progressed, the gap lessened, as the Episcopal Church grew from being one thirteenth the size of the Established Church in 1851, to one seventh of its size, in 1900. This can also be seen in that the Episcopal Church had an increasingly growing percentage of the total aggregate of both Churches, while the Church of Scotland had an increasingly diminishing percentage. This trend caused excitement in some Episcopal circles, even to the conjecture that at a given date in the future, the Episcopal Church would overtake the Established Church as the largest Protestant denomination in Scotland. It was this very possibility which stalled the building of new Episcopal cathedrals for a while as the Church hoped that by sheer force of numbers, they would inherit Scotland's ancient cathedrals as having become *de facto* the true Established Church of Scotland.¹⁹

This did not happen for various external reasons, firstly because overall, growth would be arrested and decline would become the pattern. Secondly, the Church of Scotland grew from 763,000 members in 1925 to 1,271,000 in 1929 due to most of the Free Church, which had left it in 1843, becoming reunited to it.

¹⁹ White, *Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 47.

As the above table shows, between 1910 and 1920 there was a change in the percentage of the aggregate total of both Churches which pointed to internal rather than external factors. The percentage of Episcopalians began to decline, while those of the Presbyterians began to grow. This would be the continuing pattern for the rest of the twentieth century. Substantive data is lacking, but anecdotal and circumstantial evidence would suggest that many Episcopalians became Presbyterians around this time, thus reversing the popular trend of the mid-nineteenth century when it became fashionable for some Presbyterians to become Episcopalians. This change in percentage after 1910 cannot be attributed wholly to the departure of the Irish, but nor can their demise be ignored as suggesting a major contributing factor.

This next section will examine the factors which caused the Church to lose the bulk of its Irish adherents, by 1929. These factors will be considered under two headings: firstly, the missionary policies and practices of the Church itself, which were not particularly 'Irish' issues, and would have been similar responses, had the mass influx of migrants been Welsh or English. Secondly, there were factors peculiar to the Irish themselves in terms of their historical background and class composition, many of which would not have been so relevant to other migrant groups.

Church Policy and Missionary Strategy

The bishops of the Episcopal Church entered the nineteenth century with no living experience of mission to draw from, their concern having been the preservation of the few remaining Episcopalians in Scotland. Strong has commented, 'The bishops were preoccupied with their own authority during the century and frequently demonstrated that they were unable to understand the new urban populations of their dioceses. Until 1837 they had been quite content to accept the incorporation of both Edinburgh and Glasgow into one massive southern diocese ... [while] large migrations from England, Wales, and Ireland had been occurring in that region for some decades ... The bishops were doing their best to develop congregations within their own dioceses, but there was little sign from them as a group that they were prepared to offer some collective leadership on the new social issues of urban Scotland.'²⁰

²⁰ Strong, *Episcopalianism*, p. 159.

This lack of a central strategy to deal with the urban migrants was mirrored in the Glasgow Diocese where, as has been already noted, it was not until 1850 that home missions came on to the agenda of the Diocesan Synod,²¹ by which time the first generation of Irish Episcopalians in the city had lived and died, mainly without the services of the Church.

Initiatives in mission came from local clergy in response to situations. In most cases, however, they reported that they were simply overwhelmed with the numbers calling upon their ministrations. Yet by 1858 there were still only five Episcopal churches in Glasgow, ministering to tens of thousands of Episcopalians in a city with a population by then of 400,000.

In 'Lessons from the Past' an article in *The Scottish Guardian* of 1932, the Rev. J. Hampton Shepherd wrote, 'The Church in Glasgow in 1858 should have been very much larger than it was. There were thousands who came into the town from other parts of Scotland, from England, and from Ireland, who were nominally Churchpeople, but for various causes were unattached to the Church. Partly due to lack of leadership, through the non residence of the Bishop ... partly through lack of clergy, owing to scarcity of money, very little was done. The Church was content to drift, or at best to expect a rowing boat to do the work of a liner.'²²

The method of mission work was that generally a small building was rented or acquired and a minister put in charge. Often the minister was a Deacon, a Curate or a Lay Reader with little training and no real experience. In many cases he was ethnically and culturally different from his people. The minister had to get out among the local population and find out who were Episcopalians, and when he had attracted their attention, spend much time in visiting, baptising, marrying, burying, preparing sermons and worrying where to find the money to keep the work going. In many cases he left the mission as soon as he could, for a better charge with more money.

The lack of clergy was a crucial element in the impotence of the Church to shepherd effectively their adherents. The Springburn Mission only survived between 1878 and 1879 because a Lay Reader, Mr William

²¹ See chapter five of this thesis.

²² *SG*, 11 November 1932.

Biggar, offered to maintain services, there being no available clergy. The Irvine Mission started in 1889 only existed for its short life because a Lay Reader was in charge. The Motherwell Church maintained its ministry from 1884 to 1885 with a layman, Mr. F. G. Copeland, acting as pastor as no priest was available to take on the new Mission.

The Episcopal Church put far more emphasis on acquiring appropriate buildings than in providing clergy. This seemed odd for a Church which held a more Catholic emphasis on the importance of the ordained ministry and necessity of sacraments. The Church's press was full of appeals for acquiring, building new, extending or replacing church buildings, but never once appealed for funds for the training of more priests, or produced any articles encouraging vocations. This was in contrast to the Roman Catholic Church whose strategy was to put emphasis firstly on the provision of lots of priests, being content for the buildings to come later. Brown notes, 'Partly because of its poverty and partly because its doctrines stressed the availability of pastors rather than buildings, the [Roman Catholic] Church concentrated its efforts on providing clergy until the middle of the nineteenth century, leaving the main part of its church-building schemes until after 1850.'²³

Only a few in the Episcopal Church saw this. Mr Isaac Pearson, a Glasgow businessman, who had taken a particular interest in St. Saviour's Church, Port Dundas, speaking at the Diocesan Synod in 1894, said that it was the lack of man-power which had hindered home missions, not the lack of buildings: 'What was wanted was not so much church-room and accommodation, as help to visit the people in the districts. He had to mix a good deal with the poor in the city and knew that unless they were visited they would not come to church.'²⁴

The buildings themselves posed stumbling blocks to effective mission. On the one hand, many of the missions were started in inadequate rooms situated in the dingy and unnoticed back streets of the city. These could be the back rooms to shops, or rooms above them. Compared with the parish churches of Ireland, they were hovels in wretched conditions which would even have surprised the poorest of the Irish, as being unworthy of the description 'church'.

²³ Brown, *Religion and Society*, pp. 32 – 33.

²⁴ *SG*, 20 July 1894.

On the other hand, and ironically, the opening of fine and spacious new churches was often the point where the Irish poor left the church. This was not because they felt uncomfortable or were unappreciative of beauty, but because the buildings, the accompanying liturgical development, and the oratory of the preachers were attracting more middle class congregations. This happened particularly at Christ Church, Anderston, Springburn and Maryhill. With the increased expenses, the clergy depended more on the moneyed middle classes to keep up these buildings, as well as their stipends. Pew rents were introduced and the poor were edged out. At Springburn, Anderston and Govan, extra early morning or afternoon services were held “for the poorest of the poor”, which in most cases were short-lived experiments. Strong writes, ‘The building of a “proper” church attracted the more respectable and the middle class, which alienated the lower orders who had felt at home in the environment of a hall because there they constituted virtually the entire congregation ... It indicates that the building of a church could be detrimental to the maintenance of a working-class congregation.’²⁵ There were of course exceptions to this at Paisley, Motherwell and Johnstone where the Irish continued to worship in the new building. But these congregations remained fairly homogenous and were pastored by clergy who understood the Irish and tended to be more sympathetic to them.

Bishop Campbell’s famous missionary strategy, continued by Bishop Reid, of closing down the small ‘hen house’ missions and encouraging the congregations to attend the larger churches does not appear to have been successful. Those who were on the fringes of the Church community may have found the larger churches too far to walk to. The larger churches were developing a higher liturgical taste which would not have appealed to most of the Irish. The loss of the local mission would have been felt keenly, and with it, the Church was seen as retreating from the poorer areas and concentrating on the middle class and moneyed areas.

At the bottom line, there was no money to fund any missionary strategy, even if one had been in place. The wealth of Glasgow was not to be found in Episcopalian pockets, but in Presbyterian ones. The Episcopalian congregations were mainly poor, and those richer benefactors among the aristocracy had already given much in the erection of new churches. The Earl of Glasgow, G.F. Boyle, had been effectively bankrupted through

²⁵ Strong, *Episcopalianism*, p. 195.

his generosity to church and educational building projects.²⁶ Time and again the wider Church was appealed to especially after 1901 when the needs of Glasgow, or 'the Glasgow problem' became the concern of the whole Episcopal Church and not just the Glasgow Diocese.

In 1914 the 'Milling Shilling Fund' was launched to provide Glasgow with £50,000 for home missions. The wider Church began to respond enthusiastically when suddenly the Great War began. By the time the War was over, enthusiasm had waned, but in the event, £7,000 had been raised.²⁷ Various attempts were made from the 1920s onwards to revive this aid, but by then the Church had lost interest.

The Church and the Working Classes

It has been traditionally thought that the Irish Protestants being mainly from the working classes, were excluded from the life of the local churches, simply by virtue of their class. This fails to take into account that there was not a working class as such, but working classes. The term 'working class' extended from the 'respectable' skilled artisan or grocer, to the pauper in need of poor law relief or living in a Poor House. Some sought to improve their lot by recourse to education, especially through night classes, while others remained illiterate and could only place their 'X' mark on certificates. Even the oft-used-designation in this thesis, 'The Irish Poor' has been taken from that term used by some to describe the Irish generally but it must be conceded that there were degrees of poverty, and not all the Irish were necessarily poor. Yet the Irish Episcopalians did contain a substantial group who were at the lower end of the scale of poverty. It is probably this lowest order who were most difficult to bring into the life of the Church. Drummond and Bulloch comment of this group that they 'lived in an appalling and secluded poverty ... and who, so far as the Christian Church was concerned, were heathen, unless when Roman Catholic.'²⁸

The Episcopal Church was aware of this class within its constituency, as several of the clergy such as Alexander D'Orsey at Anderston and David Aitchison at Christ Church described as among the sort of people

²⁶ Perry, *The Oxford Movement in Scotland*, p. 62.

Among the larger projects which Boyle contributed to were St. Ninian's Cathedral at Perth, the Cathedral and College of the Holy Spirit on the Isle of Cumbrae and Glenalmond College.

²⁷ *SC*, 27 February 1925.

²⁸ Drummond and Bulloch, *Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843 - 1874*, p. 2.

they visited.²⁹ Special services were held for them, as noted above, yet it is doubtful if the Church ever made much headway among them.

Most Irish Episcopalian congregations would have been made up of the labouring and semi-skilled families, whose daughters and wives would have been textile workers. Hempton and Hill write that 'It has also been recognised, however, that to conclude – as did many Victorians – that the urban working classes were steeped in irreligion, atheism or scepticism, is too simplistic. For a minority of working-class men and women regular church attendance reflected a desire for an orderly, "respectable" life style. Many others accepted the churches' services at important stages of the life cycle – for baptisms, marriages and funeral services as a matter of culture and tradition...'³⁰

There was also to be found among Irish Episcopalians, a popular and personal piety, which was often operative outside the formal and organised life of the Church. This would have included Orangeism, which was seen by some as a quasi-religious movement, and for some members of the Order perhaps, as a substitute church. There was a residual folk religion among both Irish Catholics and Protestants, which did not often fit in with the orthodoxies of their Churches. Ulster Protestants could be capable of independent religious thinking on doctrinal and liturgical matters, which were resented by the clergy, who increasingly saw themselves as the true interpreters of the Catholic faith. An example of this would be the Rev. Charles Brooke's opinion of the Irish at Jordanhill: 'It is very difficult to neutralise the inveterate prejudice of half educated men.'³¹ Some of the Episcopal clergy tended to be paternalistic towards their poorer members.

Generally speaking however, church attendance was not a major priority in the lives of the working classes as it was in the lives of the middle classes. Many working families, after a hard working week which included Saturdays, simply did not have the energy for regular church commitments on Sundays. The printed sermons of the times show them to be lengthy and requiring a fair degree of intellectual ability to follow, which must have tried the patience of the humbler sort. The hedonism for which the Irish were noted would have been

²⁹ For D'Orsey, see chapter seven, and for Aitchison, see chapter eight of this thesis.

³⁰ Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism*, p. 105.

³¹ DGGGA, TD 1382/147/12, the Rev. Charles H. Brooke to Bishop Wilson, 18 August 1879.

preached against by Evangelical preachers, while temperance, not always popular among the Irish, was a fashionable cause among many Episcopal clergy. The migratory character of the working classes would have militated against any commitment to a local church, causing pastoral contact to become more difficult to sustain.

As the twentieth century progressed, the Episcopal Church became increasingly middle class in its congregational make-up. This was the concern of a paper submitted to *The Scottish Episcopal Church Review* in 1998, in which the author, reviewing the social structure of the church in the Diocese of Glasgow during the century, asked if the Episcopal Church had become just a 'Church for the well-heeled.' Producing a list of churches closed, he noted that all were 'in the least wealthy parts of the city ... some of these closures represent the abandoning of a century's work and the abandoning by the church of those most desperately in need of it.'³²

Factors relating particularly to the Irish

Having examined the Church's missionary practice and the working class ethos of the Irish as contributing to their demise from the Church, a consideration will now be given to those factors which related particularly to the Irish, which would not have been so relevant to other nationalities. If the previous issues represented a passive neglect on the part of the Church and indeed of the Irish, the following examples reflect an active belligerence on the part of both parties, which soon led to the parting of the ways.

The Church was divided in its opinion of its Irish and Orange members. In some respects it had, until later in the nineteenth century, been more sympathetic to its Irish element, than the Roman Catholic Church had been to its Irish. Aspinwall writes of 'Unrestrained conflict ... between Scottish clergy and incoming Irish ... Their [Scottish-born bishops] traditional ethnic agrarian culture, their somewhat unobtrusive faith and their conservatism was shaken by the toiling urban masses, with their more exuberant Catholicism and their vulgar democratic activism.'³³

³² Martin Axford, 'A Church for the Well-Heeled?', *Scottish Episcopal Church Review*, 1998, Vol. 7, No.2., p. 23.

³³ Bernard Aspinwall, 'Scots and Irish clergy ministering to immigrants. 1830 - 1878', *Innes Review*. Vol. 47, Spring 1996, pp. 47 - 8.

The Catholic hierarchy was also for the most part, opposed to Irish secret societies. At a meeting held in St. Miren's Church in Paisley in 1883, 'Father Gleeson made reference to the existence of secret societies which he strongly denounced. These societies were known as "St. Patrick's Brotherhood", "The Ribbonmen" and "The Fenian Society". He wished to distinctly point out that a member of a secret society was debarred from being a member of the Church.'³⁴

By contrast, the Episcopal Church had not expressed any concern that many of its members and indeed clergy, were involved in secret societies like the Orange Order and the Masonic Lodge. In fact, several Orange Lodges met on Episcopal Church premises and held their services in the church. Some new buildings such as at Glasgow's Christ Church and Motherwell had their foundation stone ceremonies accompanied 'by full Masonic honours.'³⁵ It was not until later in the nineteenth century that the Episcopal Church became more critical of Orangeism, at a time ironically, when symbols of Irish nationalism were being more sympathetically received within Glasgow's Roman Catholic community.³⁶

As noted in chapters four and six, some of the hierarchy of the Episcopal Church was keen to make the Irish feel part of their church as evidenced by Provost F. Dean's service for Irishmen in 1909 and for Orangemen in 1913, both at St. Mary's Cathedral.

'A Correspondent' writing in *The Scottish Chronicle* in 1921 defended the Low Church ethos of the Church of Ireland and their people in Scotland, and castigated his fellow Scots who did not seek to understand the Irish way of thinking and tended 'to look down their noses at Irish custom and backwardness, and to come forward with friendly gestures towards the Church of Ireland.' He continued: "let it be admitted that to Scottish Church folk, the atmosphere in Ireland is chilling. If the visitor happens to be what is called "High Church"

³⁴ *P&RG*, 5 May 1883.

³⁵ *Stephen's Ecclesiastical Journal*, August 1836, 'Report on the laying of the foundation stone of Christ Church'. The Rev. David Aitchison was Deputy Grand Chaplain of the Freemasons; *Form of Ceremonial of the Laying of the Foundation Stone of Holy Trinity Church at Motherwell*. 'To be laid by Bro. R. K. Stewart, Esq. of Murdostoun, Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master.'

³⁶ An example of this would be the formation of Glasgow Celtic Football Club by Brother Walfrid, a Marist teaching brother, in St. Mary's Hall, Abercrombie Street, in 1887. Bernard J. Canning, *Irish-born Secular Priests in Scotland 1829-1979* (Inverness: Bookmag, 1979), p. 419: 'Many Irish priests working in Glasgow ... took an active part in the revival of the Irish language and the promotion of Irish culture. Some people faulted the priests for such involvement but such an attitude was scarcely reasonable since priests were identified with their flocks at all levels.'

he is indeed apt to feel snubbed. But that feeling of chill experienced by the visitor arises very largely from an inability to appreciate Irish circumstances. Our ecclesiastical kins-folk here are vexed by ill-informed and unhelpful criticism. In the meantime, what Irish Churchmen need at our hands is sympathy. Just because British people do not and cannot perceive the inner spirit of Irish Churchmanship, they confine their remarks to externals. It would be better to refrain altogether.³⁷

Similarly *The Scottish Churchman* in 1926 while noting that many had come from England to join our Church, said 'A still larger number have come from the Emerald Isle – men and women who have been baptised and trained in the Church of Ireland. There are some who belittle the Church of Ireland and who almost sneer at her efforts to make her services attractive to and appreciated by her people. We emphatically disclaim such an unchristian view, for we have seen many good God-fearing families brought up in the plain, simple Church of Ireland form, men and women who were most catholic in things fundamental.'³⁸

That both these writers felt they had to remain anonymous may have betrayed that their sentiments were increasingly not those of the majority. In the 1860s, Dr. Gordon of St. Andrew's had made no secret of his dislike of the Irish, and that efforts to evangelise them had been met with indifference. Other clergy and lay men had written to the Bishops to complain that the Orange Irish were resisting all efforts to lead the churches in a more Catholic direction. Several churches had seen their congregations divided through Irish opposition to what they perceived as Rome ward trends, and this must have left some bitterness.

One clergyman in particular who expressed his frustration with the Irish was the Rev. William Jenkins who had worked with them, both as Curate of St. Luke's, Grafton Street and then as Priest in Charge of St. Columba's, Clydebank. He wrote a series of letters to *The Scottish Chronicle* which began in 1910 and was still being continued in 1919. Jenkins' own Church had seen a schism, which perhaps led to his outburst. Yet some of his complaints seemed valid. Part of his problem was that the clergy of the Church of Ireland were mainly to blame for the attitude of their people in Scotland. He wrote of 'the persistent failure on the part of the Irish clergy to send letters of commendation to our Scottish clergy. There are thousands of Irish Episcopalians in Clydebank, and I regret to say that since I was licensed two and a half years ago, only one member of the Irish Church has been commended to me by any clergyman.' He continued, 'I think the Irish

³⁷ *SC*, 29 July 1921.

³⁸ *Scottish Churchman*, September 1926.

Church hardly deserves all the praise she receives for her missionary work. The defect in losing touch with her members does not affect my district alone; it applies to other parts of Scotland where the Irish congregate in pursuit of employment.’³⁹

By 1912 Jenkins referred again to the schism which had divided his congregation as having been indirectly caused by the Church of Ireland clergy themselves. Previously he had hinted that they had not taught their people any Church principles, or the importance of remaining faithful to their Anglican heritage, or the necessity of being in full communion with recognised sister Churches. He then revealed that ‘Some of the Irish who left my church actually told me that their Irish clergy had encouraged them to go to the schismatic group [Reformed Episcopal Church] rather than go to the Scottish Episcopal Church. One young man said that if I wrote to his Rector in Ireland and asked him to write and advise him to go to a Scottish Episcopal Church he would do so. The clergyman (a Canon) said he could not write in such terms, as his people would resent any kind of interference in Church matters.’⁴⁰

Jenkins further claimed that many of the Irish clergy regarded the Scottish Episcopal Church as being papistical and looked similar to the Church of Rome. ‘I found that a large proportion of these Irish immigrants separated from the Church when they came to Scotland. They would not listen to the meaning of schism; as long as they attached themselves to any religious body that was anti-Roman Catholic, they did not mind what it was. They regarded the Scottish Episcopal Church in the Glasgow Diocese as Roman Catholic! ... Their Bishops and leaders have perpetually raised the “no-popery” cry against the Scottish Church. For instance, I have heard the late Bishop Wilkinson condemned by an Irish Bishop as a papist.’⁴¹

Jenkins’ letters had been replied to, some agreeing; others defending the Irish. But they all agreed that the one main issue which was driving the Irish from the Episcopal Church was ritualism. ‘Ulsterman’ wrote to *The Scottish Chronicle* in March 1909 to say that many of the Irish who came to Scotland had attended church regularly back home, particularly in country areas, but since coming over here had succumbed to the stress and temptations of city life. He continued, ‘There are too many who never were Church-goers at home,

³⁹ SC, 10 October 1910.

⁴⁰ SC, 23 March 1912.

⁴¹ SC, 26 April 1912.

except perhaps once a year on the Sunday before "the Twelfth". The fact is that the Irish problem is only a part of a much greater problem. There are plenty of Scots and English who do not want to go to church but "Ritualism" is the Irishman's excuse.'⁴²

Ritualism, or changes in the ceremonial of worship in a more Catholic direction, slowly evolved within the Scottish Episcopal Church. Its earliest exponent in the Glasgow Diocese appeared to have been the Rev. Alexander D'Orsey who introduced changes at St. John's, Anderston in 1850 which drew the ire of Bishop Trower. These changes comprised of chanting the psalms, choral services, facing east for the creed and omitting the collect prior to the sermon. These, by later standards were very innocuous, but compared to the almost Presbyterian plainness of Episcopal services in the first half of the nineteenth century, were considered dangerously innovative. Dr. Gordon at St. Andrew's was the first priest to wear eucharistic vestments which he began using in 1857. He introduced other changes at St. Andrew's including a surpliced choir and two candles on the altar. This first phase of ritualism was to reach its height in the mid 1890s with the 'Six Ritual Points' as defined by the English Church Union: Eucharistic vestments, the eastward position of the celebrant during the Eucharist, candles on the altar, water mixed with wine in the chalice, wafer bread, and for the most extreme, the use of incense.⁴³

It was mainly in the 'Irish' churches that these practices were introduced. Ball notes, 'Other churches in the city had ritualistic practices; for example, all six Ritual Points were in use at St. Gabriel's, Govan by 1898. Five points were in use at St. Serf's, Shettleston, by 1915. Incense was used at St. John's Baillieston, in the 1930s and devotions were held at St. Mark's, Kinning Park, in the 1930s.'⁴⁴

These would have been considered very 'Romish' by the Irish, but the first few decades of the twentieth century saw ritualism rise to its second and highest phase, as the Anglo-Catholics became the dominant party in the Diocese. By the 1920s and 1930s, the Eucharist in some churches was referred to as 'The Mass', several priests wore birettas and were styled 'Father', holy water was seen in some churches, congregations

⁴² SC, 12 March 1909.

⁴³ Ball, *St. Bride's Church*, p. 23.

⁴⁴ Ball, *St. Bride's Church*, p. 28.

were encouraged to make the sign of the cross and genuflect, the use of sacramental confession was enjoined, and devotions to the Blessed Virgin Mary were interposed in the liturgies. Again, it was in the Irish churches that these practices were introduced.⁴⁵

Strong notes that, 'One of the most useful interpretations of Anglo-Catholicism in the last decade has been that by John Reed who has proposed that in its later ritualistic development ... [it] was deliberately provocative and challenging to prevailing religious respectability.'⁴⁶ Professor Reed added that the degree of ritualism, the strength by which it was enforced, and the sensitivities which it disregarded amounted to a 'bemusing lack of common sense.'⁴⁷

Donaldson has admitted that the Scottish Episcopal Church 'has suffered losses through the alienation of congregations by innovating clergy.'⁴⁸ That the extreme ritualism of Anglo-Catholicism has been a leading cause in the numerical decline of the Church has been suggested by at least two historical sources, one from outside the Church and the other from within. The Presbyterian historians Drummond and Bulloch concluded, 'The nineteenth century was a period of rapid growth for the Episcopal Church in Scotland, but the impression made on the national life was disappointingly small ... the memory of Bishop Forbes [of Brechin, the leading Tractarian and 'Puseyite'] has been so honoured and his type of churchmanship so followed in the Episcopal Church that few have cared to ask whether the halt in its growth, which came in time, and its subsequent decline may not have been due to the acceptance by the clergy of his Anglo-Catholic standpoint, an indifference to the consequences among laity on the fringe, and a reaction ... against forms of worship more advanced than their wishes.'⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *SG*, 8 October 1937, 'St. Martin's, Polmadie [see note 4:110] The Rector, Fr. Beardall is Superior of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament. At St. Martin's there is a daily Mass, a Sung Mass every Sunday. Confessions are heard at fixed times.'

⁴⁶ Strong, *Episcopalianism*, p. 236.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: Church and Nation through Sixteen Centuries* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1972), p. 107.

⁴⁹ Drummond and Bulloch, *Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874*, p. 212-3.

From within the Church, Bishop Charles Wordsworth of St. Andrews, in 1852, 'regarded Tractarianism as fatal to the progress of the Church in Scotland.'⁵⁰ For the Episcopal priest, Rowan Strong, 'Tractarianism created as much division in the Episcopal Church as it did support ... [and] alienated many in the Episcopal Church including those steeped in the nonjuring tradition of the north...'⁵¹

The nineteenth century was a time when differences between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism mattered. In the seventeenth century, as the Scottish Episcopal Church sought the protection of King William III in 1689, it was keen to assert its robust Protestantism. In the appointment of commissioners to plead their case, their first instruction was, 'That the said commissioners take care to make and full and free remonstrance of their zeal for the Protestant religion.'⁵² Towards the end of the eighteenth century as the Church was negotiating for release from the penal restrictions, they were again keen to assert their solid Protestant credentials. On the death of Charles Edward Stuart, 'the young pretender,' in 1788, the Church made a declaration of loyalty to King George III, beginning, 'On the 24 April, the Protestant Bishops in Scotland having met at Aberdeen.'⁵³

The Church emerged into the freedom of the nineteenth century with its official title: 'The Protestant Episcopal Church in Scotland.' Although Bishop Jolly had objected to the insertion of the word 'Protestant' in the title of the Church, the Synod of 1829 retained it.⁵⁴

However, the word 'Protestant' came to be disliked more and more by the leaders of the Oxford Movement. Chadwick writes that the aspect of the Movement which rankled in the public, or the academic mind, was the apparent hostility to the Reformation believed to be attributed to the Tractarians. This belief had been founded when Keble and Newman published the first two volumes of Froude's *Remains* in 1838. In 1833

⁵⁰ *SG*, 19 August 1949,

⁵¹ Strong, *Episcopalianism*, pp. 27 -8.

⁵² Aberdeen Diocesan Archives, Mss. 3320, Section 1 51/7, 'Instructions given to Representatives of the Synod of Aberdeen', in Nimmo, *John Skinner*, Appendix VII.

⁵³ John Skinner, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, Vol. ii, p. 688, in Nimmo, *Ibid.* p. 124.

⁵⁴ *Code of Canons of the Scottish Episcopal Church* (Edinburgh: General Synod, revised in 2005), pp. 7 - 8.

Froude wrote about 'that odious Protestantism sticks in people's gizzards', and by 1835 had said, 'I hate the Reformation and the reformers more and more'⁵⁵

It may have been an ironic coincidence, or a deliberate move, but the word 'Protestant' was for the first time omitted from the title of the Church and from the Code of Canons in 1838.⁵⁶ The Church and its members however, did continue to be styled as 'Protestant Episcopalians' for some time afterwards.⁵⁷

Anglo-Catholic priests, by the early twentieth century, while emphasising the Catholic nature of the Episcopal Church, were downplaying and even denying its Protestant side. Ritualism was increasingly being seen by both sides as anti-Protestant. Irish congregations such as St. Gabriel's at Govan were being told by their priest, the Rev. T. A. Lewis in 1909, 'It is unscriptural to call yourself High Church, or Low Church, or Protestant. These are in reality party nick-names, and as such to be studiously avoided by all who long for the union of Christian people. As regards ritual, both in the Old and New Testaments it was always conducted with great reverence and solemnity, and also with great magnificence.'⁵⁸

To the Irish, the Episcopal Church in the Glasgow Diocese, with one or two exceptions, was looking and sounding increasingly like the Church of Rome. Efforts to justify Catholic ceremony and doctrine from ancient usage, and being non-Roman,⁵⁹ were making little impression. However persuasive the logic, 'to immigrants and visitors in Scotland from the 1840s when the purported Romanizing of the Tractarians became a commonplace, and who were unaccustomed to such worship, the conclusion seemed obvious. Here was a church that had sold its Protestant soul to Rome or to the Puseyites.'⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Chadwick, *Mind of the Oxford Movement*, p. 53.

⁵⁶ *Code of Canons of the SEC*, p. 9.

⁵⁷ DGGGA, TD 1382/146, Petition to form an Episcopal Church in Girvan, 2 March 1846, 'At a meeting of Protestant Episcopalians residing at Girvan.' A note attached to this petition says it was written in the handwriting of the Rev. William S. Wilson, incumbent of Ayr and later to be Bishop.

⁵⁸ *SC*, 4 June 1909.

⁵⁹ F. F. Laming (Provost of St. Mary's Cathedral), *Is it Roman Catholic?* (London: The Church Union, n.d.).

⁶⁰ Strong, *Episcopalianism*, p. 262.

The 1920s represented the period of divergence between northern Irish Protestants who were associated with or sympathetic to the Orange Order, and the Scottish Episcopal Church. From now on, to be a member of both, could mean being held in suspicion by each side. The Episcopal Church had grown weary of Orangeism which it had seen as divisive and obstructionist towards what it regarded as progress in worship. The Orange Order on the other hand, regarded the Episcopal Church with suspicion, as being at best, weak on Protestantism, and at worse, a 'Trojan horse' for Roman Catholicism. The Order did not need the favour of the Church anyway. The 1920s to 1930s was the period in which the Orange Order achieved its peak of membership and influence in Scotland. Its numbers may have been around 40,000.⁶¹ In 1923, it had returned Hugh Ferguson as the 'Orange and Protestant Party' member of Parliament for Motherwell and Wishaw. One of its members, Sir John Gilmour, was Conservative Secretary of State for Scotland.⁶² Scottish Episcopal clergy were no longer prominent in Orangeism. In 1923 of the twenty-five Grand Chaplains, most were Presbyterians or Independents. There had been no Episcopalian Grand Chaplains since 1908 and both these were ministers in the Reformed Episcopal Church.⁶³

Orange Order Chaplains who were Presbyterian ministers had thriving churches in the parts of the city where Episcopalians had a larger than average proportion of the population, inevitably drawing disillusioned Episcopalians into their ranks. The Rev. Robert Gault, Ulster-born Free Church minister at Kingston near Govan, was one of the earlier of these. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Rev. Robert Dignum had a large Presbyterian Church at Partick, while a mile or so further west, the Rev. David Ness, who had become Grand Master of the Order in 1900, was Minister of Whiteinch Parish Church.

By the 1920s, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland was also going through an anti-Catholic phase. In 1923 the Kirk's Church and Nation Committee submitted its report entitled, *The Menace of the Irish Race to our Scottish Nationality*. The report highlighted a number of religious themes such as the state funding of Catholic schools, the Church's attitude to mixed marriages and the Vatican's 'scheming'. However the report

⁶¹ Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, p. 106.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 127 – 8.

⁶³ *Report of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland*, June 1908 and 1923.

insisted that the 'Orange Irish [were] loyal and Protestant, [and] exempt from criticism'⁶⁴ Weighing up the alternatives between both churches in the 1920s, only the most dogged Irish Episcopalian would have remained loyal to his church.

A large section of Irish adherents had never really been part of the Church to begin with, and their loss would be mainly reflected in the reduction of the number of baptisms and funerals. The leakage probably began to be noticed towards the end of the nineteenth century and was in full flow by the 1920s. However, a number of the Irish did remain in the Episcopal Church. Holy Trinity, Motherwell retained them until the 1940s; the 1974 *Centenary Brochure* of St. John's, Johnstone said, 'The Irish influence in the congregation is still quite marked, though not so large as in former years. The congregation is composed of members of Scottish, Irish and English origin in almost equal numbers.'⁶⁵ Orange Lodge services were being held at St. John's, Greenock and St. John's, Johnstone, in the 1980s.

In seeking to ascertain where the Irish who left the Church went in terms of denominational commitment, not a great deal of evidence has been uncovered and more work needs to be done on this. The existing evidence does, however, suggest some possible conclusions. Mention has already been made, that the Presbyterian Churches were becoming attractive and welcoming to them. Mr John Davies, an Ulsterman, who had worshipped for many years in the Scottish Episcopal Church and had had no problem with the ritualism wrote to *The Scottish Chronicle* in 1909: 'I can in my mind's eye see a parishioner from most of our Belfast churches carrying letters of commendation, to, say, the Rector of Christ Church, or St. John's, Anderston or St. Peter's, Cowcaddens. I am certain that he would not continue his attendance at any of these churches, and the probability would be that he would find his way to the Established Presbyterian Church.'⁶⁶

The Methodist Church would have been another alternative. Although Scotland had proved hard ground for the cause of Methodism, it had succeeded in founding many churches in the industrial west of Scotland, particularly in places like Partick, with its strong migrant community. Methodism had been better received in Ireland, and as previously noted, the Crawford family from Paisley were staunch supporters of Methodism by

⁶⁴ Steve Bruce (et al.), *Sectarianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), pp. 41 – 2.

⁶⁵ *St. John's Episcopal Church, Johnstone Centenary Booklet* (Johnstone: St. John's Church, 1974), p. 7.

⁶⁶ *SC*, 4 April 1912.

the time they settled in Australia. The Rev. Frank Binns, the last Rector of St. Margaret's, Mossend, wrote to his Bishop in 1940, just as the church was closing, after struggling on with a few members for many years: 'The Methodist Minister here has informed me that there were a few on his roll who used to worship at St. Margaret's, but who, because of the changes and nature of the services introduced here, left the Church. We have lost them, when we could have kept them.'⁶⁷

Various independent mission halls sprang up in Glasgow, following the evangelistic mission of the American evangelists, D.L. Moody and Ira Sankey to the city in 1874. These included The Tent Hall in the heart of the Irish Saltmarket area. Elspeth King claims that the importance attached to hearty singing, the lack of formality and hierarchy, gave the mission halls an edge over the established churches, as far as the working classes were concerned.⁶⁸ The Women's Orange Lodges, formed in 1909, had standard hymns sung at various points in their ritual.⁶⁹ With only one paraphrase from the traditional hymnary, all their hymns are from Sankey's *Sacred Songs & Solos*: 'There's a royal banner'; 'Safe in the arms of Jesus'; 'Bringing in the sheaves'; 'God be with you 'till we meet again', thus showing the influence of the mission hall on the religious side of Orangeism in Scotland.

Around the early part of the twentieth century there were a number of Ulster-born preachers, 'several of whom', writes Graham Walker, 'were former members of The Church of Ireland.'⁷⁰ Among them were pastors like the Rev. James Brisby who founded his Christian Union Church in Calton.

It is probable, however, that given the nominalism of many of the Irish working classes to begin with; they went nowhere and were simply lost to all the churches.

During the period considered in this thesis, the Scottish Episcopal Church lost not only the Irish, but also to a great extent, the Highlanders and the Highlands themselves, once the Church's traditional stronghold. Brown

⁶⁷ DGGGA, TD 1382/285, the Rev. Frank Bins to Bishop John How, 22 January 1940.

⁶⁸ Elspeth King, 'Popular Culture in Glasgow', *The Working Class in Glasgow*, p. 165.

⁶⁹ GOLSA, 'Odes for use in Women's Lodges', 1909.

⁷⁰ Walker, 'The Protestant Irish', p. 60.

has seen that, there was a sweeping loss of peasant adherents in the Highlands, the north-east, Perthshire, Angus and Kincardineshire as Presbyterianism grew in strength in the north of the country after 1750.⁷¹

A desperate shortage of clergy in the nineteenth century and the Disruption of 1843 were considered a major cause why Episcopalians 'lost the Highlands.' T. Wedderburn of Lochaber, writing to *The Scottish Chronicle* in 1909, said that 'our people found the thunder and lightning sermons and the homely extemporary prayers more exciting and less difficult to follow than the flowery language of the Prayer Book.'⁷² Whole Episcopal congregations were even swept into the new Free Church, including that which had gathered round the Duchess of Gordon at Huntly, herself a convert to the new movement.⁷³

The attitude of at least one bishop towards endeavours to bring back the lapsed Highland Episcopalians into the fold was, 'They were far better away, and had better be left alone.'⁷⁴ It is possible that others felt the same about the Irish.

In the Church becoming more Catholic in one sense, it became less Catholic in another. It lost a great deal of its broad appeal, and forfeited the allegiance of many diverse social and religious groups, who could have found a home within its breadth. The Church, as true to its Reformed and Catholic emphasis, should have continued to develop liturgically, but also endeavoured to make sure that several churches within that breadth were encouraged to keep a 'lower' approach. The Rev. Walter Riches of Govan was one who thought so and 'always maintained that certain churches in Glasgow should be kept purposely low for north of Ireland people in order that their Orange Lodge services might be held there as an advertisement, instead of going to the ... Presbyterians.'⁷⁵

⁷¹ Brown, *Religion and Society*, p. 35.

⁷² *SC*, 5 February 1909, letter from T. W. M. Wedderburn.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, letter from W. M. Tuke.

⁷⁴ *SC*, 26 February 1909, Letter from 'Old Meldrum' referring to James Chinnery-Haldane, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles from 1883 to 1906.

⁷⁵ DGGGA, TD 1382/803, Mss. by Edith B. Hill, 'St. John's Mission, Irvine'.

By 1950, Bishop John How had reflected on the losses the diocese had suffered through insensitive clergy forcing change on unwilling congregations. He wrote to one priest, 'The people are highly appreciative of your kindness and your friendly ways in pastoral work, but they are clearly distressed at what they regard as your "High Church" ways. In fact, I understand that some people have definitely been alienated by your "goings on" in Church and say they cannot continue to attend under the present regime. We are never going to win our people to Christ and the full life of the Church by introducing extraneous ways and customs into our Liturgy.'⁷⁶ To another he wrote, 'I note you have arranged a full programme of ceremonies for Holy Week, without any reference to me. I regret to notice that you quite unnecessarily use the word "Mass." This is certainly unwise in view of the very mixed nature of the congregation and will not tend to draw in the people on the fringes— which is what we ought to be trying to do.'⁷⁷

The Orange Irish had to a large extent left the churches in the Diocese, the Highlanders were never fully catered for, the Evangelicals were to remain a relatively small group, but ironically, the ascendancy of the Anglo-Catholics also came to an end around the 1950s and 1960s. Ball lamented in 2004, 'For the past fifty years, Anglo-Catholicism has been in decline. Almost all of the churches which shared Anglo-Catholic practices with St. Bride's in the first half of the century have closed. Most Episcopalian congregations now have church services which are very different from those they had in the 1920s.'⁷⁸ The 'second phase' high ritualism of the 1920s has now almost disappeared from most of the churches in the Diocese. This does not mean they have become Low Church; rather, the first level of ritualism, that as defined by the English Church Union, has now become the norm. Orangeism itself became more moderate in Scotland, causing several to leave it because they considered it was not anti-Catholic enough, and had become more of a social fraternity than an effective force for Protestantism.⁷⁹

Conclusion

⁷⁶ DGGGA, TD 1382/283, Bishop John How to the Rev. Thomas Leedham, 28 March 1950.

⁷⁷ DGGGA, TD 1382/282, Bishop John How to the Rev. Philip Greville, 30 March 1950.

⁷⁸ Ball, *St. Bride's Church*, p. 28.

⁷⁹ Brown, *Religion and Society*, p. 194; Steve Bruce, *No Pope of Rome: Militant Protestantism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing, 1985), pp. 234 – 41, cites militant Protestant clergy who left the Orange Order because it did not take an effective stand against the Papal visit in 1982. Also the Orange Lodge in Liverpool accepting the offer by the Dean and Chapter to hold their annual service in Liverpool Cathedral, on condition that they did not disrupt the papal visit.

To what extent was the Church's ministry to the Irish a success or a failure? At one level these are inappropriate measurements, as spiritual life, faith and commitment may be going on 'successfully' in the lives of individual people, where church institutions are 'failing.' The 'failure' to retain the contentious groups among the Irish, may have been hailed by some as the 'success' of getting rid of a troublesome element.

Positively, at one level, there might not have been a Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway, or it might have come much later and been a lot smaller, had it not been for the Irish. Their migration to the West of Scotland in such great numbers certainly motivated sections of the Church into mission, evangelism and church planting, where previously, maintaining the remnant had been the Church's preoccupation. The Church's response in providing schools, social welfare and pastoral care was admirable. Many of the churches did not experience any trouble, and often the relationship between people and priest was harmonious. The Diocese was certainly missionary, in that it sought to minister, and indeed extended the influences of religion to the comfort of thousands who would have lived in practical 'heathenism' had it not been for the pastoral care of the Church.

But the migration to Scotland of the Ulster Protestants coincided historically with a time when Protestantism was feeling threatened, for example, by the Oxford Movement, which had rediscovered Anglicanism's Catholic heritage, but had also shaken its Protestant foundations. The Scottish Episcopal Church was ministering to a situation unprecedented in its history, and many priests were unable to appreciate the sensitivities required for that period. Ritualism was introduced, often to please a few influential and moneyed people, while the majority looked on in bemusement, anger, or simply ceased attending. The loss of thousands of adherents was apparently a price worth paying. The Roman Catholic Church was growing in Scotland and England, and this was seen as 'papal aggression' and a threat to the whole Protestant Constitution and Church. Home Rule for Ireland was a frightening prospect for most Protestants, and in 1912 most of them signed *The Ulster Covenant*, hinting that if they had to, they would take up arms to defend their refusal to accede to Home Rule. Given another time, with different circumstances, things might have been different.

To equate Irish Protestant migrants as a homogenous group has been seen to be an over-generalisation. Within that mainly Unionist community, there were Nationalists; as well as those who were opposed to

ritualism, were some who loved the sense of ceremony, colour and occasion; as well as those who protested and left, there were many who quietly acquiesced or stayed because they found the worship meaningful. Even within the Orange Order, there were deeper and lighter shades.

Worship in the Church in general has evolved over the centuries and the 'right' way to worship has been the cause of much debate and the cause of many new denominations arising. Within the Reformed family of Churches, those closest to Calvin's Geneva adopted the 'normative' principle, whereby nothing was allowed in worship except that specifically enjoined by scripture. This, taken to its extreme conclusion, has led to an austerity hardly seen today. Even the Presbyterian Churches have introduced changes which would have been unrecognised or unacceptable two hundred years ago. The Anglican Churches on the other hand, opted for the 'regulative' principle in worship, whereby anything which was not expressly forbidden by scripture was allowed, if it was seemly and reverent. Ritual could be seen either as a hindrance or a help to worship.

The Church of Ireland itself has changed in the twentieth century, and coloured stoles, candles on the altar, and the priest wearing a white alb to preside at the Communion Service, are often to be seen.

Some parallels can be drawn from contemporary issues in the wider Church in Britain today, especially in terms of the large number of economic migrants continuing to arrive in the United Kingdom.

The past few decades have again seen hundreds of thousands of migrants enter the United Kingdom in search of employment. Many of these are members of sister Churches to the ones they have sought out in their adopted homeland. Yet they come with different cultural values, and even preferences in worship. This was noted in the West Indians who came in the 1950s and often expressed that they felt unwanted in some British Churches. Many of these have left the denomination of their baptism, and the plethora of 'Black' Churches in Britain has in some respects mirrored the issues in this thesis.

Many of the migrant worshippers come from a background which is much more conservative than their equivalent churches in Britain. The Russian Orthodox Church in London is experiencing these tensions as 'There are some 100,000 Russians living in London alone. The older members feel overwhelmed by the

newcomers – who want to hear services entirely in Russian ... and to install an ethnic Russian as Bishop so that they could feel that, in church at least, they were still at home in Russia.’⁸⁰

The Scottish Episcopal Church today has its tensions, but battle lines are very different from previous generations. The issues which threaten to split the Anglican Communion call for an amazing level of tolerance and understanding, and the Church has conceded that ultimately they may be irreconcilable. The defection of one group or the formation of new Anglican ‘denominations’ are not the answer as schismatical groups like the English or Reformed Episcopal Churches struggled to find any relevancy for their existence after a short time. Their withdrawal from the larger body of Episcopalians lessened their influence, apart from within the confines of their own particular circles, and the departure of so many Evangelicals, deprived the Episcopal Church of much vitality.

The unfolding of history showed that ultimately there were no victors and all were losers. In the study of the groups in this thesis, the Anglo-Catholics were not ultimately victorious, nor were the Irish who left to form separate groups; all lost in the end. The losers were more importantly, the thousands of, mainly poor people outside her influence, whom the Church failed to win.

⁸⁰ *The Times*, 3 June 2006.

Appendix 1:1
Table showing Missions and Churches opened in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway, 1817 - 1899

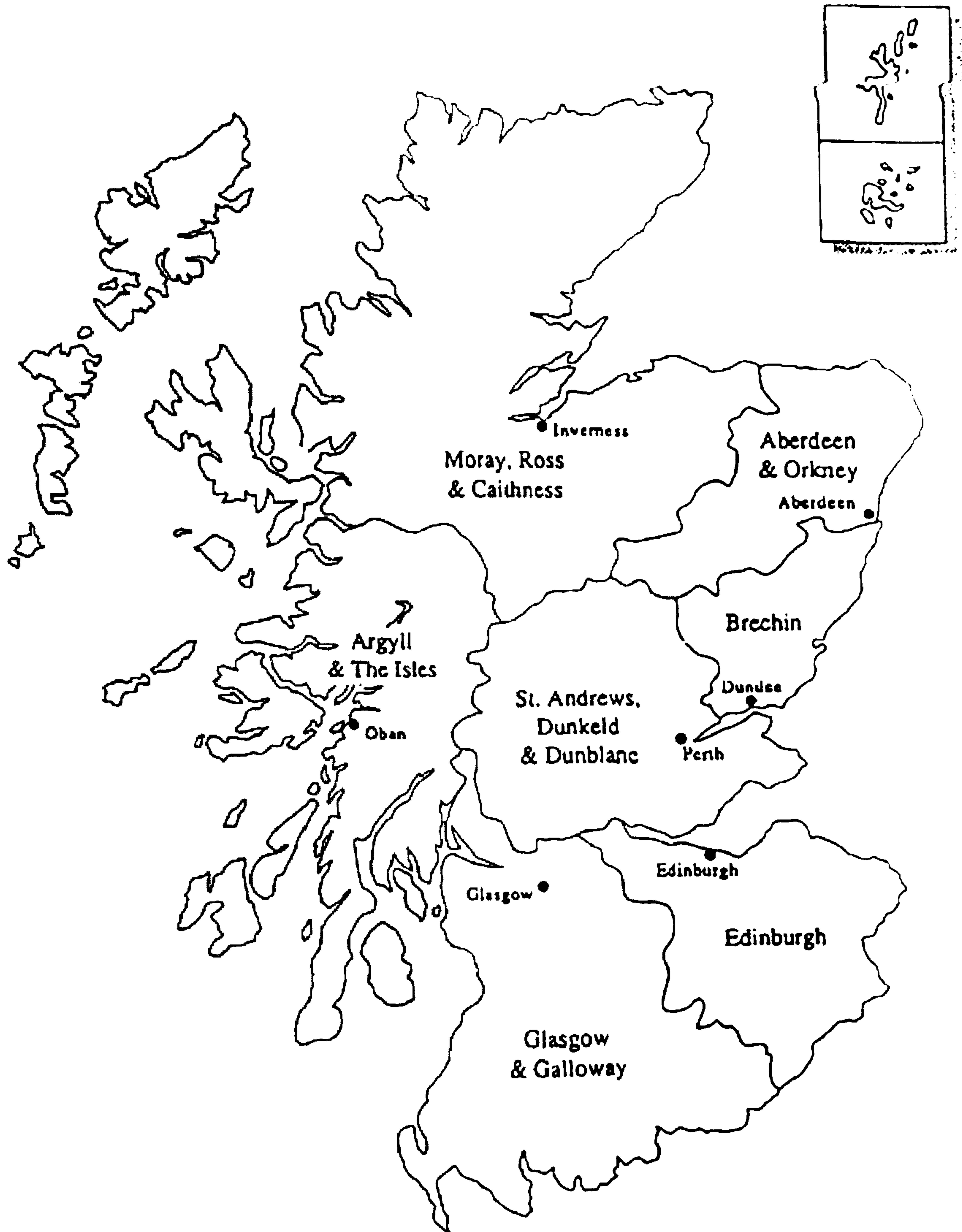
- Key:**
- i) Founded for Irish, or Irish formed significant part within the first few years (proved)
 - ii) Assumed Irish presence in significant numbers
 - iii) Unlikely that many Irish were there (or no evidence so far)
 - iv) Date / Date Indicates initial founding and re-starting

| Town | Dedication | Year of founding | Year of Closure |
|---|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Airdrie | St. Paul | 1883 / 1893 | |
| Alexandria | St. Mungo | 1877 | |
| Annan | St. John | 1841 | |
| Ardrossan | St. Andrew | 1873 | |
| Ayr | Holy Trinity | 1743 / 1832 | |
| Ayr (Wallacetown) | St. John the Baptist | 1893 | 1954 |
| Bearsden | All Saints | 1897 | |
| Cambuslang | St. Cuthbert | 1899 | |
| Castle Douglas | St. Ninian | 1855 | |
| Clydebank | St. Columba | 1888 | |
| Coatbridge | St. John | 1841 | 1992 |
| Dalbeattie | Christ Church | 1873 | |
| Dalry | St. Peter | 1886 | |
| Dumbarton | St. Patrick/St. Augustine | 1847 | |
| Dumfries | St. John | 1689 | |
| Dumfries (Maxwelltown) | St. Ninian | 1891 | 1979 |
| Gartcosh | St. Andrew | 1895 | 1995 |
| Girvan | St. John | 1847 | |
| Glasgow (Jordanhill) | All Saints | 1853 | |
| Glasgow (Mile End) | Christ Church | 1834 | 1978 |
| Glasgow (Calton) | Green St. Mission | 1855 | 1856 |
| Glasgow (Partick) | St. John (Anderston) | 1870 | 1885 |
| Glasgow (Partick) | St. Partick (Hyndland) | 1898 | 1911 |
| Glasgow (Partick) | St. Faith (Hyndland) | 1904 | 1910 |
| Glasgow (Partick) | St. Silas Mission | 1865 | 1951 |
| Glasgow (Pollockshaws) | St. Ninian's Mission | 1870 | 1874 |
| Glasgow (Blythswood) | St. Bamabas | 1893 | 1902 |
| Glasgow (Hyndland) | St. Bride | 1891 | |
| Glasgow (Balgray Row) | St. Christopher | 1899 | 1927 |
| Glasgow (Bridgeton) | St. Columba | 1894 | 1967 |
| Glasgow (Govan) | St. Gabriel | 1891 | 1996 |
| Glasgow (Govan) | St. Michael | 1875 | 1963 |
| Glasgow (Maryhill) | St. George | 1870 / 1882 | 2005 |
| Glasgow (Springburn) | St. James the Less | 1875 | 1980 |
| Glasgow (Anderston) | St. John | 1846 | 1959 |
| Glasgow (Baillieston) | St. John | 1850 | |
| Glasgow (Blythswood) | St. Jude | 1837 | 1891 |
| Glasgow (Townhead) | St. Luke | 1865 | 1952 |
| Glasgow (Gorbals) | St. Margaret | 1882 | 1906 |
| Glasgow (Kinning Park) | St. Mark | 1888 | 1953 |
| Glasgow (Polmadie) | St. Martin | 1885 | 1983 |
| Glasgow (Possilpark) | St. Matthew | 1894 | |
| Glasgow (Southside) | St. Ninian | 1866 | |
| Glasgow (Charing Cross) | St. Paul | 1871 | 1888 |
| Glasgow (Cowcaddens) | St. Peter | 1867 | 1963 |
| Glasgow (Port Dundas) | St. Saviour | 1891 | 1954 |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|------|------|
| Glasgow (Woodlands) | St. Silas | 1863 | |
| Glasgow (Garngad) | 4 Missions | 1879 | 1934 |
| Glasgow (Newlands) | St. Margaret | 1898 | |
| Glasgow (Shettleston) | St. Serf | 1899 | |
| Gourock | St. Bartholomew | 1856 | |
| Greenock | St. John | 1824 | |
| Greenock (Cartsdyke) | St. Stephen | 1871 | 1971 |
| Hamilton | St. Mary | 1842 | |
| Harthill | Harthill Mission | 1878 | 1920 |
| Helensburgh | St. Michael | 1841 | |
| Irvine | St. John | 1889 | 1902 |
| Johnstone | St. John | 1873 | |
| Kilmarnock | Holy Trinity | 1851 | |
| Kirkcudbright | Greyfriars | 1878 | |
| Kirkintilloch | St. Mary's | 1898 | 1955 |
| Lamington | Holy Trinity | 1858 | 1983 |
| Lanark | Christ Church | 1853 | |
| Langholm | All Saints | 1887 | 1996 |
| Largs | St. Columba | 1849 | |
| Lenzie | St. Cyprian | 1870 | |
| Lockerbie | All Saints | 1892 | |
| Maybole | St. Oswald | 1847 | |
| Moffat | St. John | 1855 | |
| Bellshill (Mossend) | St. Margaret | 1899 | 1950 |
| Motherwell | Holy Trinity | 1882 | |
| New Galloway | St. Margaret | 1882 | |
| Newton | St. Columba | 1875 | 1961 |
| Paisley | Holy Trinity | 1817 | |
| Paisley (West End) | St. Barnabas | 1890 | 2005 |
| Port Glasgow | St. Mary | 1854 | |
| Portpatrick | St. Ninian | 1890 | |
| Renfrew | St. Margaret | 1879 | |
| Stranraer | St. John | 1880 | |
| Uddingston | St. Andrew | 1888 | |
| Wishaw | St. Andrew | 1890 | |

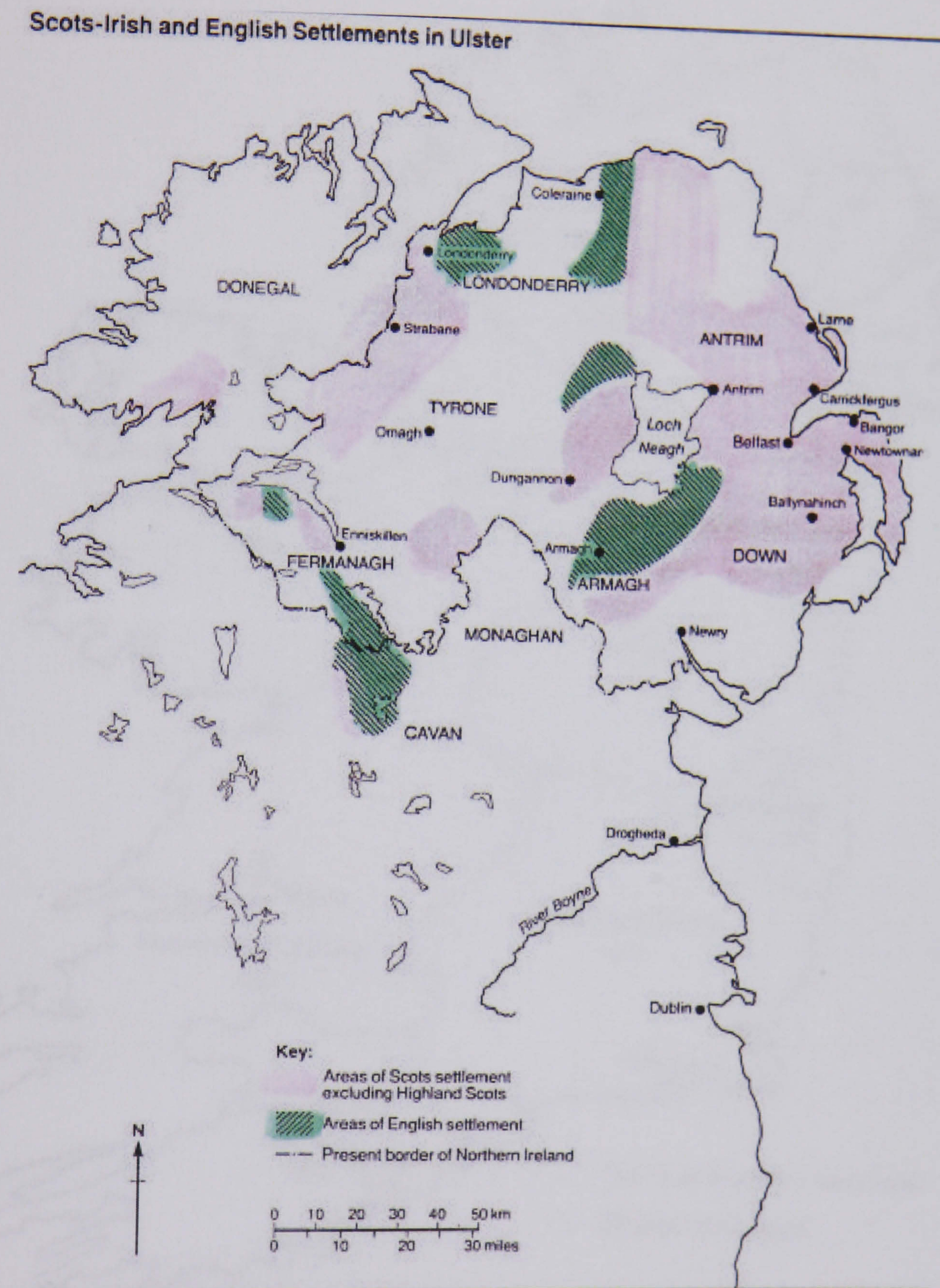
Source: Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 'Diocese of Glasgow & Galloway', pp. 585 – 612.

Appendix 1:2
Map showing the seven Dioceses of the Scottish Episcopal Church



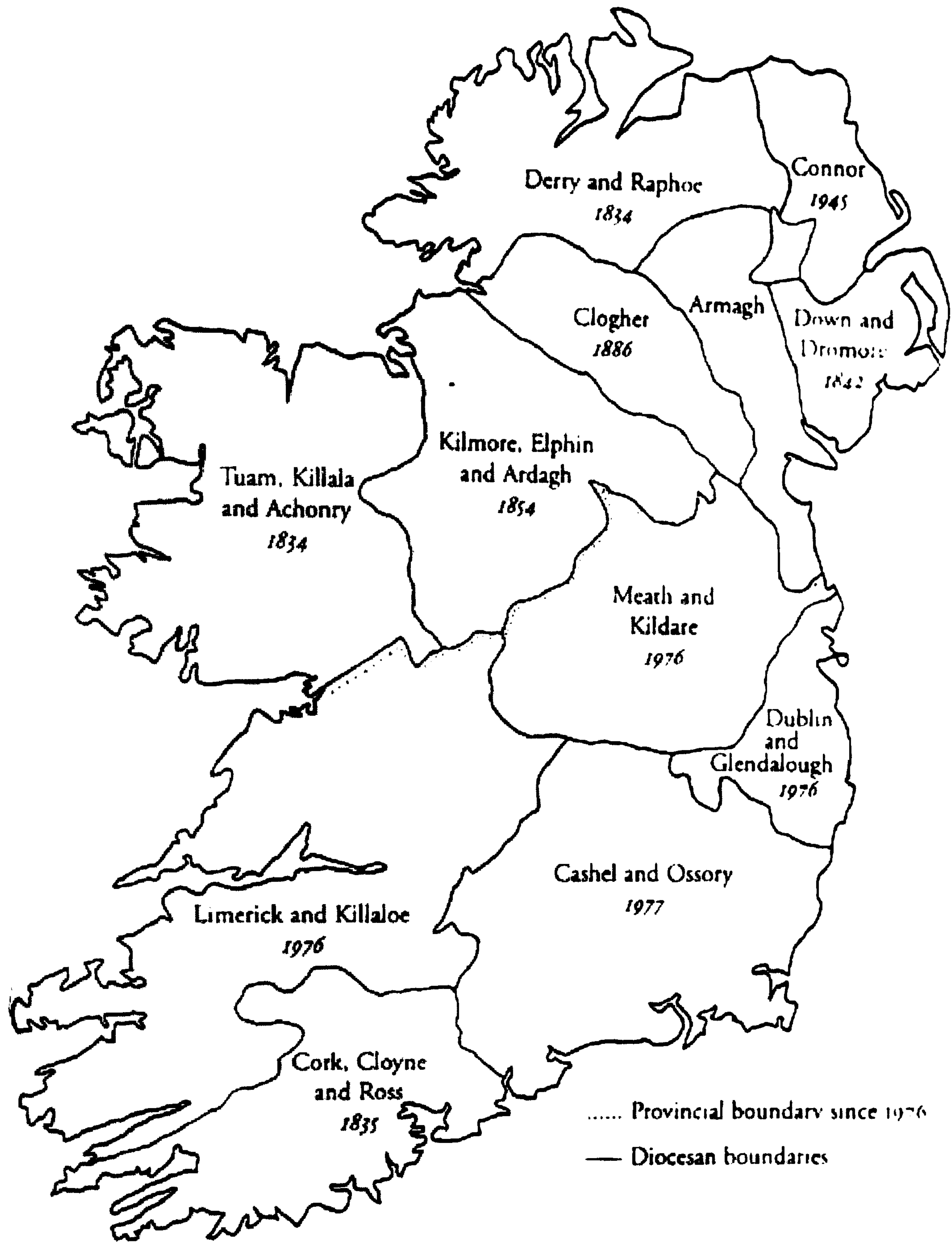
Source: *Directory of the SEC*, 2006, p. iv

Appendix 2:1
Map of Ulster in 1610 showing main English and Scottish Settlements



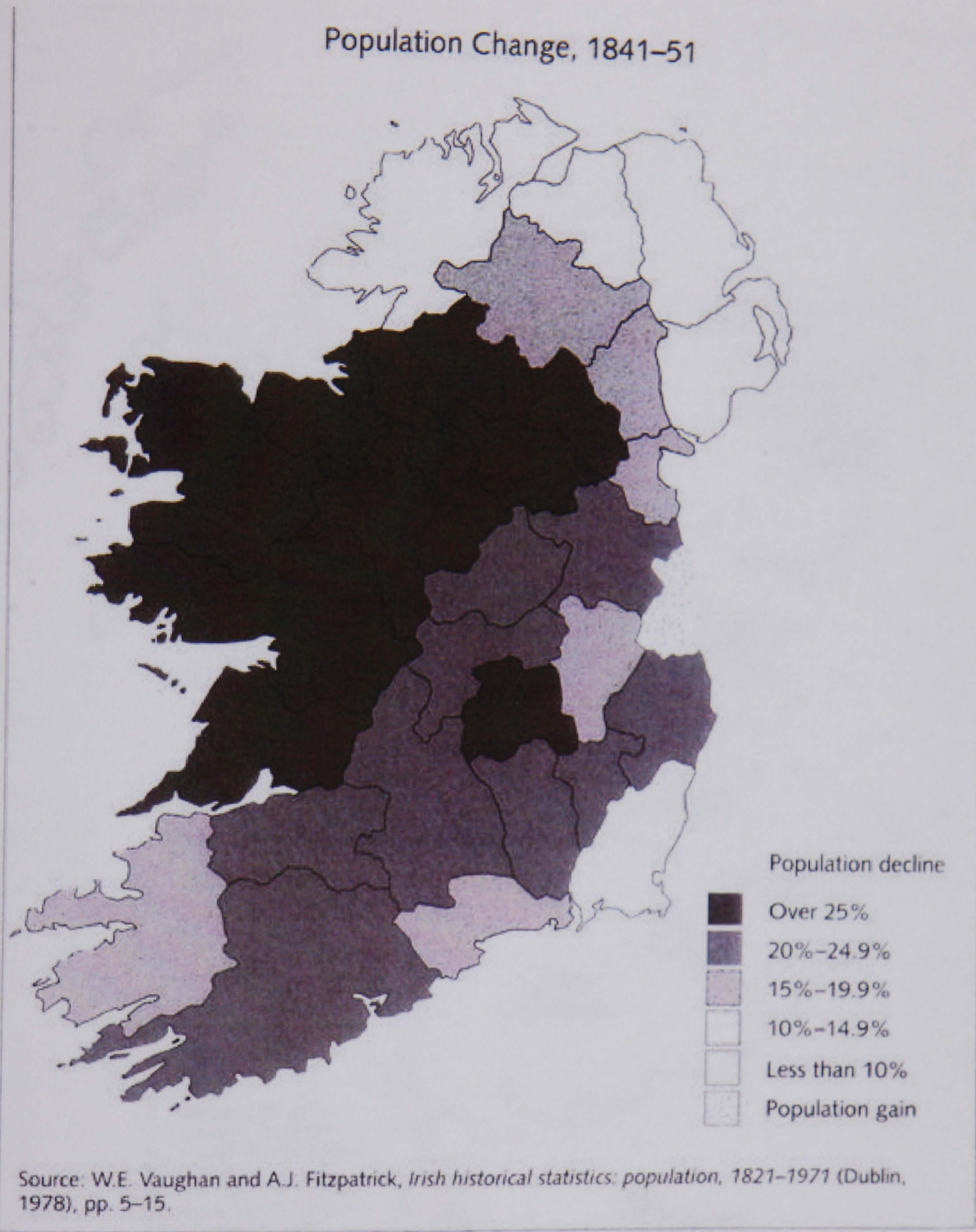
Source: Fitzpatrick, *God's Frontiersmen: The Scots-Irish Epic*, p. 20.

Appendix 2:2
Map showing Dioceses of the Church of Ireland, 1834 – Present



Source: Acheson, *History of the Church of Ireland*, p. 145.

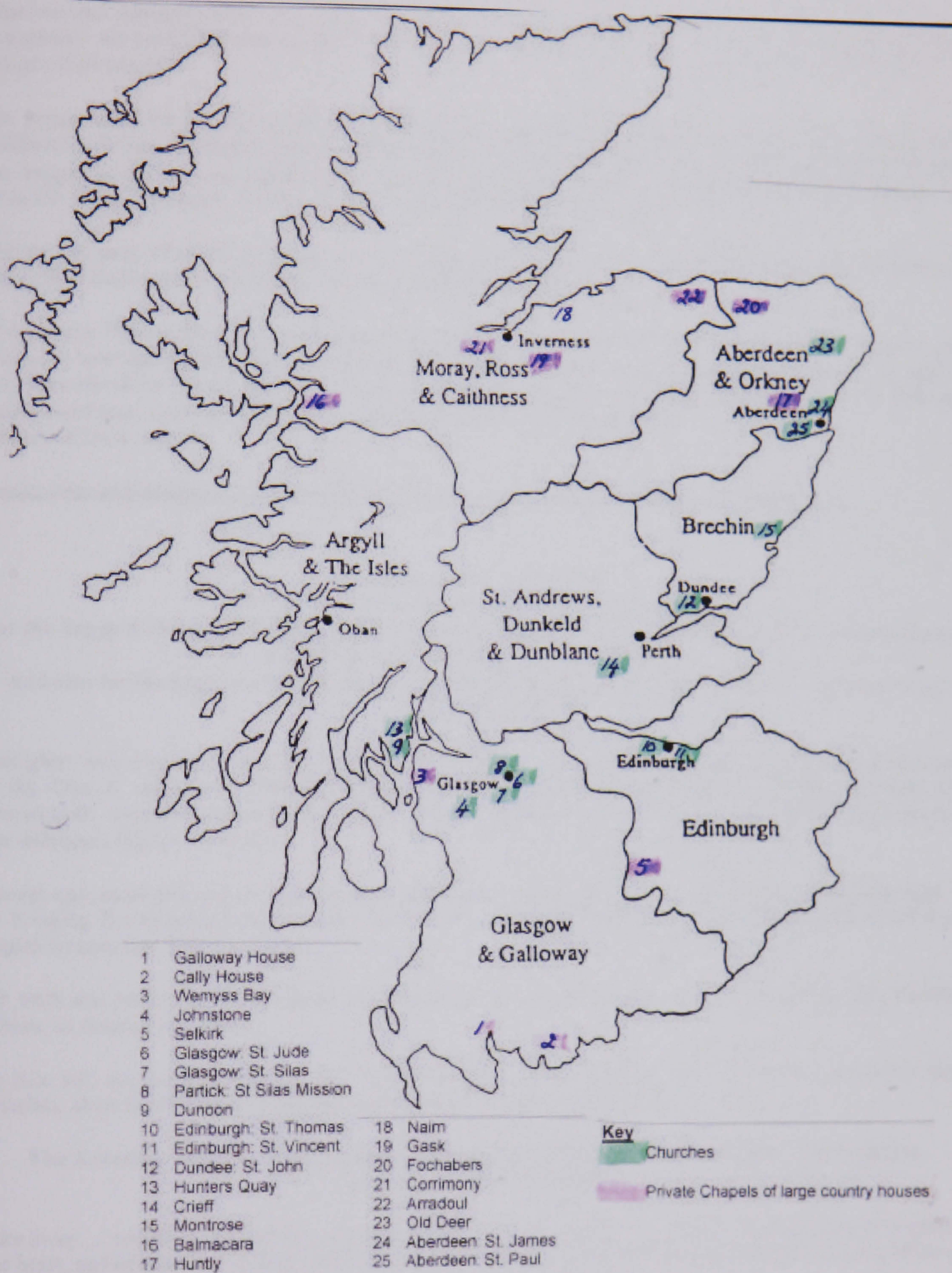
Appendix 2:3
Map of Ireland showing areas of population change, 1841 – 1851



Mass death and mass emigration during the famine reduced the total population of Ireland from almost 8.2 million in 1841 to fewer than 6.6 million in 1851. There were marked regional variations in the severity of both excess mortality and emigration, but their combined effect, when viewed nationally, produced extremely widespread population losses, as this map demonstrates. The famine initiated a long period of demographic contraction. By the end of the century the Irish population had fallen below 4.5 million. (Joan Murphy Donnelly)

Source: James S. Donnelly, Jr., *The Great Irish Potato Famine* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2001), p. 170.

Appendix 3:1
Map showing English Episcopal congregations in Scotland, 1842 – 1900



Source: Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 'The English Episcopal Chapels, pp. 655 – 58.

Appendix 4:1
Orange Lodge Opening Prayer
and Prayers from *The Book of Common Prayer*, on which it was based.

Gracious and Almighty God, who in all ages hast shown Thy almighty power in protecting righteous kings and states – we yield Thee hearty thanks for the merciful preservation of Thy true religion hitherto against the designs of its enemies.

We praise Thee for raising up for our deliverance from tyranny and arbitrary power, Thy servant, King William III, Prince of Orange; and we beseech Thee, for thy honour and Thy name's sake, for ever to frustrate the designs of wicked men against Thy holy religion, and not to suffer its enemies to triumph; defeat their counsels, abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices.

Deliver, we pray Thee, the members of the Church of Rome from error and false doctrine, and lead them to the truth of that holy word which is able to make them wise unto salvation.

We beseech Thee to bless every Member of the Orange Association with all Christian virtue. Bless us with brotherly love and loyalty. Take away everything that may hinder our godly union and concord; so that we may henceforth be of one heart and of one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity, and may, with one mind and one mouth, glorify Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord – Amen.

Source: *Laws and Ordinances of the Grand Protestant Association of Loyal Orangemen of Scotland*, 1859.

A Form of Thanksgiving
To be used yearly upon the Fifth Day of November,
For the happy Deliverance of King James I, and the Three Estates of England, from the most traiterous
and bloody -intended Massacre by Gunpowder:
And also for the happy Arrival of his Majesty King William on this Day, for the Deliverance of our
Church and Nation.

Almighty God, who hast in all ages shewed thy Power and Mercy in the miraculous and gracious deliverances of thy Church, and in the protection of righteous and religious Kings and States professing thy holy and eternal truth, from the wicked conspiracies, and malicious practices of all the enemies thereof; We yield thee our unfeigned thanks and praise ...

Accept also, most gracious God, of our unfeigned thanks for filling our hearts again with joy and gladness ... by bringing His Majesty King William, upon this day, for the deliverance of our Church and Nation from Popish tyranny and arbitrary power ...

Let truth and justice, brotherly kindness and charity, devotion and piety, concord and unity, with all other virtues, so flourish among us ...

Be thou still our mighty Protector, and scatter our enemies that delight in blood: Infatuate and defeat their counsels, abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices ...

The Accession Service (Upon the anniversary of the of the day of the accession of the reigning
sovereign. Prayer for Unity:

Take away ... whatever may hinder us from godly Union and Concord ... so that we may henceforth be all of one heart, and of one soul, united in one holy bond of Truth and Peace, of faith and Charity, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Source: *The Book of Common Prayer* (edition, Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1852)

[The Service of Thanksgiving was ordered by King George III, in 1761 and discontinued by royal order by an Act of 1859, 22 Vic. C. 2.]

PETITION OF A CANDIDATE FOR ADMISSION INTO THE
ORANGE BROTHERHOOD.

*To the Worshipful Master, Office-Bearers and Members of Lodge
No. 225, holding Warrant of the Grand Lodge of the Loyal
Orange Institution of Scotland,*

I, *† Hugh William Pughe*
residing at *|| 36 Stags St. Hillhead Glasgow.*
in the county of *§ Lanark*, beg leave to respectfully state to you that I am
desirous of being admitted into the membership of the Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland,
and accordingly pray you to admit me as a member of the Lodge No. *†† 225*,
holding warrant of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland. I do so because I am firmly
convinced of the excellence of the principles and objects of the Orange Brotherhood, and
wish to take part with those who have devoted themselves to the maintenance of these
principles and the promotion of these objects, esteeming this to be my duty as a Protestant
and a loyal British subject.

I firmly hold the principles of the Reformation, and desire to maintain them to the utmost of my power, as they are set forth in the Confessions of the Reformed and Protestant Churches, adopted by these Churches in the sixteenth century; and accordingly I declare my belief in the One Living and True God, and that there are three persons in the Godhead—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;—that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God, the only and all-sufficient rule of faith and conduct, and that it is the right and the duty of every man to read and search the Scriptures, and to worship and serve God as they teach him to do;—that the only Saviour of Sinners, and the only Mediator between God and man, is the Lord Jesus Christ, who is both God and man, in two distinct natures and one person;—that He, the Son of God, and second person of the Godhead, having taken upon Him our nature, magnified the law, which we had broken, by the obedience of His life and by His death, enduring its penalty as a substitute for sinners, offering Himself, once for all, a sacrifice for sins; and that He rose from the dead on the third day, and now lives in heaven, a priest upon His throne, making continual intercession for His people;—that we can obtain pardon of our sins and acceptance into the favour of God only through Jesus Christ, and for His sake, and that every one who truly believes in Him, trusting in Him alone for salvation, is at once justified, being pardoned and accepted as perfectly righteous, and becomes a partaker of all the blessings which flows from God's grace and shall not perish, but shall have everlasting life;—that in consequence of the fall of our first parents, all mankind are naturally sinful and corrupt, and that the soul of man needs to be renewed after the image of God in order to the true service of God, the enjoyment of the true fellowship of God, and the inheritance of glory, which is effected of the free grace of God, by the power of the Holy Ghost, in regeneration and sanctification;—that the souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness and do immediately pass into glory;—that there shall be also a resurrection of all the dead, and that all men shall stand before the judgment seat of Christ;—that the Moral Law,

which is summarily contained in the Ten Commandments, is binding upon all men, and that every true believer in Christ desires and endeavours to keep that law, and prays to be enabled more and more perfectly to do so, although, through remaining corruption, no one is able to obey it with a perfect obedience;—and that prayer for pardon of sins, and grace to help us in all our need, and for all blessings, is to be made to God alone, to whom we draw near through the mediation of Jesus Christ, and as we are enabled by the help of the Holy Ghost.

I utterly reject and abhor all the corrupt doctrines of Popery, with all practices founded on them; with all the claims of Pope and priests to power, which claims I hold to be contrary to all Civil and Religious Liberty.

And I am firmly resolved to do all that in me lies, as becomes a loyal subject of Queen Victoria, to preserve from all violation or encroachment the Protestant Constitution of this country, as perfected in consequence of the Revolution of 1688.

I promise that, if admitted a member of your Lodge, I will always shew due respect to the Worshipful Master and other Office-Bearers, and endeavour to conduct myself as a Brother ought towards all the members of the Lodge and of the Brotherhood, and that I will always observe and never knowingly violate the Laws and Constitutions of the Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland, nor the Bye-laws of the Lodge.

I am more than *a* Thirty Two years of age, and am *b* married
I was born at *c* Cywyll, in the parish of *d* Swyddelwem, in the
county of *e* Merioneth, of Protestant parents; was educated in the Protestant
faith, and have never been in any way connected with the Church of Rome. My wife is
a Protestant, *f* and my children are being, and shall be, educated in the Protestant faith. *g*.

I have never been a member of any Orange Lodge, and have never until now applied for admission into one.

h Name, Hugh William Pugh

Age, Thirty Two

Occupation, Cleric in Holy Orders

Address, 36 Stags Street Glasgow

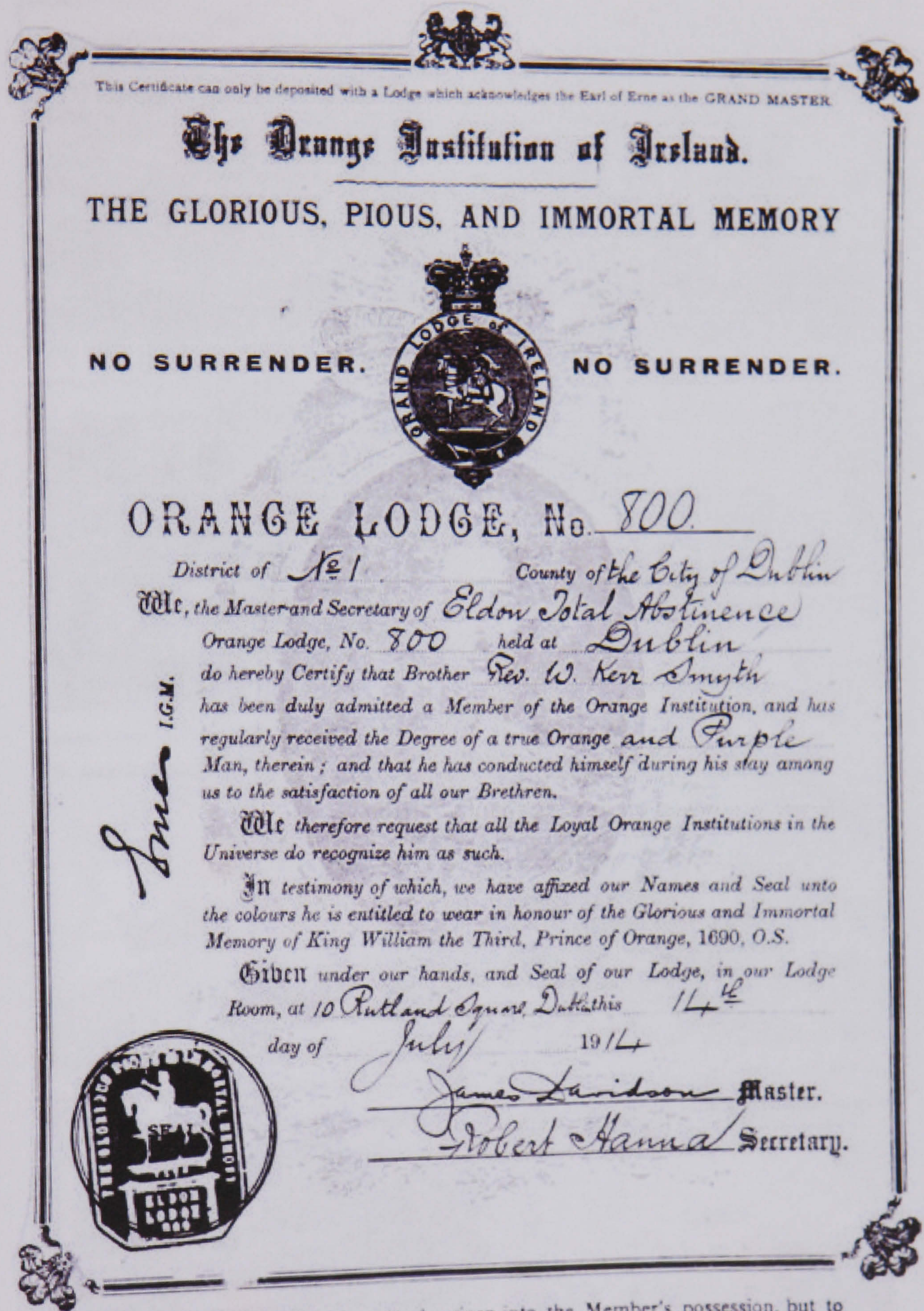
Date of Application, 1st July 1897.

Recommended and Vouched for by Bros. *i* John Logan
William Cassell

i. Here the names of two Brethren, Members of the Lodge, shall be inserted, who recommend and vouch for the Candidate, and they shall append their Signatures.

Appendix 4:3

Orange Lodge Transfer Certificate from Ireland of the Rev. William K. Smith, 1914



This Certificate can only be deposited with a Lodge which acknowledges the Earl of Erne as the GRAND MASTER.

The Orange Institution of Ireland.

THE GLORIOUS, PIOUS, AND IMMORTAL MEMORY

NO SURRENDER. NO SURRENDER.



ORANGE LODGE, No. 800.

District of No 1 County of the City of Dublin

We, the Master and Secretary of Eldon Total Abstinence

Orange Lodge, No. 800 held at Dublin

do hereby Certify that Brother Rev. W. Kerr Smyth has been duly admitted a Member of the Orange Institution, and has regularly received the Degree of a true Orange and Purple Man, therein; and that he has conducted himself during his stay among us to the satisfaction of all our Brethren.

Erne I.G.M.

We therefore request that all the Loyal Orange Institutions in the Universe do recognize him as such.

In testimony of which, we have affixed our Names and Seal unto the colours he is entitled to wear in honour of the Glorious and Immortal Memory of King William the Third, Prince of Orange, 1690, O.S.

Given under our hands, and Seal of our Lodge, in our Lodge Room, at 10 Rutland Square, Dublin this 14th

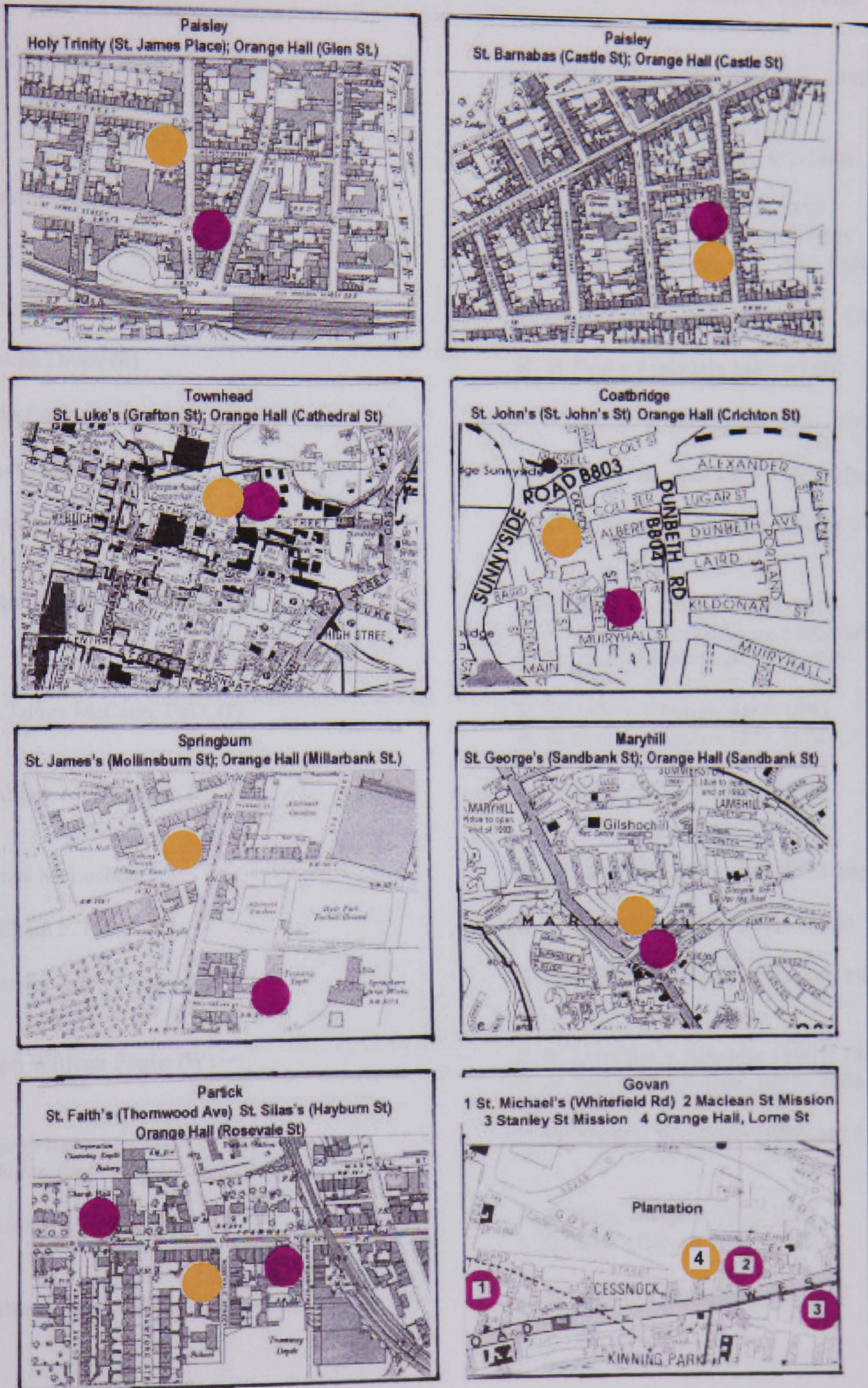
day of July 1914

James Davidson Master. Robert Hanna Secretary.



By Rule 90 this Certificate is not to be given into the Member's possession, but to the Master of the Lodge he is about to join.

Appendix 4:4 Proximity of Episcopal Churches to Orange Halls



Source: *Report of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, 1876 – 1929*; Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*.

Appendix 4:5

List of Episcopalian clergy who were members of the Orange Order, 1860 – 1929

Key: (S) Scottish born (E) English born (I) Irish born (I-A) Irish American (W) Welsh
R. (Rector/Incumbent) P.i.C Priest in Charge C. (Assistant Curate)

| | |
|--|---|
| Very Rev Robert J. MacGeorge, MA (S) | R. Christ Church, Glasgow 1839-1841 Ministry in Canada 1841-1859 R. St. John's, Oban 1859-1880 Dean, Argyll & The Isles, 1872-1880 |
| Rev. Hudson Teape, BA (I) | R. St Paul's, Armadale 1864-1873 R. Christ Church, Huntly 1873-1888 Synod Clerk of Moray, etc. 1885-1888 |
| Rev. F. G. Copeland | R. Holy Trinity, Motherwell 1884 - 1885 |
| Rev. Joseph Druce (E) | R. St. Paul's Armadale 1889 – 1907 |
| Rev. John Eldon Ellison, MA, BD (I) | R. St. Mungo's, Alexandria 1910 - 1915 |
| Rev. David Maxwell Francey | C. St. Silas, Glasgow 1909 – 1911 (Partick) |
| Rev. Walter S. Hildesley (E) | P.i.C St. Mungo's, Alexandria 1889 - 1893 |
| Rev. John Moffat Johnston (I-A) | Archdeacon in America 1895-1899 C. St. Mary's, Port Glasgow 1902-1905 R. St. John's, Coatbridge 1905-1915 |
| Rev Dr. James McCann, PhD. (I) | R. St. Jude's, Glasgow 1869-1870 R. St. Paul's, Glasgow 1871-1878 |
| Rev. William McDermott (I) | R. St. John's, Johnstone 1873-1910 |
| Rev. James McLachlan | R. Old St. Paul's, Edinburgh 1853-1865 |
| Rev. William F. Mills (S) | R. Holy Trinity, Paisley 1871 – 1906 |
| Rev. Claude Digby Ovens, MA | R. Holy Trinity, Motherwell 1919 - 1920 |
| Rev Hugh William Pughe (W) | C. St. Margaret's, Aberlour 1896 – 1897 C. St. Serf's, Burntisland, 1897 - 1898 |
| Rev. Joseph Rice, MA (I) <i>(seceded to English Episcopal Church)</i> | C. St. James's, Springburn 1876-1877 |
| Rev. William Kerr Smith (I) | R. St. Silas, Glasgow 1914-1920 R. St. John's Girvan 1920 - 1922 |
| Rev. William Harris Winter, BA, BD (I) | R. St. John's, Coatbridge 1895-1904 |

**Clergy of the English Episcopal Church
who were members of the Orange Order 1860 – 1929**

| | |
|--|--|
| Rev. Alfred Edwin Daniel, BA (E) | Johnstone 1874 – 1877 |
| Rev William Eccles Hodgkinson | R. St Jude's Glasgow 1890 - 1891 |
| Rev. Dominic Joseph Mulkerns, BD (I) (<i>Ordained in R.C. Church</i>) | St. John's, Dundee 1869 – 1878 |
| Rev Dr James McCann (I) (<i>Joined SEC in 1872</i>) | R. St Judes, Glasgow 1869 – 1970 |
| Rev. Philip Edmund Phelps, MA | R. St. Jude's Glasgow 181888 - 1890 |
| Rev Joseph Rice, MA (I) (<i>seceded from SEC</i>) | Springburn |
| Rev. George Alexander Stephenson, BA (I) | C. St Silas, Glasgow 1893-1894 (Partick) |
| Rev. Richard Henry Talbot (E) | C. St. Silas, Glasgow 1904-1908 (Partick) |
| Rev. Ambrose George Townsend, AKC | C. St. Silas, Glasgow, 1895 – 1899 (Partick) |
| Rev. William Williams | R. St. Jude's, Glasgow 1879-1884 |

**Clergy of the Free Church of England (Reformed Episcopal)
who were members of the Orange Order 1890 – 1929**

| | |
|--|--|
| Rev Thomas Fullerton, BA (I) (<i>Ordained in Church of Ireland</i>) | Christ Church, Paisley 1885 - 1887 |
| Rev Charles Tully (E) | Christ Church, Paisley 1887 - 1889 |
| Rev John C. Halliday (I) | Trinity, Keppochhill Rd, Glasgow, 1899 |
| Rev. J.W. Hodgekinson | Emmanuel, Camlachie 1892 |
| Rev -- Graham | St. Paul's, Eglinton St, Glasgow 1892 |

Sources: *Report of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, 1876 – 1929*;
McFarland, *Protestants First*, Appendix F, pp. 233 – 4;
Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, Appendix 10, pp. 183 – 185.
PDE,
P&RG.
Glasgow Herald
Perkins Bill, *The Boyne to Brampton*, pp. 132 – 3.

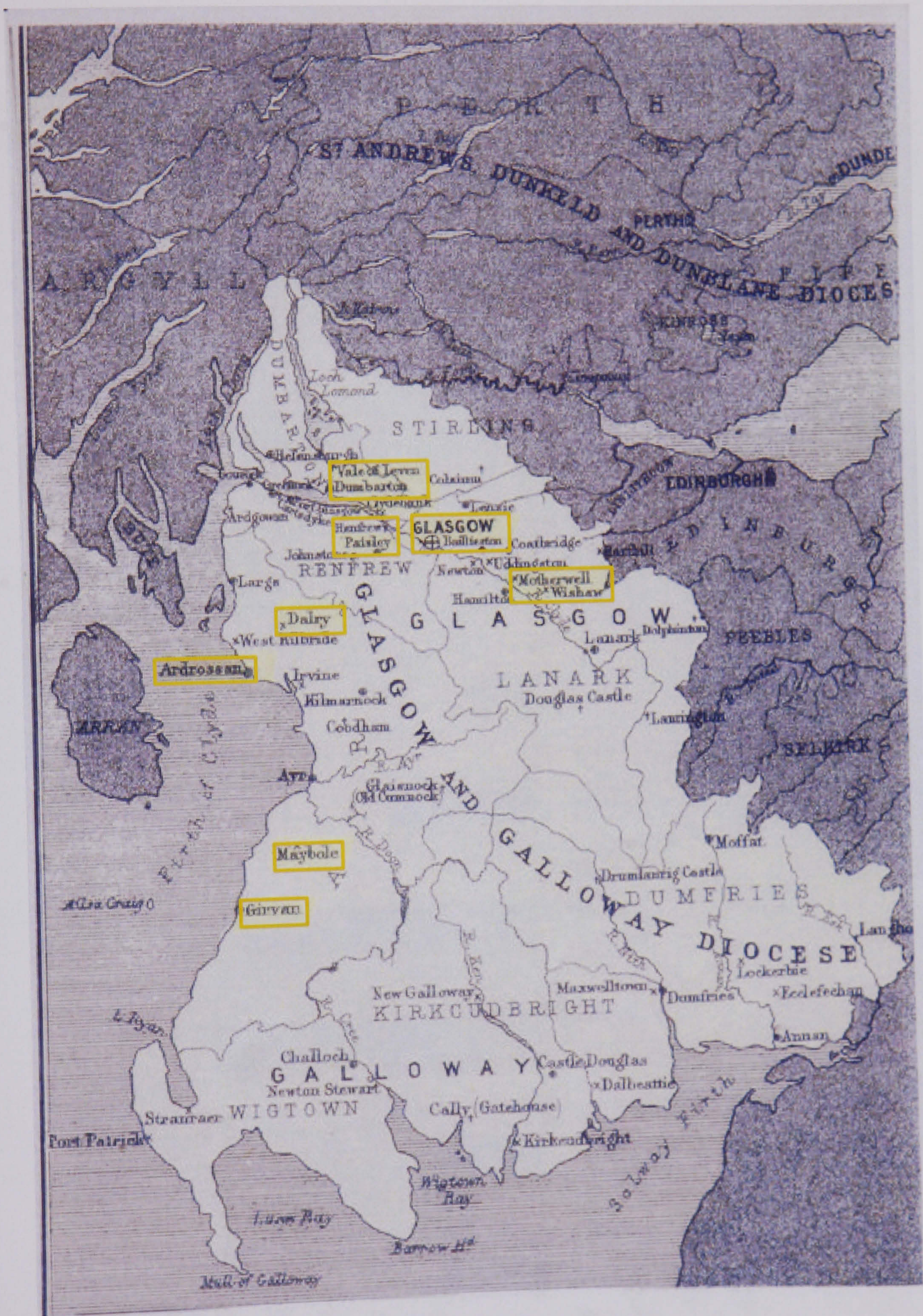
Appendix 4:6
Members of L.O.L. 102, Paisley (1859 – 1861): Connection with Holy Trinity Church

| Surname | Forename | Address | Occupation | Dates | Notes |
|-----------|-------------|--|--------------------------|---------|---|
| Bell | George | | | 1859/61 | |
| Bell | William | 2 Moncrief St / 28 Thread St | Foreman Dyer | 1859/61 | Bap. Of Elizabeth 7 Apr 1872; Bap of John 26 Apr 1874 |
| Benson | Henry | 68 Back Sneddon | Mason | 1859/61 | Baptism of son Henry 28 July 1861; Bap of William 17 Feb 1863 |
| Bowles | William | 4 Silk Street / 12 Thread St | Tailor | 1859/61 | Bap of Alexander 25 Jan 1852 |
| Boyle | William | 54 Causeyside | Labourer | 1859/61 | Bap of Elizabeth 27 June 1852 |
| Clarke | David | 61 High St / 12 Moss St / Carlisle Quay | Labourer | 1858/61 | Bap of Elizabeth 16 June 1872 |
| Clarke | Johnstone | 8 Wellmeadow St / 18 Cotton St / 44 Storie St | Shoemaker | 1859/61 | . Bap of Catherine 14 Apr 1861 Bap of Margaret 9 Jun 1872 |
| Elliot | Thomas | 35 James St / 16 New Sneddon 14 Back Sneddon (1881) | Labourer in Iron Foundry | 1859/61 | Bap of Rebecca 19 Oct 1851 Bap. Of Catherine 10 Nov 1861 |
| Ferguson | Duncan | | | 1859/61 | |
| Gibson | Thomas | 1 Highland Lane | | 1859/61 | Bap of Thomas 12 July 1863 |
| Graham | James | 32 New Sneddon Street / 32 Wellmeadow St | | 1859/61 | Bap of Elizabeth 1 Apr 1863 |
| Little | Thomas | 15 Storie Street | | 1859/61 | Bap. Of William at 20 Sep 1868 |
| McCulloch | William | 1 Browns Lane / 32 Wellmeadow St | | 1859/61 | Bap of Thomas 6 Sep 1863; Bap. Of Christopher 1 Apr 1863 |
| Moorhead | William | | | 1859/61 | |
| Noble | James | Mill St | Labourer | 1859/61 | Bap of Elizabeth 13 Apr 1851 |
| Richmond | Samuel | | | 1859/61 | |
| Robinson | John | 86 New Sneddon / 10 Smithhills | Labourer | 1859/61 | Bap of John 19 Dec 1863 |
| Robinson | Thomas | 1 Storie St | Shoemaker | 1859/61 | Bap of Mary 29 Mar 1863 |
| Robinson | Thomas, Jr. | 86 New Sneddon 9 Middle Lane | Foundry Labourer | 1859/61 | Bap. Of Thomas 5 Nov 1871 |
| Robinson | William | 24 Gordon Lane / Cart Lane | Labourer | 1859/61 | Bap of John 19 Dec 1863 |
| Spratt | Christopher | 7 Wardrop St. / Moncrief St | Sawyer | 1859/61 | Bap of Margaret 8 July 1855 |
| Thompson | Edward | | | 1859/61 | |
| Wilson | William | 6 Niddy St | | 1859/61 | |
| Winton | Alexander | 3 Love St. | | 1859/61 | |

Source: *Roll & Dues Book of King William LOL 102; Holy Trinity Baptismal Register 1859 - 1861*

Appendix 5:1

Map of the Diocese of Glasgow & Galloway in 1900, with case studies highlighted



Source: Year Book of the SEC, 1900

Appendix 5:3

Table of Churches and Missions opened and closed in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway, 1917 - 1973

Key: Significant Irish presence at foundation (proved) +
Significant Irish presence (assumed) *

| Churches Opened | | | Churches Closed | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Diocese of Edinburgh 1817 - 1837 | | | | | |
| Year | Town/Area | Dedication | Year | Town/Area | Dedication |
| 1817 | Paisley + | Holy Trinity | | | |
| 1824 | Greenock + | St. John | | | |
| 1834 | Glasgow (East) + | Christ Church | | | |
| Bishop Michael Russell 1837 - 1848 | | | | | |
| 1837 | Blythswood + | St. Jude | | | |
| 1841 | Helensburgh | St. Michael | | | |
| 1841 | Annan | St. John | | | |
| 1842 | Hamilton | St. Mary | | | |
| 1843 | Coatbridge + | St. John | | | |
| 1846 | Anderston + | St. John | | | |
| 1846 | Airdrie * | - | | | |
| 1847 | Dumbarton + | St. Patrick | | | |
| 1847 | Girvan + | St. John | | | |
| 1847 | Maybole + | St. Oswald | | | |
| Bishop Walter Trower 1848 - 1859 | | | | | |
| 1849 | Largs | St. Columba | 1856 | Glasgow/Calton + | Green St. Mission |
| 1850 | Baillieston + | St. John | | | |
| 1851 | Kilmarnock * | Holy Trinity | | | |
| 1853 | Lanark + | Christ Church | | | |
| 1854 | Port Glasgow + | St. Mary | | | |
| 1855 | Castle Douglas * | St. Ninian | | | |
| 1853 | Jordanhill + | All Saints | | | |
| 1855 | Glasgow/Calton + | Green St. Mission | | | |
| 1856 | Gourock | St. Bartholomew | | | |
| 1858 | Lamington | Holy Trinity | | | |
| 1855 | Moffat | St. John | | | |
| Bishop William Wilson 1859 - 1888 | | | | | |
| 1863 | Glasgow | St. Silas | 1874 | Pollokshaws + | Mission |
| 1865 | Partick + | St. Silas Mission | 1874 | Partick + | St. John Mission |
| 1865 | Townhead + | St. Luke | | | |
| 1866 | Southside + | St. Ninian | | | |
| 1867 | Cowcaddens + | St. Peter | | | |
| 1870 | Pollokshaws + | Mission | | | |
| 1870 | Partick + | St. John Mission | | | |
| 1870 | Maryhill + | St. George | | | |
| 1870 | Lenzie | St. Cyprian | | | |
| 1871 | Greenock/Cartsdyke + | St. Stephens | | | |
| 1871 | Charing Cross + | St. Paul | | | |
| 1873 | Johnstone + | St. John | | | |
| 1873 | Dalbeattie | Christ Church | | | |
| 1875 | Springburn + | St. James | | | |
| 1875 | Govan + | St. Michael | | | |
| 1875 | Newton + | St. Columba | | | |
| 1878 | Harthill + | Mission | | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| 1877 | Alexandria + | St. Mungo | | | |
| Churches Opened | | | Churches Closed | | |
| 1878 | Kirkcudbright | Greyfriars | | | |
| 1879 | Garnfad + | Mission | | | |
| 1879 | Renfrew * | St. Margaret | | | |
| 1880 | Stranraer + | St. John | | | |
| 1882 | Gorbals + | St. Margaret | | | |
| 1882 | Motherwell + | Holy Trinity | | | |
| 1882 | New Galloway | St. Margaret | | | |
| 1885 | Polmadie + | St. Martin | | | |
| 1886 | Dalry + | St. Peter | | | |
| 1887 | Langholm | All Saints | | | |
| 1888 | Kinning Park + | St. Mark | | | |
| 1888 | Clydebank + | St. Columba | | | |
| 1888 | Uddingston | St. Andrew | | | |
| Bishop William Harrison 1888 - 1903 | | | | | |
| 1889 | Irvine + | St. John Mission | 1888 | Charring Cross + | St. Paul |
| 1890 | Wishaw | St. Andrew | 1891 | Blythswood + | St. Jude |
| 1890 | Paisley (West) + | St. Barnabas | 1902 | Blythswood + | St. Barnabas |
| 1890 | Port Patrick * | St. Ninian | | | |
| 1891 | Kelvinside | St. Bride | | | |
| 1891 | Govan + | St. Gabriel | | | |
| 1891 | Maxwelton | St. Ninian Mission | | | |
| 1891 | Port Dundas + | St. Saviour | | | |
| 1892 | Lockerbie | All Saints | | | |
| 1893 | Ayr (Wallacetown) + | St. John Baptist | | | |
| 1893 | Blythswood + | St. Barnabas | | | |
| 1894 | Bridgeton + | St. Columba | | | |
| 1894 | Gorbals + | St. Mungo | | | |
| 1895 | Possilpark + | St. Matthew | | | |
| 1895 | Gartcosh + | St. Andrew | | | |
| 1896 | Milngavie | St. Andrew | | | |
| 1897 | Bearsden | All Saints | | | |
| 1898 | Partick + | St. Patrick Mission | | | |
| 1898 | Kirkintilloch | Mission | | | |
| 1898 | Kingston + | St. Paul Mission | | | |
| 1898 | Newlands | St. Margaret | | | |
| 1899 | Mossend (Bellshill) * | St. Margaret | | | |
| 1899 | Balgray + | St. Christopher | | | |
| 1899 | Cambuslang | St. Cuthbert | | | |
| 1899 | Shettleston * | St. Serf | | | |
| 1900 | Greenock (East) + | St. Ninian | | | |
| 1902 | Dennistoun * | St. Barnabas | | | |
| 1902 | Gallowgate + | St. Cuthbert | | | |
| Bishop Archibald Campbell 1904 - 1921 | | | | | |
| 1905 | Kilmalcolm | St. Fillan | 1906 | Gorbals + | St. Margaret |
| 1906 | Parkhead * | St. Paul | 1907 | Gorbals + | St. Mungo |
| 1906 | Rutherglen + | St. Stephen | 1910 | Partick + | St. Faith |
| 1907 | Bridge of Weir | St. Mary | 1911 | Partick + | St. Patrick |
| 1908 | Neilston | Holy Trinity | 1918 | Stevenston + | Mission |
| 1909 | Gatehouse | St. Mary | 1920 | Harthill + | Mission |
| 1911 | Troon | St. Ninian | | | |
| 1912 | Scotstoun | St. David | | | |
| 1914 | Shotts * | St. Catherine | | | |
| 1914 | Stevenston + | Mission | | | |
| 1915 | Larkhall + | All Saints | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|----------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1915 | Prestwick | St. Ninian | | | |
| Churches Opened | | | Churches Closed | | |
| 1916 | Gretna | All Saints | | | |
| 1916 | Eastriggs | St. John | | | |
| Bishop Edward Reid 1921 - 1931 | | | | | |
| 1924 | Blantyre | All Saints | 1925 | Kingston + | St. Paul |
| 1924 | Clarkston | St. Aidan | 1927 | Balgray + | St. Christopher |
| 1924 | Mosspark | The Ascension | 1930 | Larkhall + | All Saints |
| 1926 | Knightswood | Holy Cross | | | |
| 1927 | Cumbernauld Rd | Holy Trinity | | | |
| 1931 | Kings Park | St. Oswald | | | |
| Bishop John Derbyshire 1931 - 1938 | | | | | |
| 1932 | Inchinnan | All Hallows | 1931 | Neilston | Holy Trinity |
| 1934 | Barrhead | Holy Spirit | 1934 | Garngad + | Mission |
| 1938 | Hillington | Good Shepherd | | | |
| Bishop John How 1938 - 1952 | | | | | |
| 1944 | Hillington | St. Phillip | 1940 | Inchinnan | All Hallows |
| | | | 1949 | Blantyre | Mission |
| | | | 1951 | Gallowgate + | St. Cuthbert |
| | | | 1951 | Greenock (East) + | St. Ninian |
| Bishop Francis Moncrieff 1952 - 1973 | | | | | |
| 1953 | East Kilbride | St. Mark | 1952 | Mossend (Bellshill) * | St. Margaret |
| 1955 | Drumchapel | Mission | 1952 | Townhead + | St. Luke |
| 1958 | Cumbernauld | Holy Name | 1953 | Kinning Park + | St. Mark |
| | | | 1953 | Parkhead * | St. Paul |
| | | | 1954 | Port Dundas + | St. Saviour |
| | | | 1954 | Ayr (Wallacetown) + | St. John Baptist |
| | | | 1955 | Kirkintilloch | Mission |
| | | | 1957 | Hillington | St. Phillip |
| | | | 1959 | Anderston + | St. John |
| | | | 1961 | Newton + | St. Columba |
| | | | 1961 | Pollokshaws + | Mission |
| | | | 1963 | Govan + | St. Michael |
| | | | 1963 | Cowcaddens + | St. Peter |
| | | | 1965 | Barrhead | Holy Spirit |
| | | | 1967 | Bridgeton * | St. Columba |
| | | | 1968 | Rutherglen + | St. Stephen |
| | | | 1970 | Scotstoun | St. David |
| | | | 1971 | Greenock/Cartsdyke + | St. Stephen |
| | | | 1973 | Gorbals + | SS. Magt. & Mungo |

Source: Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 'Diocese of Glasgow & Galloway', pp. 585 – 612.

Appendix 5:4
Table of statistics of the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway 1878 – 2005

| Year | Clergy | Places of Worship | Members hip | Communicants | Baptisms | Confirmations |
|--|--------|-------------------|-------------|--------------|----------|---------------|
| Bishop William Wilson 1859 - 1888 | | | | | | |
| 1878 | 47 | 49 | | | | |
| 1880 | 45 | 51 | | | | |
| 1881 | 50 | 54 | | | | |
| 1884 | 55 | 65 | 22,890 | 6,586 | | |
| 1885 | 56 | 65 | 25,252 | 6,849 | | |
| 1886 | 58 | 67 | 23,877 | 7,908 | | |
| Bishop William Harrison 1888 - 1903 | | | | | | |
| 1888 | 62 | 67 | 28,299 | 8,532 | | |
| 1889 | 56 | 60 | 26,590 | 7,625 | | |
| 1890 | 57 | 60 | 29,239 | 7,983 | | |
| 1891 | 56 | 64 | 28,873 | 8,525 | | |
| 1892 | 63 | 70 | 30,570 | 8,695 | | |
| 1893 | 66 | 60 | 29,588 | 8,435 | 3,201 | 913 |
| 1894 | 69 | 60 | 30,862 | 8,733 | 3,303 | 850 |
| 1895 | 65 | 62 | 32,465 | 9,406 | 3,316 | 938 |
| 1896 | 66 | 65 | 33,384 | 9,474 | 3,639 | 784 |
| 1897 | 69 | 68 | 34,343 | 9,741 | 3,738 | 907 |
| 1898 | 69 | 68 | 35,419 | 10,206 | 3,807 | 927 |
| 1899 | 75 | 71 | 36,661 | 10,955 | 3,700 | 1,003 |
| 1900 | 75 | 73 | 37,174 | 11,380 | 3,170 | 899 |
| 1901 | 75 | 75 | 38,538 | 11,464 | 3,200 | 863 |
| 1902 | 76 | 76 | 38,868 | 11,651 | 3,072 | 911 |
| 1903 | 79 | 76 | 38,294 | 11,627 | 3,091 | 878 |
| Bishop Archibald Campbell 1904 - 1921 | | | | | | |
| 1904 | 78 | 75 | 42,235 | 11,679 | 3,329 | 837 |
| 1905 | 72 | 73 | 41,785 | 12,522 | 2,860 | 1,028 |
| 1906 | 78 | 79 | 42,696 | 12,606 | 2,666 | 1,105 |
| 1907 | 83 | 79 | 44,725 | 13,142 | 2,520 | 1,059 |
| 1908 | 83 | 83 | 46,740 | 13,740 | 2,383 | 1,157 |
| 1909 | 84 | 81 | 50,039 | 13,998 | 2,4,4 | 1,165 |
| 1910 | 92 | 81 | 51,971 | 14,574 | 2,374 | 1,146 |
| 1915 | 93 | 93 | 54,603 | 16,768 | 2,670 | 1,226 |
| 1919 | 87 | 87 | 54,948 | 17,642 | 2,236 | 1,279 |
| 1920 | 87 | 87 | 55,816 | 17,642 | 2,726 | 1,345 |
| Bishop Edward Reid 1921 - 1931 | | | | | | |
| 1922 | | 86 | 53,762 | 18,856 | 2,577 | 1,614 |
| 1923 | | 88 | 54,973 | 18,642 | 2,226 | 1,519 |
| 1930 | | | 48,037 | | | |
| 1970 | | | 28,950 | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 2005 | | | 9,607 | 6,635 | | |

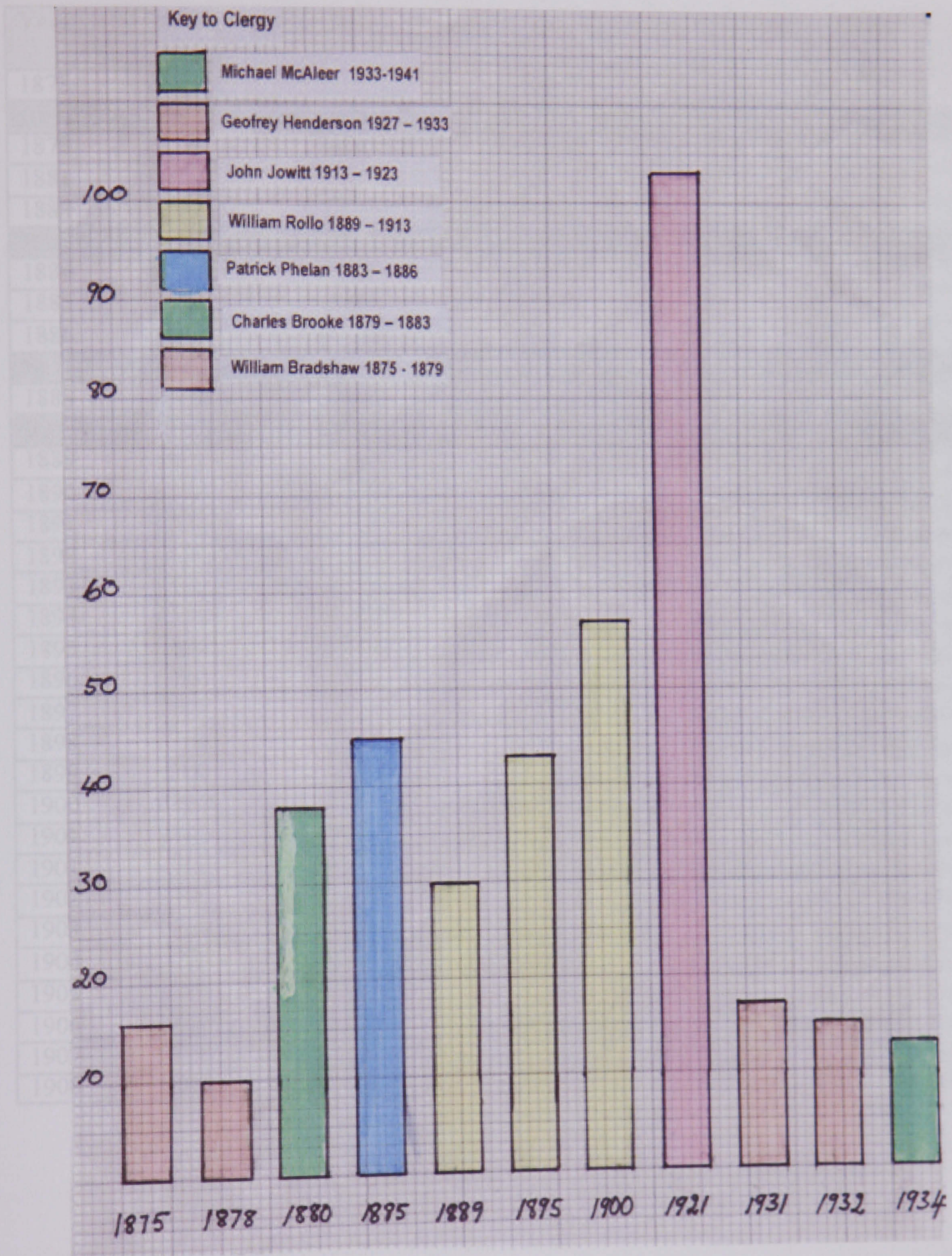
Source: *Year Book of the S.E.C.*, 1878 – 1982; *Annual Report of the General Synod*, 1983 – 2005.

Appendix 6:1
Map of Glasgow showing location of churches in the north of the city



Source: DGGA, TD 1382/371, Map of Glasgow showing the Episcopal Churches, 1931.

Appendix 6:2
Graph showing the number of Baptisms at St. James the Less, Springburn,
1875 – 1934



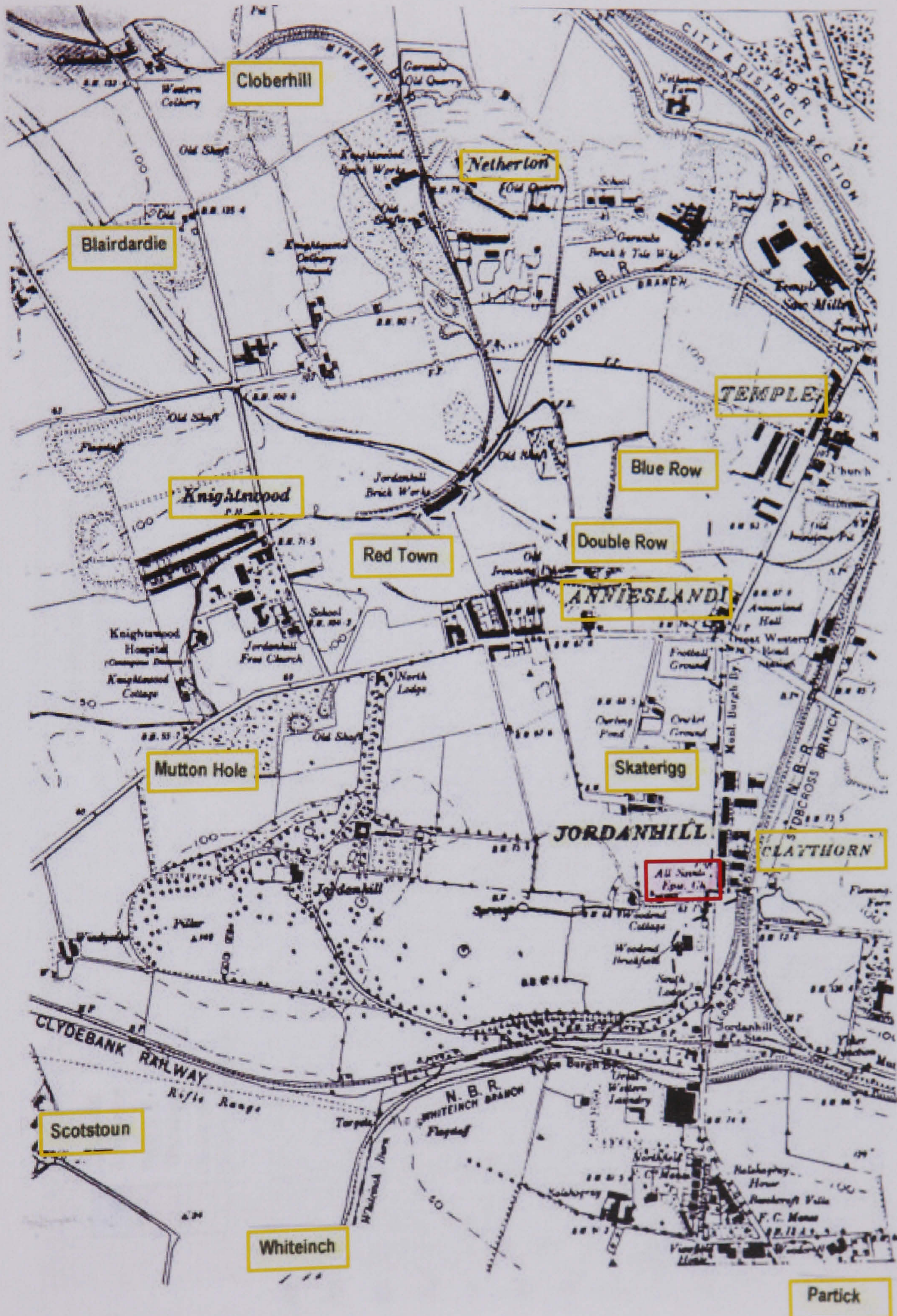
Source: St. James the Less Church, *Baptismal Register*, 1875 – 1934.

Appendix 6:3
Table of statistics of St. James the Less, Springburn, 1878 - 1908

| Year | Congregation | Communicants | Baptisms | Confirm. | Sunday School |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|----------|----------|---------------|
| 1878 | 80 | | 10 | | 40 |
| Rev Charles Brooke 1879 - 1883 | | | | | |
| 1879 | 120 | 80 | 14 | | |
| 1881 | 120 | 35 | 24 | | |
| 1882 | 150 | 55 | 34 | 16 | 30 |
| Rev Patrick Phelan 1883 - 1886 | | | | | |
| 1884 | 150 | 72 | 43 | | 60 |
| 1885 | 500 | 281 | 17 | | |
| 1886 | 800 | 176 | 65 | 30 | 80 |
| St Luke's Clergy 1886 - 1889 | | | | | |
| 1888 | 600 | 100 | | 21 | 80 |
| Rev William Rollo 1889 - 1913 | | | | | |
| 1889 | 600 | 100 | 24 | 15 | 80 |
| 1890 | 529 | 100 | 20 | 17 | 60 |
| 1891 | 520 | 120 | 37 | 35 | 80 |
| 1892 | 520 | 125 | 26 | 20 | 80 |
| 1893 | 520 | 120 | 20 | 12 | 90 |
| 1894 | 520 | 120 | 32 | 19 | 93 |
| 1895 | 600 | 140 | 50 | 18 | 100 |
| 1896 | 700 | 200 | 40 | 23 | 135 |
| 1897 | 700 | 215 | 29 | 19 | - |
| 1898 | 700 | 215 | 43 | 19 | 140 |
| 1899 | 700 | 215 | 50 | 19 | 125 |
| 1900 | 700 | 215 | 57 | 18 | - |
| 1901 | 700 | 215 | 53 | 13 | - |
| 1901 | 700 | 230 | 45 | 18 | 50 |
| 1902 | 700 | 235 | 64 | 13 | 53 |
| 1903 | 700 | 230 | 55 | 9 | 50 |
| 1904 | 700 | 230 | 54 | 13 | 50 |
| 1905 | 700 | 235 | 57 | 12 | 70 |
| 1906 | 800 | 230 | 74 | 11 | 80 |
| 1907 | 800 | 234 | 80 | 13 | 89 |
| 1908 | 800 | 230 | 80 | 15 | 90 |

Source: *Year Book of the SEC, 1878 - 1908*

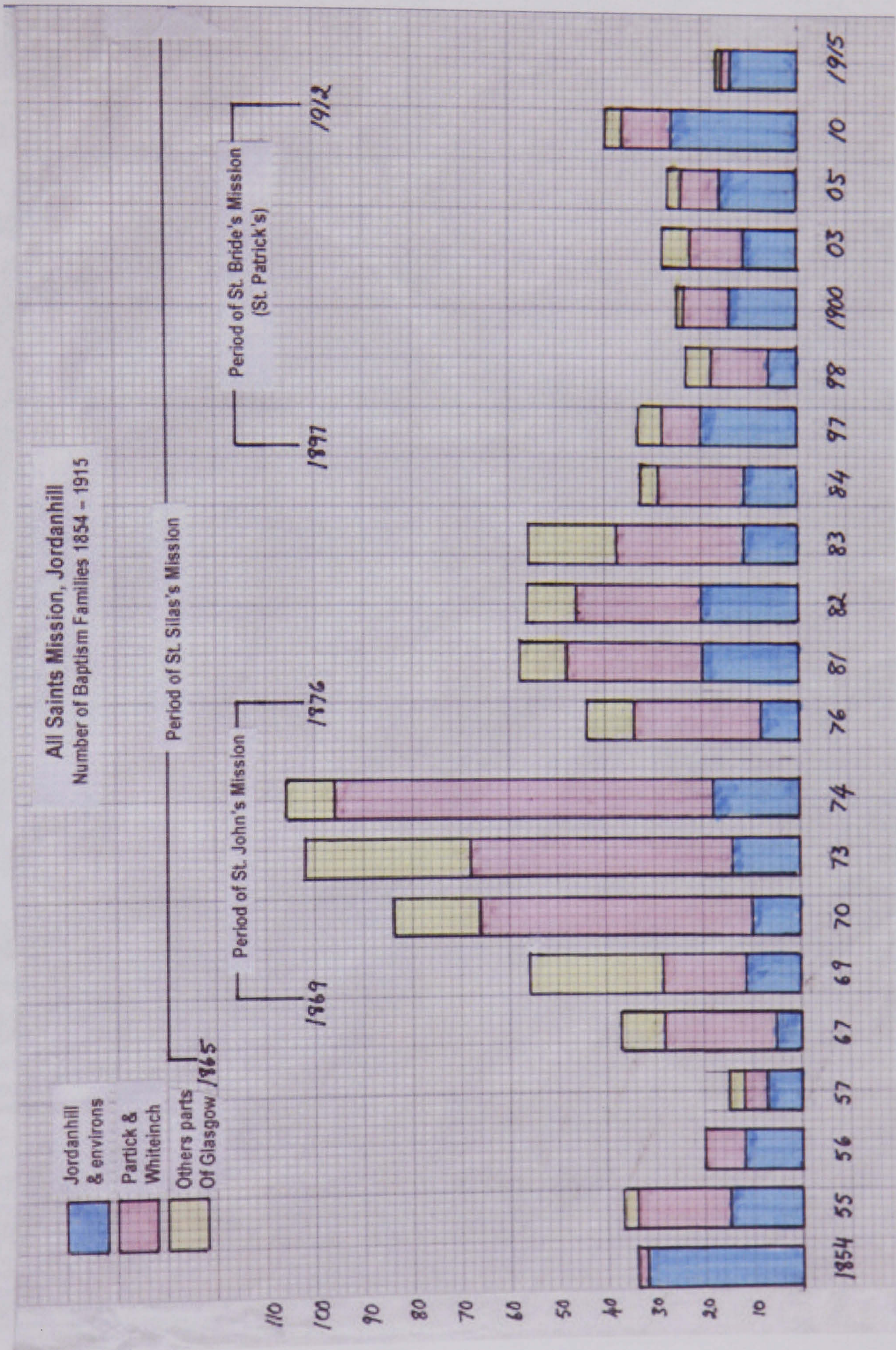
Appendix 7:1
 Map of Jordanhill and surrounding villages, 1890s



Source: Ordnance Survey Map, 1864.

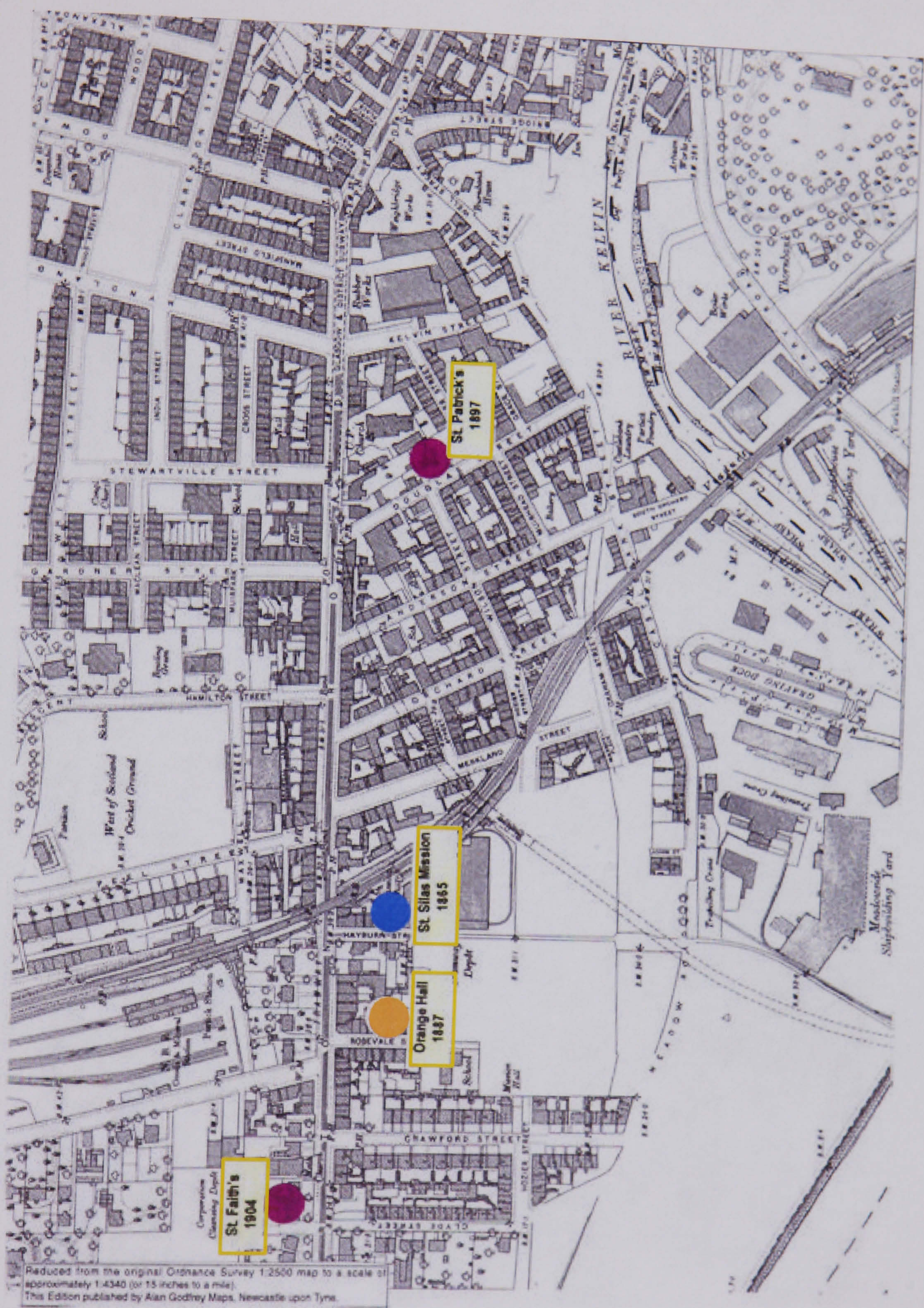
Appendix 7:2

Graph showing number of Baptisms at All Saints Church, Jordanhill, 1854 – 1915
(also showing number of Baptisms from Partick)



Source: All Saints Church, Jordanhill, *Baptismal Register*, 1854 – 1915.

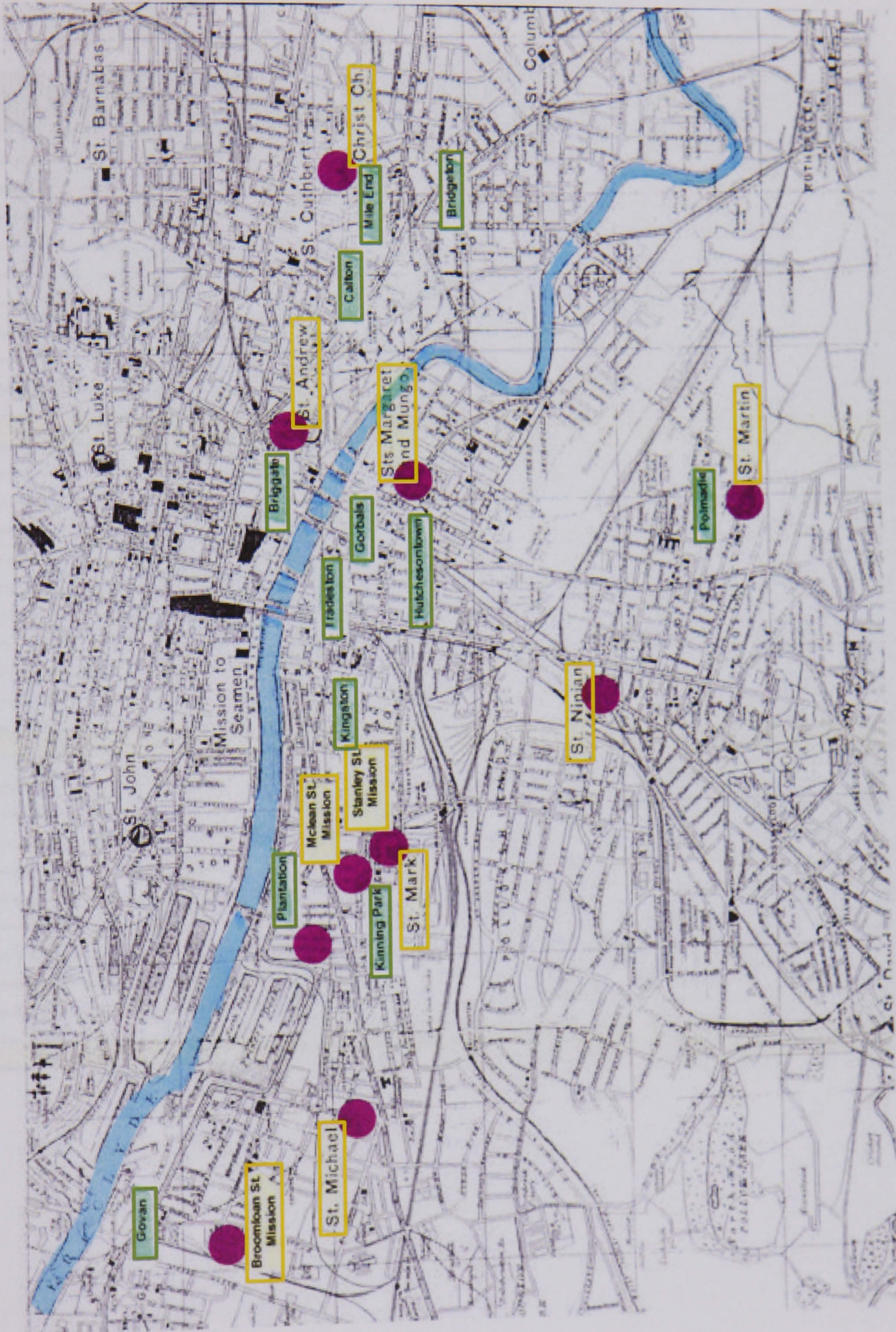
Appendix 7:3
 Map of Partick in 1896 showing Episcopal Churches and Orange Hall



Source: Ordnance Survey Map of 1896, The Godfrey Edition, 1997

Appendix 8:1

Map of the eastern and southern areas of Glasgow showing the churches of St. Andrews, Christ Church, Southside Mission, Govan, and Kinning Park, with their surrounding areas.



Source: DGGA, TD 1380/ 731, Map of Glasgow showing the Episcopal Churches, 1931.

Appendix 9:1

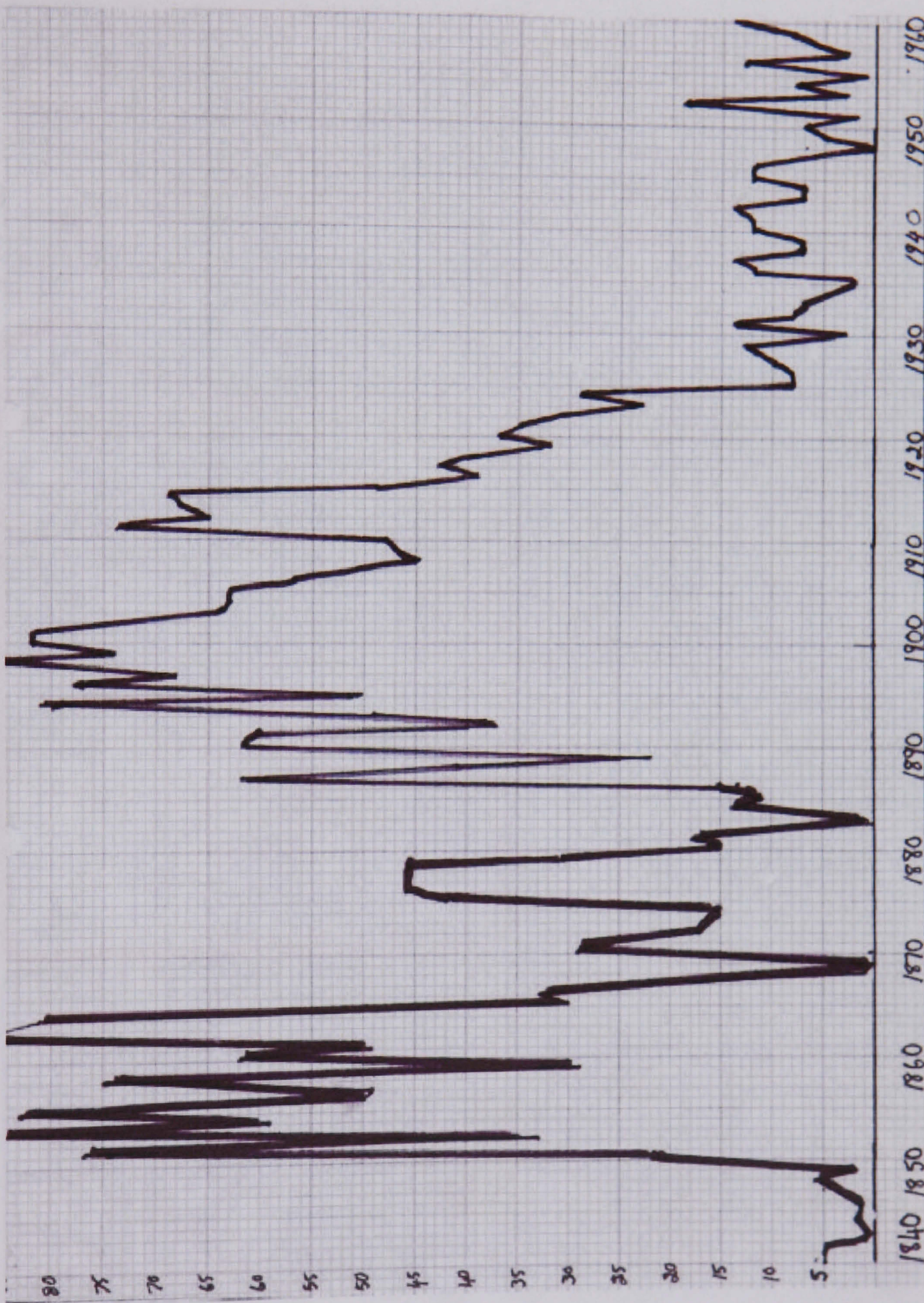
Table showing number of Baptisms at St. Andrew's, Ardrossan, 1873 – 1902

(Missions Opened: Dalry (1886), Irvine (1889), Stevenston (1914))

| Year | Ardrossan | Saltcoats | Stevenston | Kilwinning | Irvine | Dalry / Kilbirnie | Other | Total |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|------------|
| 1873 | 5 | | 4 | | | 2 | | 11 |
| 1874 | 18 | 7 | 7 | 1 | | | | 33 |
| 1875 | 14 | 7 | 6 | 28 | | 42 | | 97 |
| 1876 | 9 | 10 | 4 | 33 | 3 | 46 | | 105 |
| 1877 | 9 | 4 | 5 | 7 | | 9 | | 34 |
| 1878 | 11 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 46 | | 67 |
| 1879 | 8 | 3 | 5 | | | 31 | | 47 |
| 1880 | 14 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 2 | 15 | 1 | 43 |
| 1881 | 5 | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 18 | 1 | 28 |
| 1882 | 7 | 1 | 7 | 3 | | | 2 | 20 |
| Total | 100 | 40 | 41 | 83 | 8 | 209 | 4 | 485 |
| 1883 | 11 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 14 | 2 | 39 |
| 1884 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 3 | | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| 1885 | 7 | 4 | 7 | | | | 1 | 19 |
| 1886 | 8 | 3 | 2 | | 1 | 11 | 2 | 27 |
| 1887 | 9 | 15 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 62 | 1 | 94 |
| 1888 | 5 | 9 | 1 | | 1 | 12 | | 28 |
| 1889 | 8 | 15 | 7 | | 16 | | 12 | 58 |
| 1890 | 9 | 4 | 9 | | 14 | | 5 | 41 |
| 1891 | 6 | 12 | 13 | 1 | 6 | | 2 | 40 |
| 1892 | 7 | 15 | 4 | 2 | 6 | | 2 | 36 |
| Total | 75 | 82 | 54 | 12 | 45 | 100 | 28 | 396 |
| 1893 | 9 | 18 | 5 | | 7 | | 5 | 44 |
| 1894 | 7 | 7 | 8 | | 5 | | 2 | 29 |
| 1895 | 3 | 13 | 7 | | 1 | | 2 | 26 |
| 1896 | 3 | 15 | 12 | | 5 | | 2 | 37 |
| 1897 | 7 | 8 | 16 | 1 | 9 | | 3 | 44 |
| 1898 | 3 | 18 | 13 | | 1 | | 1 | 36 |
| 1899 | 8 | 7 | 11 | | 3 | | 4 | 33 |
| 1900 | 12 | 13 | 5 | | 1 | | 1 | 32 |
| 1901 | 13 | 11 | 13 | 1 | 3 | | 2 | 43 |
| 1902 | 7 | 8 | 4 | | | | | 19 |
| Total | 72 | 118 | 94 | 2 | 35 | 0 | 22 | 343 |

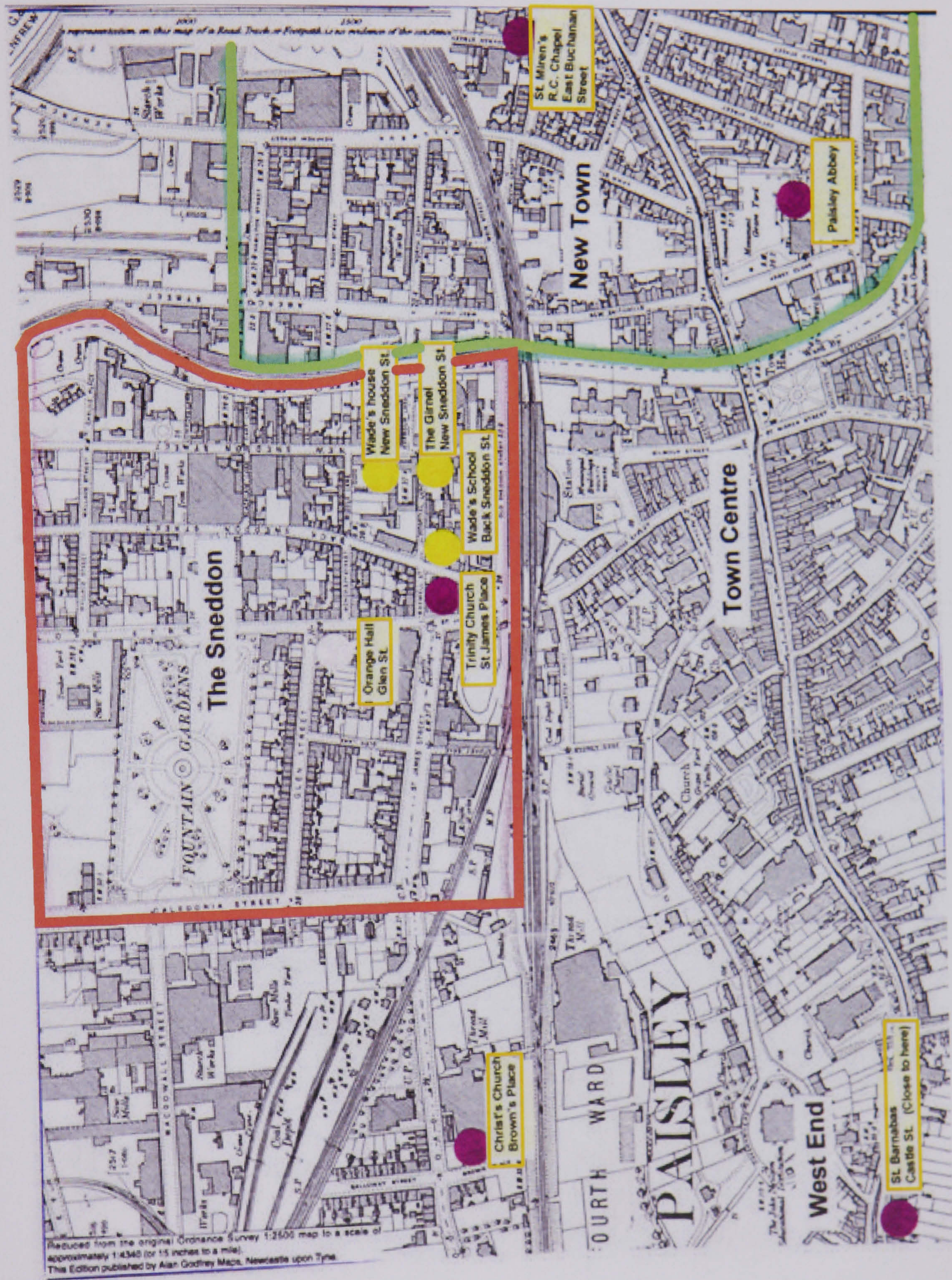
Source: St. Andrew's Church, Ardrossan, *Baptismal Register*, 1873 – 1902.

Appendix 9:2
Graph showing the number of Baptisms for Episcopalian families in the Garnock Valley, 1840 – 1960



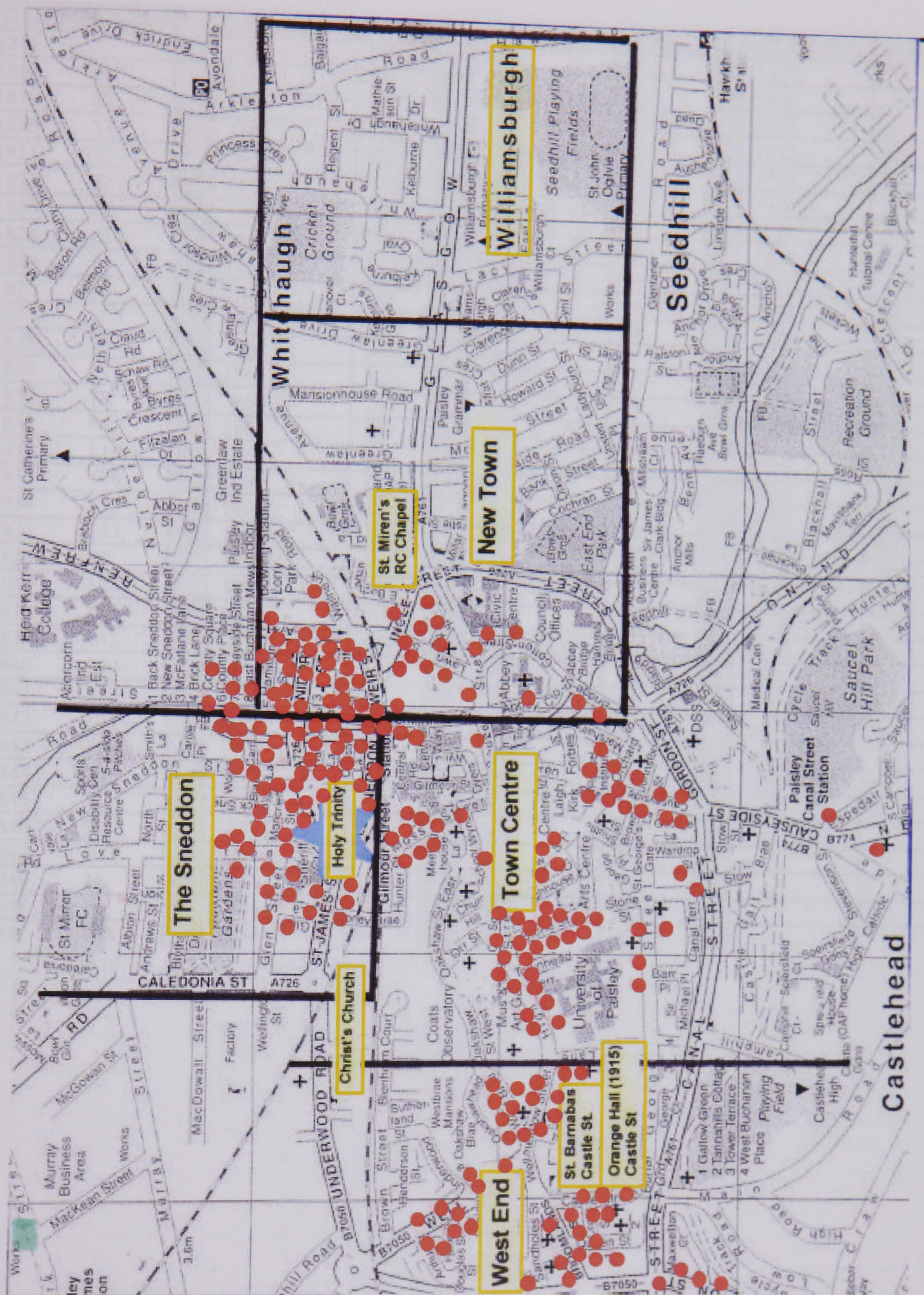
Source: *Baptismal Registers* of Holy Trinity Church, Paisley; St. Andrew's Church, Ardrossan; and St Peter's Church, Dalry, 1840 – 1960.

Appendix 10:1
Map of Paisley in 1896 showing location of Episcopal Churches and surrounding areas



Source: Ordnance Survey Map, 1896, The Godfrey Edition, 1997.

Appendix 10:2
 Map of Paisley showing location of sample of Episcopalian families, 1867 – 1872



Source : *Baptismal Register*, Holy Trinity Church, 1867 – 1872.

Appendix 10:3
Table showing number of Baptisms at Holy Trinity Church, Paisley, 1817 – 1947

| Year | No. | Year | No. | Year | No. | Year | No. |
|------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|
| 1817 | 2 | 1851 | 206 | 1885 | 90 | 1919 | 58 |
| 1818 | 41 | 1852 | 151 | 1886 | 67 | 1920 | 78 |
| 1819 | 27 | 1853 | 233 | 1887 | 100 | 1921 | 57 |
| 1820 | 37 | 1854 | 170 | 1888 | 100 | 1922 | 47 |
| 1821 | 22 | 1855 | 200 | 1889 | 77 | 1923 | 47 |
| 1822 | 32 | 1856 | 156 | 1890 | 104 | 1924 | 51 |
| 1823 | 57 | 1857 | 141 | 1891 | 63 | 1925 | 37 |
| 1824 | 85 | 1858 | 201 | 1892 | 65 | 1926 | 40 |
| 1825 | 77 | 1859 | 132 | 1893 | 79 | 1927 | 43 |
| 1826 | 93 | 1860 | 146 | 1894 | 94 | 1928 | 34 |
| 1827 | 108 | 1861 | 160 | 1895 | 63 | 1929 | 20 |
| 1828 | 93 | 1862 | 196 | 1896 | 77 | 1930 | 27 |
| 1829 | 117 | 1863 | 229 | 1897 | 60 | 1931 | 34 |
| 1830 | 78 | 1864 | 205 | 1898 | 47 | 1932 | 30 |
| 1831 | 96 | 1865 | 129 | 1899 | 49 | 1933 | 46 |
| 1832 | 119 | 1866 | 146 | 1900 | 51 | 1934 | 48 |
| 1833 | 106 | 1867 | 119 | 1901 | 39 | 1935 | 35 |
| 1834 | 131 | 1868 | 87 | 1902 | 74 | 1936 | 28 |
| 1835 | 143 | 1869 | 210 | 1903 | 53 | 1937 | 40 |
| 1836 | 85 | 1870 | 131 | 1904 | 63 | 1938 | 31 |
| 1837 | 123 | 1871 | 126 | 1905 | 51 | 1939 | 23 |
| 1838 | 115 | 1872 | 110 | 1906 | 36 | 1940 | 24 |
| 1839 | 141 | 1873 | 144 | 1907 | n/a | 1941 | 30 |
| 1840 | 142 | 1874 | 108 | 1908 | n/a | 1942 | 24 |
| 1841 | 125 | 1875 | 77 | 1909 | 82 | 1943 | 21 |
| 1842 | 101 | 1876 | 104 | 1910 | 111 | 1944 | 29 |
| 1843 | 114 | 1877 | 81 | 1911 | 93 | 1945 | 15 |
| 1844 | 78 | 1878 | 107 | 1912 | 75 | 1946 | 6 |
| 1845 | 87 | 1879 | 101 | 1913 | 41 | 1947 | 11 |
| 1846 | 91 | 1880 | 89 | 1914 | 52 | | |
| 1847 | 103 | 1881 | 103 | 1915 | 53 | | |
| 1848 | 94 | 1882 | 117 | 1916 | 36 | | |
| 1849 | 94 | 1883 | 83 | 1917 | 46 | | |
| 1850 | 108 | 1884 | 76 | 1918 | 42 | | |

Source: Holy Trinity Church, Paisley, *Baptismal Register*, 1817 – 1947.

Appendix 10:4

Table showing number of Confirmations at Holy Trinity Church, Paisley
(with country of Baptism), 1893 - 1925

| Year | Paisley | Other Scotland | England | Ireland |
|-------|---------|-------------------|---------|---------|
| 1893 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 9 |
| 1884 | 19 | 7 | 4 | 1 |
| 1895 | 12 | 3 | 6 | 0 |
| 1896 | 9 | 5 | 11 | 2 |
| 1897 | 13 | 6 | 7 | 2 |
| 1898 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 3 |
| 1899 | 20 | 2 | 5 | 1 |
| 1900 | 12 | 5 | 6 | 1 |
| 1901 | 7 | 2 | 6 | 1 |
| 1902 | 16 | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| 1903 | 14 | 6 | 4 | 6 |
| 1904 | 18 | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| 1905 | 12 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 1910 | 28 | 8 | 8 | 12 |
| 1911 | 11 | 8 | 5 | 2 |
| 1912 | 11 | 5 | 0 | 1 |
| 1913 | 16 | 9 | 4 | 1 |
| 1914 | 10 | 3 | 9 | 1 |
| 1915 | 12 | 7 | 6 | 2 |
| 1916 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 1917 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| 1918 | 11 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| 1919 | 14 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| 1920 | 23 | 10 | 0 | 2 |
| 1921 | 12 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| 1922 | 10 | 3 | 7 | 1 |
| 1922 | 10 | 3 | 7 | 1 |
| 1923 | 8 | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| 1924 | 16 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 1925 | 20 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Total | 372 | 136 | 121 | 63 |

Source: Holy Trinity Church, *Register of Confirmations, 1893 - 1925*

Additional notes :

1903 - James Watson Neile, aged 18, Baptised at Christ Church, Paisley

1910 - 3 November, Williamina Shankland (RIP age 17) 'By minister of schismatic congregation from Holy Trinity, Paisley.'

Appendix 10:5

Map of Ireland in 1848 showing origin (where indicated) of Episcopalian families who migrated to Paisley, 1830 - 1929



Source: Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845 - 9* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962), opp. P. 148; Holy Trinity Church, Paisley, *Baptismal and Confirmation Registers, 1830 - 1929*.

Appendix 11:1
Table showing children of William Marshall (1836 – 1885)

| Name | Baptism at Paisley (Trinity) | Date of Death | Age at death | Cause of death |
|-----------|------------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| Henry | America/Canada | 1927 | 68 yrs | Heart |
| Thomas | America/Canada | 1939 | 78 yrs | |
| Anne Jane | ? | 1866 | 1 yr, 5 mths | Croup |
| Margaret | 16 June 1867 | 1887 | 19 yrs, 9 mths | Tuberculosis |
| Hugh | 7 Nov. 1869 | 1870 | 4 mths | Letching |
| Erwin | 18 June 1871 | 1872 | 1 yr, 10 mths | Measles |
| Stewart | 10 Nov. 1872 | 1894 | 22 yrs | |
| William | 6 Dec. 1874 | 1878 | 3 yrs, 9 mths | Croup |
| Susanna | 6 Feb. 1876 | 1877 | 1 yr, 1 mth | Lungs |
| Agnes | 3 Feb. 1878 | 1914 | | |
| David | 4 Sep. 1881 | 1929 | 47 yrs | Influenza |
| Robert | 1 Jan. 1883 | 1887 | 4 yrs, 5 mths | Meningitis |

Source: *Marshall Family Papers* 'Death Certificates'; Holy Trinity Church, *Baptismal Register*, 1867 - 1883

Appendix 11:2
Table showing addresses and occupations of William Marshall

| Year | Address in Paisley | Occupation |
|------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1866 | 15 Moss Street | Brickfield labourer |
| 1867 | 71 High Street | Starchwork labourer |
| 1869 | 14 Glen Street | |
| 1870 | 83 Causeyside Street | |
| 1871 | 20 Well Street | |
| 1874 | 10 Caledonia Street | |

Source: *Marshall Family Papers*

Appendix 12:1

Table showing ethnic origin of clergy in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway, 1881

PC = Private Chapel

| Forename | Surname | Church | Birth Country |
|-----------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|
| William | Wilson | Ayr & Bishop | Scotland |
| John | Morton | Annan | Ireland |
| Charles | Linton | Ardgowan (PC) | England |
| Hector | De Courcelles | Ardrossan | England |
| Robert | Hind | Ayr (Curate) | England |
| John | Pickford | Baillieston | England |
| Walter | Ramsay | Castle Douglas | Scotland |
| Wilfred | Leveson | Cartsdyke/Gourock | England |
| Edward | Jonas | Coatbridge | England |
| John | Tandy | Dalbeattie | England |
| Severne | Majendie | Drumlanrig (PC) | England |
| William | Stephen | Dumbarton | Scotland |
| Archibald | McEwen | Dumfries | Scotland |
| Alfred | Jenkins | Galashiels | England |
| William | Gallacher | Girvan | Scotland |
| James | Gordon | St. Andrew | Scotland |
| James W | Reid | Christ Church | Scotland |
| Charles | Brooke | Springburn | England |
| John | Penney | Anderston | England |
| Alfred | Pullin | St. Luke | England |
| Frederick | Ridgeway | St. Mary | England |
| John | Denham | St. Mary (Curate) | Scotland |
| Douglas | Ware | St. Mary (Curate) | England |
| Michael | Hutchison | St. Ninian | Scotland |
| George | Lakeman | St. Paul | England |
| Robert | Ritchie | Govan | Scotland |
| John | Trew | Greenock | Ireland |
| George | Webber | Greenock (Curate) | England |
| Charles | Henderson | Hamilton | Scotland |
| John | Dakers | Hawick | Scotland |
| John | Syme | Helensburgh | Scotland |
| John | Moir | Jedburgh | Scotland |
| William | McDermott | Johnstone | Ireland |
| Joseph | Scott | Kelso | England |
| Alexander | Creighton | Kilmarnock | Scotland |
| Edmund | Kershaw | Lamington | England |
| Leigh | Leyland | Lanark | England |
| William | Low | Largs | Scotland |
| Henry | Kirby | Lenzie | England |
| William | Simpson | Melrose | England |
| William | Churchill | Moffat | England |
| John | Walton | Newton | England |
| William | Mills | Paisley | Scotland |
| John | Evans | Peebles | England |
| Charles | Douton | Penninghame (PC) | England |
| George | Durno | Port Glasgow | Scotland |
| Edmund | Lane | Selkirk | England |
| David | Preston | West Linton | England |

Source: Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, Part 2, 'Biographical Index, 1792 – 2000, pp. 155 – 502.

Bibliography

(1) Primary Sources

(a) Manuscripts

National Archives of Scotland

Letter from Bishop Rose to Bishop Campbell, 22 October 1713, CH12/12/1833.

Mitchell Library, Glasgow (Archives of the Diocese of Glasgow & Galloway)

Bishops' Journal, 1838 – 1917, TD 1382/75.

Diocesan Synod Minutes, 1836 -1855, TD 1382/2152.

Diocesan Synod Minutes, 1855 - 1893, TD 1382/2153.

Petition to form an Episcopal Church in Girvan, 1846, TD 1382/146.

Petition to form an Episcopal Church in Maybole, 1846, TD 1382/146.

St. John's Mission, Irvine, Mss by Edith B. Hill, TD 1382/803.

History of the Episcopal Church in Glasgow, typescript Mss, TD 1382/330.

Leaflet appealing for building fund, St Michael's, Govan, 1875, TD 1382/139.

Proposed Episcopal Church at Baillieston, 1850, TD 1382/169.

Letters: Bridgeton Mission, 1878, TD 1382/173.

Letters: Springburn, 1872 - 1886, TD 1382/147 /173/143.

Letters: Paisley, 1885 - 1887, TD 1382/154.

Letters: Johnstone, 1872 -1879, TD 1382/145.

Letters: Ardrossan, 1887, TD 1382/148.

Letters: Stranraer, 1885 -1887, TD 1382/168.

Letters: Dalbeattie, 1887, TD 1382/170.

Letters: St. Paul's, Charing Cross, 1885 - 1887, TD 1382/154.

Mitchell Library, Glasgow (Smiths of Jordanhill papers)

Manuscript notebook: Biographical notes on life of Miss Jane C. Smith, TD 1/548

Letters and cuttings: All Saints Church and School 1853– 1915, TD 1/507.

Letter from Lord Kelvin to J. Parker Smith, 22 March 1893, TD 1/133.

Letter from Lord Kelvin to J. Parker Smith, 12 October 1900, TD 1/357.

Letters from and concerning Jane Charlotte Smith of Jordanhill, 1854, TD 1/691.

Mitchell Library, Glasgow (Glasgow Room)

'A short history of the English Episcopal Church of St. Silas', typescript mss, G.283.41435.

University of Strathclyde: Jordanhill Archives

'A short history of Jordanhill', by William Campbell, 1931 typescript mss. J/EST/1/11.

'Jordanhill: The history of a district', by William Cowie, n.d. typescript mss. J/EST/1/1.

'A historical sketch of Jordanhill', by Max Donnelly, 1987 typescript mss. J/EST/1/2.

'Notes on the Jordanhill Coalfield', by James S. McLellan, Transactions of the Geological Society of Glasgow, 1887, pp. 271 -275, J/EST/1/8.

Dundee University Archives

Diocesan Meetings of the Clergy of Brechin, Minute Book, 1846 – 47, Br Ms. 4/1/2.

Dundee City Archives

General Register of Inmates of Dundee Poor-House, 1861, CP/DE/6/1.

Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh

Census Reports (Scotland), 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901.

Archives of local Episcopal Churches

All Saints, Jordanhill (Held in church):

- Baptismal Registers, 1854 – 1915.
- Register of Marriages, 1881 -1904.
- Register of Services, 1898 – 1907.
- Scrapbook of cuttings and notes, 1896.

Holy Trinity, Paisley (Held in church):

- Baptismal Registers, 1817 – 1947.
- Register of Confirmations, 1851 – 1925.
- Register of Burials, 1846 – 1870; 1919-1950.
- Register of Marriages, 1818-1847; 1871-1906.
- Minute Book of the Managers, 1839 – 1867.

St. Andrew's Church, Ardrossan (Held in church):

- Baptismal Registers, 1852 – 1905.

St. Bride's Church, Hyndland (Held in church):

- Baptismal Registers, 1892 – 1903.

St. Barnabas', Paisley (Held in Holy Trinity Church):

- Baptismal Registers, 1893 -1922.

St. James the Less, Springburn (Held in church):

- Baptismal Registers, 1875 – 1934.
- Register of Confirmations 1889 – 1923.
- Register of Burials 1889 – 1902.

St. Mary's Church, Glasgow (Held in church):

- Minute Book of the Management Committee of St. Mary's School, 1893 – 1913.

St. Peter's Church, Dalry (Held in church):

- Baptismal Registers, 1897-1925.

St. Oswald's Church, Maybole (Held in church):

- Baptismal Registers, 1884 -1930.
- Register of Confirmations, 1887-1910.
- Register of Burials, 1884-1905.

Cowcaddens Mission:

- Baptismal Register, 1870 – 1882 (GCA, TD 1378/3).

Archives of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland

Records of Paisley District Loyal Orange Lodge No. 6:

- Transfer Certificates from Ireland to Paisley, 1870 – 1950.
- Paisley District Loyal Orange Lodge No. 6, Minute Book, 1889-1897; 1913 -1924.
- 'Victoria' Loyal Orange Lodge No. 7, Roll & Dues Book, 1882 – 1920.
- 'Enniskillen True Blues' Loyal Orange Lodge No. 15, Minute Book, 1928-1937.
- 'Diamond' Loyal Orange Lodge No. 17, Minute Book, 1882-1895; 1910 -1920.
- 'True Blues' Loyal Orange Lodge No. 22, Minute Book, 1905 -1914.
- 'King William' Loyal Orange Lodge No. 102, Minute Book, 1864-1905.

Records of Garnock Valley District Loyal Orange Lodge No. 43:

- Loyal Orange Lodge No. 100, Kilbirnie, Roll & Dues Book, 1882 -1926.

Family history: family papers and oral history

- Barton family of Paisley (Mrs Heather Noble, Queensland, Australia).
- Nisbet family of Jordanhill (Mrs Catherine Cheyne, Glasgow).

Marshall family of Paisley (Mr William S. Marshall, Paisley).
 McFarland family of Glengarnock (Ms Elaine McFarland, Ardrossan).
 McFarland, John *The Fading Breath of the Past: Memories of the Glengarnock Rows*.
 Elliott family of Paisley (Mr Fred Coulson, Canada).
 Elliott, John, *Memories of a Scottish Emigrant*.
 Wilson and Virtue families of Paisley (Mrs Bobbie Edes, Queensland, Australia).
 Wilson family of Johnstone (Mr Ross Wilson, Brisbane, Australia).
 Letter from William Crawford, Ireland, to William Crawford (son), Australia, 2 November
 1879.
 Letter from William Wilson, Johnstone, to William Crawford, Australia, 18 April 1880.

(b) Printed sources

(i) Minutes, Reports

Report of the Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, 1876 -1929.
The Representative Church Council of the Scottish Episcopal Church: Annual Reports, 1870 – 1930
Year Book of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1878 – 1940.
Minutes of the Committee of Education and Reports by Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, 'Elementary
Schools connected with the Episcopal Church, Annual Reports', 1853 – 1870.

(ii) Parliamentary material

Report of the Royal Commissioners on Religious Instruction in Scotland, 1837-38, XXXII.
Report of the Royal Commission on the Conditions of the Poorer Classes in Ireland, Appendix G, 'The
State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain' 1836, XXXIV.
Report of the Select Committee on Manufacturers, Commerce and Shipping, 1833, VI.

(c) Newspapers and periodicals

Church Newspapers & Magazines

Church of England Magazine, 1836.
Church News: Scotland, 1870 – 1875.
Protestant Layman, 1851.
Scottish Chronicle, 1905 – 1930.
Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal, 1851 – 1863.
Scottish Episcopal Church Review, 1998-1999.
Scottish Episcopal Review and Magazine, 1820 – 1822.
Scottish Magazine and Churchman's Review, 1848 – 1854.
Scottish Guardian, 1865 – 1904.
Scottish Standard Bearer, 1890 – 1905.
Stephen's Ecclesiastical Journal, 1832 – 1837.

National Newspapers

Belfast Weekly News
Belfast Weekly Telegraph.
Glasgow Constitutional.
Glasgow Echo
Glasgow Star and Examiner
Glasgow Herald.
North British Daily Mail.

Local Newspapers

Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser.
Baillie.
Hamilton Advertiser.
Paisley Advertiser
Paisley Daily Express
Paisley Gazette.

Paisley & Renfrewshire Gazette.
Renfrewshire Advertiser.
St. Rollox & Springburn Express.

Local Magazines of Episcopal Churches

St. Mary's Church Magazine (Glasgow), 1883 – 1907.
St. Bride's Church (Glasgow) *Magazine*, 1894 – 1931.

(d) Pamphlets and printed sermons

- Anon, *Report of the Protestant & Orange Soiree held in Paisley*, 5 November, 1856, printed by J. & R. Parlane, Paisley, 1856 (British Library ref: 4373.cc.1).
- Aitchison, David, *A Pastoral Letter addressed to his flock*, Glasgow, 1837.
- Aitchison, David *The Suffering Clergy of Ireland*, Glasgow, 1837.
- Aitchison, David, *A Charity Sermon, on behalf of the Glasgow Board of Health*, 1838.
- Aitchison, David, *A Vindication of the Ambassadors of Christ: Addressed to the Protestant Episcopalians scattered throughout the eastern districts of Glasgow*, 1839.
- Aitchison, David, *Appeal to the Episcopal Synod (Argyll & The Isles)*, 1849.
- Aitchison, David, *A Free Inquiry into the duties of the Bishops of the Church of Scotland: Missionary as well as Episcopal*, 1853.
- Fraser, William, *Reform but do not destroy the Irish Church: The duty of Protestants in the present crisis*, Paisley: J. and R. Parlane, 1868.
- Hewit, Balvaird, *Idea for a new Church Club for Glasgow*, 1884.
- Johnston, James, *Religious Destitution of Glasgow*, Glasgow, 1870.
- Scott of Gala, Hugh *The Schools of the Scottish Episcopal Church*, Series of four pamphlets, printed at Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co., 1870 – 1872.
- Terrot, C.H., *The claims of the poorer Episcopalians of Scotland upon their richer brethren* Edinburgh, 1836.
- Trower, Walter J. (Bishop of Glasgow & Galloway), *Letter to the Rev. A..J.D.D'Orsey, Incumbent of St. John's Episcopal Chapel, Glasgow on certain recent charges in the ritual of his church*, Glasgow, 1851.
- Trower, Walter J. (Bishop of Glasgow & Galloway), *A Remonstrance addressed to Archibald Campbell of Blythswood, on Certain Resolutions*, Glasgow: Maurice Ogle & Son, 1856.
- Wade, William M., *Ten Sermons preached in Trinity Episcopal Chapel*, Paisley: Murray & Stewart, 1839.
- Wade, William M., *The Truth Spoken in Love relative to Episcopacy and the Anglican Liturgy*, Paisley: Murray & Stewart, 1840.
- Wade, William M., *A Few Friendly Parting Words with the Rev. Dr. Burns of Paisley on Episcopacy and the Anglican Liturgy*, Paisley, 1841.
- Wallace, W.J., *Reasons for seceding from St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Glasgow*, Glasgow, 1864.

(2) Secondary Sources

(a) Books on the Scottish Episcopal Church

- Bertie, David M, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy 1689-2000*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000.
- Culbertson, Eric, *The Episcopal Disruption: Three Schisms of 1843*, Privately printed, 1983.
- Farquhar, T.S. (ed.), *Archibald Ean Campbell, Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway: A Memoir*, Edinburgh: The Scottish Chronicle Press, 1924.
- Goldie, Frederick, *A short history of the Episcopal Church in Scotland*, Edinburgh: St. Andrew's Press, 1976.
- Grubb, George, *My years in Dundee with Bishop Forbes of Brechin 1871-1876*, Edinburgh: R. Grant & Son, 1912.
- Humphrey, William, *Recollections of Scottish Episcopalianism*, London: Thomas Barker, 1896.
- Lawson, John P., *The Episcopal Church in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, Edinburgh: Gallie & Bayley, 1843.

- Lochhead, Marion, *Episcopal Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, London: John Murray, 1966.
- Luscombe, Edward, *The Scottish Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century*, Edinburgh: General Synod Office of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1996.
- Luscombe, Edward *Steps to Freedom: The Synod of Laurencekirk 1804*, Edinburgh: General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 2004.
- Perry, William, *Anthony Mitchell: Bishop of Aberdeen & Orkney*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1920.
- Perry, William, *The Scottish Prayer Book: Its value and history*, Cambridge: University Press, 1929.
- Perry, William, *Alexander Penrose Forbes, Bishop of Brechin: The Scottish Pusey*, London: S.P.C.K., 1939.
- Perry, William, *The Oxford Movement in Scotland*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933.
- Russell, W. E. (ed.) *Malcolm MacColl: Memoirs and Correspondence* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914).
- Scottish Episcopal Church, *Code of Canons and Digest of Resolutions*, Edinburgh: General Synod, 2005 (Updated).
- Stranraer-Mull, Gerald *A Church for Scotland*, Edinburgh: General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 2001.
- Stevens, William, *History of the Scottish Church*, 2 Volumes, Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1896.
- Strong, Rowan *Alexander Forbes of Brechin: The First Tractarian Bishop* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Strong, Rowan, *Episcopalianism in Nineteenth-Century Scotland*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- White, Gavin, *The Scottish Episcopal Church: A New History*, Edinburgh: General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1998.

(b) Scottish Episcopal Church: Local church histories and commemorative booklets

- Anon., *St. John's Episcopal Church, Cranstonhill (Anderston) 1850-1950*, Centenary booklet, 1950.
- Anon., *St. Mary the Virgin, Port Glasgow: A Short History of the Church 1857-1957*, Centenary booklet, 1957.
- Anon., *St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Kinning Park, Diamond Jubilee 1888 – 1948*, Glasgow, 1948.
- Anon., *Church of St. John the Evangelist, Coatbridge, 1843-1943: One hundred years of concise history*, Coatbridge, John Williamson, 1943.
- Anon., *A Hundred years of St. John's (Johnstone) 1874-1974*, Paisley, 1974.
- Anon., *St. John's Episcopal Church, Baillieston, 125th Anniversary 1850-1975*.
- Anon., *All Saints, Jordanhill: Book of the Bazaar 1903*.
- Ball, Helen, *A Short History of St. Bride's Episcopal Church, Glasgow*, Glasgow: Vestry of St. Bride's Church, 2004.
- Brews, William, *St Augustine's Episcopal Church Dumbarton 1873-1923*.
- Cowan, Gina, (et al.), *To grow in unity: A history of the churches of St. John, Coatbridge; St. Paul, Airdrie; St. Andrew, Gartcosh, Airdrie*: Monklands District Council, 1994.
- Dell, R., *St. Ninian's Episcopal Church, Glasgow 1872-1972*.
- Donaldson, Ann, *The early history of the congregation of St. James-the-Less 1872-1914*.
- Donaldson, Ann (ed.), *St James the Less, Bishopbriggs: A brief history of the congregation of St. James*, Glasgow: The Vestry of St. James the Less, 2005.
- Gourlie, N.J., *St. Ninian's Glasgow: Historical Notes*.
- Hoskins, J., *All Saints Episcopal Church Jordanhill – Centenary 1853-1953*.
- Jonas, Edward J., *A concise history of St. John's Church, Coatbridge*, Coatbridge: 1893.
- Laming, Frank, *Souvenir Brochure to Commemorate the Jubilee of the Congregation of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Motherwell*, Paisley: Printed by Edward Gribben, 1946.
- Lockhart, D.D.A., *Holy Trinity Paisley 1833-1933: Centenary of the church building*, Paisley: Printed by M. & J. Wotherspoon, 1933.
- Macdonald, Margaret H., *All Saints Church, Jordanhill, Coatbridge*: Alex Pettigrew Ltd, 1938.
- Maxwell, Jean S., *the Centenary Book of St. John's Dumfries*, Dumfries: Robert Dinwiddie, 1968.
- McEwan, David O., *Wings of Faith: A History of St. Kieran's Scottish Episcopal Church, Campbeltown*, Edinburgh: General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 2003.
- Thorne, Robert *St. John's Greenock: A Record 1833-1924*.
- Warwick, Gilbert H., *History and Notes of St. Peter's Church, Dalry*, mss., 1927.

- White, Gavin, *St. Mary's Cathedral Glasgow: A History*, Edinburgh: General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1995.
- Wilkinson, J., *Centenary Souvenir of St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow*, Glasgow: Printed by D. Gilfillan & Co, 1905.

(c) Other churches: Local church histories and commemorative booklets

- Anon, *The History of the Catholic Community of Knightswood*, Glasgow: St. Ninian's Church, Knightswood, 1985.
- Canning, Bernard J., *The Living Stone: St. Aloysius' Springburn 1882-1982*, Glasgow: John Burns & Sons, 1982.
- Myers, Frank, *A History of Springburn Parish Church*, Glasgow: The Kirk Session, 1997.
- Partick Methodist Church, *Centenary Brochure of Partick Methodist Church*, Glasgow, 1981.

(d) Books on Scottish history: Church and Society

- Anderson, Henry, *Reminiscences of a pastorate of fifty years 1844-1894, (Anderston Free Church)*, Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1896.
- Aspinwall, Bernard, *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820-1920*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984.
- Bradley, Joseph M., *Ethnic and Religious Identity in Modern Scotland*, Aldershot: Avebury, 1995.
- Brown, Callum G., *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997.
- Burgess, Moira, *Johnstone and Elderslie*, Paisley: Renfrew District Council, 1992.
- Burleigh, J.H.S., *A Church History of Scotland*, London: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Cage, R.A. (ed.), *The Working Class in Glasgow 1750-1914*, London: Croom Helm, 1987.
- Canning, Bernard J., *Irish-Born Secular Priests in Scotland, 1829-1979*, Inverness: Bookmags, 1979.
- Carlyle, Alexander, *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle*, Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1860.
- Clark, Sylvia, *Paisley: A History*, Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1988.
- Cleland, James, *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow and County of Lanark*, Glasgow: Office of Public Works, 1831.
- Crampsey, Bob, *The King's Grocer: The Life of Sir Thomas Lipton*, Glasgow: Glasgow City Libraries, 1995.
- Currie, Robert, (et al.), *Churches and Church-Goers: Patterns of Church growth in the British Isles Since 1700*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.
- Damer, Sean, *Glasgow: going for a song (series on city cultures)*, London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990.
- Dilke, Margaret S. and Templeton, A. A., *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Dunbarton*, Glasgow: Collins, 1959.
- Donaldson, Gordon, *Scottish Historical Documents*, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1974.
- Donaldson, Gordon, *Reformed by Bishops*, Edinburgh: The Edina Press, 1987.
- Donaldson, Gordon, *Scotland: Church and Nation through Sixteen Centuries*, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1960.
- Drummond, Andrew L. and Bulloch, James, *The Scottish Church 1688-1843*, Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1973.
- Drummond, Andrew L. and Bulloch, James, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874*, Edinburgh: St. Andrew's Press, 1975.
- Drummond, Andrew L. and Bulloch, James, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1874-1900*, Edinburgh: St. Andrew's Press, 1978.
- Eyre-Todd, George, *Who's Who in Glasgow*, Glasgow: Cowans and Gray Ltd., 1909.
- Flinn, Michael (ed.), *Scottish Population History from the seventeenth century to the 1930s*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Fraser, W. Hamish and Maver, Irene (eds.), *Glasgow Volume II: 1830-1912*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Glenday, David, *Anderston as it was*, Glasgow: Glasgow City Libraries, 1992.
- Greenhome, William, *History of Partick 550-1912*, Glasgow: John Thomlinson, 1928.
- Keenan, Michael, *History of the Garngad*,

- Malden, John, *The Abbey and Monastery of Paisley*, Paisley: Renfrew District Council, 1993.
- Maxwell, William, *An Outline of Christian Worship*, London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- McCaffrey, John F., *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, Basingstoke: Macmillan 1998.
- McCarthy, Mary, *A Social Geography of Paisley*, Paisley: Committee of Management, Paisley Public Library, 1969.
- McFarland, Elaine, W. *John Ferguson 1836-1906: Irish Issues in Scottish Politics*, East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003.
- McUre, John (ed. J.F.S. Gordon), *History of Glasgow (2 Volumes)*, Glasgow: John Tweed, 1872.
- Moisley, H. A. and Thain, A. G., *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Renfrew*, Glasgow: Collins, 1962.
- Partick History Group, *Mind these days: Partick between the wars*, Glasgow: Partick History Group, 1985.
- Purvis, Jock, *Fair Sunshine: Character Studies of the Scottish Covenanters*, London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1968.
- Roxburgh, James M., *The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919*, London: University of London Press, 1971.
- Smart, Aileen, *Villages of Glasgow, Vol. 1*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988.
- Smart, Aileen, *Villages of Glasgow, Vol. 2*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1996.
- Smith, Crosbie and Wise, M. Norton, *Energy and Empire: A biographical study of Lord Kelvin*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Strawhorn, John and Boyd, William (eds.), *Third Statistical Account of Scotland: Ayrshire*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1951.
- Strawhorn, John, *Ayrshire: The story of a county*, Ayr: Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1975.
- Stuart, Andrew, *Old Springburn*, Glasgow: Richard Stenlake, 1991.
- Thomas, Charles, *Christianity in Roman Britain to A. D. 500*, London: B. T. Batsford, 1981.
- Thomas, John, *The Springburn Story: The history of the Scottish Railway Metropolis*, Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1974.
- Thomson, George, (ed.), *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Lanark*, Glasgow: Collins, 1960.
- Withers, Charles W.J., *Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland migration and urban Gaelic Culture 1700 – 1900*, East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998.

(e) Books on Irish history

- Acheson, Alan, *A History of the Church of Ireland 1691-1996*, Dublin: Columba Press, 1997.
- Adamson, Ian, *The Identity of Ulster: the land, the language and the people*, Belfast: Pretani Press, 1982.
- Alexander, Eleanor (ed.), *Primate Alexander, Archbishop of Armagh: A Memoir*, London: Edward Arnold, 1913.
- Bardon, Jonathan, *A History of Ulster*, Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1992.
- Bowen, Desmond, *History and Shaping of Irish Protestantism*, New York: Lang Publications, 1995.
- Bowen, Desmond, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland 1800-1870*, Montreal: Gill and Macmillan, 1978.
- Brooke, Peter, *Ulster Presbyterianism*, New York: Gill & Macmillan, 1987.
- Brown, Stewart J., *The National Churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland 1801 – 1846*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Colles, Ramsay, *The History of Ulster from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, 4 Volumes*, London: Gresham Publishing, n.d.
- Day, Angeliq and McWilliams, Patrick (eds.), *Ordinance Survey Memoirs of Ireland: Parishes of County Fermanagh, II, 1834-5*, Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1992.
- Donnelly, James S., *The Great Irish Potato Famine*, Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2001
- Dunlop, John, *A Precarious Belonging: Presbyterians and the conflict in Ireland*. Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1995.
- Erskine, John and Lucy, Gordon (eds.), *Cultural Traditions in Northern Ireland: Varieties Of Scottishness*, Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1997.

- Fitzpatrick, Rory, *God's Frontiersmen: The Scots-Irish Epic*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989.
- Gillespie, Raymond and Neely, W.G. (eds.), *The Laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000 – 2000*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002.
- Hempton, David & Hill, Myrtle, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society 1740-1890*, London: Routledge, 1992.
- Holmes, Finlay, *Our Irish Presbyterian Heritage*, Belfast: Publications Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1985.
- Jackson, Alvin, Colonel *Edward Saunderson: Land and Loyalty in Victorian Ireland*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Mant, Walter-Bishop, *Memoirs of the Rt. Rev. Richard Mant, Bishop of Down and Connor and of Dromore*, Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1857.
- McDowell, R.B., *The Church of Ireland 1869-1969*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.
- Phillips, Walter A. (ed.), *History of the Church of Ireland, 3 Volumes*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933.
- Reid, James S., *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 3 Volumes*, London, 1853.
- Vaughan, W. E. and Fitzpatrick, A. J., *Irish Historical Statistics: Population 1821 – 1971*, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978.
- Woodham-Smith, Cecil, *The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845 – 9*, London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962.

(f) Books on Irish Immigration

- Burrowes, John, *Irish: The remarkable saga of a nation and city* (Glasgow), Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2004.
- Connolly, S.J., (et al.), *Conflict, Identity and Economic Development Ireland and Scotland 1600-1939*, Preston: Carnegie Publishing, 1995.
- Devine, T.M., (ed.), *Irish Immigration and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991
- Goldsmith, J.M. and Clarkson, L.A. (ed.), *Irish Population, Economy and Society* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.
- Handley, James E., *The Irish in Scotland*, Glasgow: John Burns & Sons, 1964.
- Houston, Cecil J. and Smyth, William J., *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Jackson, John Archer, *The Irish in Britain*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.
- Kennedy, Billy, *The Scots-Irish in the Hills of Tennessee*, Belfast: Ambassador Productions, 1995.
- Macraird, Donald M., *Culture, Conflict and Migration: The Irish in Victorian Cumbria*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998.
- Macraird, Donald M., *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750 – 1922*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, Ltd. 1999.
- Mitchell, Martin J., *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848: Trade Unions, strikes and political movements*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998.
- O'Sullivan, Patrick (ed.), *The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage, Identity*, 6 Volumes, Vol. Five, *Religion and Identity*, London: Leicester University Press, 2000.
- Swift, Roger and Gilley, Sheridan (eds.), *The Irish in the Victorian City*, London: Croom Helm 1985.
- Swift, Roger and Gilley, Sheridan (eds.), *The Irish in Britain 1815-1939*, London: Printer Publishers, 1989.

(g) Orangeism

i) Books

- Bull, William Perkins, *From the Boyne to Brampton: Orangeism in Peel County, Canada*, Toronto: George J. McLeod Ltd, 1936.
- Dewar, M.W., (et al.). *Orangeism: A New Historical Appreciation*, Belfast: Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, 1965.
- Edwards, Ruth Dudley, *The Faithful Tribe: An Intimate Portrait of the Loyal Institutions*,

- London: Harper Collins, 1999.
- Gallacher, Tom, Glasgow: *The Uneasy Peace*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- Haddick-Flynn, Kevin, *Orangeism: The Making of a Tradition* Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1999.
- Macraill, Donald *Faith, Fraternity and Fighting: The Orange Order and Irish Migrants in Northern England, c. 1850-1920*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005.
- Marshall, William S, *The Billy Boys: A Concise History of Orangeism in Scotland*, Edinburgh, The Mercat Press, 1996.
- McFarland, Elaine, *Protestants First: Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990.
- Sibbett, R. M., *Orangeism in Ireland and throughout the Empire*, 2 Volumes, London: Thynne & Co Ltd., n.d.

ii) Booklets and Pamphlets

- Bryce, David, *Our blood is on their hands: The Girvan Riots 1831*, Hamilton: Privately Published, 2001.
- Bryce, David, *They Wore the Colours: Some Interesting Orangemen*, Hamilton: Privately Published, 2005.
- Bryce, David, *A History of Scotland's Orange Friendly Societies*, Glasgow: Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, 2004.
- Long, S.E., *The Clerical Presence in Orangeism 1795-1900*, Belfast: Loyal Orange Lodge Of Research, 2001.

(h) Books on Anti-Catholicism

- Brewer, John D., *Anti-Catholicism in Northern Ireland, 1600-1998*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998.
- Wolffe, John, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829-1860*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1991.
- Bruce, Steve, *No Pope of Rome: Militant Protestantism in Modern Scotland*, Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985.
- Bruce, Steve (et al.), *Sectarianism in Modern Scotland*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004.

(i) Books on the Oxford Movement and Anglicanism

- Chadwick, Owen (ed.), *The Mind of the Oxford Movement*, London: Adam & Charles Black, 1960.
- Chadwick, Owen, *The Victorian Church: Part One, 1829-1859*, London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1971.
- Chadwick, Owen, *The Victorian Church: Part Two, 1860-1901*, London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1972.
- Crockford's Clerical Directory 2004/2005*, London: Church House Publishing, 2003.
- Hilliard, David, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission 1849 – 1942*, Queensland, 1982.
- Nockles, Peter B., *The Oxford Movement in Context*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Publications Committee of the Free Church of England, *A History of the Free Church of England otherwise called the Reformed Episcopal Church*, Morecambe: Publications Committee, 1960.
- Ollard, S. L., *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, London: A. R. Mowbray, 1915.
- Palmer, Bernard *Gadfly for God: A History of the Church Times*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991.
- Sykes, Stephen (et al.), *The Study of Anglicanism*, London: S.P.C.K., 1998.
- Walsh, Walter, *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1899.
- Worrall, B. G., *The Making of the Modern Church: Christianity in England since 1800*, London: S. P. C. K., 1988.

(j) Articles

- (i) *In books*
- Aspinwall, Bernard, 'A long journey: The Irish in Scotland', O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage, Identity, Vol. 5, Religion and Identity*, Leicester: University Press, 1996, pp. 146-173.

- Bryce, John, 'Parish of Ardrossan', *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. V, Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845, pp. 191 – 210.
- Gray, George, 'Parish of Maybole', *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. V, Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1845, pp. 348 – 375.
- Gallacher, Tom, 'Communal Strife in Glasgow and Liverpool before 1914', Swift, Roger and Gilley, Sheridan (eds.), *The Irish in the Victorian City*, London: Croom Helm, 1985.
- Hutchison, I.G.C., 'Glasgow Working Class Politics', Cage, R.A. (ed.), *The Working Class in Glasgow 1750-1914*, London: Croom Helm, 1987.
- King Elspeth, 'Popular Culture in Glasgow', Cage, R.A. (ed.), *The Working Class in Glasgow 1750-1914*, London: Croom Helm, 1987.
- McAuley, James W., 'Under an Orange banner: reflections on the northern Protestant experience of emigration', O'Sullivan, Patrick (ed.), *The Irish World Wide: History Heritage, Identity, Vol., 5, Religion and Identity*, pp. 43 – 69.
- McCaffrey, John, 'Reactions in Scotland to the Irish Famine', Brown, Stewart and Newlands, George (eds.), *Scottish Christianity in the Modern World*, pp. 155-175.
- McFarland, Elaine, 'Glasgow's greatest Irishman: John Ferguson 1836-1906', Devine, T.M., (ed.), *Celebrating Columba: Irish and Scottish Connections 597-1997*, pp. 84-101. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999.
- McMaster, Peter, 'Parish of Girvan', *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. V, Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845, pp. 394 – 406.
- Nair, Gwyneth, 'Poverty and the Household in Nineteenth Century Paisley', *Essays on the Labour and Social History of Renfrewshire*. Paisley: University of Paisley, 1999, pp. 17 – 24.
- Sloan, William, 'Religious affiliation and the immigrant experience: Catholic and Protestant Highlanders in Glasgow 1830-1850', Devine, T.M., (ed.), *Irish Immigration and Scottish Society in the 19th and 20th centuries*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991.
- Smith, Joan, 'Class, skill and sectarianism in Glasgow and Liverpool, 1880-1914', Morris, R.J. (ed.). *Class, power and social structure in British nineteenth-century towns*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986.
- Thatcher, Barbara, 'The Episcopal Church in Helensburgh in the Nineteenth Century', Butt, John and Ward, J.T., (eds.), *Scottish Themes*, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1976, pp. 98 - 123.
- Walker, Graham, 'The Protestant Irish in Scotland', Devine, T.M., (ed.), *Irish Immigration and Scottish Society in the 19th and 20th centuries*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991, pp. 44 – 66.
- White, Gavin, 'New names for olds things: Scottish reaction to early Tractarianism', Baker, Derek (ed.), *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1977 pp. 329 – 338.
- White, Gavin, 'Ideals in Urban Mission: Episcopalians in Twentieth Century Glasgow', Baker, Derek (ed.), *The Church in Town and Countryside*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1979, pp. 441 – 8.

(ii) *In Journals*

- Aspinwall, Bernard, 'Scots and Irish clergy ministering to immigrants, 1830 – 1878', *Innes Review*, Vol. 47, Spring 1996, pp. 45 – 68.
- Clarke, Tristram, 'The Williamite Episcopalians and the Glorious Revolution in Scotland', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol. XXIV, 1990, pp. 33-51.
- Foster, John (et al.), 'Distinguishing Catholics and Protestants among Irish Immigrants to Clydeside: A New Approach to Immigration and Ethnicity in Victorian Britain', *Irish Studies Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2002, pp. 171 – 192.
- Knight, Christopher, 'The Anglicising of Scottish Episcopalianism', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol. XXIII, Part 3, 1989, pp. 361 – 377.
- Maver, Irene, 'Review of *The Scottish Episcopal Church: A New History* by Gavin White', *Scottish Historical Review*, No. 207, April 2000, pp. 124-5.
- Strong, Rowan, 'In Search of Certainty: Scottish Episcopalian Converts to Rome in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Recusant History*, Vol. 25, No. 3, May 2001, pp. 511-529.

(k) Unpublished theses

- King, Sarah Louise, *Sectarianism in Monklands and Dundee: A Comparison 1830-1860*, University of Strathclyde, B.A. Dissertation, 1999.
- MacInnes, John M., *The Glasgow Orange Walks 1821-1900*, University of Strathclyde, B.A. Dissertation, 1991.
- MacLeod, Sheena, *St. Mary's Episcopal Church Glasgow 1871-1908*, Certificate in Scottish Historical Studies, University of Glasgow Department of Continuing Education, 1994.
- Meldrum, Patricia, *Evangelical Episcopalians in Nineteenth-Century Scotland*, University of Stirling, Ph.D. 2004.
- Nicholson, Angus, *Moody and Sankey in Scotland, 1873–1874*, University of Strathclyde. B. A. Dissertation, 1998.
- Nimmo, Alexander Emsley, *Bishop John Skinner and the Resurgence of Scots Episcopacy*, University of Aberdeen, Ph.D. 1996.
- Quinn, John, *The Mission of the Churches to the Irish in Dundee 1846-1886*, Stirling University, M.Litt, 1993.
- Thompson, Michael J., *The High Church Tradition in Ireland 1800–1870 with particular reference to John Jebb and Alexander Knox*, University of Durham, M.A. 1992.