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Religion and the development of an urban society: Glasgow 1780-1914.

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Part III

The development of evangelical agencies in an urban society.

The following six chapters examine the development of particular evangelical "agencies" in Glasgow between 1780 and 1914. "Agencies" was an evangelical term denoting means for projecting religious influence in society. Some of the agencies, such as church extension, have been mentioned in some detail in part II and are not studied separately in this part. Some agencies, such as women's guilds, have not been studied in detail. Housing reform and evangelical influence on Glasgow town council have been included. Although apparently "secular" aspects of municipal life, many evangelicals and the new social theologians of the late nineteenth century regarded them as vehicles for religious and moral improvement. Some agencies overlapped. Sunday-school, day-school and voluntary education, together with the temperance movement, were intimately connected parts of the evangelical movement. Whilst each part had denominational, city and/or Scottish co-ordinating organisations, it has been shown in part II how these agencies operated closely together at congregational level.

Chapter 8

The Sunday school

(a) Introduction.

Although the Sunday-school movement is not now as numerically significant as it once was, the institutional and social history of the Sunday school in England has been the subject of renewed interest amongst historians.[1] The history of the Sunday school in Scotland has not received the same attention.[2] Yet, the Sunday school was an institution that attained a parallel significance in Scotland and England. It played a vital role in the development of day-school and voluntary education, and was the largest single youth movement ever seen in this country. More than any other religious organisation, it displayed the strength and vigour of evangelicalism in nineteenth-century Scotland. The Sunday school was the first major evangelical agency, and remained the most important one until at least the early twentieth century. The Sunday school was the training ground for evangelical laymen, and from it grew all the major religious voluntary organisations of the second half of the nineteenth century. The Sunday school set the pattern for evangelical work in Victorian Britain, and from it we can see the progress of a number of key evangelical agencies.

(b) The Sunday school and home-missionary education, 1780-1850.

> "Within the last year, your Committee have observed a very sensible change in public opinion, on the subject of Sabbath Schools - the Institutions of this kind, formerly considered unworthy of notice, and of very little consequence in their operation, are beginning to be regarded as of paramount importance, and deeply involving our civil, as well as religious, interests."
>
> Glasgow Sabbath School Union, 1818[3]

In 1780 or 1781, Robert Raikes gathered some neglected children from the streets of Gloucester and set them to work on religious exercises in Sunday classes. During the following decade, Raikes popularised the Sunday school as a means for improving the moral, educational and religious standards of children of the "lower orders". The Sunday-school movement in Scotland owes its initial growth to the example Raikes set and broadcast in his own newspaper and in other journals. However, the provision of education on Sundays was not new in the 1780s. John Wesley experimented with some form of Sunday school in 1737, and Methodists in various parts of England were conducting Sunday classes in the 1760s and 1770s. At least two Church of Scotland ministers established Sunday evening schools for destitute children before Raikes: in Brechin in 1761 and at Calton in the Barony parish to the east of Glasgow in 1774 or 1775.[4] There was some inter-congregational competition in the second half of the nineteenth century in claiming the earliest-known Sunday schools, and there may have been other claimants. However, the provision of education on Sundays was quite widespread in eighteenth-century Scotland. Many presbyterian ministers conducted communicants' classes for

training those about to enter into full communion with their churches. Furthermore, it was the duty of parish schoolmasters in many parts of the country to assemble their classes on Sunday mornings and lead them in prayer before conducting them to church. In some instances, pupils were given religious lessons after Sunday worship.[5] Thus, there were precedents for Sunday education, although there is no evidence to suggest that there were any direct precursors of the Sunday school.

The Sunday-school movement qua movement emerged in Scotland in 1787. The exact way in which it was introduced to Scotland is unclear. As in England, the press seems to have played an important part in disseminating information on Sunday-school aims, organisation and curricula. The January edition of the Scots Magazine in 1787 reproduced a letter from Robert Raikes to the London "Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools", in which he described the operation of Sunday schools in Painswick in Gloucestershire. The February edition of the journal reported the opening of a Sunday school in Aberdeen, whilst a pamphleteer urged the foundation of Sunday schools in Glasgow.[6] The first major Sunday-school operation in Scotland started in Glasgow in November 1787. The town council, in co-operation with the general session and private citizens, set up eight schools to instruct over four hundred boys. Within two years, the project had almost doubled in size and girls were admitted. In the same month as the commencement of the Glasgow scheme, Sunday schools were being set up in Aberdeen and the Barony of Glasgow.[7] By the early 1790s, Sunday schools had been established in many parts of the Scottish lowlands.

These early Sunday schools had two main functions. In the first place, they were designed to provide basic educational training for children who received no schooling on week days. Consequently, the first Sunday-school scholars were reported to be either employed in workshops or textile factories or were children of parents who could not afford to pay day-school fees. Glasgow town council became involved in the Sunday-school movement after the general session had conducted an inquiry into the extent of educational provision in the city. Royal burghs were not statutorily required to establish parish schools, and Glasgow, like most burghs, was gravely short of day-school places for children of the working classes and the poor. As a result of the inquiry in Glasgow in 1785, conducted by William Porteous, the city's civil and ecclesiastical authorities created extra charity schools, which met during the week, in an attempt to meet "the considerable want of education arising from the poverty of parents".[8] This solution was not workable, because the majority of the children who were educationally destitute were employed in the new manufacturing industries of the 1780s. Sunday schools provided the solution by permitting these so-called "apprentices" to receive education on their only day of rest. The curricula of the early Sunday schools reflected the concern for general as well as religious education. The first Sunday school in Aberdeen was established "for the instruction of poor children, in reading English, learning the principles of the Christian religion, and psalmody".[9] The Sunday schools set up between 1787 and 1796 employed professional teachers who were paid salaries. By 1795, Glasgow had twelve Sunday-school teachers each paid an annual salary of £4 6s. 8d. paid out of triennial

collections in the Established churches owned by the town council.[10] In part, the use of professional teachers reflected the concern to maintain presbyterial supervision of an expanding teaching profession. More importantly, it indicated the status of Sunday schools in the context of the educational system. The Scottish clergy, in common with local authorities in most industrial areas, appreciated the benefits of industrialisation but were slow to recognise the drawbacks. Child labour was generally accepted as a necessary part of the new manufacturing sector. In the main, the employment of children was not criticised because of the hardships inflicted upon them. The Glasgow contributors to the (Old) Statistical Account of the 1790s indicated the means to alleviate the problem. Children should be sent to school at six years of age, and when they were recruited by manufacturers at seven or eight years they should attend Sunday schools:

> "... the only method therefore, by which the education of the poor can be secured is by giving it early, and supporting the Sunday Schools, which may prevent such education as they have from being lost." [11]

Consequently, the Sunday school was regarded in its first ten years of operation as an important extension of the educational system - and particularly so in places where the parish-school system was inadequate for the peculiar needs of an emerging industrial society.

The second function of the Sunday school during its formative years was the reduction of lawlessness and Sabbath profanation. The rapid development of commerce and industry and the increase in population in the second half of the eighteenth century led to a decline in the standard of

Sabbath observance. The legal system for enforcing observance of the Sabbath, employing official street patrols and "searchers" appointed by kirk sessions and civil authorities, fell into general disuse in the third quarter of the century as the level of Sabbath desecration became uncontrollable and as a number of Court of Session cases undermined the legality of criminal prosecutions. Glasgow magistrates became particularly concerned with the growth of profanation in the 1780s, and instituted voluntary patrols by the city's incorporated tradesmen in 1784.[12] To the same end, the Sunday schools founded in 1787 were intended to divert youths from raucous and even criminal behaviour on the Sabbath. Robert Raikes explained how his opposition to "drunkenness and every species of clamour, riot, and disorder" brought strong financial support for his Sunday schools:

> "This may be accounted for from the security which the establishment of Sunday schools has given to the property of every individual in the neighbourhood. The farmers, &c. declare that they and their families can now leave their houses, gardens, &c. and frequent the public worship, without danger of depradation.- Formerly, they were under the necessity of leaving their servants, or staying at home themselves, as a guard; and this was insufficient; the most vigilant were sometimes plundered." [13]

This was echoed by a Glasgow Sunday-school society in 1813 when it claimed that great benefit resulted from "keeping the children from playing in the streets and fields on the Lord's Day, and committing depradations on people's property".[14] The Sunday school was evidently popular as a contribution to the suppression of Sabbath crime. On the first day of the "Sabbath

exercises" in Glasgow in 1787, the scholars were led in "joyful procession" to divine service with the city magistrates, accompanied by multitudes "applauding the benevolent design". The fact that the youths were "in general so clean, and so decently dressed" and their behaviour in church was "decent and exemplary", gave hope to the city's propertied classes that disturbances, especially of the kind during the Calton weavers' strike two months' previously, would be reduced. As the correspondent of the Scots Magazine reported, "joy and thankfulness seemed to be written on every countenance." [15] In order to reduce Sabbath profanation in particular, the "exercises" lasted throughout most of the daylight hours and into the evening. The Aberdeen exercises lasted from eight to ten a.m., one to two p.m., and five to seven p.m..[16] In addition, scholars attended church services, and, in Glasgow at least, special pews were set aside to accommodate them. With five hours of instruction from teachers, and perhaps three to six hours of divine service, young people were kept off the streets and prevented from becoming, in the view of the Sunday-school organisers in Glasgow, "useless or pernicious members of society".[17]

To most contemporary observers, the Sunday school was an innovative institution with great potential. It was actively promoted by the civil and religious authorities as a major part of their response to the changing social needs of the city. In many towns in Scotland, Sunday schools were formed with the corporate assistance of town councils and magistrates benches. Glasgow town council annually nominated members to sit on the organising committee of the city's "official" Sunday schools,

and continued to do so until 1822. As well as receiving the approbation of the civil establishment, the early Sunday-school movement enjoyed support from a broad spectrum of the bands within the ecclesiastical establishment. In the late 1780s and early 1790s, Moderates as well as Evangelicals in the Church of Scotland assisted the movement. Indeed, the Glasgow scheme of 1787 was promoted principally by the Rev. William Porteous, the staunchest Moderate clergyman in the city. With the backing of evangelical clergy as well, the movement became institutionalised very rapidly. Local subscription societies were set up to tap the wealth of the nascent urban middle classes for money with which to pay Sunday-school teachers. Organising committees included clergy, elders, magistrates and wealthy private citizens. In Glasgow, the Society for Managing the Sunday Schools became an incorporation of the city in 1790.[18] With this degree of official approval, the movement seemed set fair to expand and flourish.

Despite the initial breadth of support that Sunday schools attracted from within the Church of Scotland, it became apparent very quickly that the movement was receiving its strongest support from evangelicals. Hitherto, the Evangelicals in the Established Church had been distinguished from Moderates largely in terms of attitudes to patronage and, to a lesser extent, to salvationist religion. The distinctive evangelical concern for missionary activity, voluntary activity and philanthropic liberality had not yet been established. These features of an evangelical movement were starting to emerge in the 1790s. At the same time, however, British hostility to the French Revolution, and to the popular campaigns for reform that were seen to arise in this country as a result of French influence,

placed evangelicals in a position of great difficulty. The development of corresponding societies and the distribution of radical literature in 1791-2, followed by the start of treason and sedition trials in 1793 and the mounting fear of French invasion, produced an increasingly hysterical opposition on the part of the civil authorities to the promotion of "reform" of any kind and to the formation of private societies for whatever purposes. Just as evangelicals began to formulate policies for new religious agencies, they found themselves the object of suspicion in the tense political atmosphere of the time. The ideal of universal education, for so long an integral part of Scottish presbyterian thinking, became regarded as subversive in the circumstances of the counter-revolutionary frenzy of the 1790s. Whilst the Scottish ecclesiastical establishment, dominated by the Moderate Party, dissociated itself from anything connected with "reform", evangelicals within and outwith the Church of Scotland formulated policies to disseminate religious and general knowledge amongst the "lower orders of society" at home and "barbarous and heathen nations" abroad. Local societies were formed in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1795, and in other towns in the following year, to promote foreign missions. Although the Edinburgh society was organised by the Congregationalist Greville Ewing, most societies were dominated by Evangelical clergymen of the Established Church and were given support by magistrates and other local worthies.[19] With strong support in the burghs, the Evangelicals sought the sanction of the general assembly for a general collection in aid of these societies. The assembly debate in 1796 was a notable contest between the Evangelical and Moderate factions. The missionary societies

were branded by the Moderates as seditious, with one elder stating "that their funds may be, in time, nay, certainly will be, turned against the constitution".[20] By fifty-eight votes to forty-four, the assembly decided to deny the request and, by clear implication, to outlaw the missionary societies within the Church.

The development of Sunday schools in the late 1790s must be seen in the light of this decision. The assembly's opposition, together with active discouragement by the national government, made foreign missions more difficult to mount. Most notably, the Haldane brothers with their ally Greville Ewing were thwarted in their attempt to establish a foreign-mission station in India. With the political and ecclesiastical establishments reaching a peak of counter-revolutionary frenzy in 1797, the Haldanes and other supporters of foreign missionary activity became the objects of suspicion for "licentiousness" and subversion. Principal George Hill of St. Andrews University was one of a number of Moderates who passed on information to the Lord Advocate concerning the activities of evangelicals.[21] As a result of this attention, there was a distinct switch of evangelical interest from foreign to home missions. This led to the second phase of Sunday-school expansion.

In 1797, the concept of _gratis_ Sunday school, with unpaid voluntary teachers, was imported from England. The first _gratis_ schools were established in Edinburgh, probably by the Haldanes and Ewing, and in Glasgow by a textile manufacturer named William Harley.[22] The Haldanes extended their Sunday-school work throughout Scotland under the aegis of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home (S.P.G.H.). With

substantial funds, the S.P.G.H. sent itinerant preachers to many parts of Scotland, conducting open-air prayer meetings and founding day schools and Sunday schools as they went.[23] This activity attracted very quickly the disapprobation of Moderate clergy. William Porteous, the founder of Glasgow's Sunday schools, supplied the Lord Advocate with accounts of the Haldanes' "subversive" work in the Glasgow area. Distinguishing the early Sabbath exercises from the new gratis schools, Porteous wrote in 1798:

> "About ten years ago, the people here, and in many other places, created Sunday schools for keeping educated boys in the practice of reading and repeating the catechism after public worship- Mr J. Haldane, in the beginning of last year, made a tour to visit the sunday schools, the effects of which were soon visible- By his influence, he prevailed on some well meaning persons to open sunday schools on a new plan- Old and young, men and women, boys and girls, were invited to attend, they did attend in their multitudes, and in place of our simple exercises, a loquacious manufacturer [Harley?] from Glasgow preached and prayed with vehemence till a late hour ..."

The open invitation to attend, the use of lay preachers and the holding of meetings after dark were regarded as sure signs of ecclesiastical and civil sedition. Porteous censured the promoters of the new schools for attacking "religious establishments" and for circulating pamphlets "calculated to produce discontent, to foster an aversion to the present order of things, and to increase that portentuous [sic] fermentation in the minds of the people ..."[24] The culmination of such opposition came in 1799 with the general assembly's Pastoral Admonition against the S.P.G.H.. The Society's Sunday-schools teachers were described by the Admonition as "persons notoriously

disaffected to the Civil Constitution of the country". Ministers and members of the Church were forbidden to deal with the S.P.G.H. and, in a separate Act, the Assembly requested that all presbyteries register all Sunday and day schools within their bounds. In illustration of the bond between Church and State in this matter, the Admonition was circulated to sheriffs and municipal officers throughout Scotland.[25]

With war-time tension reaching a pre-Napoleonic height in 1799, the Sunday-school movement was effectively proscribed in the Church of Scotland. Even Evangelicals of the most patriotic kind became circumspect, refraining from publicising their sympathies with the Sunday-school movement. Generally speaking, only the Haldanes, Greville Ewing and their brethren, and visiting English preachers, openly denounced the assembly's Admonition. The Scottish Church's reaction to _gratis_ schools was more extreme than that of the Church of England, and caused surprise amongst English evangelicals. The Rev. Rowland Hill, on a tour of Scotland, commented:

> "... respecting this little army we are about to raise, to overthrow the king and constitution, it should be considered that the children in these _schools of sedition_ are on the average only from six to twelve years of age, consequently they will not be able to take the field, at least these ten years, and half of these being girls, unless we raise an army of Amazons, with a virago Joan at the head of them, we shall be sadly short of soldiers to accomplish the design."

Hill asked whether it was to the credit of the assembly "that people are sent into banishment from Scotland, merely for keeping Sunday schools of instruction?"[26] The Admonition's result was the virtual exclusion of Sunday schools from the

work of the Church of Scotland. Schools in many places were disbanded by parish ministers, and, although some clergy gave their personal and often covert support, the Church did not. Notwithstanding a thaw in the attitude of the Established Church in the first and second decades of the nineteenth century, the level of Sunday-school operations in the Church was adversely affected for over seventy years. A number of the more adventurous evangelical ministers, such as Thomas Chalmers, did lend their support to the movement in the 1810s and 1820s. Nevertheless, with the exception of the late 1830s when the Evangelicals gained control in the assembly, the supreme court of the Church shunned Sunday schools until 1849, leaving the state Church bereft of a major religious agency.[27]

Whilst the Established Church formally turned its back to the Sunday-school movement in 1799, the _gratis_ schools started by the Haldanes grew in number. By 1810, many of them were becoming connected to congregations of the Baptist and Congregational Churches. Although much of the effort of the S.P.G.H. had been directed to the rural areas of Scotland, the greatest growth of the movement took place in the towns and industrial areas of central Scotland. The Independents were operating some thirty-five Sunday schools in Glasgow in 1800 with over 1,200 children in attendance. A society in Paisley, some five miles to the south-west of Glasgow, was conducting fifteen schools with a similar number of scholars as early as 1797, and by 1800 controlled thirty-four schools.[28] Between 1800 and 1819, the Scottish Sunday-school movement was expanding at an accelerating rate. Sunday-school societies were appearing in many towns and villages throughout the country, but the greatest concentrations were in the Forth

and Clyde valleys, Fife and the on the north-east coast between Dundee and Fraserburgh. In Glasgow as elsewhere, most of the schools were operated by district or inter-denominational societies, but the greatest denominational contribution at this time was made by the Independents. Of 452 identifiable Sunday schools in a list compiled by the Scottish Sabbath School Union in 1819, 181 were conducted by district and/or interdenominational societies, 133 were run by Independents, 93 were conducted or "countenanced" by the parish minister, 17 were promoted wholly by titled gentry, nine each were run by the Burghers and the Methodists, three each by the Anti-burghers and groups of tradesmen, and two each by factory owners and day schools; of the total, 28 schools were receiving corporate assistance from magistrates.[29] The inter-denominational and district societies were generally composed of varying mixtures of Independents, Methodists and Seceders. In addition, many individuals conducted their own Sunday schools as private philanthropic enterprises; this was a practice that was associated particularly with lay evangelicals, like William Collins, in the Church of Scotland.[30] As the figures above suggest, a very small proportion of ministers in the Established Church were willing to give their open approval to Sunday schools; the 93 ministers listed by the Society represented less than ten per cent of the parish clergy of Scotland. The ecclesiastical atmosphere remained charged as a result of the events of the 1790s. Although counter-revolutionary fervour in Britain subsided with the coming of Napoleon, Sunday-school societies felt compelled to repeatedly state their allegiance to the constitution. With the end of the war with France in 1814-15, the Sunday-school movement

adopted a more open profile. "It is too much to expect," proclaimed one society, "that any scheme of public benevolence and utility, should be begun and continued without having to contend with objectors." However, the society "challenged the strictest scrutiny into their objects and plans." [31] Another society remarked pointedly in 1814:

> "That narrow-minded bigotry, which, at one period, denied the blessings of instruction to the labouring classes of society, has now however happily given way to the liberal views and enlightened policy, by which the present aera is so remarkably characterised." [32]

With the problems of civil order that were affecting Glasgow in the 1810s, the Sunday-school societies saw religious and general education as means to establishing "the peace and good order of society".[33] Many of the propertied classes in the city shared this view, and, as in 1787, the Sunday schools were once again turned to as stabilising influences in the urban society. The active hostility of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities dissipated between 1815 and 1820, and Sunday-school societies attracted large amounts of financial and, more importantly, voluntary help. The number of schools multiplied between 1814 and 1818, making use of the inflow of charitable aid that was released with the dissolution of war charities. The growing strength of the movement in the 1810s was reflected in the connection that Sunday schools created with bible- and tract-publishing businesses - a link that was to become an important feature of Sunday-school work in the Victorian period. To co-ordinate this and other aspects of the movement's activities, regional Sunday-school unions, to which individual societies were

affiliated, were established at this time: the two major unions being in Edinburgh (formed 1815) and Glasgow (1816). In addition, a national union was set up to co-ordinate the activities of the movement in Scotland. By 1819, the Sabbath School Union of Scotland claimed the affiliation of 567 schools with an aggregate attendance of 39,000 scholars. The Glasgow union alone claimed a Sunday-school roll of nearly 9,000 in 1818, representing almost seven per cent of the city's total population. Although statistics were not collected before 1817, it seems that Sunday-school enrolment only reached a significant level after 1814. Data on the formation of Sunday-school societies supports this view. Of 52 societies in Scotland in 1819 whose orgins were recorded by the national union, three were founded before 1800, four between 1800 and 1806, eight between 1807 and 1813, fourteen in 1814-16 and twenty-four in 1817-18.[34] Although a small number of schools with paid teachers survived into the 1820s, the rapid increase in the number of *gratis* schools after the cessation of the Anglo-French war established voluntary teaching as a central principle of the Sunday school's operation, and established the dissenters as the leaders of the movement.

Between 1820 and 1837, the fortunes of the Sunday-school movement have not been well recorded. This is largely because the regional and national organising unions that were set up in the 1810s seem to have been dissolved in about 1820. The collapse of the unions may indicate problems in the movement. In particular, many Sunday-school societies appear to have collapsed as their inter-denominational organising committees were divided by doctrinal disagreements compounded

by the Voluntary controversy of the 1830s; John Dunlop records problems of this kind in Greenock on the Lower Clyde.[35] In any event, when the Glasgow union was temporarily reformed in 1828-9, its Sunday-school roll was lower than it had been in 1818. The Glasgow union was permanently re-established in 1837, and the Scottish union at about the same time. From then until the last decade of the century, the Scottish movement grew enormously. The figures collected by the Glasgow union, which are the most detailed and extensive available, show a rise in enrolment from 13,000 in 1837 to 25,000 in 1842. Over the decade 1831 to 1841, the estimated growth of Sunday-school enrolment in the city was more than four times the rate of population growth.[36] It is significant that this rapid increase occurred at the same time as the "Ten Years' Conflict" in the Church of Scotland. Evidence elsewhere in the thesis shows how the formation of the Church-building Society in Glasgow in 1834 led to the effective "secession" of many Evangelicals from the City Churches of the city. Similarly, there is evidence to show that all evangelical enterprises expanded spectacularly after the Evangelical party gained control of the general assembly in 1834. In the following ten years, evangelical activities, including Sunday schools, lost their close identification with the dissenters as Evangelicals in the Established Church formed church extension societies, tract societies, foreign missions and Sunday schools. Whilst some of the dissenting churches were finding their Sunday schools poorly supported by their members,[37] the Church of Scotland Evangelicals were starting to reassert their authority in regional unions of the Sunday-school movement.

In the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries, Sunday-school scholars were overwhelmingly drawn from the working classes.[38] The curricula were designed to provide scholars with educational skills and to encourage Christian salvation through knowledge of the Bible. Evangelical redemption, insofar as it was the main aim of Sunday schools, was intended to be sought by educative means. In the second half of the nineteenth century, there were important changes in the clientele and the curricula which were to alter the character of Sunday schools and their position in the educational system.

(c) Changing clientele, competition and decline, 1850-1914.

> "In reference to prisoners it had been ascertained that there was scarcely one protestant either under or above twenty years who did not profess to have been at a Sabbath School and many also of the Roman Catholics."
>
> Results of an inquiry by the Glasgow Sabbath School Union in 1863 into effects of Sunday-school teaching on raising scholars in the "social scale" [39]

The growing strength and importance of British evangelicalism and its various enterprises in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries.has been emphasised by a number of recent historians.[40] In so doing, the position of influence that the evangelical movement attained after 1850 has been somewhat neglected.The quantitative evidence relating to evangelical enterprises, and to Sunday schools in particular, indicates quite clearly that there was exceptionally high growth in their size and outreach between 1840 and 1880. The

creation of the Free Church in 1843 and the United Presbyterian Church in 1847 led to a period of rapid increase in the numbers of scholars enrolled in Sunday schools in Scotland and in Glasgow. Statistics already presented[41] show that growth in enrolment in Scottish and Glasgow Sunday schools attached to the three main presbyterian churches was between two and four times higher than population growth between 1851 and 1881. They also show that growth in enrolment was overtaken by population growth in the 1890s. Furthermore, with the exception of the 1940s, Scottish Sunday-school enrolment has been in absolute decline from the 1890s to the present day. Table 8.1 below shows that the highest level of enrolment _per capita_ came in 1891, when some 65 per cent of the population aged between 5 and 15 years inclusive, and some 14 per cent of total population in the city were enrolled at Sunday schools in Glasgow. With the average number of attendances representing about 75 per cent of enrolment, approximately 46 per cent of Glasgow children in the eligible age group were attending a Sunday school on any Sunday in 1891. This was a very high level of saturation for a voluntary organisation.

This spectacular rise in the quantitative importance of Sunday schools in the second half of the nineteenth century was accompanied by major qualitative changes in the nature of Sunday-school teaching and management, and changes in the movement's aims and in its clientele. Most important was the general acceptance of the movement. With the formation of the Free Church in 1843, Sunday schools received the official backing of a major presbyterian church. The political and ecclesiastical opposition to Sunday schools was practically ended. Free Church Sunday-school promoters gave thanks "that the time is

Table 8.1 Sunday-school scholars per capita of population in Glasgow, 1841-1911

Date	Roll of Sunday-school scholars	Scholars as[1] proportion of population aged 5-15 years %	Scholars as[1] proportion of total population %
1841	23,830	38•26	8•30
1851	38,704	49•13	10•66
1861	58,021	60•36	13•09
1871	68,897[2]	55•89[2]	12•13
1881	87,683	60•04	13•03
1891	108,205	65•09	14•13
1901	115,254	58•75	12•75
1911	110,472	53•36	11•58

Sources See table 8.2; figures for Glasgow population, as given in table 3.11, are as noted at that table.

Notes 1. The figures for population used to calculate these columns refer to Glasgow and environs later incorporated in Glasgow, thus relating fairly accurately to the area covered by the Sunday-school statistics. The numbers of children aged 5-15 years are not given in the published census material relating to Scottish burghs. The numbers of 5-15 year-olds in Glasgow were estimated at 21•7 per cent of total population at each date - 21•7 per cent being an average proportion throughout the period for the County of Lanark, which included much of Glasgow.

2. The Sunday-school enrolment in Glasgow in 1871 was particularly poor. It was lower than in the previous year, and rose substantially in the early 1870s.

past when it was needful to defend these honoured institutions."[42] Only the "paradoxical and lukewarm" remained hostile.[43] The acceptance of Sunday schools in the dissenting presbyterian denominations led to a number of changes. In the first place, Sunday schools became attached to individual congregations. In 1849, the Glasgow Sabbath School Union complained:

> "Till once Sabbath schools ... are recognised as a powerful auxiliary to the church, we fear that those of you [Sunday-school organisers and teachers] who sacrifice comfort, and it may be health, under the humble roof in which you meet, must exercise Christian contentment, as many societies, as appears from their reports, have great difficulty in meeting their current liabilities."[44]

In the late 1840s and 1850s, a large number of Sunday schools moved out of the hired halls and day-school rooms into churches. As a consequence, many of the societies were subsumed under congregational management, and enjoyed the financial patronage of the entire body of worshippers. From the 1870s, many of the Sunday schools moved into purpose-built church halls that were erected adjacent to churches to hold congregational voluntary organisations. In the second place, the establishment of day schools by the Free and U.P. churches, and the release of some children from full-time industrial work consequent upon the passing the Factory Acts of the 1840s, reduced the need for teaching reading and writing in the Sunday schools. The increasingly strict observance of Sabbatarian principles in Scotland had led as early as the 1820s to virtual proscription on general education on Sundays. Special "week-day evening Sabbath schools" had been set up in the larger towns to provide reading and writing exercises.[45] But the need for these declined with the expansion of urban day schools. The proportion

of illiterates (defined as those unable to read the New Testament) in Glasgow Sunday schools fell from 18·3 per cent in 1850 to 5·8 per cent in 1870.[46] By 1865, the Glasgow Sabbath School Union claimed that there was not a single affiliated Sunday school providing reading and writing lessons at normal meetings.[47] Between 1820 and 1870, Sunday schools gradually lost their role as educational establishments and became more rigourously religious institutions. With the creation of Sunday-school committees in the general assemblies of the Free Church (committee formed 1844) and the Church of Scotland (committee formed in 1850, though with little influence until 1876), and in the synod of the U.P. Church (committee formed in 1847), the movement became more clearly a part of the ecclesiastical system.[48]

With the denominationalisation of Sunday schools in mid-century, practically all of the independent Sunday-school societies disappeared. The local and regional unions, however, did not disappear. They developed rapidly as inter-denominational organisations with enormous influence within and outwith the churches. The unions published journals and tracts for scholars and teaching aids for teachers. They organised instruction courses for teachers, and, in the 1840s and 1850s, they set up "Sabbath normal schools" in imitation of the churches' teacher-training colleges. More significantly, the unions provided the Sunday-school movement with an extraordinary degree of political influence. Virtually impotent in both civil and ecclesiastical affairs in 1840, the unions became powerful pressure groups in local and national politics by the 1850s. The Glasgow union, the largest and most powerful in Scotland, with affiliations from practically every

Sunday school in Glasgow and suburbs, yielded considerable influence in local politics. Its directorate included the Lord Provost of the city, who, in many cases in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, was a Sunday-school teacher, members of parliament and many of the members of the town council. Perhaps the most impressive achievement of the union - certainly in its own eyes - was the orchestration of an evangelical campaign which, in 1850, forced the town council to impose strict licensing regulations on public houses - regulations that became the model for the Scottish national Forbes Mackenzie Act of 1853.[49] More generally, the officers of the unions became major figures in social-reform affairs. By the 1860s, they were occupying posts in local and national charities, were on the committees of the church assemblies, and , after 1873, held seats on the local school boards. Indeed, being a Sunday-school teacher was a key qualification for lay presbyterian candidates at school-board elections in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The influence of the union officers was not merely in recognition of their good services. It reflected their experience and knowledge of educational affairs, and reflected also the political power that lay in their organisations. The Glasgow union, for instance, represented 105,000 scholars and over 10,000 teachers by 1890. Outside of the churches themselves, it is doubtful if there were any voluntary organisations that could claim a local and active membership of those proportions.

The twenty years between 1870 and 1890 were probably the high point of the Sunday-school movement in Glasgow as in Scotland as a whole. With the creation of the national day-school system in 1873, the churches put renewed faith in the

ability of Sunday schools to maintain religious education amongst young people. Even the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, which, by its own admittance, had been niggardly in its support of Sunday schools, urged that more of them be set up to counteract "the new method of instruction in Public Schools [which] is clearly unfavourable to any adequate attention being paid to the communication of religious knowledge".[50] For their part, the officers and members of the school boards were aware of the shortcomings of the religious instruction they provided, and were keen to maintain a strong Sunday-school movement. The clerk of the Glasgow school board, a member of the Free Church, told a Sunday-school conference in 1890:

> "The day school instruction can never supersede that of the Sabbath. Both are urgently required.... The day school furnishes the scholar with facts and doctrines, and, it is to be hoped, with becoming reverence for things Divine. It is for the Sabbath school teacher, working from that basis, to deal with the heart and conscience of the individual." [51]

In one sense, the election of Sunday-school promoters to membership of the school boards gave the movement greater status and public recognition. In another sense, however, it marked a stage in the decline of the movement's position in the educational sector. Sunday-school teachers had been the most numerous, and arguably the most influential, educationists in the country and the city. They had spearheaded the task of providing educational training for the working classes and the poor. With the setting up of the public-education system in 1873, Sunday-school leaders transferred the onus for this task to day-school teachers. The Sunday-school teachers who

were elected to school boards became educational administrators with the duty of tackling educational destitution whilst handling the often conflicting interests of pupils, teachers, ratepayers, the Scotch Education Department and the churches. The low priority given to religious instruction in the public schools becamea major point of criticism for Sunday-school teachers and Protestant ministers. Repeated attempts were made by the education and Sunday-school committees of the presbyterian assemblies between 1890 and 1914 to improve religious instruction in day schools. The churches failed, and, to their dismay, were told by their own lay members and ministers on the school boards to stop interfering.[52] Whilst the Sunday-school movement's concern to improve "secular" education was successfully transferred to the public system, its concern for religious education was not. More importantly, the movement was slow to appreciate just how stark the division of interests was between voluntary and national education after the institution of the school boards in 1873.

Changes within the voluntary-education sector after 1870 had even more profound effects on the Sunday school. The fact that the Sunday school was the first major religious voluntary organisation to come into being gave the movement a central position in the development of Victorian religious and educational institutions. It has been already noted that Sunday schools were establishing evening classes to provide week-day "secular" education in the first half of the nineteen-the century. In many instances, day schools were set up following "aggressive visitations" undertaken by Sunday-school teachers in working-class areas of large towns.[53] A large number of other activities arose from Sunday-school operations.

In the late 1840s, Sunday-school teachers sought to prevent older children from working-class backgrounds from becoming embroiled in politically- or economically-motivated civil unrest. Bible classes, fellowship meetings, penny banks, young men's and women's societies and institutes, mutual improvement societies and libraries sprang up from the home-mission work of Sunday schools in the middle of the century.[54] In some cases, the regional Sunday-school unions nurtured these infant organisations during the 1850s and 1860s. The Glasgow Sabbath School Union, for instance, was divided into five districts in 1845, and by 1860 all of them were running their own young men's institutes.[55] There were many similar organisations attached to mission stations, especially in the east end of Glasgow. These week-day adjuncts to Sunday-school and home-mission work expanded rapidly after 1870. The total abstinence movement, embraced in the 1840s by the Sunday-school movement even before the presbyterian churches sanctioned the pledge as a means to aid "salvation", gave rise to the Bands of Hope. The Bands grew rapidly as congregational organisations after the Moody-Sankey revival of 1873-4. Other organisations, such as the Foundry Boys' Religious Society, founded in the 1860s, and the Boys' Brigades, founded in the 1880s, followed as organisations with more appeal amongst working-class children.

The Sunday school provided the model for these religious voluntary organisations of the second half of the nineteenth century. The Boys Brigade, for instance, drew on the experience of Sunday-school operations.[56] Indeed, the organisers of the new organisations were invariably Sunday-school teachers. In 1852, reputedly one fifth of all Sunday-school teachers in

Glasgow were teetotallers, and they were encouraging scholars to take the pledge.[57] When in 1873 the Scottish Temperance League decided to promote the formation of more branches of the Bands of Hope, it turned to Sunday-school teachers for assistance. The League sought the approval of the Conference of Sabbath-school Teachers in that year, and the Glasgow Sabbath School Association in connection with the Church of Scotland recommended Bands to its affiliated Sunday schools.[58] Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that Sunday schools were the main recruiting forum for these other organisations. The Boys Brigades, the Bands of Hope and penny banks sought members from Sunday schools.[59] There was a high level of cooperation amongst religious youth organisations. In Glasgow, the Sabbath School Union, the Foundry Boys Religious Society, the Bands of Hope and the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association conducted joint mass demonstrations and services, "Children's Sabbath Dinners", day refuges for children and the "Fresh Air Fortnight" scheme that took children from the slums on country and seaside holidays.[60] The Union and the Foundry Boys' Society conducted joint services and preaching "tents" in Calton and Cowcaddens in the city. Together with the City Mission and the Boys Brigades, these organisations produced a Scottish National Hymnal in 1890.[61] So close was the link between the Sabbath School Union, the Foundry Boys and the Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement, that it was suggested in 1871 that they should unite.[62] The most tangible product of cooperation between such organisations in Glasgow was the erection in 1879 of a large Christian Institute, located in Bothwell Street, to which building most of these bodies transferred their administrative offices. In addition to a high

degree of cooperation with voluntary organisations, the Sunday schools had a close link with the local school boards. At the first election to the Glasgow school board in March 1873, the Glasgow Sabbath School Union printed and paid for the publicity material for six of its directors. Three of them were elected to the fifteen-member board, and one of the remainder was elected at the next election in 1876.[63] Of these elected men, two were to become chairmen of the board in the 1880s and 1890s and were knighted, and one other, James A Campbell, became a member of parliament for the city. Sunday-school organisers were thus very prominent in educational developments of the later nineteenth century, having a powerful influence on both voluntary and day-school education.

However, there were important changes in the Sunday schools in this period which were to adversely affect the movement. With the improvement in day-school provision after 1850, and with the growth of youth movements like the Boys Brigades and the Band of Hope catering specifically for the children of working-class parents, there was a distinct change in the social composition of Sunday-school classes. In the first half of the nineteenth century, scholars had been almost exclusively children of working-class parents. In the 1840s, the evangelical churches were concerned that congregational Sunday schools included "nothing more than a mere fraction of the children of church members".[64] With the construction of church halls in the late 1860s, Sunday-schools in some working-class areas were withdrawn.[65] Whereas ministers had urged the establishment of more congregational Sunday schools in the 1840s, they were by the 1890s pleading for more mission ones.[66] By the 1880s, scholars were predominantly middle-

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class; there were reportedly very few children from the "upper classes".[67] The increasing middle-class attendance at Sunday schools in the 1870s produced a move to change the time of Sunday-school meetings from the unpopular evening slot to early afternoon. Most schools, according to one commentator, still met in the 1890s either before dawn or after dark. This, it was argued, adversely affected church attendance by scholars and, by implication, church recruitment.[68]

These problems, together with a growing shortage of trained day-school teachers in Sunday schools, were being widely discussed within the movement in Glasgow and Scotland in the late 1880s and 1890s. Although Sunday schools reached their highest _per capita_ recruitment around 1890, the movement's leaders sensed that there were social changes underway that were soon to militate against continued expansion. In particular, recruitment to Sunday schools was being adversely affected by the growth of more "secular" pursuits. Commercial entertainment and participant sports, such as junior and juvenile football, were entering into a competitative relationship with Sunday schools. Even organisations like the Boys Brigade and the Bands of Hope, with their varied and interesting curricula, were able to compete well and flourish.[69] Whilst Sunday schools looked favourably upon other organisations mounting scientific lectures, juvenile football leagues and military drill, Sabbatarian principles forbade such activities at normal Sunday meetings. Some attempts were made around 1850 in some Sunday schools to enliven the content of Sunday classes. Biblical and missionary geography had been introduced in the 1850s, especially after David Livingstone became famous, and some of the more adventurous Sunday schools were teaching

subjects like anatomy, British history and local history.[70] However, with the decline in the general educational character of Sunday-school curricula after 1850, there was an increase in the evangelical and revivalist tone of Sunday-school meetings. During the period of urban revivals, between 1859 and the mid-1870s, there was intense revivalist conduct in some Sunday schools. One teacher in a Sunday school at this time gives a vivid account of young girls bursting into tears, shouting their joy for the Lord, beating their chests and falling on their knees.[71] Even if this revivalist tone was reduced in Sunday schools in the 1880s and 1890s, emphasis was put on the religious and devotional character of the schools. In the context of broadening leisure opportunities for young people, and with a basic inability to mount "secular" pursuits on the Sabbath, Sunday-school recruitment showed signs of being overtaken by other organisations. The increased availability from the 1880s of both commercial entertainments and other voluntary activities led necessarily to a decline in the Sunday-school's role of servicing the leisure needs of young people at large.

As table 3.14 showed, the Sunday-school decline started earlier and was more severe in the evangelical dissenting denominations than in the Church of Scotland. The general crisis in evangelicalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries affected Sunday schools very badly. Just as the union of the Free and U.P. Churches in 1900 can be seen as a response to this crisis, so the formation in 1899 of the Scottish National Sabbath School Union - combining most of the local unions but based on the Glasgow one - can be seen as another response. The national union was reorganised

in 1925 as the Scottish Sunday School Union for Christian Education with, for the first time, official representatives from the Protestant churches. Ecumenism and and organisational amalgamation in the Sunday-school movement followed closely the same trends in the presbyterian churches. In neither sphere did these developments solve the essential problem of declining recruitment rates.

(d) The statistics of Sunday-school growth in Glasgow.

The statistics collected by the Glasgow Sabbath School Union and its successor, the Scottish National Sabbath School Union, provide an unusual opportunity to study the development of the movement in one city. The Glasgow Union was first formed in 1816, but did not becoming fully established until 1837. From then until 1917, statistics relating to practically every Protestant Sunday school in the city and suburbs were collected annually. The majority of quantitative evidence relating to Sunday schools in Britain were drawn up denominationally. The Glasgow figures provide an insight into the performance of Sunday schools of every church in a large industrial city. The denominations included were the Church of Scotland, Free Church, U.P. Church, Reformed Presbyterian Church, Episcopal Church, Methodist Church, Baptist Church, Congregational Church and schools of the minor Protestant churches. On only one occasion, in 1870-1, was there evidence of deliberate exclusion when a Sunday school conducted by the Evangelical Union was refused affiliation.[72] Although there existed the Glasgow Sabbath School Association in connection

with the Church of Scotland, the Sunday schools of the Established Church also affiliated with the Glasgow Union.

The figures in table 8.2 show that there was considerable increase in Sunday-school operations in the late 1830s and early 1840s. This was due undoubtedly to the Evangelical takeover in the general assembly of the Church of Scotland. With the Disruption of 1843, the setting-up of Free Church Sunday schools created a a year of high growth in 1844. The exceptionally high growth in 1849 seems to have been due to the evangelical reaction to the riots in the city in that year. Sunday-school reports of the time indicate a frenzied response to the unrest in the working-class east end of the city. In emotive style, the annual report of the Glasgow Union for 1849 stated:

> "Once the ignorance of the lower classes was only an evil for the genuine philanthropist, the sincere Christian, to mourn over. It is no longer so; it is now a danger for the statesman, the citizen to dread. Who does not discern the signs of the times, both in the revolution of continental powers, and in the recent commotions of our own land? ... The Christian contemplates the future with anxious foreboding, mingled with hope....And now he [God] calls us to the work. Shall we decline the honourable call? Amid so many portentous changes shall the church sleep on as before, regardless of her outcast sons? Shall any of her professed members still do so? Shall we?" [73]

The advent of widespread "aggressive" mission work in the 1850s is reflected by sustained growth during that decade. The revival of 1859-61 also produced a higher-than-average growth, but was followed by a slight negative growth in 1863 and 1864. Renewed growth in the late 1860s was followed by a slight

Table 8.2 Statistics of Glasgow Sunday-school growth, 1817-1916.[1]

1 Year[2]	2 Teachers	3 Roll of scholars[4]	4 % growth on roll per annum	5 Illiterates[3]	6 % roll illit-erate.[3]
1817		5,742			
1818		8,885	+54•74		
1828		6,584			
1829		8,768	+33•17		
1837	629	12,852			
1838	905	17,273	+34•40		
1839	1,103	20,063	+16•14	1,915	9•54
1840	1,325	21,922	+ 9•27	2,483	11•33
1841	1,378	23,830	+ 8•70	3,429	14•39
1842	1,397	25,073	+ 5•22	3,606	14•38
1843	1,447	23,459	- 6•44	3,543	15•10
1844	1,747	26,836	+14•40	3,650	13•60
1845	1,815	26,010	- 3•08	3,755	14•44
1846	1,944	26,934	+ 3•55	3,931	14•59
1847	2,078	29,569	+ 9•78	4,956	16•76
1848	2,154	31,053	+ 5•02	5,679	18•29
1849	2,521	34,984	+12•66	6,408	18•32
1850	2,795	36,809	+ 5•22	5,775	15•69
1851	3,013	38,704	+ 5•15	5,613	14•50
1852	3,178	39,075	+ 0•96	5,510	14•10
1853	3,326	39,647	+ 1•46	6,075	15•32
1854	3,573	41,553	+ 4•81	6,150	14•80
1855	3,871	43,993	+ 5•87	6,543	14•87
1856	3,994	44,554	+ 1•28	7,152	16•05
1857	4,140	47,641	+ 6•93	8,264	17•35
1858	4,373	48,200	+ 1•17	8,567	17•77
1859	4,740	50,275	+ 4•30	8,210 (1,390 ≥ 10yrs.	16•33 2•76)
1860	5,289	55,086	+ 9•57	2,170[3]	3•94[3]
1861	5,725	58,021	+ 5•33	1,454	2•51
1862	5,985	60,302	+ 3•93	1,710	2•84

Table 8.2 (continued)

1 Year	2 Teachers	3 Roll of scholars	4 % growth on roll per annum	5 Illiterates	6 % roll illit-erate.
1863	5,730	58,907	- 2•31	1,742	2•96
1864	5,746	58,349	- 0•95	1,164	1•99
1865	5,735	58,550	+ 0•34	1,765	3•01
1866	5,884	60,464	+ 3•27	1,713	2•83
1867	6,179	64,807	+ 7•18	2,213	3•41
1868	6,490	68,515	+ 5•72	2,842	4•15
1869	6,714	70,669	+ 3•14	4,130[3]	5•84[3]
1870	6,692	69,022	- 2•33	1,881	2•73
1871	6,790	68,897	- 0•18	1,470	2•13
1872	7,162	72,118	+ 4•67	2,880	3•99
1873	7,330	72,439	+ 0•45	2,533	3•49
1874	7,490	72,693	+ 0•35	1,632	2•24
1875	8,017	77,584	+ 6•73	1,506	1•94
1876	8,241	81,838	+ 5•48	1,595	1•95
1877	8,668	83,939	+ 2•57	1,323	1•58
1878	8,801	83,796	- 0•17	1,441	1•72
1879	8,844	84,403	+ 0•72	1,185	1•40
1880	8,600	83,335	- 1•27	1,145	1•37
1881	8,762	87,683	+ 5•22	894	1•02
1882	8,999	89,357	+ 1•91	803	0•89
1883	9,248	95,674	+ 7•07	742	0•77
1884	9,605	98,868	+ 3•34	709	0•72
1885	9,881	101,378	+ 2•54	615	0•61
1886	10,067	105,031	+ 3•60		
1887	10,020	103,566	- 1•39		
1888	10,238	105,627	+ 1•99		
1889	10,158	105,690	+ 0•06		
1890	10,168	105,328	- 0•34		
1891	10,227	108,205	+ 2.73		
1892	10,451	111,544	+ 3•09		
1893	10,467	112,390	+ 0•76		
1894	10,577	114,662	+ 2•02		
1895	10,766	115,721	+ 0•92		

Table 8.2 (continued)

1 Year	2 Teachers	3 Roll of scholars	4 % growth on roll per annum	5 Illiterates	6 % roll illit-erate.
1896	10,728	114,439	- 1·11		
1897	10,672	114,331	- 0·09		
1898	10,509	113,231	- 0·96		
1899	10,357	111,753	- 1·31		
1900	10,565	114,150	+ 2·14		
1901	10,564	115,254	+ 0·97		
1902	10,746	116,566	+ 1·14		
1903	10,860	116,303	- 0·23		
1904	10,812	114,821	- 1·27		
1905	10,761	113,347	- 1·28		
1906	10,762	112,896	- 0·40		
1907	10,583	110,159	- 2·42		
1908	10,631	112,864	+ 2·46		
1909	10,797	113,621	+ 0·67		
1910	10,888	114,970	+ 1·19		
1911	10,701	110,472	- 3·91		
1912	10,708	108,525	- 1·76		
1913	10,824	108,043	- 0·44		
1914	10,730	105,312	- 2·52		
1915	10,573	102,436	- 2·74		
1916	10,220	97,702	- 4·62		

Sources Figures in columns 2, 3 and 5 are from Glasgow Sabbath School Union, Annual Reports, 1817, 1818, 1841-1863, 1869-1898; First, Second and Third Annual Reports of the State of Sabbath School Instruction in Glasgow and Suburbs, 1838-1840; The [G.S.S.U.] Sabbath School Magazine, June editions 1864-1867, and May edition 1868, wherein annual reports were published; Scottish National Sabbath School Union, Annual Reports, 1899-1917.

Notes 1. The statistics relate to Sunday schools of every

Table 8.2 (continued)

Protestant denomination in city and suburbs. Data on the number of Sunday schools were collected, but they have been excluded because of changes in the definition of a "school" and the consequent incompatibility of the data.

2. Data for years 1817 to 1853 relate to year ending 31 December. Data for years 1854 to 1857 relate to year ending 31 March of the year following that indicated. Years 1858 to 1864 relate to year ending 28 or 29 February of the year following that indicated. Years 1865 to 1916 relate to year ending 31 December.
3. Data on illiteracy ends in 1885. The data was headed "unable to read" for years 1839 to 1856. From 1857 to 1885, the figures were headed "unable to read New Testament". Irrespective of whether the New Testament can be considered a fair measure of reading ability, this gauge seems to have been the one in use throughout the period. Mention was frequently made by individual Sunday-school societies before 1857 that the New Testament was in use as the gauge. Consequently, all the data have been taken as compatible in that sense. The data from 1839 to 1859 referred to all illiterate scholars. In 1859, the figure was subdivided into age groups. Between 1860 and 1868, and 1870 to 1885, the data was headed "over ten years". The figure for 1869 did not specify age, and it must be regarded as relating to all scholars.
4. Between 1851 and 1898, and between 1905 and 1916, the roll data was accompanied by data on "average attendance". In 1851, average attendance was 80·87 per cent of enrolled scholars. Between 1855 and 1861, the figures varied between 79·45 and 78·04. For the remaind- of the period, the figures were between 74·55 and 77·66.

boom in the mid-1870s as a result of the Moody-Sankey revival. From 1886, the growth rates start to fall appreciably. Net growth between 1886 and 1890 was a mere 0·32 per cent. Apart from small rates of growth between 1900 and 1902, and between 1908 and 1910, enrolment was in decline throughout the years 1896 to 1916. Membership reached a high point in 1902, marking the mid-point in the "plateau" of high membership in the years between 1890 and 1914.

The data on numbers of illiterates in Glasgow Sunday schools cannot be taken as a fair representation of illiteracy in the child population at large. Some interesting features do emerge, however. The large increase in the number of illiterates in 1848-9 suggests that there was heavy recruitment amongst the poorer sections of the population. This would support the view that the growth in enrolment in that year was in response to unrest amongst the working classes. After further high recruitment of illiterates in the late 1850s, the proportion of illiterate scholars falls steadily until 1885 when the figures ended. It would seem to suggest that the growth in the number of church day schools before the introduction of compulsory education in 1873 may have contributed greatly to improving standards of literacy. However, this has to be set against the evidence of increasing numbers of middle-class children in Sunday schools between 1850 and 1880. The educational role of the Sunday school was receding and may have led to reduced enthusiasm for recruitment of working-class children.

Another interesting point to emerge from the table is the apparent improvement in the teacher/student ratio during the Victorian period. This is shown more clearly in table 8.3.

Table 8.3 Teacher/student ratio in Glasgow Sunday schools, 1837-1910.

Year	Students per teacher
1837	20•43
1840	16•54
1850	13•17
1860	10•41
1870	10•31
1880	9•69
1890	10•36
1900	10•80
1910	10•56

Source Figures calculated from table 8.2

[continued text]

However accurate the collection of statistics may have been, changes in the definition of a "teacher" may reduce the value of the figures. The increased growth of bible classes after 1850 may have led to an increase in the number of "monitors" in the classes for the 5-12 year-olds.

The declining growth in enrolment to Glasgow Sunday schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was indicative of the crisis affecting many evangelical agencies at that time. The Sunday school was the most important religious voluntary organisation. Although it is difficult to argue that Sunday schools were principally designed to be recruiting agents for the churches,[74] they must have been an important sphere for allowing autogenous church growth in the later nineteenth century. In this way, then, declining Sunday-school recruitment may have contributed to the declining

rates of church growth around the turn of the century. It is tempting to suggest that Sunday-school decline may have been due to the withdrawal of working-class children, and, further, that declining church growth may have been the result of working-class withdrawal from church membership. However, detailed research would be required before such theories could be tested.

Notes to chapter 8.

1. See, for example, J K Meir, "The origin and development of the Sunday school movement in England from 1780 to 1880, in relation to the state provision of education", Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1954; and T W Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday schools and working-class culture in England 1780-1850* (1976, New Haven and London).
2. See article by present author, "The Sunday-school movement in Scotland", *R.S.C.H.S.*, forthcoming 1981, on which parts of this chapter are based.
3. *Glasgow Sabbath School Union* (hereafter "G.S.S.U."), *Second Annual Report*, 1818, p 9.
4. J K Meir, *op. cit.*, pp 23-6; *Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 1876: Report on Sabbath Schools, p 522; J Maclehose (publisher), *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry* (1878, Glasgow), pp 219-220.
5. R D Brackenridge, "Sunday observance in Scotland 1689-1900", Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1962, pp 62-3.
6. *Scots Magazine*, January 1787, pp 15-17, and February 1787, p 99; R D Brackenridge, *op. cit.*, p 108.
7. *Scots Magazine*, December 1787, p 619; *Glasgow Advertiser*, 28 December 1789; R Renwick (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow ...* (1913, Glasgow), vol viii, pp 237, 241, 286, 388-90.
8. *Ibid.*, vol vii, pp 167-9.
9. *Scots Magazine*, February 1787, p 99.
10. MS [Report of the] Society for Managing the Sunday Schools in Glasgow, during the year 1795, N.L.S., 6.2470(26).
11. Quoted in C F Smith, "The attitude of the clergy to the

Industrial Revolution as reflected in the First and Second Statistical Accounts", Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1953, p 215.

12. R D Brackenridge, _op. cit._, pp 104-5.
13. Quoted in _Scots Magazine_, January 1787, pp 15-16.
14. _Report of the United Sabbath Day Schools of Glasgow and its vicinity_, 1813, p 6.
15. _Scots Magazine_, December 1787, p 619.
16. _Ibid._, February 1787, p 99.
17. R Renwick (ed.), _op. cit._, vol viii, p 388.
18. _Ibid._.
19. _Report of the directors to the General Annual Meeting of Glasgow Missionary Society_, 1796; _Report of the Jubilee and Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Missionary Society_, 1846; Printed Circular of Edinburgh Missionary Society, 18 March 1796, Edinburgh University Library, Laing MSS, La. II 500; D Reeves, "The interaction of Scottish and English Evangelicals, 1790-1810", M.Litt. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1973, pp 23-75.
20. _Account of the Proceedings and Debate, in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27 May 1796_ (1796, Edinburgh), p 55.
21. Hill was particularly concerned with the activities of the Haldane brothers; see _ibid._, _passim_, and MS letter and enclosures from Hill to Lord Advocate (Robert Dundas), 2 March 1797, Edinburgh University Library, Laing MSS, La. II 500.
22. _Sabbath School Union for Scotland, Third Annual Report_, 1819, pp 10, 23-45; _Edinburgh Gratis Sabbath School Society, Seventeenth Annual Report_, 1814; J Galloway,

William Harley ... (1901, Ardrossan), pp 10-14.

23. *An Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home ...* (1799, Edinburgh), *passim*; D Reeves, *op. cit.*, pp 89-135.

24. MS letter from William Porteous to Lord Advocate, 21 February 1798, Edinburgh University Library, Laing MSS, La. II 500.

25. *Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1794-1812*, pp 38-45.

26. R Hill, *A Series of Letters occasioned by the late Pastoral Admonition of the Church of Scotland* (1799, Edinburgh), pp 23-4, 36.

27. *Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 1876: Report on Sabbath Schools, pp 522-528.

28. *Fourth Annual Report ... of the Sabbath Evening Schools ...* [of the] *Churches of Christ, assembling in Nile Street and Albion Street, Glasgow*, 1813; *Report of the present state of the Paisley Sabbath, and Weekday, Evening Schools*, 1814.

29. Data abstracted from *Sabbath School Union for Scotland, Third Annual Report*, 1819.

30. S Macgill, *The Qualifications of the Teachers of Youth* (1814, Glasgow), pp 47-54.

31. *Report of the United Sabbath Day Schools of Glasgow and its vicinity*, 1813, pp 5-6.

32. *Fifth Annual Report of the Committee of Management of the Sabbath Evening Schools of the Churches assembling in Nile Street and Albion Street, Glasgow*, 1814, pp 5-6.

33. *G.S.S.U.*, [First] *Annual Report*, 1817, p iv.

34. Data calculated from *Sabbath School Union for Scotland, Third Annual Report*, 1819, pp 23-45, and checked by ref-

erence to G.S.S.U., Annual Report, 1818, p 16.

35. J Dunlop, Autobiography (1932, privately printed, London), pp 53-7.

36. Calculated from data in G.S.S.U., Annual Report, 1841, p 28.

37. Address on Sabbath Schools to the Presbyteries and [Kirk] Sessions of the United Secession Church, By Committee of Synod (n.d., c 1840, n.p.), passim.

38. The same observation applies to Sunday schools in England. However, Laqueur argues strongly that after about 1800 the Sunday school "was to a large extent a product of the working-class community"; T W Laqueur, op. cit., p 29; he also states: "During the first half of the nineteenth century, predominantly working-class students were taught primarily by working-class teachers in schools largely financed, and sometimes also run, by working-class men and women." Ibid., p 94. The evidence from Glasgow Sunday schools contradicts the assertion of working-class Sunday-school teachers, and the case for English Sunday-school teachers being predominantly from the working classes appears weak. See my review of Laqueur's book, Economic History Review, second series, vol. xxxi (1978), no. 2, pp 302-3.

39. G.S.S.U., MS minutes of board, 17 August 1863, N.L.S., 6147(ii).

40. On the topic of Sunday-school history, see Laqueur, op. cit.; for a study of Evangelicals in the Church of England with the same emphasis on the pre-1850 period, see I Bradley, The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians (1976, London).

41. See tables 3.11, 3.12 and 3.14, above pages 208-11, 220-1.

42. *P.G.A.F.C.*, 1845, Report of the [Education] sub-committee on Sabbath Schools, p 236.

43. *Address on Sabbath Schools ...* [by] *the United Secession Church...*, *op. cit.*, pp 2-3.

44. *G.S.S.U., Annual Report*, 1849, p 17.

45. J Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp 53-7; *G.S.S.U., Annual Report*, 1840, p 7.

46. See table 8.2 below.

47. G.S.S.U., MS minutes of board, 23 September 1865, N.L.S., 6147(ii).

48. *P.G.A.F.C.*, 1844, Report of Education Committee, pp 61-3; *P.S.U.P.C.*, October 1847, p 77; *Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 1876, p 519.

49. *Scottish National Sabbath School Union, Annual Report*, 1905, p 21; *Glasgow Herald*, 26 April 1850; MS minutes of Glasgow town council, 7 and 28 March and 25 April 1850, S.R.A., c1.1.65.

50. *Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 1877, Report on Sabbath Schools, p 682.

51. *Proceedings of the Twenty-third Scottish National Sabbath School Convention*, 1890, p 29.

52. See, for instance, *P.G.A.U.F.C.*, 1901, p 68.

53. An account of the "aggressive" system of recruitment is given by R Buchanan, *The schoolmaster in the wynds: or, how to educate the masses* (1850, Glasgow and Edinburgh).

54. *G.S.S.U., Annual Report*, 1860, p 11; T Henderson, *The Savings Bank of Glasgow: One Hundred Years of Thrift* (1936, Glasgow), pp 38-9.

55. *G.S.S.U., Annual Report*, 1863.

56. J Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth*

Movements, 1883-1940 (1977, London), pp 22-6.

57. The /G.S.S.U./ Sabbath School Magazine, vol. iii (1852), p 120.

58. Scottish Temperance League, MS minutes, 4 March and 16 September 1873, Glasgow University Archive; Glasgow Sabbath School Association in connection with the Church of Scotland, Annual Report, 1873, p 7.

59. M Dods, The Sunday School and its Relations (1896, London), p 53; see also L L Shiman, "The Band of Hope Movement: respectable recreation for working-class children", Victorian Studies, vol. xvi (1973), pp 49-74.

60. G.S.S.U., Annual Report/s/, 1875, p 8; 1880, p 10; and 1895, p 12.

61. G.S.S.U., Annual Report, 1895, p 6.

62. G.S.S.U., MS minutes of board, 21 August 1871, N.L.S., 6147(ii).

63. Ibid., 19 March 1873.

64. Address on Sabbath Schools ... /by/ the United Secession Church ..., op. cit., p 5; see also P.G.A.F.C., 1845, p 178; and Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1851, Report on Sabbath Schools, pp 20-3.

65. Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1876, Report on Sabbath Schools, p 528; Glasgow Sabbath School Association in connection with the Church of Scotland, Annual Report, 1890, p 12.

66. Ibid., 1895, p 13.

67. Ibid.; Proceedings of the Twenty-third Scottish National Sabbath School Convention, 1890, pp 25-6; Falkirk Mail, 6 October 1888.

68. Proceedings of the ... Scottish National Sabbath School

Convention, 1890, pp 31, 36; G.S.S.U., Annual Report, 1875, p 8.

69. Affiliations to the Scottish Band of Hope Union (which was based in Glasgow) rose from 209 societies in 1880 to over 700 societies with 147,000 members in 1908. U.K. membership of the Boys Brigade grew from 16,752 in 1890 to 68,089 in 1910; Scottish Band of Hope Union, Annual Report, 1908, pp 11-12; J Springhall, op. cit., pp 27, 138.

70. G.S.S.U., Annual Report, 1849, pp 21-2.

71. W G Gibson, Not Weary in Well-doing (1889, Glasgow).

72. G.S.S.U., MS minutes of board, 18 April 1870, 16 January, 20 February and 17 April 1871, N.L.S., 6147(ii).

73. G.S.S.U., Annual Report, 1849, pp 19-20.

74. This view seems to be implicitly argued in R Currie et al., Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700 (1977, Oxford), pp 84-90, 122; see my review of this book in The Sociological Review, vol. 27, no. 1 (1979), pp 193-4.

Chapter 9

Urban education I: The voluntary sector [1]

> "I have been pressed in spirit to purchase the Dovehill Church [Glasgow]. I think that schools could be opened there to advantage. I do think that it is my duty to turn to the next great means of elevation of that district in the institution of a school."
>
> Michael Connal, a local educational philanthropist and later chairman of Glasgow school board, in a diary entry, 10 October 1850[2]

(a) Introduction.

The growth of voluntary education was an important aspect of the development of the evangelical framework of response to urban society. As this and the following chapter will show, educational provision in Scotland in pre-industrial times had been comparatively good. However, the growth of industrial cities showed up the limitations of traditional educational provisions. For evangelicals, educational skills were vital to the attainment of "salvation". Primarily, there was a need for people to be able to read the Bible. In the development of religious voluntary education in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the curricula of schools changed in response to this evangelical outlook. Furthermore, the system of public education established by the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 continued the implementation of this educational philosophy. Education was an important "agency" of the churches. Even when it was "secularised", it reflected

evangelicals' aims and methods to an important degree.

(b) Education in Glasgow before 1780.

John Knox and the early reformers of the Scottish Church placed great emphasis on education. A parochial school system was introduced at the Reformation. Knox stated in his <u>First Book of Discipline</u> of 1560 that it was "necessary that every several church have a schoolmaster appointed".[3] In 1616, the Privy Council ordered that "in every parish of this kingdom, where convenient means may be had for entertaining a school, a school shall be established".[4] The compulsory provision of education was first ordained in 1696, in "An Act for Settling of Schools". This ordered that "there shall be a school established, and a schoolmaster appointed in every parish not already provided".[5] The heritors in each parish were obliged to set up the school, employ and pay a master, provide sufficient schooling for all children who required it in the parish, and to extract fees from those parents who could afford to pay. This system gave Scotland what was probably the best educational system in Europe, if not in the world, in the eighteenth century. The schools provided a broad education in basic skills, Greek, Latin and history, and prepared the brighter pupils for entry to one of the four Scottish universities at fifteen or sixteen years of age. In Scottish folklore, it was said that the "lad o' pairts", no matter his social status or financial position, could be educated to degree standard.

The parochial-school system, managed under the aegis of the Established Church of Scotland, was designed in and for agricultural society. It did not operate in the larger towns.

A Royal Commission discovered in 1867 that "there exists no legislative provision whatever for the establishment and maintenance of schools in the Royal Burghs of Scotland".[6] Glasgow and other royal burghs were excluded from the legislation on education. Consequently, there were no official parish schools in Glasgow; nearby parishes, such as Govan, did have parish schools. Education in Glasgow was thus based on the "voluntary efforts" of the town council, philanthropic institutions, "commercial" operations and private citizens.

From the Reformation until the eighteenth century, education in Glasgow was dominated by two institutions - the High School and the University. The town council managed and owned the High School, in common with similar schools in other burghs, as a monopolistic concern. Private schools existed but they were actively discouraged - often by the force of law. In 1658, the council took action against "the womane that hes tackine vpe ane schole in the heid of the Salt Marcatt at hir awin hande".[7] The Reformation had transferred virtually the entire responsibility for non-university education in burghs to the councils. However, presbyteries of the Established Church had the right to supervise, inspect and test the religious orthodoxy of teachers in all schools. This two-tier control of education in the burghs was maintained throughout the eighteenth century. As the high schools catered for the wealthier and brighter pupils, providing the same type of education as the parish schools, the councils often allowed schools for poorer children as long as they did not compete with the municipal-run schools. In 1650, Glasgow town council limited the number of endowed schools for poor children to four.[8] Such schools were specifically not allowed to teach the Classics; one school in

Stirling was ordered in 1750 to stop teaching poor children as soon as they could read the Bible.[9] The establishment of Hutcheson's Hospital School in Glasgow in the 1690s and of the Highland Society of Glasgow in 1727 to educate and clothe poor Highland children in the city, did not threaten to compete with the High School. Indeed, the town council of Glasgow was, by 1752, supporting a number of charity schools and private schools that specialised in scientific and commercial subjects. In 1728, the council appointed a spinning teacher. In general, though, most burgh schools other than the High School taught only English and the catechism with a little writing.[10]

Until the 1780s, non-university educational provision in Glasgow was divided between the High School and some private schools, catering for the children of parents who could pay fees, and a small number of charity schools and hospital schools, catering for poor children. Many of the charity and hospital schools were of a reformatory character. They provided a short education for children - usually up to the point where they could read. This system was not just designed to enable a fast turnover of children. It was founded on an underlying educational philosophy. Unlike the parish-school system, charity schools were not designed to permit the gifted child to ascend from elementary to higher education. Such schools provided the basic skill for a child to come under religious influence. When a child could read the Bible, he or she was then in a position to reap the moral and spiritual benefits of Christianity. The expansion of educational provision in the city after 1780 was based on the curricula of the charity and not the High schools. The curricula in

the charity schools of the eighteenth century and in the various types of school created by evangelicals after 1780 were centred on the reading of the Authorized Version and the catechism. There was a concentration on reading to the detriment of writing and arithmetic - a situation that was accentuated in the first half of the nineteenth century.[11] As late as 1864, the Privy Council Committee on Education found a significant difference in emphasis in the teaching of basic skills, as reflected in the failure rates quoted in table 9.1. This tendency to neglect writing and arithmetic in some Scottish

Table 9.1 Failure rates of pupils in Scotland and England in basic skills in the early 1860s.[1]

	Scotland	England
Reading	10•89%	12•74%
Writing	28•6 %	15•13%
Arithmetic	33•4 %	23•48%

Source Figures quoted in J Gordon, The Education Scheme of the Church of Scotland from its origin, 1825, to 1872 (1873, Edinburgh and London), p 39.

Note 1. The figures for England relate to 1862-3. No date(s) were attached to the Scottish figures, but it was implied that they related to 1864.

schools was first formulated as educational policy in the hospital and charity schools, such as that at Hutchison's Hospital in Glasgow, in the years between 1690 and 1780. In large part, it was connected with the rise of evangelical-based organisations like the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in London and its Scottish equivalent in Edinburgh

during the 1690s and first decade of the eighteenth century. The efforts of Glasgow town council to create schools to produce youths trained in bookkeeping and accountancy for the commercial offices of the city, and a High School providing education in the Classics for those who would go on to university and religious or teaching careers, was being augmented in the eighteenth century by a system for the education of the lower orders in reading the Bible. It was the latter system which was to become the foundation for elementary education in the industrial city.

(c) The early evangelical impact on urban education, 1780-1820.

The first major response of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Glasgow to the growth of educational destitution in the eighteenth century came in 1785 when the general session, led by William Porteous, investigated the provision of schooling in the city. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the town council, general session and other civic institutions responded to the declared "want of education" by founding new charity schools. Within two years, though, the mounting fear that the industrial lower orders of the east end were posing a threat to civil order, as witnessed in the weavers' strike in Calton in the summer of 1787, led to the introduction of "Sabbath exercises" to impart religious-based educational instruction to "apprentices". The early Sunday schools were very similar to the charity schools, save that they met on Sundays. The curriculum was limited to imparting reading skills and religious knowledge. Sunday schools were regarded as extensions to the educational system. The twelve Sunday schools

set up under the auspices of the town council of Glasgow were run by paid teachers. In 1788, the first school of the Highland Society was opened in the city, and in the following five years a number of manufacturers opened factory schools.[12] Although factory schools were not popular with all evangelicals,[13] the charity-school curriculum, with its emphasis on reading, was adopted in them.

We have already seen how the programme of popular education became regarded as seditious in the 1790s. The <u>gratis</u> Sunday schools, founded in 1796-7, were viewed with great suspicion by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Indeed, it has been stated that William Pitt prepared a parliamentary bill in the late 1790s to outlaw Sunday schools, but was dissuaded from presenting it by the intervention of William Wilberforce.[14] In any event, <u>gratis</u> Sunday schools flourished in great numbers, concentrating on teaching reading skills to the children of the emergent industrial working classes.

Sunday schools were very important to the structure of urban education in the nineteenth century. Burgh schools were large and centralised institutions, drawing pupils from throughout the city. By contrast, Sunday schools evolved on a strictly-administered "territorial" or "parochial" system. The twelve Sunday schools run by the town council, for instance, were arranged on a district system. Similarly, the Sunday schools conducted by independent and district societies were arranged territorially, with schools being distributed throughout a district in hired halls or day-school rooms. As Sunday schools became connected to congregational activities, most notably with the Independent churches in Nile Street and Albion Street, and with Thomas Chalmers' St. John's Church, so the schools

became part of the evangelical scheme of establishing an urban variant of the rural parochial system. By the 1840s, the district became the basic unit for religious home missions in the cities, emphasising the decentralised nature of evangelical work. This allowed missionaries, lay-workers, Sunday-school teachers and day-school teachers to know local communities and to bring every person within the reach of religious and educational facilities. In this, we can see the basis for modern educational facilities. The mission district, an urban version of the rural parish, became transformed into the school catchment area of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Sunday schools were important in another way. The presbyterian ideal of education for all had been an accepted and partially-working concept in much of rural lowland Scotland in the eighteenth century.[15] However, it was neither an accepted nor a working concept in the large towns. Whilst heritors were obliged by law to provide adequate schooling in country parishes, neither the town council (the nearest urban equivalent to the heritors) nor anyone else was obliged to build and maintain schools. Consequently, fees at burgh schools were not subsidised. Until the late eighteenth century, urban education in Scotland was mainly for the children of the propertied classes or of social casualties. It was the evangelicals, through the Sunday schools in particular, who introduced the notion of providing facilities to educate the main body of urban children. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Sunday school was the main means by which the evangelicals sought to accomplish their educational designs in the cities. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the increasing attention being paid to Sabbatarianism led to

the progreesive exclusion of reading and writing from Sunday classes after 1820. Some schools were allegedly continuing to provide "secular" education on the Sabbath in Glasgow,[16] but, in the main, special week-day evening classes took on the onus for such tasks in the second and third quarters of the century. Even in England, where writing, arithmetic, accountancy and other "secular" subjects were taught in Sunday schools in the 1790s and first decade of the nineteenth century, Sabbatarian strictures had reduced non-religious teaching to reading in most schools by 1820.[17] In this way, a gradual distinction was emerging in the first half of the nineteenth century between "secular" and "religious" education - a distinction that had never arisen before in British elementary education. This had no real impact on day-school education until after 1872. In the last quarter of the century, the distinction was embodied in the elementary-education legislation, and gradually made religious instruction a non-examinable and non-inspectable minor subject in the curricula of all public schools other than Scottish Catholic schools.

The period between 1780 and 1820 witnessed many experiments in the field of elementary education. The Sunday school was by far the most important in terms of student numbers. The factory school emerged in the late 1780s as one experiment. It was by no means apparent in the late eighteenth century that the factory was the wrong unit around which to constuct educational and other community institutions. David Dale and Robert Owen pursued the possibilities of factory-centred community facilities at the New Lanark cotton mill some distance to the south-east of Glasgow. However, "half-day working", whereby children spent half the day in the factory

school and the other half in the factory itself, was much abused by manufacturers, and was detested by most professional and religious "experts" in the education field.[18] Although debateable, the system was probably not cost-effective as far as the manufacturer was concerned. Certainly, the system did not flourish in Scotland as it did in parts of England. By the mid-1850s, there were no more than eight factory schools in Glasgow.[19] By 1817, some factory owners in the city were seeking other means to provide education for children employed in their works or for children of parents who were employed. In that year, a group of fifteen factory owners joined with fifteen Roman Catholics to form the Glasgow Catholic School Society. With the manufacturers' money and the Catholics' supervision, a number of schools for poor Catholic children were set up in Anderston, the Gorbals and other districts where Catholics were concentrated. By 1831, there were five schools teaching 1,400 children. The teachers wereCatholic, although this was illegal before 1829, and were approved by Glasgow priests. However, the Protestant Bible was said to be the main book in use - at the direction of the Protestant manufacturers. Apart from a few adventure schools of doubtful educational value, these were the first Catholic schools in the city since the Reformation.[20] The basic problem of children being employed and employable was an insuperable barrier to the development of a satisfactory day-school system before the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the Sunday schools received support during the Napoleonic wars because they legitimised child labour in industries related to the war effort; William Pitt is said to have been persuaded of the economic value of Sunday schools in this context.[21] Throughout

the first half of the century, the subscription lists of Sunday schools in Glasgow were dominated by companies and local worthies. In the Sunday school, evangelicals and manufacturers found an institution that appeared to satisfy their different needs.

It is perhaps significant that the rise of evangelical educational institutions shifted the emphasis of educational provision clearly towards the young - the five to twelve year olds. In part, this may have been in recognition of the daunting task that faced interested parties in the rapidly-rising industrial towns of the country. However, in the context of evangelical concern for civil unrest amongst older children, it is perhaps interesting to note that effort was directed towards the redeemable rather than the corrupt. Despite the presence of some adults as scholars at Sunday schools in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,[22] children between twelve and eighteen years of age were virtually ignored by religious voluntary education until the late 1840s. This was another departure from the system of the burgh and parish schools.

(d) Self-help and day-school education, 1820-1848.

The self-help movement can be defined in various terms. Politically, the middle and working classes were seen to unite in agitation for the franchise in the years 1825 to 1833. With the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 and the Scottish Burgh Reform Act of 1833, the middle classes obtained the vote in parliamentary and municipal elections and were assuaged.

However, the bulk of the working classes did not obtain the vote, and from this movement for electoral reform emerged the Chartist cause in the late 1830s.[23] In the political self-help movement, there appeared an educational perspective. Professor Webb has shown that educational proficiency amongst the working classes depended to a great extent on the trade the individual was employed in, and on the state of that trade. Thus, in Aberdeen in 1833 hacklers and mechanics were much better educated than spinners and weavers; and handloom weavers born during the boom period before 1800 were well educated, but those born during the depression in that trade in the 1820s and 1830s were poorly educated. Geographical considerations also intruded. Paisley and Kilmarnock weavers were relatively proficient at reading and writing, whilst Glasgow weavers were not.[24] It was amongst those tradesmen who were "almost universally literate", usually artisans, mechanics and skilled labourers, that the leaders of the Chartist movement came. Similarly, the readership of Chartist newspapers was mainly amongst those social groups.[25] During the so-called insurrection of 1820, news from both government and radical sides was displayed on wall posters and read aloud by a few good readers. In the 1840s, the appearance of radical papers such as the True Scotsman encouraged the acquisition of reading skills. Literacy was an important factor in the dissemination of political knowledge in mid-nineteenth-century Britain. In the opinion of Professor Webb, if reading is used as the measurement, Scotland's claims to educational pre-eminence within Britain and Europe were still justified at this time.[26]

Whilst certain towns, like Paisley five miles to the

south-west of Glasgow, had a tradition of achieving a good minimum of education amongst working and artisan classes in the first half of the nineteenth century, Glasgow was by all accounts a centre of severe illiteracy. Paisley was a town which grew from the late eighteenth century around one staple industry - hand-loom weaving. The economy of the town was not dependent on new technology. It derived from ancient cottage industry, retaining some of the cultural and educational traditions of the small-town community. Glasgow's rising industries, on the other hand, were manned by people from a variety of backgrounds. Some, like the Highlanders and the Irish, had very poor educational backgrounds.[27] When they came to the city, education, even when made available to them, was apparently of little interest. Robert Buchanan set up a school in the Old Wynd of the Tron parish for a slum community mostly composed of migrants. Admittedly, many of them were probably Catholic and thus naturally reluctant to attend a presbyterian school. Nonetheless, Buchanan and his evangelical followers found it significant that only 35 pupils out of a group of over 1,000 children who were determined not to be attenders at any school could be enrolled for classes.[28]

It was against this background of disinterest in education that skilled artisans struggled to associate themselves with the moral, religious and economic outlook of the middle classes. Various enterprises had been started on their behalf in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. John Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow University, had founded the Anderson Institution in 1796 to provide educational lectures to the working classes.[29] However, with growing self-reliance, the artisans demanded self-control and

freedom from middle-class patronage and philanthropy. In 1823, the mechanics' class at the Andersonian Institution fought to remove the trustees' control over the library. They lost, and left to form the Glasgow Mechanics' Institute - a body completely devoid of philanthropic support. In the 1830s, many similar institutions were formed in the city: in Calton, Gorbals, Parkhead, Anderston and Cowcaddens.[30] With the rise of violence in the Chartist movement in the mid and late 1840s, the Glasgow Mechanics' Institute avoided involvement in the Chartist cause. Indeed, with the growth of Chartist lectures and the appearance of new institutes such as the Glasgow Aethenium (formed in 1847), membership of the Institute dropped in the years between 1845 and 1850 as the self-help adult education movement diversified into cultural and political subjects as well as scientific subjects.[31]

Religion appears to have had little to do with the adult self-help movement in education in the period between 1820 and 1850. Despite the intention of John Anderson to have a divinity faculty attached to his Institution, mechanics' institutes and adult education in general never taught religious subjects. Nor was there a stated or inferred policy of religious segregation on admission to self-help adult education. The exclusive adherence to scientific and technical subjects up until about 1850, and the diversification into languages and commercial subjects in the 1850s and 1860s,[32] maintained a secular curriculum in adult education that was to be inherited by Glasgow school board evening classes.[33] Adult education, unlike most types of voluntary and state education, has maintained this exclusion of religious subjects.

Whilst self-help adult education owed little to

religious impulses, developments in child education were strongly influenced by evangelicalism. The St. John's experiment of Thomas Chalmers in the late 1810s and 1820s played an important role in bringing innovative lay evangelicals together. We have already seen how William Collins, Chalmers' publisher, went on to found the Church-building Society of Glasgow. In a later chapter, we shall see how he was a key figure in the early development of the temperance movement in Scotland.[34] Another layman who was inspired by Chalmers' work in the east end of Glasgow was David Stow. The "localising" aspect of Chalmers' ideas on evangelical work greatly influenced Stow's work. Stow first learnt the concept from Sunday schools. Indeed, his first venture in education was to open a Sunday school in Glasgow's Saltmarket in 1816, drawing his 28 scholars from 70 families in two narrow closes.[35] With his mind set on catching children before the factory system ruined them, Stow organised the Glasgow Infant School Society in 1826. He was assisted in the work of the Society by the Rev. Professor David Welsh of the Church of Scotland, whose influence persuaded that Church of the efficacy of Stow's ideas, and of "popular education" in general, countering the antagonism that had arisen in some quarters of the state Church as a result of Robert Owen's similar experiments at New Lanark in the cause of radicalism.[36]

Despite such developments in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the presbyterian churches were slow to act on the problems of urban education. The United Secession Church, by its own admittance, did not take an interest in day schools at this time.[37] The Church of Scotland general assembly set up its education committee in 1824, with the principal intention of encouraging the setting up of schools in

the Highlands. From 1826, the assembly' committee created its own schools, known as "Assembly schools". Most of them were located in the Highlands and rural areas; by 1868, there was only one near Glasgow, at Shettleston.[38] However, the main encouragement of day schools at this time came from evangelical congregations. It is difficult to estimate the number of these so-called "[kirk]sessional schools". It would appear that there were not many of these schools in the city before 1850. Taking the Tron parish in central Glasgow as an example, the first church day school was set up in 1834 by the kirk session of the Tron Established Church at a cost of £80 to £90 per annum, and was transferred to the Free Tron Church at the Disruption of 1843. The Tron Established Church then opened its own school, and the Free Tron opened a second day school in 1848 at a cost of over £1,000. In an educational survey of the parish in 1848, there were 1,586 children between 6 and 16 years of age, of whom only 567 were attending the three day schools. In comparison, there were thirty-three Sunday schools run by the Free Tron alone, with 47 teachers and 741 scholars. Overall, an estimated total of 1,000 children were attending Sunday schools of various denominations, whilst just over half that number were at day schools.[39]

The Free Tron example is important for showing the close connection between sessional and Sunday schools. The recruitment of children for the Church's Old Wynd day school was undertaken by the Sabbath School Society of the congregation. The school was managed by an Educational Association with Sunday-school teachers as *ex officio* members in charge of house-to-house visitations.[40] The use of Sunday-school teachers already conversant with the problems of maintaining attendances

was an indication of the shared difficulties of the two types of school. In 1847 or 1848, the town council funded an educational survey of the city, and it was to the Glasgow Sabbath School Union that the council turned for the taking of the survey. The Union had the manpower, albeit voluntary, and the "outreach" into the _terra incognita_ of Glasgow's working-class areas to make it the most suitable organisation to carry out this task. Unfortunately, the records of the inquiry have been lost. Apart from the figures already quoted above for the Tron parish, only the overall figures for the city are extant. These confirm the findings in that small area. Of 47,383 children between 6 and 16 years of age in the city in 1848, 21,656 attended day schools; of the 26,000 not attending, 18,000 had apparently attended at one time.[41] In comparison, there were 31,053 children attending Sunday schools.[42] These figures show that the Sunday school was a vital institution in elementary education in the city in the first half of the nineteenth century. The place which Sunday schools filled in the evolution of Scottish education has tended to be minimised or overlooked.[43] Furthermore, the lineal development from rural parish school to urban denominational school has been given undue prominence.[44] The evidence from Glasgow seems to support the theory that many, if not most, of the day schools of industrial towns in the first, second and third quarters of the nineteenth century developed directly out of Sunday schools. This theory has already been ably presented in relation to English cities of the period.[45]

Day-school provision was not plentiful in Glasgow up to 1850. There were a number of important developments, though. Parliamentary grants for some Highland schools began in 1834.

After 1839, the grants were extended to all day schools approved by Her Majesty's Inspectors. This undoubtedly assisted the expansion of day-schooling in Glasgow. The Free Tron's Old Wynd school, for instance, was opened in 1848 with the help of a grant.[46] However, the main part of the educational system in Glasgow, as, undoubtedly, elsewhere, was the evangelical home-mission work of the Sunday schools. The non-intrusion controversy in the Church of Scotland was clearly an inhibiting factor on the growth in the number of day schools in the 1830s and early 1840s. The Disruption of 1843 was to be a turning point in the development of day schools in Scotland though, curiously, its effect on Glasgow was much less.

(e) Growth anddiversification in religious voluntary education, 1848-1872.

During the late 1840s and the 1850s, there was a very rapid expansion in the number of day schools in Scotland and in Glasgow. In 1848, there were 21,656 day-school scholars in the city; by 1857 there were 28,463, and by 1866 35,865.[47] The main expansion in the number of schools was due to the establishment of church schools - principally by the Church of Scotland, the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church. It has been usual for historians to account for the growth of day-school education at this time by reference to the Free Church. As this section will show, the Free Church's contribution to day-school education in Glasgow was very much less than might have been expected. Further, this section illustrates the poor state of day-school education in Glasgow up to 1872.

The Educational Scheme of the Free Church developed in the 1840s because of the secession of a large number of school-teachers formerly in the Church of Scotland. The Church thus had the manpower with which to assemble an educational system.[48] Within a year of the foundation of the Free Church, it had opened 120 schools.[49] By 1865, there were 570 Free Church day schools with 61,172 scholars, managed centrally by the Education Committee of the general assembly of the Church. Of those 570 schools, only 17 were in Glasgow. On the basis of population, Glasgow should have had 79 of the schools. Furthermore, Glasgow congregations of the Free Church contributed 16 per cent of the donations to the Assembly Education Fund that paid for the schools, whilst only 3 per cent of the teachers paid by the Fund worked in Glasgow.[50] The evangelicals' response to urban problems was hindered by a long-established concern for aiding the Highlands and Islands. In educational terms, the northern-most parts of the Scottish mainland were amongst the most destitute in Britain. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, various philanthropic organisations in Glasgow and Edinburgh had promoted Gaelic schools in the north and north-west. The Free Church had a strong presence in the Gaelic-speaking areas, and there was concern in the Church that the Highlanders should be provided with sufficient financial means to build churches, manses and schools. However, the needs of Glasgow were certainly recognised by local Free Church congregations, but it was the centralised administration of the Free Church Educational Scheme in Edinburgh that determined that the priority for funding lay in the northern rural areas.

The greatest denominational contribution to day-schooling in Glasgow in the third quarter of the century came from the

Church of Scotland. Table 9.2 shows the relative contributions of the Free and Established churches in 1865. The day schools of the Established Church in Glasgow were almost entirely sessional

Table 9.2 Day-school provision in Glasgow and Scotland, 1865.

	Scotland	Glasgow
Total scholars	382,787	35,565
% population at school	11·3	7·4
% at Free Church schools	12·2	11·4
% at Established Church schools other than parish schools	8·6	25·4

Source Figures from and calculated from P.P., Royal Commission on Education in Scotland, Second Report (1867), pp xix-xx; ibid., Report on the State of Education in Glasgow (1866), pp 480-1.

schools. It would seem that the Free Church also maintained some of its congregational schools under the control of kirk sessions. However, the fact that Established Church schools in the city were almost entirely under congregational control, and the fact that Free Church schools in the city were almost entirely under the control of the general assembly of that Church, meant that it was the state Church that was able to direct funds collected in the city to the schooling of city children.

There were various types of schools in the city before the advent of public education in 1873. "Public", subscription and private higher-class schools catered for the propertied classes. Factory and adventure schools were commercial establish-

ments catering for the children of the working classes, and were generally taught by unqualified teachers and were considered of poor quality. The church schools were the main kind of school. In 1857, an inquiry conducted by reporters from the evangelical Glasgow newspaper, the North British Daily Mail, produced a list of the day-schools in the city. Its findings are given in table 9.3.. The Catholic schools in the city received state grants from 1851, but there was a chronic shortage of Catholic teachers. The result was that although only 19 per cent of all Scottish school-children attended schools not of their faith, 58 per cent of Catholic school-children attended Protestant schools.[51] The shortage of Catholic schools was one factor contributing to the poor state of elementary education in Glasgow. The city earned the reputation of being the most educationally destitute area in Scotland. The enquiry of 1857 found that that only 1 in 14 of the total city population attended schools, whereas the national average as recorded at the 1851 religious census was 1 in 7.[52] The Argyll Commission inquiry into the state of Scottish education in the mid-1860s decided that the situation in Glasgow was so bad that a special report was compiled. It showed that 1 in 11•1 of the population attended a day school, compared to the national average of 1 in 7•9.[53] The report's evidence of educational deprivation in the city was impressive. However, an error by the two assistant commissioners who drew up the report allowed the education committees of the general assemblies of the Established and Free churches to deny that the churches had failed to provide sufficient schools in the city. The assistant commissioners used the age limits 3 to 15 years in their calculations, instead of the 5 to 13 years that was used

Table 9.3 Day schools and scholars in Glasgow, 1857.

Schools		Scholars
43	Established Church	6,868
21	Free Church	3,540
25	congregational mission	2,960
22	"public" or subscription	2,414
44	private higher class	3,099
23	private working-class	1,595
13	Roman Catholic	2,405
7	free or charity	1,165
3	reformatory	707
8	factory, pauper, etc.	1,010
3	upper or classical	1,400
2	normal (teacher-training)	1,300
213		28,463

Source Figures and categories reproduced from R Somers, Results of an inquiry into the state of schools and education in Glasgow (1857, London and Glasgow), pp 13-14.

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by the Royal Commission itself. Using the wrong age limits, the assistant commissioners found that 55·3 per cent of children in the eight northern districts of Glasgow (north of the river Clyde) were not at school, and a staggering 69 per cent in the two southern districts.[54] The report was regarded by the presbyterian churches as an attack on their educational programmes. Although the churches had long acknowledged the educational needs of the major cities in Scotland, the sample study of Glasgow was regarded as being grossly inaccurate and an unfair reflection of the state of urban education in Scotland as a whole.

Many of the sessional and other church schools in Glasgow were attended in the main by children of church members. The Argyll Commission commented in 1866:

"Excellent as most of the Sessional schools are, it must

> be observed that the large majority of the scholars, who frequent them, do not belong to the lower classes." [55]

Maclaren has made the same finding in a study of Free Church schools in Aberdeen.[56] Those schools that did cater specifically for working-class children (particularly presbyterian congregational mission schools of the Free and U.P. churches, episcopalian mission schools and Roman Catholic schools) were mainly elementary schools in which children's education ceased by 13 or 14 years of age. For older children of the working classes, there were a number of developments in the third quarter of the century emanating from the Sunday-school movement. The riots of 1848 resulted in the foundation of a number of young men's institutes and bible classes. One Free churchman, Michael Connal, had gained experience as a Sunday-school teacher attached to the Sunday-school society of St. James' Established Church in the east end in the years between 1839 and 1843. He was given a class in Spoutmouth, a slum area beside the Gallowgate. During the troubles of 1848, he was enrolled as a "sharpshooter", but also hired a room in the "Spout" to provide his older children with access to newspapers. In June of that year, he established his Spoutmouth Young Men's Institute to provide religious and general education for the older children of the area.[57] This was one example of how evangelical businessmen became involved in active evangelistic activities. Connal went on, as the quotation at the head of this chapter suggests, to expand his educational work into day-school provision. "Adult" education, for those over fifteen years of age, developed as a surrogate secondary-school sector during the third quarter of the century. In 1840, there were only 1,300 attending bible class-

es and similar organisations in Glasgow. By 1850, the number had risen to 4,771 and by 1855 was 6,883.[58] The young men's institutes were very similar to the bible classes, having a strongly-religious curriculum. The majority met on Sunday mornings and evenings. The Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement was formed in 1824 to act as a federal control for individual societies; but its affiliated bodies numbered less than thirty before 1868, mostly run by Free or U.P. laymen or congregations. The Glasgow Y.M.C.A. was formed in 1841 to act as a central institution providing public lectures. By the 1860s, its traditional curriculum was proving unpopular with the rise of religious revivalism.[59] But many small institutions thrived under the control of evangelical laymen like Michael Connal. Others were run by congregational or city missionaries.[60] Nor were they limited to Protestant churches. The Catholic Young men's Society arose from small beginnings in Waterford in Ireland in 1849. By 1888, practically every church in the Catholic Archdiocese of Glasgow had a branch attached. They were completely different in character to the Protestant variety. The Catholic societies tried to compete directly with "secular" attractions by providing games rooms with cards and billiards tables. Indeed, many priests considered them undesirable.[61] The evangelical basis of Protestant young men's societies required strict adherence to a more puritanical code: gambling was absolutely forbidden. Whilst Catholic societies might be characterised as occupational therapy for older working-class children, Protestant societies were often fiercely reformatory in character.

Although devotional exercises were an important part of the curricula in young men's institutes, secular subjects were

also included. Societies with week-day meetings could provide a wide range of activities and lessons normally prohibited from Sunday schools or Sunday-meeting bible classes. The following is the timetable for Connal's "Spout Institute" in 1863:

Sunday	-	Bible and Butler's Analogy
Monday	-	Library
Tuesday	-	Music
Wednesday	-	Writing and arithmetic
Thursday	-	French, etc.
Friday	-	Music
Saturday	-	Mutual Improvement. In summer, Botanical and Geological Excursions.[62]

John Paton's week at his mission in Green Street in Calton, not far from Connal's Spout Institute, was more religious in character. In the ten years between 1847 and 1857, Paton mounted these activities:

Sunday	-	7a.m.: bible class for the "very poorest" Divine service
Monday	-	Bible reading "for all"
Wednesday	-	Prayer meeting "for all"
Thursday	-	Communicants' class, including instruction in Latin and Greek
Friday	-	Singing class, "practising for our Sabbath meetings"
Saturday	-	Total abstinence meeting.

Paton also ran a Mutual Improvement Society and a Singing Class for the Calton Division of Glasgow Police.[63] It was difficult and, indeed, irrelevant for contemporary evangelicals to distinguish between the religious and "secular" aspects of these

curricula. In most elementary schools, the Bible was the main, and sometimes the only, book in use for reading. Religion was not only intimately interwoven in the curricula of schools, but, to a great extent before 1872, was the foundation of educational instruction. Although the "Spout Institute" and a number of other societies and Sunday schools were introducing "secular" subjects between 1848 and the early 1860s, there was a tendency in the late 1860s and 1870s to revert to "religious" subjects as a result of the advent of urban revivalism. Classes in French and outdoor science subjects in voluntary religious education became more common in the 1880s and 1890s, but were quickly superseded by the evening classes of the school boards. Until 1872, reading and writing classes were common in young mens' institutes, often taught in the "Mutual Improvement Classes". The religious context of voluntary education was never far away from all lessons mounted by evangelicals.

As the next chapter will show, the churches assumed after 1850 that a national system of education was to be established. The evangelicals in the Free, U.P., Reformed Presbyterian, Evangelical Union, Baptist and Congregationalist churches fought determinedly to remove the Established Church's privileged and monopolistic control of the parish-school system. Believing that a national system was always imminent between 1850 and 1872, evangelicals may have put less effort into day schools in Glasgow than into Sunday schools and part-time voluntary education. In large part, it would seem that the Free Church established day schools in places where teachers had seceded from the Established Church in 1843. Furthermore, as the national system appeared more of a certainty to the Free

Church as the third quarter of the century proceeded, it put proportionately less effort and money into day-school education in Glasgow than the Established Church. Between 1857 and 1865, for instance, the number of day-school children in Established Church schools in the city rose from 6,868 to 9,239, whilst the number of children at Free Church schools rose from 3,540 to 4,313.[64] The likely creation of public education seems to have overshadowed evangelicals' activities in the education sector between 1848 and 1872.

(f) Religious voluntary education under the national system, 1873-1914.

Under the terms of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872, the publicly-elected schools boards took over many of the educational functions previously performed by voluntary organisations. In the first place, elementary schools covering children between 5 and 12 years of age were taken over almost in toto. Secondly, the school boards provided "continuation classes", and as this sector of public education grew, especially after 1890, day-school education as a whole became the domain of public authorities. The last presbyterian school in Glasgow was transferred from church ownership to the school board in the 1880s, and only Catholic and Episcopalian schools remained. The Free Church was particularly grateful for the transfer, having found its Educational Scheme to be an onerous financial obligation. After 1873, the Free and Established churches transferred their educational funds to the maintenance of the teacher-training colleges under their

control. In time, these "normal" schools also became a burden to the churches, and were transferred to state control in the first decade of the twentieth century. During this process of apparent "secularisation" of education, the churches retained significant influence and control. This will be examined in the following chapter. What was significant for religious voluntary education during this period was the demise of professional religious education. Voluntary education became truly "voluntary", using lay helpers rather than employees. Day-school and religious voluntary education became quite distinct. The educational functions of the Sunday schools, the bible classes and the young men's institutes were almostly totally surrendered to the public sector. The devotional, revivalistic, patriotic and militaristic aspects came to the fore in voluntary education.

As early as the 1840s, Sunday schools in England had been feeling the effects of increased provision of day-schooling.[65] The educational character of normal Sunday-school meetings in Scotland had never been as pronounced as in England. If anything, it would seem that the standard of education in Scotland decreased between 1780 and 1850, in contrast to the position in England.[66] The survey conducted by the Glasgow Sabbath School Union in 1848 found only 20 per cent of Glasgow children between 6 and 16 years of age unable to read, and 33 per cent unable to write.[67] These figures probably understated the degree of illiteracy in the city in mid-century. Week-day evening classes providing reading and writing lessons were maintained by many Sunday schools until the late 1870s and 1880s.[68] It was not until the 1890s that Sunday-school teachers stated that there was no longer a literacy problem

in Scottish towns. In that respect, the conclusion seems inevitable that it was the introduction of compulsory education for 5 to 12 year olds in 1873 that dramatically improved the educational standards of Scottish school-children.

It was noted in the previous chapter that Sunday schools reached the peak of their operations around 1900 and declined thereafter. In part at least, the decline was offset by the growth of alternative religious voluntary organisations. Invariably, these were attached to Sunday schools at congregational level. By 1895, the 97 Sunday-school societies affiliated to the Glasgow Sabbath School Association in connection with the Church of Scotland had between them 34 branches of the Band of Hope, 33 companies of the Boys Brigade, 39 penny banks and 48 libraries.[69] Of the 358 Sunday-school societies affiliated to the Glasgow Sabbath School Union in 1899, 226 had Bands of Hope, 92 had Boys Brigade companies, 105 had Christian Endeavour classes, 7 had Bands of Mercy and 204 had libraries.[70] Most of these organisations met on week days, thus not directly competing with Sunday schools. Inevitably, perhaps, the more "secular" character of week-day meetings proved to be a great attraction. The Band of Hope used a religious justification for total abstinence, but used science as a seconday justification. There evolved a devotional framework to the Band meetings, involving prayer and hymn-singing, but within it was to be found either a moralistic lecture or reading (Pilgrim's Progress was a favourite text) or a scientific discourse. The science teaching often involved chemistry or physics experiments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These classes were not always connected with temperance; they were frequently

"novelty" classes, showing the workings of tramways, electricity, phonographs and other technological miracles of the age.[71] Interest in science education, though long apparent in adult education, only became common in children's education in the 1880s and 1890s. The introduction of scientific lessons in religious voluntary education coincided with the expansion of science teaching in school-board schools. The connection between religious and public education was still strong before 1914. For instance, temperance lecturers from the total abstinence organisations were paid to give classes in schools of the Glasgow school board from the late 1880s; in 1910, the Scotch Education Department made temperance lessons compulsory in Scottish schools.[72] Although the Band of Hope meeting resembled the church service - with the educational lecture replacing the sermon and the taking of the pledge the baptism - the religious content was not as intense as in the meeting of the Sunday school. Furthermore, it has been observed that with the increasing proportion of middle-class children in Sunday schools, the Bands of Hope expanded in the late nineteenth century to assume the missionary task of evangelising the children of the working classes.[73]

As well as profession of Christian faith, total abstinence was a rule in every youth movement of the period, though not necessarily the raison d'etre of every organisation. The Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society, founded in 1866, was a distinctly evangelistic body, and its meetings - designed for working-class or poor children - had a religious intensity that even surpassed the meetings of the average Sunday school. The Society was organised in branches, many as independent missionary enterprises but some attached to congregational

mission stations. The United Y.M.C.A. of Glasgow was largely an educational organisation until the 1870s, running lecture meetings on various scientific and religious topics. With the prevailing shift in emphasis towards revivalism, the Y.M.C.A. initiated evangelistic missions in 1876-7. Although it still conducted classes in reading and writing, the reclaiming powers of religious conversion came to be considered more successful than "secular" education in the 1870s. In the 1880s, the Y.M.C.A. again tilted with the wind by adding athletics, swimming, rambling and, later, cycling to its activities.[74] Outdoor pursuits became very popular in religious voluntary organisations in the last two decades of the century. Sunday schools, Bands of Hope and Foundry Boys' branches organised day trips to Rouken Glen - a favourite beauty spot for organisations because it was located at the terminus of the city's trams. For deprived children, the "Fresh Air Fortnight" scheme took thousands on holidays. In 1909, the scheme, organised jointly by the Glasgow Sabbath School Union, the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association and the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society, took 12,145 children out of the city; in the first twenty-five years of the scheme, between 1884 and 1909, 163,430 children were given holidays.[75] The curricula and activities of religious voluntary organisations changed from the purely "passive" educational religious talks and lessons of the 1840s and 1850s to the revivalistic prayer and "anxiety" meetings of the 1860s and 1870s to the broader curricula including outdoor pursuits of the 1880s, 1890s and 1900s. Many of the serious educational lessons mounted by young men's institutes disappeared in the last quarter of the century. Michael Connal's "Spout Institute"

was in decline as an educational organisation by the 1880s; only the mutual improvement and bible classes remained in 1888 out of the timetable of 1863.[76] The Young Men's Society in South Morningside in Edinburgh in the 1890s and 1900s was almost totally concerned in open-air activities and in preparing youths to become communicants of the church.[77] Adult education as such was by 1900 institutionalised under the school boards or the local technical colleges.

The rise of militaristic youth organisations was an important aspect of the physical education movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Foundry Boys' uniform, as a glance at pictures of its members will suggest, was the model for the pill-box and sash uniform of the Boys Brigade. However, the Foundry Boys, like the Salvation Army and the Anglican Church Army, merely adapted the military analogy to evangelistic endeavour. The Boys Brigade, on the other hand, actually drilled boys in army-style parades. In most cases, wooden sticks represented rifles, but some companies in the early twentieth century seem to have at least posed for pictures with real rifles. Many companies had bible classes, but the Brigade does not appear to have had particularly-close relations with other religious voluntary organisations at congregational level. The growth of outdoor pursuits in voluntary organisations like the Boys Brigade and, later, the Boy Scouts gradually changed the character of voluntary education. The religious foundation for child education was being eroded. In some organisations, the structure of religious voluntary organisations was copied but with the religious content obliterated. The Socialist Sunday schools, for instance, first promoted in Glasgow by

J Bruce Glasier's sister, Lizzie, retained the basic curriculum-structure of Sunday schools, with socialist hymns, talks and "drills", but with the religious content replaced by a form of "Utopian Socialism:

> "We are builders of a New City, Justice to be its foundation, and Love, the spirit of its inhabitants." [78]

There was a good deal of ill-will amongst traditional Sunday-school teachers towards the new organisations. The feeling was reciprocated. In May 1906, the Scottish Socialist Sunday Schools annual conference passed a motion:

> "That children attending Socialist Sunday Schools, be strongly recommended not to attend any orthodox Sunday School." [79]

Although there were no more than ten Socialist Sunday Schools in Glasgow, and no more than about thirty in Scotland, their existence was an indication of the declining religious monopoly of voluntary education.[80]

Although the growth of state intervention in education after 1872 drastically altered the role of religious voluntary education, the public system of education that was set up gave leading promoters of religious organisations great influence. Organisers of Sunday schools and young men's institutes, like Michael Connal, were elected to Glasgow school board and guided the establishment of compulsory elementary education according to ideals worked out in the voluntary sector. In many of the activities of the school board, we can see the continuing relations between the different sectors of education. Glasgow school board set up penny banks in 1877, inaugerated temperance teaching in schools in 1879, began a campaign in 1882 to have all public houses

banned within two hundred yards of schools, entered the debate on the Local Option plebiscite for prohibition in 1887, supported legislative action on housing reform from 1888, and held a seat on the Glasgow Council of the Charity Organisation Society from 1895.[81] Just as leaders in voluntary education supported national and compulsory education, so the members of the school board used their public office to further causes supported by the voluntary sector. Connal, for instance, was introduced to educational work during the early era of territorial Sunday-school work. As a member of the Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow Committee on the Sunken Masses in the early 1890s, he opposed following the Established Church Presbytery into support of municipal or state intervention on housing. At a meeting of the Committee in 1890, he "spoke decidedly about Dr. Chalmers' scheme as the best...".[82] Yet, Connal like his colleagues in the presbyterian churches had graduated from the anti-interventionist position of Chalmers to supporting and creating the public system of education. In the last few years of his life in the early 1890s, Connal was somewhat depressed by the state of religious and public social policy. His "Spout Institute", though still in existence, was a mere shadow of what it had once been. In large measure, the public-education system that he, Connal, had created had made the "Spout" irrelevant. His diary records: "The 'Spout' in a state of transition - the future is very dark - I believe it has done good." [83] The inevitable course for public education in the 1890s was not to Connal's liking. One of the last entries in his diary, written a month before his death in 1893, reads:

> "Came home yesterday sad at heart. The [school] Board decided by ten to three to free the schools [from fees] after 15th August.... I hoped that they would accept my resignation as Convener of Finance Committee ... I am afraid that the [Henry] Dyer party have pushed their policy without forecasting what it will lead to ..." [84]

The advance of new thinking in education as in other areas of social policy in the 1890s, led by Christian socialists and the labour movement, was introducing a new context in which traditional evangelicals like Michael Connal felt out of place.

Notes to chapter 9

1. For the purposes of this thesis, "voluntary education" includes all educational provisions not regulated by statutory authority.
2. J C Gibson (ed.), Diary of Sir Michael Connal, 1835 to 1893 ... (1895, Glasgow), p 83.
3. Quoted in E Alwall, The religious trend in secular Scottish school-books, 1850-1861, and 1873-1882. (1970, Lund), p 13.
4. Quoted in ibid..
5. Quoted in ibid..
6. PP, Royal Commission on Education in Scotland, Second Report (Elementary Schools), 1867, p xlv.
7. J Scotland, The History of Scottish Education, from the beginning to 1872 (1969, London), p 76.
8. Ibid., p 90.
9. Ibid..
10. Ibid., pp 94, 107-8.
11. R K Webb, "Literacy among the working classes in nineteenth-century Scotland", Scottish Historical Review, vol. 33 (1954), p 113.
12. J Scotland, op. cit., p 94.
13. There has been virtually no research conducted into the history of factory schools in Scotland. Indeed, Dr. James Craigie, the bibliographer of education in Scotland, has stated in a letter to the present author dated 5 April 1977 that "... I was much struck about the almost total lack in print of any real information about both church and factory schools ...". What little information is available suggests that many evangelicals and other churchmen did not

approve of factory schools. In ministerial returns and comments to a parliamentary select committee of 1818, for instance, there is scarcely a mention of factory schools in Glasgow, though there were a good number in operation at that time; PP, Digest of Parochial Returns made to the Select Committee on the Education of the Poor, 1818, 1819, vol. ix, pt. iii, pp 1385-1391, 1510-1513.

14. J K Meir, "The origin and development of the Sunday School Movement in England from 1780 to 1880...", Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1954, pp 102-3.

15. Ibid., p 73; H M Knox, Two hundred and fifty years of Scottish education, 1696-1946 (1953, Edinburgh), p 24; J Scotland, op. cit., pp 68-9, 174.

16. In 1865, an Established Church minister raised a storm in Glasgow by allegedly suggesting that reading and writing be reintroduced in Sunday schools; G.S.S.U., MS minutes of board, 23 October 1865, N.L.S., 6147(ii).

17. J K Meir, op. cit., pp 108-110.

18. PP, Royal Commission on Education in Scotland, Report of the State of Education in Glasgow, 1866, p465, where the factory-school system was described as "pernicious".

19. R Somers, Results of an inquiry into the state of schools and education in Glasgow (1857, Glasgow), p 14.

20. M Skinnider, "Catholic elementary education in Glasgow, 1818-1918", in T R Bone (ed.), Studies in the History of Scottish Education 1872-1939 (1967, London), p 14-15; M B Dealy, The Catholic Schools of Scotland (1945, Washington), pp 123, 125-6.

21. J K Meir, op. cit., p 122. Many business men were involved

in Sunday-school operation, and brought commercial skills to the task. William Harley, the operator of the first *gratis* Sunday school in Glasgow, was a manufacturer of turkey red gingham and had his clerks keep the registers of attendance; J Galloway, *William Harley...* (1901, Ardrossan), p 10.

22. Paisley Sunday schools in the mid 1810s conducted classes for 7 to 14 year-olds and classes for young men and women. They also ran a factory Sunday school and evening classes; *Report of the Present State of the Paisley Sabbath ... schools*, 1814, pp 5, 14. The considerable range of educational services offered by Paisley Sunday-school society would seem to support Professor Webb's contention that Paisley weavers had built up a strong tradition in learning; R K Webb, *op. cit.*, p 107.

23. Wilson dates the rift between middle- and working-class reformers in Scotland to 1837; A Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (1970, Manchester), p 52.

24. Webb, *op. cit.*, pp 107-8.

25. *Ibid.*, p 114.

26. *Ibid.*, p 113.

27. H M Knox, *op. cit.*, p 24.

28. R Buchanan, *The Schoolmaster in the Wynds ...* (1850, Glasgow and Edinburgh), pp 14, 20.

29. T Kelly, "The Origin of Mechanics' Institutes", *British Journal of Educational Studies*, I (1952-3), p 20.

30. R Heydon, "The Glasgow Mechanics' Institution", *[Glasgow] Philosophical Journal*, vol. 10 (1973), pp 107-111; J A Flynn, "The origin of the Andersonian and the growth of technical education in Glasgow", M.Ed. thesis, Department of

Education, University of Glasgow, 1967, p 155.

31. R Heydon, op. cit., p 113; R Heydon, "The origins and development of the Glasgow Mechanics' Institution", M.Ed. thesis, Department of Education, University of Glasgow, 1968, p 83.

32. R Heydon, "The Glasgow Mechanics' Institution", Philosophical Journal, op. cit., p 133.

33. R Heydon, "Origins and development of the Glasgow Mechanics' Institution", M.Ed. thesis, op. cit., p 83. In 1879, Glasgow school board limited religious exercises in evening classes to the reading of the Bible and prayer. Three years' later, whilst maintaining religious instruction in its day schools, the board came to the conclusion that religious devotions and study were unsuitable in evening classes and abolished them; Glasgow School Board, MS minutes of public monthly meetings, 11 August 1879, 14 August 1882, and 10 September 1883, S.R.A., D-ED1/1/1.

34. See below pp 145-6.

35. J Scotland, op. cit., p 269.

36. Ibid., p 281.

37. "... we have hitherto, for the most part, abstained from the erection of Day Schools for common education..."; Address on Sabbath Schools ... By Committee of Synod of the United Secession Church (n.d., but c 1840, Edinburgh).

38. Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1868, Report of Education Committee, p 66.

39. R Buchanan, op. cit., pp 14-21.

40. Ibid., pp 22-3.

41. R K Webb, op. cit., p 111.

42. G.S.S.U., Annual Report, 1849, p 14.

43. Professor Scotland devotes only two pages to Sunday schools

in the first volume of his recent major study of Scottish education; J Scotland, op. cit., pp 95-7.

44. Ibid., pp 241-257; H M Knox, op. cit., pp 23-52.

45. J K Meir, op. cit., pp 151-6, 224.

46. R Buchanan, op. cit., p 19.

47. See tables 9.2 and 9.3 below.

48. A L Drummond and J Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1873 (1975, Edinburgh), p 92.

49. Ibid..

50. Figures are from or calculated from Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1865, Report of Education Committee, p 1 et seq..

51. Figures calculated from PP, Royal Commission on Education in Scotland, Second Report, 1867, pp xix-xx.

52. R Somers, Results of an inquiry into the state of schools and education in Glasgow (1857, London and Glasgow), p 28.

53. PP, Royal Commission on Education in Scotland, Second Report, op. cit., pp xix, xlvi.

54. PP, Royal Commission on Education in Scotland, Report on the state of education in Glasgow, 1866, 1867, p 486.

55. Ibid., p lii.

56. A A Maclaren, Religion and Social Class: the Disruption years in Aberdeen (1974, London and Boston), pp 145-160.

57. A Gillespie, Sir Michael Connal and his Young Men's Institute: A Story of Fifty Years (1898, Glasgow), pp 8-18; Spoutmouth Bible Institute, Presentation of Address to Sir Michael Connal, 9th October 1885 (1885, Glasgow), p 6; J O Mitchell, Two Glasgow Firms: William Connal & Co., and the Crums of Thornliebank (1894, Glasgow), pp 16-17.

58. G.S.S.U., Annual Report/s/, 1840, pp 4-5, 1850, p 20, and

1855, pp 12-13.

59. Glasgow Y.M.C.A., Annual Report, 1865-6, p 6; [Glasgow] United Y.M.C.A., Annual Report, 1877, pp 11, 14, 16.

60. J Paton, Missionary to the Hebrides (1889, London), pp 57-81.

61. Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Glasgow, MS questionaire returns from churches in the archdiocese, responding to circular by Charles Eyre dated 12 December 1887, contained in "Temperance" box, Archdiocesan archive, Glasgow; St. Francis' [Church], Glasgow, Catholic Young Men's Society Golden Jubilee 1892-1942 (1942, Glasgow), pp 7-9.

62. Abstracted from G.S.S.U., Annual Report, 1863.

63. Abstracted from J Paton, op. cit., pp 57-62.

64. Figures from R Somers, loc. sit.; and PP, Royal Commission on Education in Scotland: Report on the State of Education in Glasgow, 1866, pp 480-1.

65. J K Meir, op. cit., p 224.

66. Professor Webb regards the years 1800-1850 as a period of decline in Scottish educational standards; R K Webb, op. cit., passim.

67. Ibid., p 111.

68. Scottish National Sabbath School Convention, Proceedings of, 1890, p 35.

69. Glasgow Sabbath School Association in connection with the Church of Scotland, Annual Report for 1893 (1895), p 6.

70. Scottish National Sabbath School Union [the continuation of the G.S.S.U.], Annual Report, 1899, pp 17-18.

71. This range of subjects appears in Renwick [Free Church, Glasgow] Band of Hope, MS minutes, 27 February and 6 March 1885, and 11 March 1887, S.R.A., TD 396/34.

72. See below pp 115-6.

73. I am grateful to the Rev. Ian Muirhead, formerly of the Dept. of Ecclesiastical History, University of Glasgow, for his personal recollections on the social divisions between Sunday schools and Bands of Hope in inter-war west-central Scotland.

74. [Glasgow] United Y.M.C.A., Annual Report, 1877, pp 14-20; ibid., 1883, p 15.

75. Scottish National Sabbath School Union, Annual Report, 1910, p 27.

76. Spoutmouth Bible Institute, Forty-first Anniversary Report, 1888-9, pp 1-3.

77. W. Grant, Edward Bailey ... (1913, Edinburgh), passim.

78. The text for the first meeting on 1 January 1899 of the College Branch, Glasgow and District Socialist Sunday Schools Union, MS log book 1911-1959, preface entry, Mitchell Library, Glasgow, G 335.

79. The motion was reversed in 1910. Scottish Socialist Sunday Schools, MS minutes of annual conferences, 1911-1932, preface entries in "log book", 25 May 1906, Mitchell Library, Glasgow, G 335 (SR).

80. See D L Prynn, "The Socialist Sunday Schools, the Woodcraft Folk and allied movements: their moral influence on the British Labour Movement since the 1890s", M.A. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1971, especially pp 60-164; and F Reid, "Socialist Sunday Schools in Britain, 1892-1939", International Review of Social History, vol. xi (1966), pp 18-47.

81. Glasgow school board, MS minutes of public monthly meetings, 8 October 1877, 12 May and 10 November 1879, 10 April 1882,

21 February 1887, 20 February 1888, and 21 January 1895, S.R.A., D-ED 1/1/1.

82. J C Gibson, (ed), <u>op. cit.</u>, p 313.

83. <u>Ibid.</u>, p 334.

84. <u>Ibid.</u>, p 354.

Chapter 10
Urban education II:
The national system.

> "That Mr. MacEwen, as a clergyman holding a charge, is not a fit and proper person to sit on the School Board [of Glasgow] as a representative of the heavily burdened ratepayers."
>
> Defeated motion at a public election meeting, 1888 [1]

(a) The churches and national education proposals, 1850-1872.

All Scottish churches were in favour of reforming day-school education in the mid-Victorian period. Few churchmen denied the need for improvement, though there were many different views as to ways in which a "national system" might be drawn up. The United Presbyterian Church was the first to adopt a clear policy. At the first meeting of the Church's supreme court, the synod, in May 1847, the Church called for a secular system of education, supported by voluntary effort and legal assessments, and managed by local boards chosen by a "civil constituency". The Free Church was similarly in favour of local management and a public education rate. The Established Church was naturally more conservative in its views for change. With eleven hundred parish schools under its control, it had the most power to lose. In the context of the Disruption of 1843 and the rise of religious dissent in the mid-Victorian years, the loss of the parish schools

was a prospect that seemed to many in the Established Church to add insult to injury. Any national system that might be formed would obviously use the parish schools as the nucleus for further expansion of day-school education. In such circumstances, winning the consent of the Church of Scotland was the main task of those who promoted parliamentary bills for the establishment of public education. Virtually all the smaller presbyterian churches were in favour of a national system from the late 1850s onwards. Evangelicals recognised that the state of education was crucial to the moral and spiritual improvement of the urban population of Scotland. Even the Roman Catholic Church was in favour of a national system, but only if it could maintain control over separate Catholic schools.

Various factors came together in the 1850s to make the formation of a national system of education in Scotland seem imminent.[2] The poor state of educational provisions in the industrial towns created a unanimity amongst churchmen on the need for compulsory education in the elementary sector - for children between the ages of about 5 and 12 years. The formation of the Free and U.P. churches in the 1840s created an evangelical movement to attack the Church of Scotland's monopolistic control of poor relief and educational provision: the first was changed in 1845. A widespread feeling amongst presbyterians in Scotland that the London government had failed to maintain the country's distinctive educational character in the early nineteenth century led to a nationalist movement to create a national system of education that would restore Scotland to the status of the best-educated country in Europe. An education act for Scotland was a strong possibility in 1850-1, and even more so in 1854.

In the latter year, the Lord Advocate, Henry Moncrieff, introduced an ambitious bill to createa national system of education that would attempt to improve educational provision in industrial districts. However, the bill was defeated by nine votes on its first reading by the intervention of many English M.P.s acting at the behest of the Church of Scotland. A similar bill in 1855 passed its second reading by 210 votes to 171, but was torn apart, ironically, by English "Voluntary" M.P.s. Other attempts at legislation followed in the late 1850s and 1860s, culminating in the Argyll Royal Commission on Scottish education in the mid-1860s. After the investigations by the commission, the Duke of Argyll introduced a bill in 1869 "to extend and improve the Parochial Schools of Scotland" - a compromise and conservative measure to win the support of the Church of Scotland. The Free and U.P. churches objected strongly to the parish schools of the Established Church being given preferential status in the bill. As a result, the next bill of 1871 was more radical. It needed to be, for the Argyll proposals would not have included the royal burghs where the parish-school system did not operate. The Education (Scotland) Act was finally passed in 1872, two years after England and Wales had received their own Act.

As in England, the main controversy surrounding public education was the provision of religious instruction. However, the secularist party in Scotland was very weak, and the argument was principally about <u>how much</u> instruction in the "fourth R" was to be legislated for, not <u>whether</u> it was to be given. The U.P. synod, in what became a famous resolution in Scottish educational debates of the time, stated in 1847:

"That it is not within the province of civil govern-

> ment to provide for the religious instruction of the subject; and that this department of the young belongs exclusively to the Parent and the Church." [3]

There were two issues at stake in this resolution. Firstly, there was the provision of religious instruction itself. The U.P. Church was not opposed to the provision of religious instruction in public schools, but felt that local boards should "determine the amount and kind of religious instruction that shall be imparted".[4] In the matter of detail, the U.P. Church fell into the group known as the "anti-Catechist party" - those favouring the use of the Bible, but not the catechism, in "time-tabled" periods of religious instruction set apart from "secular" classes. It was supported in this view by the Congregationalists, the Baptists and the Evangelical Union.[5] However, the second issue to arise from the motion of the U.P. synod was the legislative provision of religious instruction. To this, the anti-Catechists were opposed. The local boards, they felt, should decide such matters; by extension, it was the electorate who were to decide. In this way, the evangelical dissenters were highly confident that the ratepayers were sufficiently behind the evangelical churches to ensure the creation of an acceptable system of religious instruction. Opposing the anti-Catechists were the advocates of "use and wont" - in the main, the clergy and members of the Established and Free churches. These churches considered that the type of religious instruction given in parish schools was satisfactory and should be continued, and legislated for, in public schools. Around 1870, it seemed that the anti-Catechists might win. The Argyll Commission supported their viewpoint, and the Duke's bill of 1869 did not mention religious instruction. Furthermore, the Education Act for England and Wales in 1870

stated that:

> No catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive to any particular denomination shall be taught in the [public] school." [6]

With this background, the education issue formed a major part of public debates in Scotland between 1870 and 1873.

The religious instruction issue aroused much passion in Glasgow in the early 1870s. The Presbytery of the Free Church in Glasgow was more extreme in its attitudes than the general assembly of that Church. In a petition to parliament in 1869, the Presbytery stated that it had decided:

> "... not to permit their schools to be absorbed in any national system, that makes no provision for the godly upbringing of the young according to the use and wont in the Parochial Schools of Scotland." [7]

Presbyterian feeling was divided, and public meetings and associations of clergy were formed to promote and defend the anti-Catechist and "use-and-wont" causes. Parliament was in receipt of numerous petitions from the city as from elsewhere in Scotland. Glasgow became a major centre for the controversy. In 1870, the anti-Catechist Scottish National Education League was founded in the city. Throughout, there was a search for compromise. From 1869 onwards, the Free Church indicated that a mention of "use and wont" in the preamble to any bill would be acceptable. The result was that the Act of 1872 stated in the preamble:

> "And whereas it has been the custom in the public schools of Scotland to give religious instruction ... and it is expedient that the managers of public schools shall be at liberty to continue the said custom." [8]

The preamble combined with clause 68 to provide the compromise. That clause was, in essence, a conscience clause. However, it also commanded the "time-tabling" of religious instruction, including Bible reading, "either at the beginning or at the end, or at the beginning and the end" of every "meeting of the school". This was a permissive legislative solution that left religious instruction to be determined by local school boards.

The main effect of the Act was to remove the responsibility for day-school education from the churches and place it in the control of _ad hoc_ school boards elected by the majority of ratepayers. The boards were supervised by a temporary Board of Education in Edinburgh, which provided legal and other advice to boards on the transfer of schools, and a permanent Scotch (later Scottish) Education Department in London. Grants for the running of denominational schools were to continue, but the grants for voluntary school-building were stopped. The Catholic Church objected to the Act to the last. Catholic schools in Glasgow suffered from financial vulnerability and a shortage of teachers. However, Charles Eyre, the Church's leader in the city, resolved not to allow Catholic schools to be taken over by a national system that made no provision for Catholic religious instruction. He organised a fund in 1870 to maintain Catholic school-building, but in the long term it was impossible to maintain an adequate supply of day schools and teachers. From 1896, there were serious difficulties resulting from shortage of capital. The result was that in 1918 the Catholic schools in Scotland were incorporated in the national system, but with the Church's control over the curriculum maintained - the first

such arrangement in a predominantly non-Catholic country.[9]

The Scottish Act of 1872 was more comprehensive than the English and Welsh Act of 1870. Education of children from five to thirteen years of age was made compulsory in Scotland; in England and Wales, the 1870 Act made no such provision. Although it was found in Scotland that proof of a child's ability to read an write removed the compulsion under the Act, few children were exempted from education. If parents were too poor to pay the usual one penny or two pennies fees for a day's education, they were obliged to seek financial assistance from local boards.[10] In Scotland, a school board was to be elected "in and for each and every parish and burgh"; in England and Wales, boards were elected only where there was a proven want of education.[11] Although some wanted the adoption of the English system in Scotland, in order to maintain voluntary involvement in day-school education,[12] there was a general acceptance by 1872 that voluntary education had failed to provide adequate facilities for children. The Scottish churches received the passing of the Act with general approval. The establishment of a national system had been at the forefront of presbyterian educational policies for twenty years. The churches were the leading advocates of public education. Without their active encouragement and consent, the Act of 1872 would have been impossible. Although the professed aim of the legislation was to remove responsibility for public education from religious control, this was by no means interpreted to suggest the curtailment of religious influence in day-school education. The adoption of local control of education, for instance, was agreed because it perpetuated religious influence in a form acceptable to all the main churches. The churches did not regard

the Act as abolishing ecclesiastical influence in day-school education. The churches had, to a great extent, drawn up the Act. They had done so not because they felt that they were the wrong agencies to control education, but because they could not acquire sufficient financial support to run a voluntary system adequate for the needs of the towns. The churches saw in the Act the opportunity for their clergy and members to use the expertise that they had gained in the voluntary sector in the establishment of a comprehensive national system.

(b) The Glasgow school board election of 1873.

The Education Act of 1872 ordered that local school boards be elected by 6 August 1873. The size of the boards was related to the size of the parish or burgh. The Glasgow school-board area, being the burgh (thus excluding suburbs such as Govan, Kinning Park, Maryhill, Partick and Hillhead), was the largest in Scotland; in consequence, the board had the maximum of fifteen members. Voting was not by locality within the burgh. The whole burgh was counted together, with a cumulative voting system. Every elector had fifteen votes which could be distributed amongst the candidates. It was possible to "plump" all fifteen votes on one candidate. This was generally agreed to be a special arrangement for Catholics who might otherwise not have obtained representation on boards. The U.P. Church was the only denomination in the city to raise serious objections to the cumulative vote, probably because it feared that it was at a serious numerical disadvantage to the Established, Free and Catholic churches in the city.[13]

The election was very significant in the development of voting in Glasgow. It was the first public election to use the ballot, to permit women to vote, and to bring the vote to a significant number of the working classes. The sole voting qualification was registration on the valuation roll as owner or occupier of property valued at not less than £4, excluding companies, trusts and corporately-owned or corporately-occupied property.[14] The electorate rose from 53,111 on the parliamentary list for the burgh to 101,871 on the school-board electoral roll.[15] As a result, all sides in the election conducted special public meetings for working-class voters. Many of the candidates, being, as the Glasgow Herald dubbed them, "Eminent Citizens", were obviously unused to the heckling and lively proceedings that characterised these meetings. However, the official candidates of the presbyterian churches did not court the working-class vote sufficiently. In particular, these candidates failed to gauge the importance of Catholic-Protestant antagonism amongst the working classes in the city.

The major issue - virtually the only issue - at stake in the election in Glasgow as in other school boards around Scotland was the question of religious instruction. Six parties or groupings emerged on this issue in the two months prior to the election on 25 March 1873: (i) those favouring the use of the Bible and Catechism according to use and wont; (ii) the anti-Catechists, favouring the use of the Bible only; (iii) the secularists, opposed to any religious teaching; (iv) the Roman Catholics, who stood mainly to get fair representation on the board, but also to prevent ratepayers' money being spent on the provision of Protestant religious instruction; (v) the

extreme presbyterians and Orangemen who had entered the campaign solely because the Catholics had entered; and (vi) the "Localists", representing the interests of ratepayers in the southern suburbs of the city. At none of the elections for Glasgow school board between 1873 and 1914 did candidates of the conventional political parties stand. Indeed, as far as can be ascertained, no Tory or Liberal candidates ever stood for election under party banners at any school-board election in Scotland. Labour candidates did enter the field, especially after 1890, but their candidature was regarded as legitimately non-political and produced no response from the two main parties.

The "use-and-wonters" were composed mainly of clergy and voluntary educationalists from the Established and Free churches. They were badly organised in Glasgow in 1873, and were divided on a number of minor issues. They fielded too many candidates to secure the majority of seats they were popularly expected to gain. One group of "use-and-wonters" was led by William Kidston, a puritanical worthy from the ranks of Free Church elders. His group called itself the Anti-Unionist group. This was a reference to the proposed union between the Free and U.P. churches - an issue that was quite irrelevant to the school-board election. The group included Free churchmen, including one minister, some Established churchmen, and an episcopalian professor. There were other groups of "use-and-wonters", including some supported by the Glasgow Sabbath School Union. Others, comprising the "Eminent Citizens" included a well-known city builder, Thomas Binnie (Reformed Presbyterian Church), ministers from the three main presbyterian churches, and several city businessmen.

The anti-Catechists, organised by the Scottish National Educational League, were strongly represented by presbyterian

ministers of the Established and Free churches, including the minister of Glasgow Cathedral and the minister of the Free Tron Church, and Professor Caird of Glasgow University. They received the support of the Glasgow trades council (which put forward two candidates to join the anti-Catechist list), the Congregationalists, the Baptists and the Evangelical Union.[16]

The secularists were led by the Rev. John Page Hopps. He and the Rev. P Hately Waddell were elected largely by the votes of "plumpers".[17] The Roman Catholics were the best organised and the shrewdest campaigners. They put forward three candidates, two of them priests, and set up committee rooms near voting stations where Catholics were instructed how to give five of the fifteen votes per elector to each of the three Catholic candidates. Not surprisingly, the Catholics came in very close together, coming second, third and fourth in the poll. The extreme presbyterians, on the other hand, lacked organisation. Their "nominee", the ubiquitous Harry Long, came forward as a candidate only nine days before the election.[18] Shunned by the presbyterian hierarchy for being an Orangeman, the only overt clerical support he received was from an episcopalian minister. Long was a Protestant extremist, and was regarded as a rank outsider in the election. The "Localists", mostly from the south side of the city, were mult-denominational, wishing to secure consideration for the the less-populous parts of the city south of the river Clyde.

In many of the country parishes of Scotland, where the school boards covered areas with very small numbers of inhabitants and might only require one school per board, elections were obviated by "arrangement" - the allocation of board seats to each denomination. There was an attempt to reach an "arrangement"

in Glasgow, but it failed. When nominations closed, there were fifty-three candidates for the fifteen seats. The Lord Provost of the city, acting as returning officer, appealed for withdrawals to reduce the headache of getting fifty-three names on the ballot paper. Even after some withdrawals, there were thirty-eight candidates on election day. There was a turn-out of fifty-one per cent of the electorate.[19] The result astonished almost everyone. Harry Long, the Protestant extremist, came in first with 108,264 votes. His nearest rival, the Catholic Rev. Alexander Munro, polled 50,331. The other two Catholics were third and fourth. The remainder of the returned candidates were three Established churchmen, five Free churchmen, one United Presbyterian, one Unitarian and one Mormon.[20] The "victory of the extremists", as the Glasgow Herald called it, was the result of religious bigotry. Harry Long's outstanding win seems to have been due to working-class Protestant hostility to the Catholic Church's claim to representation on the board. In particular, Harry Long stressed the possibility that Catholic priests might attempt to sabotage the religious instruction of Protestant children. In the main, secularists and anti-Catechists were not well received at election meetings in the working-class east end of the city, and Long's brief campaign, confined exclusively to that district, attracted the "plumps" of almost all those who voted for him. The "use and wont" advocates clearly failed to indulge the Protestant working-class voters sufficiently. The trades council, failing to get a single representative elected, clearly did not carry much weight amongst the bulk of the "working men" they claimed to represent.

(c) Religious influence on Glasgow and Govan school boards, 1873-1919.

The local school boards remained in existence in Scotland until 1919, when they were superseded by enlarged but still _ad hoc_ local education authorities. Only in 1929 was the responsibility for public education transferred to the standard local authorities. In contrast, public day-school education was passed to the town and county councils in England in Wales in 1902. The main reason for that transfer was disagreement about whether school boards should expand their responsibilities into the area of secondary education. In Scotland, there was no such disagreement. The expansion of the work of the school boards, under the control of people elected largely on "religious tickets", was broadly accepted by the churches, town and county councils, and the Scottish Education Department. There was relatively little resistance to the influence of the clergy and senior laymen from the churches in the expenditure of public money. However, the continued presence of churchmen on school boards until 1919 obscured important shifts in educational policy that indicated declining acceptance of ecclesiastical, and especially evangelical, precepts.

The Glasgow and Govan boards were the largest and third largest boards in Scotland. With the former covering the centre of the Glasgow conurbation and the latter the growing community around the ship-building yards on the south bank of the upper Clyde, these two boards had to deal with the most severe problems in erecting a public-education system. The first ten years were very difficult. The boards' objective was to takeover as many voluntary day schools in the shortest time possible. Unlike in

England, the churches accepted that the public authorities had now assumed the duty of education. Consequently, the churches wished to transfer their schools to the boards quickly, and on terms that would not cause substantial financial loss. With the exception of Catholic and Episcopal schools, the Act of 1872 destroyed denominational education in Scotland in a very short space of time. Glasgow school board could not takeover the schools quickly enough to prevent their closure. Although the board met its objective of building thirty new schools for 22,000 children by 1879, 143 voluntary schools closed, throwing 25,000 other children onto the streets. In essence, the citizens were not willing to pay an education rate and, at the same time, donate funds to church voluntary schools. The donations to the schools of the Free Church fell so rapidly after the passing of the Act that the Church was forced to cut teachers' salaries before the boards had even been elected.[21] The fall in congregational contributions to the central Free Church fund, shown in table 10.1, indicates the rapidity of the change.

Table 10.1 Congregational contributions to the Free Church Education Fund, 1867-1877.[1]

1867	£7,492	1873	-
1868	£7,250	1874	£5,787
1869	£7,318	1875	£2,266
1870	-	1876	£1,135
1871	£7,101	1877	£1,349
1872	£6,887		

Source Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1867-1877, Reports of Education Committee.

Note 1. These were not the only sources of income for Free Church schools. Other income came from bequests and fees, and further income to individual schools came from congregations.

Voluntary schools could not be bought by local school boards, only transferred without remuneration. This meant a heavy loss for the churches, but, in many cases, it was more costly to keep the schools open when voluntary donations were falling. The number of Free Church schools fell from 584 to 127 between May 1873 and May 1874; by May 1875, only 95 were left in the whole of Scotland.[22] Out of the twenty-one Free Church schools in Glasgow up to 1872, only two stayed open after 1875. The last "sessional"school in Glasgow closed in the 1880s.[23] In the majority of cases, church schools were not transferred to the Glasgow board but just closed.

The presbyterian churches accepted that the Education Act ended their official involvement in the administration of public education. However, the churches were confident that the electorate would continue to recognise clergymen and church laymen involved in voluntary education as the "experts" in education, and would elect them to the boards. In this belief, the churches were correct. The first school board of Glasgow, sitting between 1873 and 1876, and consisting of fifteen members in all, was made up of two Catholic priests, one Mormon minister, one Unitarian, and four presbyterian ministers. In addition, there was one missionary and one Sunday-school teacher. Of the eleven members of the first board at Govan, six were clergymen.[24] With such strong ecclesiastical representation, the local presbyteries of the main churches did not involve themselves in watching over board activities; nor, except in 1873, did the presbyteries participate in the election campaigns.[25] Certainly, prominent members of the presbyteries, such as the Rev. John Marshall Lang of the Barony Established Church, were elected to

the boards in Glasgow and Govan, but the presbyteries, as courts of the churches, did not intervene in the elections nor in the managementof public day-school education.

Nonetheless, elections to the boards in Glasgow and Govan retained their religious character until the last election in 1914. A small number of men who were to become important politicians did stand for election to the boards, but they did so as candidates representing their churches. For instance, Sir James A Campbell (1825-1908), brother of the future prime minister Henry Campbell-Bannerman, was a prominent Conservative (opposing his brother's party) in Glasgow, and became M.P. for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities between 1885 and 1906. He was the first chairman of Glasgow school board between 1873-4. Though he was atypical of the church candidates at school-board elections, it was typical that he stood for the board as an Established Church "use and wont" advocate.[26] With the exception of Labour candidates, virtually all the candidates for Glasgow and Govan boards used churches and church halls as venues for election meetings. "Parties" of sorts existed on the boards. In the early years, they were denominationally defined, but with issues other than religious instruction emerging there were some re-alignments. Established and Free churchmen tended to associate with each other at elections from 1882 onwards, though they still presented themselves as "Established" and "Free" candidates nominated by their brethren. It was clear even in the election of 1873 that the "use and wonters" and the anti-Catechists were present in both churches, and,under the threat of a ratepayers' revolt against excessive expenditure by the church members of the board, they drew together. Throughout the history of the Glasgow board, there were normally three representatives of the Church

of Scotland, three representatives of the Free Church, and one representative of the U.P. Church. The U.P. representative was somewhat isolated from his fellow presbyterians because of his opposition to any form of public funding of religious instruction in public schools. However, he sided with them on most issues, and these seven formed what might be called the "official" presbyterian party on the board. There was also the extreme Protestant, Harry Long. With his vote, there was usually a presbyterian majority of one on most issues brought to a vote at board meetings.[27]

The Roman Catholics formed the most homogeneous group on both Glasgow and Govan boards. There were three Catholics on each board. On the religious-instruction issue, the Catholic members wished to see no religious instruction in board schools. They supported any attempt to weaken the presbyterian character of the instruction, and it was primarily they who instigated squabbles on religious issues. The first ten years of the Glasgow board were punctuated by sectarian divisions on the religious-instruction issue. A running battle was fought during the first ten monthly meetings over whether prayers should be said before the meetings commenced. The secularists and the Catholics maintained that to say prayers was illegal. A legal adviser to the board concurred in this view, but the move was defeated on two occasions after heated debate.[28] The "secularist" Unitarian, the Rev. John Page Hopps, and the leading Catholic priest, the Rev. Alexander Munro, were the leading presbyterian-baiters in the early years. Munro kept up his vigilance until his death in 1892. "Use and wont" was established as the form of religious instruction by a test case at Campbellfield Board School in October 1873.[29] However, Munro forced divisions on each

occasion that the syllabus for religious instruction came before the board for revision. The two other Catholic representatives on the board supported him in the main, but on at least two occasions he found no sympathy from them. In 1879, Munro was attacked by the Catholic the Rev. Cuthbert Wood for unfairly claiming that the presbyterian members of the board were trying to bribe poor Catholic parents into sending their children to board evening classes, where, at that time, they would have received presbyterian religious instruction.[30] Although it is difficult to obtain an exact idea of Munro's activities on the board, it was significant that his obituary in the board's minutes stated that he had frequently "questioned the policy of the Board".[31] However, Munro was not altogether out of favour with his ecclesiastical superiors, for he was promoted to protonotary apostolic or domestic prelate (with the title "Right Rev. Monsignor"). Another Catholic priest was clearly out of favour with the archdiocesan authorities. The Rev. Henry Murphy was elected to the school board in 1882 on a "ticket" advocating home rule for Ireland. For canvassing amongst Glasgow's Catholic population on this policy, he was banned by his superiors from the election. However, he continued to stand and was elected - coming some 4,000 votes ahead of Munro, one of the largest differences ever between Catholic candidates.[32]

Despite these small cracks in Catholic unity, the Catholic policy on Glasgow and Govan school boards was consistent between 1873 and 1919. Since the Catholic ratepayers were forced to contribute to the education of Protestant children, and Protestant ratepayers did not contribute to the education of Catholic children, the Catholic representatives tried to keep the education rates down. This led to the presbyterian board members regarding

the Catholic members as saboteurs of secular as well as religious education for non-Catholic children. From 1873 to 1879, the education rate for Glasgow rose from 3d. to 5d., and a vociferous ratepayers' reaction came at the election of 1879. On a very low poll of 29 per cent, four ratepayers' candidates were elected, together with one independent "economist". Whilst making clear that they were not secularists, the ratepayers' representatives maintained that the Protestant clergy on the board were taking too seriously their duty of providing education. Further, the clergy were accused of not taking due regard of the interests of the ratepayers. The "economists" pointed to the high salaries - some in excess of £700 - that were being paid to head teachers. At an early meeting after the election, the "economists" proposed an average cut of 25 per cent in teachers' wages. The Catholics joined the ratepayers in the vote, resulting in a major confrontation with the presbyterians. A staunch Free churchman, William Kidston, convener of the Teachers and Teaching Committee of the board, said some unkind (and unrecorded) words to the Catholic Alexander Munro. Kidston further stated that the Catholic members "have no strong desire to increase or promote the efficiency of the Protestant schools".[33] The ratepayers and the Catholics together achieved a majority of one on the board, and for the three years between 1879 and 1882 only one new school was opened and other measures to reduce expenditure were instituted. Furthermore, Kidston was removed from his convenership because of his remarks, and the presbyterians were excluded from the control of board policies. At the next election, Protestant support was whipped up, increasing the poll to 43 per cent, and the ratepayers lost their majority.[34]

Although the "economists" never again gained control of

Glasgow school board, the presbyterian candidates at all future elections were subjected to taunts of being "sectarian" from the ratepayers' party. In reply, the Established and Free Church candidates started calling themselves "Independents", and professed to support "economist" policies.[35] The attempt to hide the religious character of the church groups was not successful; the presence of the clergy made the situation quite clear. One informed heckler at public meetings of Established Church election candidates in 1888 stated that the clergy had the worst attendance records at board meetings. In justifying clergy on the boards, the chairman of the meeting stated:

> "It is desirable ... to have a few clergymen, because they have an education many of us laymen have not .... So long as we have two Catholic priests at the Board, I hope we will never be without Protestant ministers." [36]

The presbyterian candidates continued to change their image in the election of 1891, when the issue of free education was prominent. The board had already declared their opposition to free education, ostensibly because of the burden it would put on the ratepayers. Similarly, the issue of secondary education was an important election topic, and here again the presbyterians felt that the rapid expansion of that sector would increasethe rates at an unacceptable rate.[37] However, there was some resistance, especially amongst evangelicals of the Free and U.P. churches, to the complete eradication of school fees because it would breach the well-established evangelical principle that parents should show their commitment to their children's education by financial contributions. In any event, the presbyterian candidates at the 1891 election felt justified in calling themselves "economists". However, practically all of the candidates described

themselves as "economists". Only the labour candidates, the Ladies' candidates (including one cookery instructor employed by Govan school board) and Sir William Collins (former Lord Provost of Glasgow) stood as "Free Educationists". In the main, it became unfashionable to be "church candidates" for elections in Glasgow in the 1890s. However, even if the presbyterian candidates claimed to represent the ratepayers,[38] the balance of three Established, three Free, and three Catholic church members was not upset after 1882.

In the main, the presbyterians were popularly regarded as the "spenders" in school-board management. It was they who pushed for the expansion of secondary education in Glasgow in the 1890s. They opposed free education if it raised the rates, but many of them were willing to accept it if central government met the bill. Nevertheless, they illegally kept some fee-paying schools into the 1890s because parents in some middle-class areas wished to prevent an influx of working-class children.[39] This policy produced a claim from the Parkhead branch of the Social Democratic Federation that the board was not sympathetic to the working classes.[40] Certainly, the board's policy was producing class-segregated schools, and parliament had voted in 1889 to end fee-paying schools for children between 5 and 14 years of age. This was enforced by an order of the Scottish Education Department in 1891, but was not agreed to by the Glasgow board until 1893 when a group of board members, led by Henry Dyer and Sir William Collins, and including a few Christian socialist clergy like John Marshall Lang, managed to win the vote of the board. The traditional evangelical policies on education, particularly in relation to the financial obligations of parents, were being overturned. More generally, though, the presbyterians' policy

of educational expansion was being taken over after 1890 by a combination of labour and Christian-socialist board members. The culmination was the promotion of Henry Dyer to the chairmanship of the board between 1914 and 1918. The change was almost imperceptible. Despite the continued presence of denominational representatives, many of the clergy (especially those of the Established Church) were now willing to co-operate with the representatives of the labour movement in using the school board as a means of tackling the "social question" of the 1890s and 1900s.

The elections to Govan school board were, in contrast to Glasgow's, very subdued affairs. Whereas Glasgow had only one uncontested election (in 1888), Govan frequently avoided the expense of an election. The religious character of Govan board elections were much less pronounced. In many of the election speeches, religion was not even mentioned.[41] Even the free-education issue was subdued during the years 1885 to 1891 - the main issue being the opening of school playgrounds after school hours. However, the same religious divisions were apparent on the board. The Catholics held three seats, and the "official" presbyterians either six or seven. The religious instruction issue did not subside so quickly in Govan. "Use and wont" was established in 1873, but in 1882 the Shorter Catechism was limited to use in Standard (Primary) 3 to 6 classes.[42] An attempt to restore the use of the Catechism in Standards 1 and 2 failed by the casting vote of the chairman during the absence of one of the Catechist supporters.[43] The chairman stated that he would resign if the issue was brought again, whereupon four of the "Catechists", including two ministers, resigned, refusing to be associated with the "backward" policy of the board.[44]

The clash in Govan in 1883 was the result of schism in the ranks of the presbyterian members. However, it was an isolated affair, and religious issues thereafter did not produce the same extreme results. Religious instruction was well organised in Govan public schools. A committee made quarterly inspections and, after 1885, an annual examination in religious knowledge was set for older children.[45] The religious instruction syllabus and examination system remained unchanged from the 1880s until 1919, despite attempts to establish a national system. As in Glasgow, attempts to alter religious instruction were generally defeated. Controversy over the issue was played down. In Glasgow, for instance, many of the presbyterian members came to know and associate with Harry Long and his mission in the east end of the city, but they did not support his attempts to introduce an examination system for religious instruction.[46] Once the system had been operating for a number of years, there was a strong inclination amongst presbyterian members to avoid the entire issue, and to concentrate on the fundamental problems created by the need to create a public-education system.

There were aspects of the work of the two school boards that appeared open to more united religious influence. Primary teachers under both boards were instructed to conduct frequent classes in good manners and behaviour - the classes to be outside the periods set aside for religious instruction.[47] Instruction in the "dangers of intemperance and the duty and advantages of sobriety" were introduced by the Glasgow board in 1880 under the title of "Physiology in its bearing on Temperance". A lecturer in the subject was appointed in 1891 to supplement the lectures by board members, notably Sir William Collins.[48] Govan board also gave instruction in temperance as a scientific

subject, and from about 1910 the Scottish Education Department included it as a compulsory subject in the Education Code.[49] Although temperance drew much of its justification from religious influence, it is unclear whether the scientific context in which it was taught in the schools after about 1890, and which the Education Department approved of, was merely an attempt to evade the restriction on grant-aiding religious subjects or was part of a more general tendency around 1890-1900 to give greater credence to the teaching of quasi-religious subjects by providing scientific backing.

The Glasgow board's unanimous support for temperance lessons was paralleled by their opposition to public houses and off-licences being located near to schools. In 1881, the clerk to the board was instructed to report on all applications for licences if the premises were under two hundred years from a board school, so that the board could take "such action as they may determine in the interest of the young attending the schools".[50] In 1883, the board took "such action". With the Catholic Alexander Munro dissenting, they opposed a licence application. The board was greatly concerned about unhealthy moral influences on children. This arose chiefly from the members' experiences at the meetings of Defaulting Parents - those who neglected sending their children to school. Govan board found that one-third of defaulting arose from the intemperance of parents. However, despite the efforts of Sir William Collins, the Glasgow board was not in favour of total abstinence. In regard to temperance legislation, it seems that the board swung against the policies of the evangelicals during the 1890s. The board favoured the Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) Bill of 1886, but opposed the later and similar bill of 1892.[51] The Catholics, and especially Munro, led the opposition to the board's approval of temperance legislation. This was not

necessarily the policy of the Catholic Church in the city. The leading Catholic on the Govan board, the Very Rev. D A Canon Mackintosh, was a leading temperance reformer, and stated before the municipal commission on housing in the early 1900s that he supported prohibition.[52]

The school boards adopted the use of the penny banks, formerly the domain principally of the churches and Sunday schools. The banks were associated with a major bank, and the main idea was that once children had understood the concept of saving with the voluntary-organised penny banks, their accounts would be transferred to the professional institutions. There were thus three measures of success for penny banks: the number of accounts opened, the amount deposited, and the number of accounts transferred. The London school board, the largest in Britain, was first approached with the idea of opening penny banks in her schools in 1876; the approach was made by the National Penny Bank.[53] In April of the following year, Glasgow school board opened twelve penny banks in schools; the banks were associated with the National Securities Savings Bank. Within three weeks, 2,000 accounts were opened and £79 4s. 2d. deposited.[54] The penny banks did not expand as rapidly as was expected, and by 1880 there were still only fourteen schools with banks and the amount deposited was the lowest since the scheme was started.[55] Curiously, Govan school board did not open penny banks in her schools until 1905, when it set up five banks as an experiment with the Savings Bank of Glasgow. The results were encouraging, and the board were "confident that much good will result from the habits of carefulness and thrift which the practice of saving, begun at an early age, will beget in the children." [56] By 1919, when the board was abolished, there were twenty-one schools in Govan with penny banks with a total of

8,000 accounts.[57]

The school boards' adoption of certain objectives of the religious voluntary-education sector was indicative of the way in which the establishment of public elementary education perpetuated (in the short term at least) rather than destroyed religious influence in education. However, the provisions for penny banks and temperance teaching were fairly small parts of the work of the boards. The vast majority of board time and energy was devoted to the buying of land, the construction of schools, the engagement of teachers, the enforcement of school attendance, and satisfying Her Majesty's school inspectors. Religious issues surfaced at spasmodic, though sometimes predictable, intervals. Young presbyterian clergy, newly elected to the urban boards, made it almost a triennial formality to press for improved religious instruction. The older and wiser members of the boards defeated such moves, since they had it in their minds that to re-open the religious issue would endanger the board's impartial judgement on fundamental educational problems.

The provision of schools was not a matter for serious religious division in the Glasgow and Govan boards. The parties on the boards were led, in the main, by businessmen who were expected to balance the zeal of the clergy with financial commonsense. Ministers were not appointed to the finance or properties committees of the Glasgow board, and businessmen were absent from the religious instruction committees of both the Glasgow and the Govan boards. The clergy were regarded as the spiritual leaders of the boards, although the most frequent justification for their presence was as counter-weights to Catholic clergy. By the end of the nineteenth century, there was concerted criticism of the clergy on the boards - criticism emanating from some of the labour candidates,

and from most of the ladies' and ratepayers' candidates. The opposition of many of the presbyterian board members to free education alienated the labour representatives from the 1880s; this contrasted with the 1870s when the Glasgow trades council supported the anti-Catechists. Nonetheless, the working-class ratepayers seem to have stayed loyal to the church candidates, failing on only a few occasions to return the normal number from each denomination.

There were many forces acting for the exclusion of the clergy from the boards. The emergence of the Ladies' candidates in the late 1880s was the direct result of sexual discrimination by the all-male board in Glasgow. The board appointed only male teachers to the higher standard classes, and set the maximum salary for female teachers at £90 when the Edinburgh board set it at £200.[58] The labour candidates of the 1890s included middle-class intellectuals, like Henry Dyer, who considered the apparent religious control of the board as an unjustifiable product of class divisions.[59] The ratepayers' candidates claimed that the presbyterian clergy were reckless spenders of public money. Nonetheless, there was never any major threat to the position of Protestant clergy on the boards. The number of clergy (including Catholics) on the Glasgow board varied between eight and four, whilst the number on the Govan board varied between six and three. On both boards, the three Catholic representatives always included two priests. Although the work of the Catholic priests was limited to the defaulters' meetings, which had power over the parents of children at voluntary schools run by the Catholic Church, the presbyterian clergy allowed the religious content of the public-school curricula to decline. Although not entirely happy about this situation, they were, as the next section shows,

willing to permit it in exchange for the rapid and satisfactory progress towards an efficient public-education system. In the main, labour representatives found they were in agreement with the educational objectives of the presbyterian clergy. As one labour member of the Glasgow board recalled in his memoirs:

> "... it was an almost unwritten law that three candidates were furnished by the "Auld Kirk", three by the Free Church, three by the Catholic Church, and Labour also put forward three. The remaining seats were left to independent candidates." [60]

The gradual intrusion of labour candidates and town councillors elected on ratepayers' "tickets" indicated a gradual "politicisation" of school-board management. In many ways, the alliance of labour and Established Church board members from the 1890s onwards was part of the church-labour group that existed in the sphere of social reform in the city at that time.

It was with the advent of the new school-board administration of the 1890s that many important developments took place in public education. It was undoubtedly the boards and not the Scottish Education Department which pushed for the introduction of classes in the so-called "special subjects" in the 1870s and 1880s - classes which led in the 1890s to the formation of secondary education as we now know it. Urban boards, and the Glasgow and Govan boards in particular, were instrumental in the development of the modern city school. These two boards experimented with large schools - primary schools with up to 1,000 pupils and secondary schools with up to 1,500 pupils. The Scottish Education Department set out to establish an education system modelled on the parish-school system in the rural communities - with small, one- or two-teacher schools, that could provide education from 5 years up to pre-university

age. In 1873, it instructed that primary and secondary schools were to be combined and that schools were to be one-storey buildings with a frontage not more than twenty-two feet wide. With the high price of land in the cities, this was obviously not a fair economic proposition. It was Govan and Glasgow boards that pressurised the Department into allowing two-storey buildings up to thirty-two feet wide.[61] Both boards were building large secondary schools in the 1890s and 1900s, and economies of scale could be introduced in the provision of facilities for teaching in geography and the sciences.

The financial side of board operations - the selection and purchase of sites for schools, the issuing of contracts for building work, and the budget arrangements - was almost exclusively handled by the presbyterian businessmen on the boards. However, the clergy played important roles. They were involved in the selection of teachers and in the supervision of the "secular" as well as religious curricula. Perhaps the clergmen's most arduous task was that of enforcing school attendance. This was the special responsibility of the clergy, who were allowed to speak with the parents from their own denominations. In the main, the clergy took the view that truancy was not the fault of the child but of the parents. Extensive provision of clothes, shoes and books was made to poor children. Govan board, disturbed by the number of children with poor eyesight, distributed over five hundred pairs of spectacles on interest-free loans in one year.[62] The task of enforcing attendance was difficult in the densely-populated and industrial parish of Govan, where children frequently had to take lunches to their fathers in the shipyards and factories. Nonetheless, the Govan board, with the assistance of the ubiquitous and, by all accounts, terrifying truant officers, did a remarkable

job. Between 1873 and 1877, the population of the parish rose from 69,000 to 105,000. Between the same years, the attendance rate rose from 65·8 per cent to 73·5 per cent.[63] The board members' confrontation with poverty-stricken homes made them very concerned with social problems. A number of board members used their public office as means of instituting various types of social reform. Most notably in Glasgow, William Mitchell, an elder in the Free Church, campaigned in the board, in the city and in his Church's general assembly for improvements in the laws regarding vagrant, tinker and handicapped children.[64] The role of the clergy on the boards was, in modern parlance, "high profile". They tended to act as the spokesmen of boards on questions relative to moral, religious and social-reform implications of board work. In general, however, they did not become board chairmen. That was reserved, in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s, for the former specialists in religious voluntary education: men like Sir Michael Connal.

To counter-balance the clergy and church social reformers on the boards, the businessmen handled financial arrangements and the small number of town councillors may have guided the setting of the education rate. The system of school-board management was remarkably stable throughout the 1873 to 1919 period. The setting-up of the boards in 1873 did not alter fundamentally the religious contribution to day-school education. The churches had lost control of schools, but the boards were heavily composed of clergy and church laymen who perpetuated religious influence. But within the framework of board management between 1873 and 1919, there was a noticeable shift in the rationale behind education. The influence of the evangelicals like Michael Connal gave way to the rule of the new breed of social reformers - the Christian socialists like Marsall Lang and the socialists like Dyer. If

school-board management is to be regarded as in some way a "secularisation" of education, then it is in the period between 1890 and the First World War that it should be identified, not in 1872 or 1873.

(d) Religious issues in national education: religious instruction and teacher training.

With the passing of the Education Act in 1872, the churches were willing to leave the management of public schools to their representatives on the hundreds of boards throughout Scotland. However, two issues remained important to the presbyterian churches. One was religious instruction, which, as we have seen, was very devisive at local level. The other issue was the teacher-training colleges which remained in church control in 1872.

Although "use and wont" was generally established in the schools of the Scottish boards, the presbyterian churches were concerned, especially in the early years of national education, that "secular" teaching was pushing religious instruction from the curricula. In particular, the churches were worried about the absence of examinations in religious knowledge which, they felt, put religious instruction at a serious disadvantage. To remedy this situation, the Established Church appointed an Inspector of Religious Instruction in 1874, offering his services free of charge to school boards. The scheme lasted only until 1879, and at its peak had only thirty boards with ninety-seven schools, together with 235 Church of Scotland schools awaiting transfer to board management, being inspected. As a result of a questionnaire to

school boards, the Church of Scotland found that only 105 boards accepted in principle the offer of inspection.[65] The scheme collapsed in 1879 due to lack of funds, but in the same year an inter-denominational presbyterian Association for Aiding School Boards in the Inspection of Religious Instruction was formed. However, boards in the major urban areas did not use the Association's inspectors, and only boards in strongly-presbyterian areas agreed to its inspection.[66]

In the main, the churches were satisfied with the religious instruction provided in board schools up until the 1890s. The Free Church conducted an inquiry into the form of religious instruction available under the various boards, and reported complete satisfaction.[67] The religious instruction inspector appointed by the Church of Scotland reported that the quality of instruction in board schools was equal to that provided in Established Church schools.[68] However, dissatisfaction developed in the 1890s. The debates in the church courts illustrated the tenuous link that existed between the church authorities and the school boards.

An overture from the Synod of Perth and Stirling to the general assembly of the Church in Scotland in 1891 stated that religious instruction in board schools was not of a sufficiently high standard, and called for the re-institution of presbyterial inspections. The Education Committee of the assembly replied that there was little they could do because of "the altered relations of the Church to public schools", and recommended further development of the Sunday-school system.[69] By 1897, feeling in the Church was hardening, and an overture from the Synod of Angus and Mearns called for a special inquiry. Accordingly, a Special Committee on the Nature and Extent of the Religious Instruction in

Public Schools was formed. The Committee tried to play down the issue. It reported in 1898 and 1899 that, although 22 per cent of Church ministers felt that school-board instruction was "doubtful" and a further 11 per cent thought it was "unsatisfactory", there was nothing the Committee could do except recommend church members to support their representatives on the boards, or else to stand for the boards themselves.[70]

This did not satisfy the assembly. The Committee was instructed to call a conference of school-board representatives to discuss the formulation of a common policy for religious instruction. The Committee did nothing for a year, and told the next assembly that such a conference was "not likely to come off now". Forced to continue the project, the reluctant Committee wasted another year, and finally a conference was held in June 1901. The conference was attended by members of the school boards in Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, Govan, Greenock, Paisley and Aberdeen. The Committee said there was a complete failure to agree on a common syllabus for religious instruction, and abandoned all hope for the scheme, recommending the dismissal of the Committee.[71] Disappointed at the result, the assembly continued the Committee. No report came in the next year, and anger swelled in the membership of the church courts. No less than four overtures, from the Synods of Argyll, Glasgow and Ayr, Angus and Mearns, and Lothian and Tweeddale [sic], demanded that the Committee renew its efforts by calling a conference of presbyterian churches to draw up a common syllabus for religious instruction which could then be presented to the school boards.[72]

In 1890, members of the Free Church in Scotland held a conference "in favour of definite religious instruction" in public schools, criticising the lack of inspection and a common

syllabus.[73] In 1894, an overture was sent to the general assembly of the Free Church on the issue, but the Education Committee reported in the following year that they approved of religious instruction then being given in public schools - congratulating the Glasgow board in particular for its syllabus.[74] Similarly, the synod of the United Presbyterian Church was overtured in 1894 on the deficiency of religious instruction in board schools. The synod appointed a Special Committee on the Religious Instruction of the Young on Week-Days. It dismissed an idea that the churches should conduct religious instruction in board schools, stating that "the religious instruction of the young is not being neglected by the school boards of the country".[75]

There was thus the curious situation in the 1890s that the education committees consistently refused to endorse the views expressed by the membership of the main presbyterian churches. The reason was fairly simple. The tendency after 1873 was for the committees to be composed of "professional" educationalists: members of school boards, and principals and supervisors of the church teacher-training colleges. By the 1880s, these "professionals" in the Free and Established churches, both ministers and elders, tended to be members of <u>both</u> school boards and training colleges.[76] In consequence, an elite formed within the churches that virtually monopolised religious influence on education. This elite was well-represented by school-board members from Glasgow. Thus, it was no surprise that the Free Church Education Committee congratulated the Glasgow board on its syllabus for religious instruction. To give two examples of this elite from within the Church of Scotland: John N Cuthbertson, church elder, was a member of the Glasgow school board between 1879 and 1903 and chairman of it between 1885 and 1903, vice-convener of the Education Committee of

the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, and was on the Board of Supervision of the Established Church Teacher-training College in Glasgow. He was also a governor and director of a number of educational charities in the Glasgow area. The Rev. John Marshall Lang, the chairman of the assembly's six-year inquiry into the religious condition of the people of Scotland between 1890 and 1896, and a member of the Glasgow church-labour group, was a member of the Glasgow school board, the general assembly Education Committee, and the Board of Supervision of the Glasgow college. The special committees set up by the church courts in the 1890s and 1900s to consider religious instruction were drawn from the normal education committees. In such circumstances, the elite managed to stifle criticism. The members of the education committees were not likely to censure the religious-instruction syllabuses of the school boards of which they were members. In particular, the clergymen involved had frequently drawn up the syllabuses. Just as school-board members had avoided religious issues at board meetings after the 1870s, so they wished to prevent the churches from stirring matters from the outside.

There was another aspect to the problems of school-board members around 1900. In the late 1890s and early 1900s, criticism of boards was developing as a result of educational debates in England. Between 1899 and 1902, there was controversy about the over-spending of English school boards, and especially London's, on higher-grade schools and evening classes. The Cockerton case found that the English boards could not spend public money on these types of institutions. The result was the abolition of boards in England and Wales in 1902, and the end of *ad hoc* authorities there. Scottish school boards were not directly

affected in this legal judgement, since the Scottish Act of 1872, unlike the English one of 1870, had given school boards explicit powers to provide secondary and further education. Nonetheless, members of the Scottish boards were wary of a "domino" effect emanating from England that might lead to the abolition of Scottish boards.

As a result, school-board members were quick to arrest ecclesiastical criticism of school-board education. Even the Catholics defended the boards, for without them, and the peculiar cumulative voting system, the Church would almost certainly have had few or no representatives on public educational authorities. In the general assembly of the United Free Church, board members were firm and resolute in their defence of the existing system. They proclaimed the benefits of board management, and carefully explained the difficulties of trying to change the religious instruction in public schools. They warned the assembly that to press the issue would probably re-open the religious controversy of the 1869-1873 period all over again. The Rev. A R MacEwen, formerly a member of two boards including that of Glasgow, and formerly a member of the U.P. Church's Education Committee, warned his brethren in 1901 against challenging the boards about religious instruction: "Let them leave it, where it has been since 1873, with the Local Authorities."[77]

One important reason for the re-emergence of the controversy over religious instruction was the rapid development of the higher-grade or secondary schools in the 1890s and 1900s. Denominational reports indicated that the time spent on religious subjects in elementary schools was very much the same between 1873 and 1900 - averaging about forty-five minutes per day, or about one-fifth of the time spent on "secular" subjects.[78]

However, the boards had not imposed the same extent of religious instruction in the secondary schools. The pupil-teachers, for instance, who formed the bulk of pupils aged between 13 and 18 years at this time, received only thirty minutes of religious instruction per week in Glasgow board schools. With the rapid expansion of secondary education from the 1890s, there was a real prospect that the religious education of the young was going to cease at 13 or 14 years of age.

However, the main thrust of the objectors' argument about the state of religious instruction in the 1890s and first decade of the twentieth century was that there was too little and unexamined instruction in elementary schools. There was no argument that religious instruction had deteriorated since 1873. It was clear that fears about the religious education of the young arose not from the condition of education itself but because of the general and wider crisis of religion in urban society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There was a perception that religious control of social policy, such as in the school boards, was being challenged. Many members of the general assemblies agreed with Michael Connal's fear of the new breed of social reformers. However, the church members of the school boards disagreed with the church courts' view that the remedy was the improvement of religious instruction. The religious education of the young did not change substantially in day schools in the second half of the nineteenth century. There was a continuity in the teaching profession before and after the establishment of the school boards. As one example, the headmaster of the best board school in Glasgow at Garnethill in the 1890s and 1900s had started his career as a pupil teacher in Falkirk parish school, and then moved on to be a teacher at

St. Andrews parish school and headmaster of Wellington U.P. church school in Glasgow between 1866 and 1873.[79] The problem, as the churchmen on the school boards saw it, was not in the management or practice of the education system. The problem was greater than education, and required remedies greater than the education committees of the church courts could institute.

Whilst probably accurate in their assessment of the doubtful benefits to be accrued from raising the religious-instruction issue, the churchmen who exercised the churches' influence in the national-education system were too pessimistic about the likelihood of establishing a common syllabus for religious instruction. The failure of the school-board conference of 1901 forced the churches to change their strategy. The general assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1903 recommended co-operation with the other reformed churches in the production of a common syllabus and a common Catechism for schools. The conference was convened in 1904, and included representatives of the Established Church, the United Free Church, the Free Church, the Free Presbyterian Church, the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the United Original Secession Church, the Baptist Church, the Congregational Church, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, the English Episcopal Church in Scotland, and the presbyterian Association for Aiding School Boards in the Inspection of Religious Instruction. The conference, which became known as the Churches Commission, was one of the first and most highly successful ecumenic meetings in Scotland. Rapid progress was made, and a working party drew up a School Catechism embracing "such teaching in the facts and doctrines of Christianity as might be acceptable to all branches of the Reformed Church".[80] The Commission's work reached fruition in 1907 with the publication of the School Catechism. However, it is

doubtful if it was adopted by many school boards. Certainly, the boards in Glasgow and Govan did not use it, and there was a hint that its use would be limited to Sunday schools and teacher-training colleges.[81]

The issue of teacher-training vexed the presbyterian churches in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 had left the training of teachers completely in the hands of the denominational "Normal Schools". The Established Church had three of these schools, the Free Church three, and the Episcopal Church one. The reason why the government accepted this situation was pure expediency. In 1872, the churches had no intentions of transferring the colleges - with or without compensation - and the government had neither the expertise nor the funds with which to set up other colleges. The main critic of church training colleges was the United Presbyterian Church, which opposed any state recognition of religion. It thus objected to state grants to the churches for the maintenance of the colleges. The Established, Free and Episcopal churches shared the same rationale for the retention of their colleges. One Free Church minister and member of Govan school board said in 1899:

> "The Church kept them [the Normal Schools] up very largely for the security they offered that the men who were to teach the future generations of Scotland had themselves been trained in Bible knowledge and Bible Truth." [82]

The view of the Education Committee of the Free Church was:

> "So long as the people of Scotland desire to maintain in their Public Schools the old "use and wont" in the teaching

of the Bible and the Catechsim, it will be necessary that systematic religious instruction shall form part of the training of teachers." [83]

The training colleges were financially supported by a 75 per cent grant from the government; the churches had to pay for the remaining 25 per cent of costs from donations and fees. In the 1890s, the demand for certificated teachers rose sharply with the rapid expansion in secondary education. In addition, the Scottish Education Department (S.E.D.) insisted that the training colleges install science laboratories for physics, chemistry, botany and other science subjects. With this expense, together with the salaries of qualified lecturers in these fields, the churches found that they could not meet their financial obligations. The education committees of the churches appealed to the S.E.D. in the 1890s for more grants. They received it in the late 1890s, and at that time the government did not state that it had any intention of nationalising the colleges or handing them over to the school boards.[84] However, the S.E.D. was ambiguous in some of its statements, and, with hindsight, it appears that the churches were subjected to a process of gentle persuasion. In the early 1890s, the S.E.D. told the churches that unless there was some rapid expansion in the size of the colleges' student intakes, the universities were going to be permitted to train teachers without religious instruction. As a result, the colleges grew rapidly. The Free and Established church colleges had a total of 800 students in 1897; by 1903, they contained 1,200 students.[85] However, the universities started training Queen's Students (as distinguished from the Queen's Scholars at the training colleges) in 1895. The universities were drawn into this programme primarily to train teachers in specialised secondary-school subjects. In

1905, the churches were refused increased grants for the colleges, and the S.E.D. proposed that they be transferred by purchase. The Established, U.F. and Episcopal churches were by then in favour of terminating their burdensome financial obligations. They negotiated the transfer jointly - the main provisions they sought being the retention of religious instruction, the inclusion of religious-instruction examinations marks on the certificates of those teachers taking religious instruction, and church control of the religious instruction and examinations in the colleges. The churches gained most of these conditions, although religious instruction was not made compulsory and the churches were to pay for the cost of religious instruction.[86] In addition, the colleges were to be managed by provincial boards on which the Established and U.F. churches were to have three representatives each on each of the four boards (at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and St. Andrews, the last controlling a new college at Dundee) and the Episcopal Church one representative on the Edinburgh board.

In 1908, therfore, all teacher-training in Scotland, with the exception of training for Catholic teachers, came under "secular" control. Howver, the provincial boards included strong representation from the churches. In addition to the twenty-five official church representatives, there were a large number of representatives from school boards, and, in many cases, these representatives were clergymen and "church" nominees. Furthermore, although religious instruction was not compulsory for students at the colleges, school boards and practically every educational authority in Scotland since 1919 have insisted that their primary-school teachers be at least willing to teach religious subjects. Consequently, there was little immediate change in the numbers of teachers

in elementary schools who gave lessons in religion. In 1909, only 60 of 1,293 students at the three colleges formerly under the control of the Free Church opted not to take religious instruction under the Churches Commission's Catechism. Little immediate change took place in the character of religious instruction at the colleges. Between 1873 and 1908, the churches' policies in relation to the colleges were dictated largely by the requirements of the school boards (which would ultimately employ the teachers), as enforced by the regulations attached to the S.E.D. grants to the churches.

There was weakening resolve in the churches in the 1890s and 1900s to retain the teacher-training colleges. With increased grants for Catholic schools being proposed in 1897, the Free and Established churches were beginning to agree with the U.P. Church that it was better not to have "sectarian" control of teacher training if it reduced the likelihood of increased state aid to "papist" schools.[87] In addition, when the Free and U.P. churches united in 1900, the Free Church "section" of the new U.F. Church tried to retain its policy as the policy of the enlarged dissenting denomination. The U.F. Church's general assembly Education Committee of 1900 to 1908 was dominated by former Free churchmen, and the first full meeting of the general assembly was marred by a severe division along Free-U.P. lines on the training-college issue. Most damaging of all, the moderator of the 1901 Assembly, a former U.P. minister, opposed the Education Committee's policy of retaining the colleges and accused the Committee members of showing favouritism towards Free Church applicants for student places.[88] The storm blew over, but, with the U.P. Church amalgamated with the Free Church, the dissenters' ability to argue unanimously for the retention of the colleges was

greatly weakened.

(e) Conclusion

This chapter has shown that it would be inaccurate to view the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 as the direct cause of the "secularisation" of Scottish day-school education. The Act would not have been passed but for the enthusiasm and energies of churchmen. The dissenters had wished to see a national system established as a means of legitimising religious influence and of weakening the Established Church's preferential status in the parish-school system. Within the local school boards, churchmen gained a strong hold on public education. The basic character of the education they instituted in the board schools was inherited from the church schools of the mid-Victorian period. Although religious instruction was reduced to a "time-tabled" subject without inspection from government inspectors, it was satisfactory to all of the churches in the 1870s. It only became unsatisfactory when the overall position of organised religion in modern society came under strain in the period between 1890 and 1914. The teacher-training colleges remained under church control until 1908, and, although the churches might have preferred to retain them, there was an acknowledgement that church colleges were anomalous within a non-sectarian national system. Perhaps the most pertinent irony was that the immediate cause of the transfer of the colleges was the churches' lack of funds with which to build science laboratories and employ science lecturers.

With the replacement of the school boards by larger *ad hoc*

authorities in 1919, there was some concern in the churches that their representatives would lose control of educational administration. In most areas, however, churchmen again returned in large numbers. The assembly of the U.F. Church expressed "the utmost satisfaction" that "religious instruction will have its due place in the public schools of the country." [89] However, one minister deplored electoral apathy and "the new fangled proportional representation which in Glasgow had been simply a fiasco." He went on:

> "A strange combination had arisen in Glasgow between the Roman Catholics and the Socialists. Not one Socialist would have got in if they had not been lifted in by the Roman Catholics who gave them their second vote." [90]

As a result, the forty-five seat board of the Glasgow Educational Authority included twelve Catholics and six socialists. In this development, the speaker saw "perils" ahead for the church and for education.

Notes to chapter 10

1. Quoted in Glasgow Herald, 28 March 1888.
2. The progress of legislative measures for Scottish national education are considered in J D Myers, "Scottish nationalism and the antecedents of the 1872 Education Act", Scottish Educational Studies, vol 4 (1973), pp 73-92; and in W H Bain, "'Attacking the Citadel': James Moncrieff's proposals to reform Scottish education, 1851-69", Scottish Educational Review, vol. 10, no. 2, November 1978, pp 5-14.
3. P.S.U.P.C., October 1847, p 78.
4. Ibid., p 79.
5. Glasgow Herald, 15 March 1873.
6. Clause 14(2), quoted in J Murphy (ed.), The Education Act 1870: Text and Commentary (1972, Newton Abbot), p 91.
7. F.C.P.G., MS minutes, 31 March 1869, S.R.O., CH3/146/37.
8. Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, preamble.
9. M Skinnider, "Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow, 1818-1918", in T R Bone (ed.), Studies in the History of Scottish Education, 1872-1939 (1967, London), pp 22-24, 53-64; Rev. Brother Kenneth, "The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, in the making", Innes Review, vol. 19 (1968), pp 91-107.
10. Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, clause 69.
11. Ibid., clause 8; J Murphy (ed.), op. cit., pp 88-91.
12. P.G.A.C.S., 1872, p 57.
13. U.P.C.P.G., MS minutes, 14 March 1871, S.R.O., CH3/146/56.
14. See the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, clause 12(2); and (Scottish) Board of Education Rules for the election of school boards, quoted in Edinburgh Gazette, 21 January 1873.
15. J M Roxburgh, The School Board of Glasgow, 1873-1919 (1971,

London), p 14.

16. Glasgow Herald, 5 March, 13 March and 15 Macrh 1873.

17. Ibid., 29 March 1873.

18. Ibid., 17 March 1873.

19. Ibid., 20 and 26 March 1873.

20. J M Roxburgh, op. cit., p 21.

21. Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1873, Report of Education Committee, p 7.

22. Ibid., 1875, Report of Education Committee, p 1.

23. Ibid., 1875, Report of Education Committee, p 4; J M Roxburgh, op. cit., p 59.

24. Govan Parish School Board, Summary Report of Proceedings for the three years ending 10th April 1876, 1876, p 3. Govan parish included the burghs of Partick, Hillhead, Kinning Park, and Pollokshields, and the districts of East Pollokshields, Govanhill, Polmadie and Strathbungo.

25. E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, 5 February 1873, S.R.O., CH2/171/10.

26. J M Roxburgh, op. cit., pp 25-6.

27. At a ratepayers' meeting in 1888: "A Voice - Harry Long is on the Established Church list. (A laugh.) The Chairman - I don't think they would take him in." Quoted in Glasgow Herald, 20 March 1888.

28. Glasgow School Board, MS minutes of public monthly meetings (hereafter G.S.B., minutes), 18 April and 10 November 1873, S.R.A., D-ED1/1/1.

29. Ibid., 13 October 1873.

30. Glasgow Herald, 9 September 1879.

31. G.S.B., minutes, 19 December 1892.

32. Glasgow Herald, 25 and 27 March 1882.

33. Quoted in ibid., 9 September 1879.

34. _Ibid._, 27 March 1882.

35. _Ibid._, 20 and 26 March 1888.

36. Quoted in _ibid._, 27 March 1888; see also _ibid._, 28 March 1888.

37. G.S.B., minutes, 9 August 1886, 11 June 1888 and 19 May 1890.

38. _Glasgow Herald_, 13 March 1891.

39. "Petition of Parents", quoted in G.S.B., 19 May 1890.

40. _Glasgow Herald_, 26 March 1888.

41. See, for example, the speech of George Crichton, a prominent presbyterian member of the Govan board, quoted in _Glasgow Herald_, 28 March 1891.

42. Govan Parish School Board, MS minutes of public monthly meetings, 10 November 1873, S.R.A., D-ED1/1/1.

43. _Ibid._, 12 March 1883.

44. _Ibid._, 9 April and 7 May 1883.

45. _Govan Parish School Board, Triennial Report/s/_, 1882-1919.

46. G.S.B., minutes, 12 January 1885.

47. _Govan Parish School Board, Triennial Report_, 1885, p 21.

48. G.S.B., minutes, 10 November 1879, 9 August 1880, 18 September 1893, and 19 August 1895.

49. Govan schools gave lessons once a month to all children; _Govan Parish School Board, Triennial Report/s/_, 1897, p 35, and 1911, p 36.

50. Quoted in G.S.B., minutes, 17 January 1881.

51. _Ibid._, 7 June 1886, 21 February 1887, and 21 March 1892.

52. _Glasgow Municipal Commission on the Housing of the Poor; vol. 1, Minutes of Evidence_ (1903, Glasgow), pp 438-444.

53. _The Scotsman_, 2 March 1876.

54. G.S.B., minutes, 14 May 1877.

55. _Ibid._, 15 March 1880.

56. *Govan Parish School Board, Triennial Report*, 1906, p 31.

57. *Ibid.*,(report for 1914-1919), 1919, p 25.

58. *Glasgow Herald*, 28 March 1888.

59. *Ibid.*, 13 March 1891.

60. W Martin Haddow, quoted in J M Roxburgh, *op. cit.*, p 220.

61. *Govan Parish School Board, Summary Report of Proceedings for the three years ending 10th April 1876*, 1876, p 8.

62. *Govan Parish School Board, Triennial Report*, 1909, p 18.

63. *Ibid.*, 1879, p 11, and 1882, p 12.

64. *Glasgow Herald*, 13 March 1891; *P.G.A.F.C.*, 1897, p 29; W Mitchell, *Glasgow School Board: Remarks ... on School Attendance* (1886, Glasgow).

65. *Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 1878 and 1879, Report[s] of the Education Committee.

66. T R Bone, *School Inspection in Scotland, 1840-1966* (1968, London), p 75; *Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church*, 1895, Report of Committee on Education, p 7.

67. *Ibid.*, 1879, Report of Education Committee, p 5.

68. Reports of Established Church religious-instruction inspector, contained in *Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 1874-1879, Report[s] of Committee on Education.

69. *Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 1892, Report of Committee on Education, pp 15-18.

70. *Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 1898, Report of Committee on the Nature and Extent of Religious Instruction in Public Schools, pp 1239-1259, in which Glasgow and Govan school boards are praised; *ibid.*, 1899, Report of Committee on the Nature and Extent of Religious Instruction in Public Schools, p 1141.

71. Ibid., 1900, 1901 and 1902, Report/s/ of the Committee on the Nature and Extent of Religious Instruction in Public Schools.

72. It was unprecedented for the assembly to receive four overtures on the same subject in the same year. This may be explained by the apparent common authorship of the overtures. Ibid., 1904, Report of Committee on Overtures on Religious Training in Public Schools, p 1061.

73. P.G.A.F.C., 1890, p 40.

74. Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1895, pp 7-8.

75. P.S.U.P.C., 1895, Report on the Religious Instruction of the Young, p 316.

76. The U.P. Church had no teacher-training colleges, its teachers relying on admittance to Established and Free church colleges. The terms of the S.E.D. grants ensured that persons of all denominations could receive training in the colleges.

77. Quoted in P.G.A.U.F.C., 1901, p 68.

78. Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1874, 1875, and 1892, Report of Committee on Education, p 37, p 10, and p17 respectively; ibid., Report of Committee on the Nature and Extent of Religious Instruction in Public Schools, 1898, p 1241.

79. J M Roxburgh, op. cit., pp 132-3.

80. Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1904, Report of Committee on Overtures on Religious Training in Public Schools, pp 1063-1064.

81. Speech of the Rev. Dr. Ross Taylor, quoted in P.G.A.U.F.C., 1907, pp 72-3.

82. The Rev. Dr. Bremner, quoted in P.G.A.F.C., 1899, p 6.

83. Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1899, Report of Committee on Education, p 1.

84. Letter of Henry Craik, head of the S.E.D., to education committees of the Established and Free churches, 9 August 1899, quoted in Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1900, Report of Committee on Education, pp 8-10.

85. Ibid., 1898 and 1903, Report[s] of Committee on Education, p 5 and p 45 respectively.

86. Ibid., 1905, 1906, 1908 and 1909, Report[s] of Committee on Education, pp 40-62, pp 48-50, p 39, and p 37 respectively. Reports to the General Assembly of the United Free Church, 1908, Report of Committee on Education, p 22. The formal transfer of the colleges started on 1 May 1907 and was completed on 4 February 1909. The Church of Scotland received £15,500 in compensation, which it decided to devote to the upkeep of religious instruction in the colleges.

87. Principal Douglas of the Free Church College in Glasgow said in 1890: "I would rather modify the Free's position as a Church in regard to education than give any countenance to sectarian education." Quoted in P.G.A.F.C., 1890, p 51.

88. P.G.A.U.F.C., 1901, pp 69-71.

89. Ibid., 1919, p 116.

90. The Rev. M Bruce Meikleham, quoted in ibid., 1919, p 119.

Chapter 11

"The Temperance Reformation"

> "... is it not lamentable to think, that in the professed church of Christ you find the distiller, the brewer, the vender, the habitual and moderate drinker, sowing the seeds of intemperance, and yet wearing the external uniform of the church, viz. of a soldier of the cross? ... Do you see them in the pulpit and on the platform with their swords unsheathed and furbished, cutting right and left through the ranks of the enemy? ... It is against their system we temperance men have issued a declaration of war."
>
> A school teacher in Cumbernauld, 1854[1]

(a) Introduction.

The total-abstinence movement became an important part of evangelicalism in the second half of the nineteenth century. The growth in the consumption of alcohol in Victorian cities was identified as a main cause of declining moral and spiritual standards. As a result, the taking of the pledge emerged from the temperance movement as a means for the removal of this obstacle to "salvation". Temperance and total-abstinence organisations became seen as a new "agency" of organised religion. However, the acceptance of the temperance movement did not come quickly. As in the case of the Sunday-school movement in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there were particular factors which led the churches to regard total abstinence initially as a device of political radicalism. However,

the furtherance of total abstinence and temperance legislation became the principal social-reform objectives of the evangelical churches in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even in the non-evangelical churches, as section (c) below shows, the temperance cause increased in importance towards the the end of the Victorian period.

There have been a number of valuable studies of the temperance movement in Britain.[2] The purpose of the present chapter is to show the importance of the movement as a part of the churches' response to expanding urban society.

(b) The rise of temperance and teetotalism in the presbyterian churches.

The commencement of the temperance movement in the British Isles is normally dated to about 1826, emanating directly from American influences. One of the most noted poineers was John Dunlop who started a temperance society in Greenock in 1828. The movement at that time advocated moderation in drinking. The bulk of the support in the early years came from a few evangelists and self-improving working men. In the late 1820s and early 1830s, there was significant support in the west of central Scotland, and particularly in Greenock and Glasgow. In the mid 1830s, the movement was split by the introduction of the total-abstinence idea. Dunlop refused to support it at first because of the apparent contradiction with the religious principles behind the practice of taking wine at communion. However, even before teetotalism became widely practised in Scottish temperance organisations, there was a rift between the movement and the churches.[3]

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, clergy of all denominations were known to be partakers of alcoholic beverages. Various drinks, but notably whisky and port, were consumed by all social groups. "Festive" occasions were often based around religious events, such as weddings, funerals and christenings. Purely ecclesiastical celebrations, such as induction, ordination and presbyterial dinners, were occasions of conspicuous alcoholic consumption. The use of alcohol was a norm in ecclesiastical life. Consequently, the clergy were quick to oppose the temperance movement after the establishment of temperance societies in Greenock, Glasgow and Edinburgh in 1828-9.[4] William Collins, friend and publisher to Thomas Chalmers, was converted to temperance after hearing a speech by Dunlop in 1829, and devoted a large part of his speeches during a lecture tour of Britain in 1830-1832 to attacking ministerial attitudes to the movement. In particular, Collins attacked the "social customs" which were encouraged by clergymen at religious occasions. As a member of the Evangelical wing of the Church of Scotland, Collins wrote of the reasons why Moderates and Evangelicals alike opposed the formation of temperance societies:

> "The ostensible grounds on which Christians refuse to support these Institutions, are because they conceive them set in opposition to the Gospel....These objectors seem entirely to overlook the fact, that intemperance is a physical as well as a moral evil, and, therefore, may be cured by physical, as well as moral means.... If faith in the Gospel formed the only effective security against intemperance, then all men would require to be believers to enjoy its protection. But all men have not faith." [5]

This was one of the reasons why the "Temperance Reformation" failed to attract the support of the churches for thirty years. In the

early-Victorian period, even the evangelicals in the Secession, Relief and Established churches were, in the main, either apathetic or opposed to the movement. The dominant educative character of evangelical thinking on "salvation" at this time placed stress on the view that "salvation" could, and should, only come through knowledge and understanding of the Word of God. Temperance and, especially, total abstinence were regarded as alternatives to the Gospel. The churches were quite willing to oppose intemperance at that time, but were not willing to erect teetotalism as a means of religious "salvation".

However, there was a second and much more important reason why the churches refused to court the total-abstinence movement in the 1830s and 1840s. The emergence of the total-abstinence cause was almost exactly contemporaneous with the development of the Chartist movement. In large part, the cause was promoted in the late 1830s, 1840s and early 1850s side-by-side with the cause of political radicalism. For this reason, both the churches and the middle classes identified teetotalism with working-class radicalism and refused to be associated with it.

Between 1836 and 1860, the temperance and total-abstinence movements, insofar as they were separated, were not substantially differentiated in terms of ecclesiastical support. In a sense, temperance became tarnished with the same brush as teetotalism. Very few clergymen supported either cause at this time.[6] The association between total abstinence and the crusade for political radicalism suggested to the churches that temperance was developing as a secular alternative to Christianity. The movement was essentially an adult one until the 1860s, appealing on a self-help

basis to members of the artisan classes. This is apparent in the Independent Order of Rechabites, for instance, which was a temperance friendly society started in Salford in 1835 and brought to Glasgow in 1838.[7] The temperance and total-abstinence movements were evidently very popular in Glasgow in the 1840s. A teetotal procession through the city in 1841 first drew the press' attention to the scale of support. The march was organised by the Western Scottish Temperance Union, and taking part were the Rechabites and Catholic and Protestant temperance societies. The Glasgow Argus stated that 10,000 people took part, whilst the Glasgow Herald estimated 5,120 - 1,450 Protestants and 3,676 Catholics.[8] The movement seems to have been very strong amongst Glasgow's Catholic population in mid-century. The Irish temperance leader, Father Theobald Mathew, who was courted by Catholics and Protestants alike, was reported to have attracted 50,000 people to the Green on a visit to Glasgow in 1842; of these, it was stated that he took the pledge from 40,000.[9] It was noticeable that there was little support from the middle classes for temperance and total-abstinence societies at this time. Furthermore, there was virtually no connection with organised religion. The justification for the movement was drawn from artisan self-help, political radicalism and a small element of medical reasoning. Platform speakers tended to specialise on certain themes. Edward Morris, a well-known total-abstinence advocate from Glasgow, concentrated on the political benefits to be obtained by working-class abstinence and on the connection between the Tories and the drinks trade.[10] In the main, there was very little involvement by clergymen. Some of the adventurous evangelicals in the Glasgow City Mission and the Evangelical

Union did become identified with the cause in the 1840s, but their temperance work was carried on without the sanction of the major Scottish churches.

Open support for the temperance and total-abstinence movements grew from the late 1840s. A "Personal Abstinence Society" was formed by ministers in the Secession and Relief churches in 1845. It continued under the U.P. church from 1847, and 180 ministers of the Church had signed the abstinence pledge by 1858. The Free Church Temperance Society was formed by thirty-three abstaining ministers in 1849, and had 191 ministers enrolled by 1858.[11] The Church of Scotland had no temperance society at this time, and there was evidently little enthusiasm for the temperance cause in that denomination. The church-based temperance movement was slow to develop. Its most ardent promoters came from Glasgow - mostly members of the Free Church, the U.P. Church and the Evangelical Union. Whilst the E.U. Church readily gave its sanction to the cause, temperance advocates in the other churches encountered strong resistance to the official approval of total abstinence as an aid to "salvation". Initially, presbyterian teetotalers sought to eliminate the churches' encouragement of "social customs". The vice-president of the Free Church Temperance Society, the Rev. William Arnot of Glasgow, together with William Collins and a number of elders, campaigned vigorously from 1848 against the practice of toast-drinking at ordination and induction dinners. Arnot first raised the issue in the Glasgow Presbytery of the Free Church in 1848, but he received no support.[12] In 1855, he moved that the Presbytery:

> "... resolve, that the practice of drinking healths on occasion of the ordination and induction of ministers is,

> to say the least, unnecessary and inexpedient, and recommend that it be discontinued." [13]

Again, Arnot could find no support. However, there is widespread evidence to show that many if not most of the young evangelical ministers and homemissionaries of the 1850s were total abstainers, and that societies for the promotion of total abstinence amongst the working classes were being organised as elements of "aggressive" evangelising schemes in Glasgow and other British cities. The total-abstinence movement amongst British Protestant clergy effectively "came of age" at a conference in Manchester in 1857. The event was organised by the United Kingdom Alliance, the most extreme of the major temperance organisations in the country. The Alliance advocated the complete prohibition of the drinks traffic. Thus, the list of the one thousand clergy who attended provided some indication of the growth of radical temperance thinking in the British churches. One hundred and twenty-three ministers attended the conference from Scotland. Table 11.1 provides a denominational break-down. Three of the attenders from Glasgow - Arnot of the Free Church, the Rev. Fergus Ferguson of the Evangelical Union, and the Rev. David McRae of the U.P. Church - were the leading advocates of the temperance movement in the city in the 1850s. However, the policy of prohibition was politically highly controversial, and it was not supported by the majority of abstaining clergy. At a religious level, the attainment of ecclesiastical sanction of total abstinence was problematic enough without raising the question of restricting the free-market economy.

The general assembly of the Free Church appointed a committee on temperance in 1847 after four years of pressure from city missionaries who complained that their work in spreading the

Table 11.1 Scottish clergy at the conference of the United Kingdom Alliance, Manchester, 1857.

Church	Numbers of clergy from Scotland	Numbers of clergy from Glasgow
Free Church	35	4
U.P. Church	33	6
Church of Scotland	16	-
Independents & Evangelical Union	24	2
Reformed Presbyterian Church	4	-
Wesleyan Association	2	1
Wesleyan Methodist Church	2	-
Primitive Methodist Church	1	1
Baptist Church	3	1
Others	7	1
	123	16

Source Figures calculated from United Kingdom Alliance, A Full Report ... of the Ministerial Conference on the Suppression of Liquor Traffic, held in Manchester, June 9th-11th 1857 (1857, London and Manchester), pp 105-6.

Word of God was hindered by the intemperance of the working classes.[14] However, in setting up the committee, the assembly was careful not to appear to be supporting the "secular" and politically-radical temperance movement. "Your Committee," stated the recommending report, "wish to guard against being understood as proposing any such restraints as may be observed by particular societies." Thus, the only means that the committee was empowered to use or to recommend in support of the cause were "the Word of God, the Standards of the Church, and sound discretion".[15] Even amongst those in the Free Church who supported total abstinence, there was a strong disinclination to appear to be associating with

the non-church temperance organisations. When the Free Church appointed its temperance committee, one minister from Glasgow who supported prohibition said that "he rejoiced to see it [temperance] taken out of hands, in which he felt that it had often suffered rather than benefited".[16] The Free Church temperance committee was the first to be established in the major Scottish churches. It was the only Church that was seen to support the passing of the Forbes Mackenzie Act of 1853 - an Act that imposed new restrictions, including Sunday closing, on public houses in Scotland. However, the Free Church was not completely won over to the total-abstinence cause with the foundation of the committee, as will be shown shortly.

The growth of the temperance cause in the presbyterian churches led to increased rather than diminished friction between the churches and the existing "secular" temperance movement. The Free Church temperance committee complained bitterly between 1848 and 1857 of the lack of "tolerance and forbearance towards those who may be seeking, by other methods, to promote the same object".[17] The Rev. Robert Bremner, minister of Gorbals Free Church and a total abstainer, criticised the Saturday evening concerts conducted by the Glasgow Abstainers' Union, describing the concerts as "tomfoolery and nonsense" and impinging on "the due sanctification of the Sabbath". Bremner also criticised two fellow Free Church ministers, James Begg and Thomas Guthrie, for associating with the Edinburgh and Glasgow Abstinence Societies - two organisations conducted by artisans and having political overtones.[18] The Glasgow Abstainers' Union was a favourite target for criticism from ministers in the Free Church. The Union was run by a mixture of clergy from the E.U. and U.P. churches , and was introducing a revivalist element into total-abstinence

promotion. The Union was formed after a split in the Glasgow Total Abstainers' Association in 1854. According to the historian of Glasgow temperance organisations, the Union should have been more accurately named the "Glasgow Dissenting Temperance Union".[19] As well as being strongly dissenting in character, the Abstainers' Union was characterised by an artisan or proletarian evangelicalism. Its affiliated societies were predominantly working-class organisations territorially based in working-class areas of the city: notably, in the Gorbals, Calton and Partick. It seems to have been because of this factor that the Free and Established Churches disapproved of the Union.[20] Even so, the Union was the initiator of the first Bands of Hope in Glasgow - organisations that were later to become the domain of the presbyterian churches.

Temperance advocates in the churches came under attack from other quarters in the late 1850s. The drinks trade, including producers and victuallers, and the Tory party undertook a campaign in the late 1850s to have the Forbes Mackenzie Act of 1853 repealed. One pamphlet arguing for the repeal started a minor "pamphlet war" when it stated:

> "Things have come to a sorry pass when our senators and statesmen take their principles from Abstainers' Unions and Bands-of-Hope." [21]

The writer went on to attack temperance clergy, identifying them with the radical political movements that had created the Anti-Corn Law League, the Chartists and the temperance societies. The Glasgow-based Scottish Temperance League appointed its top pamphlet writer, William Arnot of the Free Church, to write a reply.[22] It was against this background of vilification from the Conservative establishment on one side and the radical

total-abstinence movement on the other that moderate temperance advocates in the churches sought to gain ecclesiastical approval for their work and their methods of bringing people to Christ.

The problem of gaining the official sanction of a supreme court in one of the main denominations was first tackled in earnest in the Free Church. There was a certain reluctance amongst ministers to stand up to the anti-temperance forces within the Church. Whilst two ministers were successive chairmen of the general assembly's temperance committee in the early 1850s, they achieved little success in gaining the support of the assembly or the Church at large. Neither had seemed willing to press for the acceptance of total abstinence as a means of aiding "salvation", and both had resigned, leaving recommendations for the dismissal of the committee.[23] It is possible that clergy were wary of being accused of heresy for recommending that a pledge could have equal or greater powers than the Word of God. In any event, it fell to a lay scientist to lead the Church towards adoption of temperance aims. As professor of surgery at the University of Edinburgh, James Miller used his medical reputation to become the leading advocate of temperance on health grounds. He had lectured extensively to his students on the medical aspects of intemperance, and his reputation had been extended by the publication of many of his lectures.[24] He was elected convener of the Free Church's temperance committee in 1856. In his first report to the assembly in 1857, Professor Miller gave the Church its first major impetus for activity, recommending that the assembly discipline Church members who rented property out as public houses and who used their influence in licensing courts to obtain licences.[25] Miller also urged the Church to oppose the

use of drink at baptisms and funerals, and to take disciplinary action against clergy or members who encouraged or participated in that custom.[26] In his speech to the assembly, Miller urged the Church to adopt a firm line:

> "The Committee did not ask for the regulation of these [public] houses, but for their repression." [27]

Miller's speech and report started a five-year-long debate in the Free Church on the subject of total abstinence. The assembly was unwilling to approve such a radical shift in the means to obtain "salvation", but many commissioners were willing to follow a firm lead. This came from Miller in his address to the assembly in 1859. In a very long speech, he asked "that the entire body of the members now hearing me shall join me ... in becoming teetotallers."[28] The speech was received with great enthusiasm, especially in the crowded public galleries. Although no formal sanction was given, the assembly's acceptance of the report and speech by Miller was taken to infer approval. As a result, the Free Church quickly became the leading denomination in the total-abstinence cause in Scotland. Until 1859, the Scottish Temperance League could call on less than ten ministers as lecturers. In November of that year, the board of the League wanted to see "a larger amount of Ministerial aid in the advocacy of the cause in connection with the League".[29] By April 1860, the boardwas inundated with offers of help from clergy, the majority of them belonging to the Free Church.[30] Similarly, the perennial complaint by the Glasgow Abstainers' Union of lack of ministerial support ceases in 1859, and even former critics of the Union, such as the Free Church's the Rev. Robert Bremner, were quoted as having

signed a petition by 108 Glasgow ministers sent to the city magistrates demanding a reduction in the number of public houses.[31]

After 1860, the Free Church was quickly absorbed into the temperance movement. After 1861, links were firmly established between the general assembly's temperance committee and the Scottish Temperance League.[32] The number of abstaining ministers in the Church, as recorded by the assembly committee, rose from 191 in 1858 to 320 in 1862.[33] The Free Church Temperance Society became a quasi-official body of the Church. With the death of Professor Miller in 1865, the new convener of the assembly committee was William Kidston, allegedly a fiery character who later became noted for his tussles with the Catholic members of Glasgow School Board.[34] Kidston worked extremely hard for the committee, corresponding with every Scottish M.P., and arranging petitions to parliament and other institutions at his own expense. He was the first prominent member of the Church to recommend Bands of Hope to the congregations of the Church, seeing the possibilities of the parochial church system as an aid to the temperance movement.[35] He continually complained of lack of support from the Church, mainly because of continuing doubts amongst some clergy as to the validity of total abstinence as an aid to evangelising work. Many extreme temperance advocates wanted the Church to denounce all drinking and to support prohibition. But whilst such divisions had made the temperance committee practically impotent between 1847 and 1857, Kidston, following the lead of Miller, directed the Church to areas of unity. He, like Miller, stressed the practical uses of total abstinence in aiding social reform. The reports of the temperance committee during the

1860s are full of advice for the Church to combine temperance work with other forms of social improvement.[36] As Miller said in 1864, "the success of sanitary and social reforms must greatly help the cause of temperance".[37]

The lead of the Free Church was copied only slowly by the other major presbyterian churches. The U.P. Church was surprisingly late in giving its approval to the temperance cause, despite the activity of the Church's Personal Abstinence Society and the sizeable group of abstaining clergy in Glasgow. An overture to the synod of the Church in 1854 called for the expulsion of all those members who "traffic in intoxicating liquor". However, it was overwhelmingly rejected.[38] The synod's temperance committee was appointed in 1859 at the suggestion of the Glasgow presbytery, but its remit was very much on the same lines as that of the Free Church committee on its first appointment twelve years' earlier. The U.P. Church's committee was to conduct its work "without pronouncing any judgement on the question of abstinence ... or infringing on the liberties of the members of the Church on this point ...".[39] The committee was only temporary, its principal task to produce a circular on intemperance. The committee was made permanent in 1865, and by 1869 had become firmly established as a powerful synod committee with powers to oppose the use of drink at funerals and to petition on the Church's behalf on temperance legislation.[40] The convener of the committee between 1868 and 1872 was the Rev. J A Johnstone from Glasgow. As a member of the board of the Scottish Temperance League, he was able to lead the Church into the mainstream of the temperance movement in Scotland.

The Church of Scotland was compromised in its

attitude to the temperance movement by the connections between some its members and the big five whisky and beer manufacturers. In addition, it seems that the owners of property that was rented out as public houses were proportionately more numerous in the Established Church than in any other denomination. Apart from a temporary and ineffective committee in the late 1640s, the Church's Committee on Intemperance was formed in 1867. The mere fact that the committee's title stressed the evils of drunkenness rather than the positive benefits of temperance was indicative of the much weaker position of the temperance cause in the state church. The committee complained bitterly for over ten years that ministers and church courts were obstructive. The power of the committee was limited to ordering the delivery of an annual sermon on the evils of intemperance. The committee favoured total abstinence, but it was forced to maintain discreet impartiality in its reports. After proclaiming support for total abstinence in its 1869 report, the committee was snubbed for three years, not being asked to present a report to the assembly.[41] In its first report thereafter, the committee, composed of rising evangelical clergy like John Marshall Lang (later a member of the church-labour group in Glasgow) and evangelical laymen like Sir James Watson (an "improving" Lord Provost of Glasgow[42]), expressed its disgust with the Church in very harsh terms.[43] However, the assembly was slow to raise the powers of the committee. The total-abstinence principle was reluctantly acknowledged by the Church after a fait accompli by the temperance advocates. In 1876, the Church of Scotland Temperance Society was formed. It was modelled on the Church of England Temperance Society, having parochial associations with "General Sections" for moderate

drinkers and "Abstinence Sections" for the teetotalers. It proved exceedingly difficult to sustain the general section. Moderation could not engender the same enthusiasm as pledged societies could. In the Presbytery of Glasgow in 1899, there were 1,688 members of Established Church abstinence societies, but only 35 members of general sections.[44] Despite the apparent failure of this dual system, the general assembly refused to abandon it. The dual system was a compromise to prevent the Church from appearing to endorse abstinence as the only means to combat intemperance, and to mollify the drinks interests in the denomination.

The Free Church general assembly was active in the temperance movement by 1860, the U.P. Church synod by 1870, and the Established Church general assembly by 1877. However, it was the clergy and members of the two dissenting presbyterian churches, together with clergy and laity from the Evangelical Union, the Congregationalists and the Baptists, who were the strongest advocates of total abstinence and legislative control of the drinks trade. Between 1860 and 1900, there was a gradual ecclesiastical take-over of the mainstream temperance movement in Scotland. The main temperance organisation, the Scottish Temperance League, was dominated by proletarian presbyterian evangelicals between 1859 and 1876. In 1859, there was only one minister on the League's board of eight. By 1905, five of the fourteen-member board were prebyterian ministers, and three of them were president, secretary and treasurer. The two guiding lights in the League in the mid-Victorian period were Neil McNeill, a member of the Glasgow Abstainers' Union, and John McGavin, a well-known anti-Catholic pamphleteer. The president of the League in the 1900s was the Rev. George Gladstone of the

Evangelical Union, a Templar and past-Presiding Officer of the Grand Lodge of the World, and a director of the Scottish Band of Hope Union.[45] The work of the League became more closely associated with evangelisation as the second half of the nineteenth century proceeded. The League employed "agents" who could be hired by local organisations as temperance lecturers, offering speeches on the medical, "chemical", legislative or religious aspects of temperance. The lecturers became increasingly drawn from the community of divinity graduates that serviced the home-missionary schemes of the presbyterian churches. In the early 1860s, the noted temperance missionary William Logan, whose experience included work in London, Rochdale and Glasgow, was the League's "personnel manager", to use a modern phrase, employing and supervising the agents.[46] One of the agents employed in 1866 during a period of rapid expansion for the League was William Fish, previously an agent for the Glasgow City Mission, at a salary of £100 per annum plus expenses. In 1873, Fish resigned to become a missionary in Glasgow again, possibly rejoining his old employers.[47] In this way, there was a strong connection between the temperance movement and the evangelisation schemes of the churches and religious voluntary organisations.

After about 1880, it is clear that important changes were occurring in the temperance movement. Adult pledge societies experience declining growth, and by 1900 there is strong evidence to suggest that they were in absolute decline; the only exception to this general trend was an apparent sustained growth in the women's sections of temperance organisations, aided perhaps by the development of the Women's Guild after the late 1880s. At the same time, the pursuit of temperance legislation became more

important for the movement, and this will be examined in section (d). Additionally, the temperance movement became very reliant on the Protestant churches for support. This was particularly important for the one area of temperance work which showed considerable expansion - child pledge societies.

Undoubtedly the main effort of the temperance movement after 1870 was in the promotion of temperance and total abstinence amongst the young. This meant, in effect, the promotion of the Band of Hope organisation.[48] A Band was a weekly-meeting body which, by the 1870s, was organised mainly on a parochial basis. Children were encouraged to take the pledge of abstinence, were led in prayer and singing, and listened to talks by lecturers from the Band of Hope Union or the Scottish Temperance League. One extant branch minute book gives a description of a Band's activities in 1884:

> "The manner of carrying on the [weekly] meeting consisted generally of an address by a gentleman who came for that purpose - a good deal of singing of Hymns & the consecutive reading of a story.... Each month there is a Gala or Concert night to lend interest and stimulus to the Socy. The children are divided into pews which are superintended by ladies and gentlemen whom we designate monitors." [49]

Juvenile temperance societies were started in the late 1840s by various organisations, such as the Glasgow Total Abstinence Association. In 1849, the name "Band of Hope" emerged, possibly in Leeds or in Germany, and it became quickly synonymous with the children's temperance movement. It is difficult to accurately describe the numerical growth of the Bands because of the various organisations that provided affiliation schemes. In the 1850s and 1860s, the Bands in Glasgow were run mainly by adult

pledge societies - particularly in mission halls.[50] However, the churches became very interested in the Bands in the 1870s. The Moody-Sankey revival of 1873-4 was a great stimulus to church Bands, and the parochial organisation of the churches provided a splendid basis for growth. In 1871, the Scottish Temperance League, hitherto one of the federal organisations for Bands in the Glasgow area, set up the Scottish Band of Hope Union with seven affiliated societies. By 1880, there were 209 affiliated societies; by 1887, there were 570 - the bulk in Glasgow.[51] The Scottish Temperance League was still closely associated with the Union, organising its annual demonstration and printing its literature, but the connection with the churches now became of paramount importance. The Free Church recommended Bands from 1864, and the U.P. Church and the Established Church from 1880 and 1881 respectively.[52] By 1900, the Band of Hope movement was well established in the Glasgow area. In 1887, 62 of the 90 churches in the Free Presbytery of Glasgow had Bands; in 1895, 47 of the 95 churches in the Established Church Presbytery had Bands with a total membership of 8,409.[53] The movement in Scotland was strongest in the Glasgow area, and the Free and U.P. churches, later the U.F. Church, accounted for the majority of Bands. A select list of 84 Bands affiliated to the Scottish Band of Hope Union in 1915 included 43 attached to the U.F. Church, 8 to the Church of Scotland, 8 to the Baptist Church, 6 to the E.U./Congregational Union, 3 to the Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1 to the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and fifteen independent of denominational affiliation.[54] The Bands continued to expand in the Glasgow area up to the First World War, and they remained important voluntary organisations during the inter-war period. However, in many instances, it seems that Bands developed

as surrogate Sunday schools for the children of non-church members. In that sense, the growth of Bands did not make up for the decline in the Sunday schools.

The Free Church was the most important church in the temperance movement in Scotland. Just as the general crisis affecting organised religion in the late nineteenth century can be associated with the evangelical churches in particular, so the changing composition of the temperance movement can be associated with declining evangelical enthusiasm in the evangelical dissenting churches. Table 11.2 shows that registered total abstainers in the U.P. Church were predominantly children by the last quarter of the century. Although the complete data for the Free Church were not given, there is every reason to suppose that the same situation was repeated in that Church. In 1850, there were 77,189 members of adult pledge

Table 11.2 Membership of presbyterian temperance organisations in 1890s.

	Church of Scotland[1]	Free Church[4]	U.P. Church
Total	48,090	72,156	c. 33,000
Adults	10,796	-	4,897[2]
Bands of Hope	37,294	-	29,459[3]

Sources Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1897, Report of Committee on Intemperance, p 917; Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1897, Report of Committee on Temperance, p 19; P.S.U.P.C., 1887, p 659, and 1891, p 229.

Notes
1. Figures relate to 1897. It must be borne in mind that some of these figures include "moderate" drinkers - at least 1,001 of the adults.
2. Figure relates to 1891.
3. Figure relates to 1887.
4. Figures relate to 1897.

societies in Scotland and 46,182 members of juvenile societies.[55] With the temperance movement's increasing reliance on the churches towards the end of the nineteenth century, it is apparent that the adult societies were considerably less important than the Bands of Hope. The historian of the temperance movement in Scotland, Daniel Paton, has noted that the movement was in decline generally in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He states: "The effect of decline was to associate the temperance cause even more closely with organised religion." [56] Although non-church temperance organisations continued to exist in the twentieth century, their importance in the movement and their impact at large was very much less than in the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s. As Paton concludes:

> "After 1900 the temperance movement in Scotland was becoming, far more than it had been in the great days of the nineteenth century, a movement of women, children and the Churches." [57]

(c) The Roman Catholic Church and temperance activities in Glasgow.

This section is concerned to show, *inter alia*, that the evangelical framework of reponse to urban society was not confined to those churches conventionally defined as "evangelical". The temperance movement, as one part of the churches' attempts to impart religious and moral habits and attitudes amongst the unchurched, was supported at least to some extent by all the major churches and minor sects in the country. Although there was an element of anti-Catholicism in sections of the movement, the

general aims and methods were not sectarian, but, on the contrary, of use to all churches in sustaining religious influence in urban and industrial society.

Catholic involvement in "lay" temperance organisations between 1830 and 1914 was very limited. The spectacular success of Father Theobald Mathew's visits to a number of British cities, including Glasgow, during the 1840s was temporary. His visits to Glasgow were at the request of the Western Scottish Temperance Union, and, because of the absence of any specifically Catholic temperance organisation, the enthusiasm engendered in the Catholic community could not be maintained.[58] Between 1845 and 1867, there is very little evidence of any Catholic involvement in the temperance movement in Great Britain. Cardinal Wiseman had effectively prohibited the movement in the Church in the 1850s, and Cardinal Manning, the most prominent Catholic temperance advocate in England, had great difficulty in promoting the cause because of the hostility of a large number of English bishops.[59] In Scotland, the restoration of the hierarchy was not achieved until 1878, and before that date the Scottish "Mission" (as the Catholic Church in Scotland was known) was totally reliant on guidance direct from the Holy See. Although Catholic temperance societies may have existed before 1878, it is extremely difficult to find any trace of them in the Glasgow area. An approach by the Scottish Temperance League to Charles Eyre, the senior representative of the Church in Glasgow, in 1875 produced no response.[60] The temperance cause may have been promoted by Catholic priests in an <u>ad hoc</u> and informal manner up to 1880, but there is no evidence to suggest that the Catholic Church in Glasgow had any temperance organisations or any formal links with federal temperance

bodies.

Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster from 1865 to 1892, was converted to the temperance cause with some apparent suddenness after a visit from representatives of the United Kingdom Alliance in 1867. From that year, he made speeches at their annual meetings, but found little support from his fellow bishops.[61] Learning from the mistakes of Father Mathew's revivalist-type temperance work in the 1840s, Manning formed a total-abstinence society in 1873 - the League of the Cross.[62] The League worked on a parish system, providing weekly meetings for adults and children on much the same lines as the Protestant total-abstinence societies for adults and the Bands of Hope. The League became strongest amongst the immigrant Irish community in England - the old Catholic community of England seeming to shun the organisation.

Along with Liverpool and London, Glasgow was one of the areas with a high concentration of Irish Catholics in the second half of the nineteenth century. Archdiocesan records of temperance activities in the city do not start until 1887. In that year, Archbishop Eyre (archbishop 1878-1902) seems to have suddenly taken a great interest in the temperance cause. He sent a questionnaire to the senior priest of the diocese, asking several questions relative to the existence of congregational temperance organisations. Thirty replies were made, most of them without the name of the priest or the location of the church.[63] Of the thirty churches, twenty-two stated that temperance was promoted - ten of the respondents stating that League of the Cross branches existed in their parishes, and the others stating that other organisations with a variety of titles (mostly particular to the parishes) existed to promote temperance. The average membership

of each of these societies was about fifty, of whom about thirty regularly attended weekly meetings. The activities of the Catholic temperance societies, including the League of the Cross, were somewhat different to the activities of the Protestant organisations. Nearly all of the Catholic abstinence societies provided games rooms in which the main pastimes were billiards, dominoes, cards and draughts. These rooms were normally open from 6p.m. until about 10p.m. during the week; some rooms were also open on Sundays after morning, afternoon and evening mass. These rooms, located usually in rectories or other outbuildings of parish churches, were intended to act as direct counter-attractions to public houses, shebeens and to street gambling. Such activities were not made available by Protestant temperance societies - organisations which placed greater emphasis on moral reform rather than on mere alternative attractions. The religious character of the Catholic temperance societies was much less pronounced than most of the responding priests would have preferred. On priest stated that the men "would play at their games, even if Benediction was given in the Church, near them".

In most of the Catholic churches in the archdiocese in 1888, the alternatives to the League of the Cross were Catholic Young Men's societies. These organisations, so the priests stated, were composed of raucous young men, many of the "criminal classes". These societies were ostensibly temperance as distinct from total-abstinence organisations, and, as such, were apparently spectacular failures. The Young Men's Society of one congregation was described by the priest as "useless when not positively impertinent. Temperance Society a sure way to make drunkards." The same priest felt that total-abstinence societies were

particularly beneficial if there was "some pecuniary interest", such as a mutual-benefit scheme, connected with them. Of the twenty-two priests who conducted teetotal societies, all felt them far superior to temperance societies.

By 1887, then, the League of the Cross was evidently already established in the Glasgow area. However, neither the archbishop nor any senior figure in the local church had been involved in co-ordinating the organisation. Nonetheless, the League was officially recognised by the Church. The Pope had granted indulgences to League of the Cross members since 1876 for abstinence from alcohol on St. Patrick's Day and at New Year. The League was formally sanctioned and established in the Archdiocese of Glasgow in October 1888 when Eyre, with the apparent support of his senior priests, issued a pastoral letter.[64] An organising executive was set up, composed of six lay League branch presidents, six priests, and the Archbishop with ex officio membership. By 1892, there were 128 branches with 30,000 members in the archdiocese.[65] The membership in 1901 is shown in table 11.3. It is clear that although the Catholic Church was slower to develop temperance organisations the proportion of Catholics in Glasgow who were total abstainers was significantly higher than the proportion of Protestants by the end of the nineteenth century. In part, this may be attributed to the fact that the Catholic Church had many fewer types of religious voluntary organisation catering for participation than the presbyterian churches.

Membership of the League of the Cross involved the payment of subsrciptions which appear to have represented substantial sums to many poor Catholics. One man in Wishaw wrote, with appealing semi-literacy, complaining to the archdiocesan

Table 11.3 Membership of the League of the Cross in the Archdiocese of Glasgow, 1901.

	Men	Women	Children
Glasgow District	15,429	6,571	688
Lanarkshire	3,736	379	497
Renfrew & Ayr	3,578	530	699
Dumbartonshire	1,200	20	-
Totals	23,943	7,500	1,883

Source /Printed/ Annual Returns of the League of the Cross of the Archdiocese of Glasgow for 1901, contained in uncatalogued items in box marked "Temperance - League of the Cross", Archive, Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Glasgow.

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authorities that he had been deprived of his two-year membership badge (and, presumably, the indulgences due to members) because he had been unable to pay his subscriptions whilst out of work due to injury and with a wife and five children to support. A correspondent to Archbishop Mackintosh (Eyre's successor) in 1913 complained that the League was making money out of poor Catholics who had been encouraged to join by priests. "No wonder it /the League/ can contribute to the upkeep of Catholic schools," he stated.[66]

Archbishop Eyre was a strong force in organising the League of the Cross in the west of Scotland after 1888. A letter from Cardinal Manning congratulated Eyre on organising a Catholic Temperance Convention in Glasgow. Manning was evidently thankful for Eyre's support in the temperance cause in the Catholic Church. He wrote to Eyre in 1891:

"I cannot fail to thank you, both for public and private

> reasons, for your Temperance Convention. Your courageous and vigorous example will do us all good.... the League has drawn the Priests & the people especially the working men together."[67]

Manning provided Eyre with assistance in getting the League established on an organised basis in Scotland, sending 20,000 membership cards - apparently at the expence of the Catholic Church in England.[68]

However, the League of the Cross suffered from a number of problems. In the first place, the reforming nature of the League's activities suffered from expansion. The League seems to have taken over much of the work and some of the clientele of the temperance societies and young men's societies. In the early twentieth century, the nature of the games rooms attached to branches of the League caused concern to clergy and laity alike. In 1903, bookmakers and others involved in the gambling business were prohibited from becoming League members in the archdiocese, but the problem of professional gambling taking place at League meetings was still prevalent four years' later. Furthermore, the archdiocesan central executive of the League had to ban card games where a lot of money could be lost in a short time - games such as "Nap" and "Banker".[69] In 1913, the League's games rooms still had a bad image. One resident of the Gorbals on the south bank of the Clyde complained of the noise emanating from the League's rooms at the cathedral church of the archdiocese, St. Andrew's, on the north bank of the river on Sunday nights. The Church, the correpondent stated, was teaching young men gambling.[70]

A second problem was the apparent failure to organise substantial numbers of Catholic children in pledge societies.

The figures in table 11.3 show that in 1901 less than seven hundred children were enrolled in branches of the League in Glasgow. Strangely, child enrolment was substantially higher per total number of members in the League in the outlying areas of the archdiocese. A city priest wrote to Eyre about this problem in 1888, and the latter made a special plea to Catholic parents in 1892 to enroll their children in the League.[71] The long-term consequence was that the League withered very rapidly after the First World War, as adult pledge societies of all denominations virtually disappeared. Whilst the Bands of Hope had created a basis for continued existence after 1918, the inability to attract children to the League before 1914 led to its collapse.[72] The poverty of many Catholic children in Glasgow undoubtedly militated against high recruitment to the League.

It is clear that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Catholic Church in Glasgow turned to the total-abstinence idea as a means for sustaining a religious world-view amongst the local Catholic population. Whilst the character of organisations like the League of the Cross may have been different from the character of Protestant organisations, the same general means were used with the same general ends in mind. It is clear that the Catholic Church created its own and quite separate temperance movement. The Scottish Temperance League could not gain the co-operation of Eyre in the 1870s, and, with the increasing presbyterian character of the temperance movement towards the end of the century, there was diminishing rather than increasing likelihood of Catholic-Protestant co-operation in the temperance field. A voluntary worker for the British Women's Temperance League complained to the archdiocese

that Catholic girls at a rivet works at Cranstonhill in Glasgow would not listen to her because she was a Protestant. "Of course our association is not denominational at all," she stated.[73] However, "non-denominational" was, and still is, regarded as meaning "Protestant" in Scotland. Moreover, it is clear that the predominantly working-class composition of the Catholic community in Glasgow created a more proletarian character to the temperance movement in the Catholic Church than in the presbyterian churches. The worker from the Women's Temperance League, for instance, made the social difference clear when she described the Catholic girls at the rivet works as coming "from the very roughest class".[74] Although the Catholic temperance movement may have been distinct from the mainstream of the Protestant temperance movement, there was an affinity between them. In November 1890, Archbishop Eyre presided at a mass meeting of the League of the Cross in Glasgow's City Hall in celebration of the centenary of the birth of Father Mathew.[75] The unity between Catholics and Protestants that Father Mathew's visit to Glasgow in the early 1840s achieved may have dissipated after 1850, but the churches of both religious groups continued to find temperance and total-abstinence work of use in the promotion of moral and religious values.

(d) The progress of temperance legislation and its enforcement, 1828-1914.

As well as seeking improved moral and religious habits through individuals' adoption of temperance and total-abstinence

principles, evangelicals became increasingly concerned with obtaining temperance legislation and stricter enforcement of existing licensing law. As the nineteenth century progressed, and as the churches became drawn into the mainstream of the temperance movement, the pressure on parliament and enforcing authorities increased. Whilst the churches' attitudes to the various types of legislative control of the drinks trade have been examined in some detail by Daniel Paton,[76] the present section is concerned to show how the churches wished to see parliament and local authorities assisting in the enforcement of religious and related values.

Licensing law was one of the areas of public law in Scotland that was independent of English and Welsh law. There was no act of parliament in this area that encompassed England and Scotland during this period. The processes of licensing, the hours of opening for, and types of, public houses, and, for part of the period at least, the rationale behind licensing legislation were all different in Scotland. There were two main reasons for this. In the first place, licensing was part of the body of Scots law which retained its independent character after the Union of 1707. In the second place, the drinking customs of Scotland were different from those south of the border. In England, the basis of spirit-drinking was gin - a commodity whose consumption per capita reached a peak in the period 1700-1750. From 1750 onwards, beer-drinking was the dominant characteristic of English "social customs". By contrast, the consumption of whisky became the basis of drinking in Scotland in the Highlands and Lowlands after about 1790. For these two reasons, the efforts of temperance reformers were somewhat different in the two countries in the nineteenth century.

The basis of Scottish licensing law until 1903 was laid down in the Home Drummond Act of 1828. This measure tried to sort out the confusion created by various acts of George III's reign between the powers of the Excise on the one hand and the powers of magistrates and justices of the peace (J.P.s) on the other. The Act of 1828 firmly placed the responsibility for licensing all forms of premises in the hands of the magistrates and J.P.s for royal burghs and counties respectively. From that date, the Excise was stripped of its powers to grant licences.[77]

In a royal burgh before 1862, and in a royal or parliamentary burgh thereafter, the magistrates formed the licensing court. In counties, the J.P.s in Quarter Session formed the licensing court. The Quarter Session was the licensing appeal court for both burgh and county.[78] In Glasgow, the licensing court comprised about eight magistrates, and the theoretical membership of the appropriate appeal court, the Quarter Session for the Lower Ward of Lanarkshire, was one hundred and fifty J.P.s. In practice, the appeal court normally had very much fewer than the total presiding justices, and the quorum for both licensing and appeal courts was two.[79]

It was apparent by 1846 that there was disquiet with the operation of the appeal courts. Until 1876, these courts were only empowered to grant a licence to an applicant who had been refused one by the licensing court; the appeal court could not reverse the granting of a licence. Interested parties, such as those living near to proposed licensed premises, had no right of objection to any court. The law was interpreted to mean that every applicant with "good" references was entitled to a licence.[80] Thus, justices on the appeal courts could only

increase the number of licensed premises, and were open to criticism from the temperance movement. All the witnesses called before a parliamentary select committee in 1846 agreed that J.P.s were over-ruling a large number of licence refusals, and that this was an unsatisfactory state of affairs.[81]

The next major piece of legislation affecting licensing in Scotland was the Forbes Mackenzie Act of 1853. The main provisions of the Act were the closure of public houses on Sundays (replacing the old law which had closed them during the hours of divine service) and the prohibition of drinking on the premises of licensed grocers; this latter measure introduced the distinction between public houses and off-licences.[82] The 1853 Act appears to have been modelled on the licensing regulations introduced by Glasgow magistrates in 1850.[83] It was a clear divergence from the rationale behind English licensing legislation. The English Beer Act of 1830, followed by legislation on wine in 1860, introduced the "free-trade" theory of licensing whereby it was argued that the removal of restrictions on "weak" alcoholic drinks would reduce the consumption of spirits. This remained the basis of English law until 1870-1. The "prohibitive" theory of licensing law was not fully introduced to England until the Sunday closure of public houses in 1874.[84]

It is after 1853 that churchmen started to take a close interest in the enforcement of licensing law. Most presbyterian clergy approved of the Act of 1853, and some rose to defend it in the late 1850s when the licensed victuallers' associations sought its repeal. However, clergy and laity in the Free Church became worried about the processes of licensing. At the general assembly of 1853, Dr. Robert Candlish, Principal of

New College, Edinburgh, and arguably the most prominent clergyman in the Free Church in the 1850s, approved of the action of Edinburgh magistrates in reducing the number of licences approved, but objected to the J.P.s'action in over-ruling the refusals. Candlish felt that because the justices were not responsible in other spheres for law enforcement in the city, the law "placed the power of reversing the decisions of magistrates into the hands of parties not responsible, as magistrates were, for the peace of the community".[85] In 1854, an elder complained to the assembly:

> "... that at the last licensing court in Edinburgh there was no fewer than seventy-seven applications for licence refused on the ground of the excessive number of public-houses. But at the quarter-sessions sixty-six of these appeals were sustained on the ground of the respectability of the applicants."[86]

The issue was taken up by the convener of the assembly's temperance committee, Professor Miller, in 1857. He congratulated the magistrates of Edinburgh "for the faithful and fruitful way in which they had discharged their duty", adding that three of them were members of the Free Church and of the assembly. He also stated that although the anti-temperance actions of justices were not universal throughout Scotland,[87] the situation was intolerable when many appeals to the quarter sessions were upheld:

> "A practical suggestion arose out of that, namely, that it was the business of Christian Churches to see that magisterial situations were not allowed to go a-begging, but filled up by men of the right sort, fearing God as well as honouring the Queen."[88]

Miller went on the attack more virulently in 1862, stating that he wished to see the abolition of the justices' role in licens-

ing:

> "They [magistrates] seemed to him the men best qualified to judge [on licence applications], or, if there was to be an appeal at all, don't let it be to such a multitudinous court as that of the Justices of the Peace, who, although very respectable gentlemen individually, were liable to be canvassed and squeezed by any individual interest, and who, moreover, he begged leave to say, were too much mixed up with what he called the rental interest. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)" [89]

This was one of the more outspoken charges made against the justices of being connected with the renting of property used for public houses. These charges became much more open in the twentieth century.[90] Miller's remarks may have contributed to the change in the law in 1862 which henceforth allowed "aggrieved" publicans to appeal to the Courts of Justiciary on grounds of "Corruption or Malice and Oppression" by justices or magistrates.[91] In any event, there was an underlying recognition that magistrates and justices were corruptible, and that justices owned property for which they could use their influence and position to obtain licences.

There is no reference in the proceedings of the U.P. Church synod, nor in the proceedings of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, to the licensing system. However, neither church had a temperance committee that was fully operative at this time, and there were fewer opportunities to raise the matter in the courts. However, from remarks made in the assembly of the Free Church, it is clear that there was an assumption that Free Church members were much more common on magistrates' benches than on Quarter Sessions. Since justices were drawn predominantly from the social elites of country

areas, it may be a fair conclusion that they were more likely to be members and office-bearers in the Established Church than in one of the dissenting denominations. It is hard to escape the implication of commissioners' remarks to the Free Church assembly that the justices they were criticising were non-evangelicals of the gentry class in the Church of Scotland.

Free Church criticisms of justices end in 1862. In that year, the Public Houses Amendment (Scotland) Act permitted, for the first time, objections to licence applications from neighbours of proposed public houses. This created a new avenue for temperance activity. Temperance organisations could now work on a detailed basis to reduce the number of public houses. In a case in the Court of Session in 1909, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, the teetotal and United Free churchmen Sir William Bilsland, and others on the Licensing Appeal Court were accused of being incompetent to sit on the court because of their association with the temperance movement. In particular, Bilsland and his associates were accused of being connected with the Citizens' Vigilance Association whose main object was the reduction in the number of public houses in Glasgow "by opposing the granting or renewal thereof at the Licensing Courts".[92] The case brought into public view the tactics and actions of the Association, founded in 1902, and especially its connections with office-bearers of the churches in working-class areas of the city. Missionaries of St. Mark's Institutional U.F. Church in Bridgeton had apparently canvassed amongst the qualified objectors to licence applications and renewals to encourage them to sign an objectors' list.[93] Although institutions such as churches were not allowed to object officially, it is clear that

evangelical temperance workers used the opportunity provided by the 1862 Act to campaign for licence refusals.

Perhaps the greatest victory for the temperance cause in Scotland in the nineteenth century came in 1876 with the Publicans' Certificate (Scotland) Act. The Act revolutionised licensing procedure. Whereas the appeal court could only approve applications previously refused by the licensing court before 1876, the Act prevented the appeal court from approving licences rejected by the lower court. Thus, instead of merely hearing appeals from publicans, the appeal court was, from 1876, allowed to hear objections from opposers only. Furthermore, a new court, the County Licensing Committee for counties and the Joint Committee for burghs, was instituted by the Act to confirm all licence grants. In the burghs, the Committees were composed of magistrates and J.P.s in equal numbers, with the Chairman being the Lord Provost or Chief Magistrate from the burgh and having a casting vote.[94] This was a convincing legislative gain for the temperance movement, giving the real licensing power to magistrates, amongst whom there were significant numbers of temperance supporters.

In 1887, a permissive Act allowed magistrates to close public houses at 10p.m. rather than 11p.m..[95] This opportunity was taken by most authorities, and 10p.m. closure became the norm for Scotland until 1976. The Licensing (Scotland) Act of 1903 consolidated a number of legislative measures, but it also made a number of further reforms. The County Licensing and Burgh Joint Committees were abolished and, most importantly, the Quarter Sessions were replaced as appeal courts by courts made up of magistrates and justices in equal numbers.[96] In 1913, Scotland obtained the Local Veto Act - a measure never passed for

England - which gave local communities the opportunity to vote their areas "dry" of public houses and off-licences. The local veto came into operation in 1918, and many areas took the opportunity and abolished the sale of alcohol.

It is apparent from the temperance activities of the churches and of "lay" bodies such as the Scottish Temperance League, that the magistracy and not the justices of the peace was seen as the key to the reduction in the number of public houses. The weakening of the role of J.P.s in 1876 and 1903 was regarded as victory for the temperance cause.[97] It is significant that in a handbook of the 1903 Act, written for the benefit of the drinks trade, the author stated that the introduction of town and county councillors onto appeal courts was "a grave and serious danger to the trade". As a consequence of this, the author stated that the Court of Appeal for Glasgow will "in all probability ... be but a reflection of the dominant majority of today, and recent Licensing Appeal Courts have unmistakably indicated what the policy of that majority is". The author went on to criticise Glasgow's licensing magistrates for a recent "craze" for sanitary improvements in public houses, and for prohibiting "family departments". He wanted justices reinstated with their former powers because they were "distinctly representative" and "fairly equitable".[98]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, evangelical temperance reformers were gratified to see a significant number of teetotal evangelicals being elected to Glasgow town council and thus to the magistrates' bench of the city. Many of the Lord Provosts of the city in the last quarter of the century were total abstainers, and, as the Court of Session case cited above suggests, they were not averse to using their position to

promote the cause. Enforcement of temperance law became, in a sense, another "agency" of the evangelical churches. Indeed, with declining enthusiasm for total-abstinence pledge societies amongst adults, it would seem that the "moral force" argument of some evangelicals was becoming of increasing importance. In 1890, the town council of Glasgow resolved that public houses were to be banned from council property. This resolution remained in force until 1970, leading to the absence of public houses from the estates of council housing. The Labour Party, which came to dominate local politics from the 1930s onwards, concurred in the restriction of the drinks trade. The 1890 resolution seems to have been only the start of a temperance campaign by Glasgow town council. The licensing court for the city banned "family departments", closed public houses at 10p.m. in some areas of the city, and abolished barmaids.[99] There appears to have been a group of six or seven extreme temperance reformers, if not prohibitionists, on the licensing and appeal courts of Glasgow in the first decade of the twentieth century. There was allegedly considerable magisterial hostility to the licensed trade in the city in the period between 1890 and 1914, with obstructiveness to licence transfers between publicans and an "excessive" demand for structural improvements to licensed premises.[100] In the opinion of Mabel Atkinson, a research student at the University of Glasgow between 1900 and 1902, Glasgow's magistrates used their powers "in a narrow and puritanical manner" on various issues, including the censoring of pictures from art exhibitions in the city.[101] In this way, the civil magistrate was increasingly called upon to act for the benefit of the churches' moral and religious code - for all that the dissenting churches may have deprecated the role of the

civil magistrate in maintaining the Established Church of Scotland.

(e) Conclusion

The temperance movement started as a "secular" movement connected with political radicalism. It was gradually taken over by the churches and, by the 1880s, was referred to by presbyterians as the "Gospel Temperance Reformation". It is difficult to assess what real effect the movement had on the drinking customs of Glasgow. Certainly, the drink problem remained at the forefront of social-reform campaigning until the last quarter of the twentieth century. Even if there was a reduction in the number of public houses in the city around 1900, illegal drinking dens or "shebeens" remained in existence.[102] Irrespective of its effect on "social customs", the temperance movement became an important part of the evangelical strategy of the churches - including the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church. Although the proportion of abstainers in the ranks of Protestant clergy in Scotland may have declined from the figure of 50 per cent in 1900,[103] the cause of temperance has remained an important concern of church courts. The failure to obtain the local veto act before 1913 should not be regarded as a weakness of the Scottish temperance movement. The English M.P.s obstructed most local veto bills from the 1880s onwards because of the fear that an act for Scotland would be a precedent for an English act. Most Scottish M.P.s were in favour of the local veto in the last quarter of the century - an indication of the strength of dissenting presbyterian Liberalism in Scotland.

A plebiscite was held in Glasgow in 1888 on the question of restrictive temperance legislation. The results were 77,246 in favour of local option and 8,535 against, and 57,704 in favour of prohibition and 19,411 against.[104] If the appropriate legislation had existed to allow the implementation of the wishes of the electorate at that time, there is little doubt that the temperance movement, with the backing of the churches, would have succeeded in making the city "dry".

Notes to chapter 11.

1. W B Garvie, Evils of Intemperance (1854, Glasgow), p 19.
2. D C Paton, "Drink and the temperance movement in nineteenth century Scotland", Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1977; B Harrison and B Trinder, Drink and sobriety in an early Victorian town: Banbury, 1830-1860 (1969, London); B Harrison, Drink and the Victorians: the temperance question in England, 1815-1872 (1971, London).
3. E Morris, The History of the Temperance and Teetotal Societies in Glasgow (1855, Glasgow), p 46; J Dunlop, Autobiography (1932, privately printed, London), pp 91, 96, 109-110, 119, 130-1.
4. E Morris, op. cit., p 13.
5. W Collins [senior], On the Harmony between the Gospel and Temperance Societies (1836, Glasgow), pp 3, 6-7.
6. B Harrison, op. cit., p 179.
7. The Rechabites were somewhat isolated from the mainstream of the temperance movement in Glasgow. The Order only obtained official sanction as a friendly society in 1875, and the Scottish Temperance League and the Scottish Band of Hope Union refused to associate with it. However, by the 1890s at least one minister, David Watson of the Established Church, was allowing Rechabite parades in his church. R Highet, Rechabite History: A record of the origin, rise and progress of of the I.O.R., Temperance Friendly Society (1936, Manchester), pp 15, 38; Rechabites, Glasgow District no. 40: A Jubilee Prospect (1923, Glasgow), p 10; Independent Order of Rechabites: Glasgow District no. 40, MS minutes, 22 March 1884, 10 May 1884, 26 September 1891, uncatalogued minute book, 1882-1900, held

at Rechabite offices, Bath Street, Glasgow. The Order of Good Templars was also shunned by the temperance movement and the churches for its apparent similarity to the freemasons; Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1871, Report of Committee on Temperance, p 5.

8. R Highet, op. cit., p 56; Glasgow Herald, 10 July 1841.
9. J E Handley, The Irish in Scotland (1964, Glasgow), pp 116-8.
10. E Morris, op. cit., p 25.
11. Personal Abstinence Society, Address to the members of the United Presbyterian Church by the .. (n.d., but c 1858, Edinburgh), p 1; Free Church Temerance Society, Report, 1858, p 1.
12. W Arnot, Temperance and Total Abstinence in their relation to the Bible and the Church ... (n.d., but c 1855, Glasgow), n.p..
13. W Arnot, Ordination and Induction Dinners (n.d., but c 1855, Glasgow), p 1. Arnot states that a neighbouring presbytery had already by 1855 adopted a similar resolution; ibid., p 8.
14. P.G.A.F.C., 1847, pp 241-247.
15. Quoted in ibid., 1847, pp 243-4.
16. Ibid., 1847, p 246.
17. Ibid., 1852, p 340.
18. R Bremner, "The Saturday Evening Concerts": A Sin and a Snare (1857, Glasgow), pp 4, 9, 16, 17.
19. E Morris, op. cit., pp 202-3.
20. Glasgow Abstainers' Union, First Annual Report, 1855, pp 9, 11, 14-16.
21. J Stirling, Failure of the Forbes Mackenzie Act (1859, Glasgow), p 6.
22. W Arnot, The Grounds of Legislative Restrictions to Public-houses: A lecture ... in Reply to Mr. Stirling's "Failure" (n.d., but 1859-60, Glasgow).

23. P.G.A.F.C., 1851, p 338, and 1855, p 259.

24. J Miller, Physiology in harmony with the Bible ... (1856, Edinburgh); idem, Abstinence; its place and power (1856, London). See also idem, Nepalism the true temperance of Scripture, Science and Experience (1861, Glasgow).

25. Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1859 Report of the Committee on Temperance, p 2.

26. Ibid..

27. P.G.A.F.C., 1857, p 273.

28. Ibid., 1859, p 72.

29. Scottish Temperance League, MS minutes of board, 14 November 1859, Glasgow University Archive, P/CN 49.19.4

30. Ibid., 3 April 1860.

31. Glasgow Abstainers' Union, Annual Report/s/, 1855-60, especially 1858, pp 15-16.

32. P.G.A.F.C., 1861, p 321.

33. Ibid., 1862, p 319.

34. See above p 111.

35. Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1866, Report of the Committee on Temperance, p 2.

36. See, for instance, ibid., 1861, Report of the Committee on Temperance, p 1; and P.G.A.F.C., 1870, p 293.

37. Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1864, Report of the Committee on Temperance, p 1.

38. P.S.U.P.C., 1854, p 532.

39. Ibid., 1859, p 218.

40. Ibid., 1869, p 753.

41. Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1869, Report of the Committee on Intemperance, pp 383-5.

42. See below pp 240-8.

43. Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1876, Report of the Committee on Intemperance, pp 497-500.

44. Figures taken from ibid., 1899, Report of the Committee on Intemperance, pp 820-1.

45. Scottish Temperance League, MS minutes of board, 6 September 1859, 19 September 1905, Glasgow University Archive.

46. Ibid., 27 August 1861.

47. Ibid., 26 June 1866, 4 February 1873.

48. See also chapter 9 above.

49. Renwick [Free Church, Glasgow] Band of Hope, MS minutes, 21 November 1884, S.R.A., TD 396/34.

50. Glasgow Abstainers' Union, Report, 1855.

51. Scottish Temperance League, MS minutes of board, 22 November 1870, 17 January 1871, Glasgow University Archive; Scottish Band of Hope Union, Report, 1908-9 (1909), p 11.

52. The U.P. and Established churches took longer to approve Bands because of doctrinal misgivings about administering oaths (ie., the total-abstinence pledge) to children; Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1881, Report of the Committee on Intemperance, p 627; P.S.U.P.C., 1880, p 43.

53. Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1887, Report of the Committee on Temperance, p 8; Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1895, Report of the Committee on Intemperance, pp 732-3.

54. Scottish Band of Hope Union, MS minutes of executive committee, 8 February 1915, uncatalogued minute book 1914-1918 held at offices of the Union, Hope Street, Glasgow.

55. D C Paton, op. cit., p 382, table 15.

56. Ibid., p 447.

57. Ibid..

58. A E Dingle and B H Harrison, "Cardinal Manning as temperance reformer", Historical Journal, vol. xiii, 3 (1969), p 495; Rev. Father Augustine, Footprints of Father Theobald Mathew, O.F.M.CAP. (1947, Dublin), pp 243-5, 562.

59. A E Dingle and B H Harrison, op. cit., p 488.

60. Scottish Temperance League, MS minutes of board, 2 February 1875, Glasgow University Archive.

61. A E Dingle and B H Harrison, op. cit., pp 485-6.

62. This was based on a Catholic temperance society which had operated in Liverpool since 1868; ibid., p 495.

63. These are amongst unnumbered items in an uncatalogued box marked "Temperance - League of the Cross", held by the Archive, Roman Catholic Archdioceseof Glasgow, 18 Park Circus, Glasgow. The quotations in this and the following paragraph are from these questionnaire replies.

64. (Printed) Pastoral Letter by Archbishop Eyre, 18 October 1888, in box ibid..

65. (Printed) Pastoral Letter by Archbishop Eyre, 19 March 1892, in box ibid..

66. MS letter from T J Brady to Most Rev. D Mackintosh, 3 January 1913, in box ibid..

67. MS letter from Cardinal Manning to Archbishop Eyre, 2 August 1891, in box ibid..

68. MS letter from W S Johnson to Archbishop Eyre, 24 July 1891, in box ibid..

69. (Printed) Notice of approved recommendations of central executive of the League of the Cross in the Archdiocese (of Glasgow), 1903, in box ibid..

70. MS letter from T J Brady to Most Rev. D Mackintosh,

3 January 1913, in box *ibid.*.

71. MS letter from J O Reilly to Archbishop Eyre, 24 September 1888, in box *ibid.*; (Printed) Pastoral Letter of Archbishop Eyre, 19 March 1892, in box *ibid.*.

72. The archdiocesan records of the League do not extend beyond 1913. I am grateful to the Rev. Hugh N Boyle, archdiocesan archivist, for his guidance on the history of the League in Glasgow.

73. MS letter from Miss M M Anderson to Archdiocese, n.d., but probably early 1890s, in box *ibid.*.

74. *Ibid.*.

75. MS diary of Archbishop Charles Eyre, 30 November 1890, the Archive, Archdiocese of Glasgow. I am grateful to Father Hugh Boyle for this reference.

76. D C Paton, *op. cit.*, pp 129-320.

77. Licensing (Scotland) Act, 1828, (no clauses), p 4.

78. *Court of Session Cases, 1893-4*, Tennant v Magistrates and Commissioners of Partick, p 736; *PP, Report from Select Committee on Public Houses, Scotland*, 1846, pp 1, 28.

79. *Ibid.*, p 28.

80. *Ibid.*, p 8.

81. *Ibid.*, pp 13, 28-9.

82. Public Houses (Scotland) Act, 1853, clause 1 and schedules.

83. See above pp 24-5.

84. B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians ...*, pp 19-20.

85. *P.G.A.F.C.*, 1853, p 192.

86. *Ibid.*, 1854, p 183.

87. In Dundee, the Forfar county justices were apparently refusing most licence appeals; *ibid.*, 1854, pp 183-4.

88. *Ibid.*, 1857, p 273.

89. Ibid., 1862, p 318.

90. The County Clerk of Ayrshire between 1900 and 1937 stated that the licensing and appeal courts had "a very bad name", and that "there was more than a suspicion that they are liable to undue influence and even bribery"; J E Shaw, Local Government in Scotland (1942, Edinburgh), p 92.

91. Public Houses Acts Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1862.

92. Court of Session Cases, 1909, Goodall v Bilsland and other Members of the Licensing Appeal Court at Glasgow, p 1152.

93. Ibid., pp 1161-1176.

94. Publicans' Certificates (Scotland) Act, 1876, clauses 5, 6, 8, 9 and 12.

95. Public-houses Hours of Closing (Scotland) Act, 1887, clause 4.

96. Licensing (Scotland) Act, 1903, clauses 4 and 7(2).

97. P.S.U.P.C., 1876, p 683; P.G.A.C.S., 1902, pp 809-810.

98. A Campbell, The Licensing (Scotland) Act, 1903, with introduction and commentary ... (1903, Glasgow), pp 19-23.

99. Ibid., p 21; M Atkinson, Local Government in Scotland (1904, Edinburgh), p 50.

100. A Campbell, loc. sit..

101. M Atkinson, op. cit., pp 160-1.

102. Glasgow Municipal Commission on the Housing of the Poor, vol. I, Minutes of Evidence (1903, Glasgow), p 440.

103. The denominational figures were: 30 per cent of Established Church clergy abstainers, 66 per cent of U.F. Church clergy, 87 per cent of Congregationalist clergy, 100 per cent of Baptist clergy, and 87 per cent of others; D C Paton, op. cit., p 351, table 12.

104. P T Winskill, The Temperance Movement and Its Workers: a record of social, moral, religious and political progress

vol. 4 (separately paginated, but bound with volume 3) (1892, London), p 156.

Chapter 12

Housing reform as religious agency

" ... neither the efforts of the physician, nor of the magistrate, nor of the city-missionary, nor of the minister, nor of the schoolmaster, nor of the temperance agent, nor of the lady-visitor, nor any one else, can, <u>ordinarily</u>, avail to reclaim them [the working classes] to sobriety, or to elevate their condition. It is all, or nearly all, good labour wasted and thrown away; whereas, if you can get them into decent, healthy, and cheerful abodes, you may work all these agencies with delightful encouragement, and with the best hopes, through the blessing of God, of rearing a sober, happy, and pious population."

The Rev. W G Blaikie, Free Church, 1863[1]

(a) Introduction.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, it was becoming clear to many evangelicals that domestic living conditions were having an adverse effect on the religious and moral condition of the working classes and the poor. Considerable innovation had taken place since 1780 in the types of agency used to extend religious influence in urban communities. Church extension, Sunday schools, day schools, young men's societies, "aggressive" home-missionary visitations and temperance work had been developed as methods for sustaining the social significance of religion. In the 1840s, however, churchmen, particularly those of an evangelical disposition, were influenced by the national

investigations and campaigns of Edwin Chadwick and others to have some regard to the debilitating effects of overcrowded and insanitary housing on moral and religious standards. As a result, an influential group of evangelical clergy, most belonging to the Free Church, emerged in the mid-Victorian period to urge the churches to support municipal and parliamentary intervention in housing reform, and to encourage churchmen to participate in philanthropic house-improvement ventures. By the 1890s, however, evangelical interest in housing improvement was seriously damaged by the general evangelical crisis and by advances in the policy options in the housing field. Thus, it was the new social theologians, principally of the Church of Scotland, who took the greatest interest in the issue in the late nineteenth century.

Housing reform cannot be distinguished altogether from other types of social reform, such as sanitary improvement. Whilst the sanitary idea was probably the major theme of housing reform in Britain until at least the 1880s,[2] this chapter provides a brief survey of changing denominational concern with housing reform. Religious involvement in municipal schemes of housing improvment in Glasgow is considered in chapter 13.

(b) Evangelicals and the improvement of working-class housing, c1840 - c1870.

In the first four decades of the nineteenth century, concern with poor housing was evident amongst many evangelicals. However, schemes for direct improvement in housing or sanitation were not central to the evangelical response to urbanisation at that

time. Thomas Chalmers, with his elders and friends David Stow and William Collins, conducted a survey of the living conditions of the inhabitants of St. John's parish in the east end of Glasgow around 1820 as part of the evangelical experiment there.[3] However, the evangelical social theology of the time placed emphasis on the improvement of religious and moral standards by the increased provision of church accommodation, Sunday and day schools, and by the use of parochial supervision, as means for improving domestic living habits and conditions. In short, increased religiosity was seen as the cure for slum housing rather than the reverse. In the 1840s, the work of Chadwick and the Health of Towns Association in trying to obtain legislation on housing and public health raised the possibility of philanthropic and state action to improve working-class housing. This led some radical evangelicals to regard housing reform as an "agency" of organised religion.

The earliest ministerial proponent of housing as a determining factor in the moral and religious condition of the people of Glasgow was a Congregationalist. The Rev. John Smith was Congregationalist minister of Ayr between 1841 and 1844, and came to Glasgow in the latter year to found, own and edit the _Glasgow Examiner_.[4] The _Examiner_ was a weekly newspaper purporting to represent Scottish evangelical dissent - Free Church, Secession, Relief and Congregational.[5] Smith wrote in earnest about social evils, and, in particular, about the condition of the working classes. He connected their plight in the slums to their political disenfranchisement. He pledged that the _Examiner_ would "boldly and perseveringly oppose class legislation, the bane of unhappiness in British society; it will contend for a more equitable distribution of electoral

power".[6] Between May and September 1845, the Examiner published a series of articles on the "Dwellings of the Poor in Glasgow" - articles later used as the basis of a book by Smith entitled The Grievances of the Working Classes.[7] Smith was appalled at the houses in the wynds of central Glasgow, in the Trongate, Saltmarket and Gallowgate. He drew particular attention to the insanitary conditions in the cheap lodging houses:

> "On inquiry, we find that in Glasgow from 5,000 to 10,000 persons are nightly accommodated in twopenny and threepenny lodging-houses.... a description of these houses is surely calculated to give no very high idea of human nature, and it reflects little credit, if we mistake not, either to the proprietors of these dwellings, or to the authorities that tolerate them." [8]

Smith was vehement in his attack on the magistrates and town council for their failure to demolish insanitary houses. Smith made a point of not concurring in the general contemporary trend for blaming lodging-house occupants for their own condition:

> "THE EXISTENCE OF SUCH HOUSES IS A REPROACH TO GLASGOW. We speak not of the inmates, but of the buildings. The authorities ought to have taken steps long ago to purchase these wynds, and to have levelled these wretched houses, and in their place erected others properly ventilated and watered." [9]

Smith welcomed the interest being aroused at national level by the Health of Towns Commission, but objected to the delays caused by campaigning for health legislation: "While Lords are talking, our people are dying through neglect." [10] He called upon the citizens of Glasgow to form building societies to tackle the housing problem. In 1846, Smith drew attention to a model lodging house that had been opened in Holburn in London, and

provided a rough budget for a similar venture which he thought could be undertaken in Glasgow.[11] Several of his suggestions for semi-philanthropic joint-stock companies were taken up in the city, but the Examiner later recorded the failure of a building society and the Sanitary Association of Glasgow.[12] The advent of the cholera epidemic of 1848 encouraged parliament to pass the Public Health Act for England and Wales. A similar act was not obtained for Scotland until 1867. Nonetheless, there was increased local activity in housing, sanitation and related fields in Glasgow as a result of the fever epidemic. Smith observed: "It was only when the visitation was deemed in our city ... that a finger was moved in the matter." [13] Smith was aware that attempts to improve sanitation in the closely-built "lands" or tenements of Glasgow would be futile: "Nothing short of a wholesale overhauling and clearance will effect the requisite sanitary measures."[14] The problem of re-housing, Smith felt, was not a major hurdle to the demolition of poor houses:

> "... the first step, we have stated till we are wearied with the statement, is the demolition of the nests which shelter them [the wynd dwellers]; and, as a consequence, they would be driven to the light of day, and many of them to habits of economy and industry." [15]

Smith was quite clear in his own mind that housing improvement was a prerequisite to religious improvement:

> "To give a man a comfortable dwelling and a clean face, is to start him on the path of intellectual and moral improvement." [16]

The Examiner, which, Smith claimed, had managers drawn from all the leading evangelical dissenting churches,

had a circulation of 2,200 in 1845, making it the fourth largest newspaper in Glasgow.[17] It was clearly not a paper that enjoyed the support of the civil and ecclesiastical establishments of the city. Smith delighted in attacking the municipal authorities on various issues. Smith suggested that some civic fathers "actually hold properties where the worst characters are sheltered", and others of having "induced the guardians of public health and morals to be silent" about insanitary and overcrowded houses.[18] Though claiming to represent "all the leading bodies of Dissent", the Examiner was not unknown to attack "the minister and Christian who make no endeavours to relieve such wretchedness" in the wynds.[19] In 1845, when the newly-formed Free Church was campaigning for funds to build church manses, the Examiner printed an article entitled "Manses v. The Dwellings of the Poor", which asked which of the two were more important: "How many of these manse-building clergy have come forward to plead the cause of the houseless and homeless poor?"[20] It was probably because of his sweeping attacks on the church establishments that Smith failed to attract substantial support for his campaigns.

Between 1857 and 1870, a group of prominent clergy in the Free Church campaigned for philanthropic, self-help and state action on housing. One member of the group was Robert Buchanan of Glasgow, who persuaded the Free Presbytery of Glasgow to set up a committee on housing in 1857. We have already considered some of his activities in the social-reform field; his particular contribution to municipal housing reform will be discussed in the next chapter. The two most prominent clergy in the groups were from Edinburgh - James Begg and W G Blaikie. In 1858, Begg, with the support of Buchanan, persuaded the general assembly of

the Free Church to form a Special Committee on the Housing of the Working Classes.[21] The Committee, with Begg as convener, was partly concerned with the bothy system of housing agricultural (and especially seasonal) workers in rural areas. However, Begg, like Buchanan, was particularly concerned with urban housing. Through the Committee's published reports, and through public campaigning, Begg advocated self-help housing associations for the working classes. Begg was himself deeply involved in the Edinburgh Co-operative Building Company. He was of the opinion that "the mass of working men can provide themselves with houses by their own savings". In so doing, "a great moral gain is secured, moreover, by the very struggle and self-denial necessary to secure such dwellings".[22] The Rev. W G Blaikie was generally of the same opinion. Blaikie published two major books on the subject - _Better Homes ..._ and _Better Days for Working People_. As the quotation at the head of this chapter suggests, Blaikie regarded improved housing as a prerequisite to the raising of moral and religious standards.

In 1865 and 1866, two prominent lay Free churchmen obtained slum-clearance legislation for Edinburgh and Glasgow. William Chambers and John Blackie, both publishers, guided the passing of city improvement acts for the two largest cities in Scotland. James Begg regarded these acts as achievements for the Church. Of the urban improvement schemes set in motion by these acts, Begg stated that "to the present Lord Provosts of Edinburgh and Glasgow the utmost credit is due for so powerfully calling public attention to this subject".[23] Begg was very pleased with the progress of state action on housing in 1866-7. Although he regarded some local improvement bills as

"rather doubtful", he was gratified to find so much interest being taken in the issue and that parliament was considering national legislation.[24] As a result, Begg recommended and obtained the discharge of his assembly committee on the ground that "public attention was thoroughly alive on the subject".[25] The slum-clearance scheme begun under the City Improvement (Glasgow) Act of 1866 was generally welcomed by the ministers of the Free Church. Robert Buchanan said in 1871: "I rejoice in the great work, which the authorities have taken in hand, of breaking up the denser quarters of our city." [26] He appreciated the change in public policy required to effect this type of housing improvement:

> " ... the laissez faire, or let alone, policy is ruinous.... To let the demand regulate the supply may do well enough in some things; but by no means in all.... To those who have sunk to the low level of a life spent amid the filth and darkness of many of our city's closes, even cleanliness and fresh air are so little appreciated, that the very sanitary regulations which are instituted on purpose to supply them, are looked upon as a grievance." [27]

For Free Church ministers, who were so concerned with the evangelisation of the city's working classes, the effect of poor housing on organised religion was becoming very clear by the late 1860s. James Johnston, minister of St. James' Free Church, wrote in 1870:

> "These thousands [of churchless] are living, I should say dying, in our cellars, and perishing on wretched garrets, and stifled in our crowded lodgings.... For them. the hundred spires of our City's Churches suggest no bright thoughts of heaven." [28]

However, Johnston observed in 1871 that slum-clearance had

adverse as well as beneficial effects:

> " ... in those parts of our City which have been pierced and opened up to the light and air of heaven by the 'City Improvements' and 'City Railway', in spite of the larger number of houses demolished, the number of persons living on the same area is as large as ever, which can only be by the subdivision of the remaining houses, or crowding more into one room." [29]

As we shall see in the next chapter, the municipal slum-clearance scheme in Glasgow came into some disrepute in the early 1870s, and was the target for abuse from the principal organ of the Free Church in the city, the North British Daily Mail.

The churches were generally wary of becoming involved in issues, such as housing, where there were clear political controversies yet little precedent for ecclesiastical intervention. Despite the activities of Begg, Buchanan and Blaikie, it cannot be said that the Free Church as a whole was particularly enthused with housing reform. Throughout the existence of the general assembly housing committee between 1858 and 1867, the Church had to be urged constantly to regard living conditions as bearing directly on the evangelical work of the Church. Begg pleaded to the assembly in 1858 that "the physical state of the population had a most important bearing on the morality of the people".[30] He believed, prematurely, that the Church had come round to this way of thinking. He told the assembly in 1864 "that the unfounded notion that the Church had nothing to do with such matters has been so far dispelled".[31] The issue was not merely whether churchmen should become involved in housing reform, but also whether the Church could legitimately claim to have a role to play in the matter. After reading his housing report to the assembly in 1864, Begg was taken to task by

none other than W G Blaikie for suggesting that the courts of the Church should consider housing problems. Blaikie accepted that the Church had something to do with social questions, but he wondered how much. He feared that "the Church might become secularised, occupying itself too much with secularities, to the danger of its own spiritual life". He felt that the Church's duty was "to generate the right spirit" on social questions, but that the details of reform should be discussed outwith the Church and its courts.[32]

As the next chapter will show, evangelical interest in housing and sanitary reform remained strong in Glasgow until about 1872-3. However, there was scarcely a mention of the subject in the courts of the Church in the next two decades. Interest in municipal and state intervention in social reform in general seems to have waned dramatically after 1870. The timing is significant. The Moody-Sankey revival of 1873-4 appears to have re-directed evangelical enthusiasm away from peripheral concerns towards the central task of evangelisation. Certainly, an attempt by the Established Church Presbytery of Glasgow in 1888 to create an interdenominational commission on the housing of the poor in the city, with representatives drawn from the Free and U.P. churches, failed completely.[33] However, it cannot be said that the evangelicals were ever unanimous in their support of active intervention in housing reform. The housing group in the Free Church was predominantly ministerial in composition, and, whilst generally approved of in the late 1850s and early 1860s, it never enjoyed significant support from the laity in the Church.

(c) Housing and the new social theology, 1880-1914

After the First World War, the housing problem in Glasgow was widely recognised as being one of the worst in Britain. The solution to the problem of insanitary and over-crowded tenements - the construction of council housing - was invoked in earnest after the passing of the Housing (Scotland) Act of 1919. Until the 1880s, the housing problem in Glasgow as in other British cities was seen largely as a question of insanitation. In the 1880s, political awareness of life in working-class homes was increased by, amongst other things, Andrew Mearns' Bitter Cry of Outcast London and a Royal Commission on Housing. In Glasgow, the housing question was brought to the attention of the public by a pamphlet entitled Life in one room published by the city's medical officer of health, J B Russell, in 1888. As an employee of the town council, he had evidently become dissatisfied with the slow progress being made in dealing with the housing problem through the slum-clearance scheme inaugerated in 1866. What was most striking was that Russell aired his disquiet to a church audience. The pamphlet was based on an address which Russell had delivered to the literary institute of Park Established Church in the west end of the city.[34] After recounting the statistics of the housing problem in the city, Russell stated that "the only hope for Glasgow lies in the Church, which alone has the hand endowed with virtue to convey healing to those social sores".[35] The new social theologians in the Glasgow Presbytery of the Established Church responded to Russell's plea with alacrity.

The Established Church presbyterial Commission on the Housing of the Poor in Relation to their Social Condition

was the most significant concerted attempt by a Scottish church to directly guide and instruct the civil authorites on social policy in the modern period. The Commission investigated housing in the same manner as a royal commission, calling evidence from witnesses with a wide variety of backgrounds - ranging from town councillors to Bruce Glasier of the Socialist League. Whilst the Presbytery readily recognised the duty of the Church "to care for the whole population, and to labour for their physical as well as their moral and spiritual well-being",[36] there was reluctance to take the unprecedented step proposed by the Presbytery's moderator. The Rev. Dr. F Lockhart Robertson proposed the establishment of a committee "to seek the counsel and co-operation of laymen of knowledge and experience ... for improving the dwellings and the social and moral habits of the people".[37] The Presbytery decided to refer the issue to the Church's general assembly, clearly because of the radical departure in ecclesiastical procedure. However, the assembly refused to consider the project, and Robertson persuaded the Presbytery in December 1888 to set up its own commission.[38]

The Commission was composed of eight ministers, including Robertson (chairman), Donald Macleod and John Marshall Lang, two former bailies and one former councillor of the city, three Church elders and a number of laymen. Amongst the laity were Sir John Cuthbertson (an Established Church member of the school board),a former medical officer of health for the city, a school inspector, an architect who specialised in designing churches, and William Smart of Glasgow University. Evidence was taken from twenty-two witnesses, including J B Russell, sanitary and poor inspectors, the former chairman of the town council's slum-clearance trust, the city assessor, the landlords' association,

the Charity Organisation Society, and valuators and councillors from other towns in central Scotland. The Commission's report was published along with the minutes of evidence and William Smart's study of the housing problem in London.[39]

The Commission's report, presented to the Established Church Presbytery of Glasgow on 1 April 1891, concluded that the housing situation for the working classes was better in Glasgow than in London. However, there was some criticism of the municipal slum-clearance scheme. In particular, the commissioners felt that any repetition of the scheme "would be a calamity to the poor" if it demolished or evacuated large numbers of slum houses.[40] The report suggested that a tax be imposed on landlords and speculators who held land near the city in expectation of selling it for high prices. The continued improvement of the city's housing, principally under the Glasgow Police Act of 1890, was approved for its beneficial effect of segregating the "decent and industrious poor" from the "dissolute, drunken, and criminal". For the latter group, the commissioners suggested the foundation of labour colonies in the countryside. As for the Church's role, Dr. Robertson guided the Commission to its conclusion that the Church's function was to "co-operate with the magistrates" in "improving the habits of the people as well as their dwellings,... /and/ to elevate their taste".[41] Some of the radical clergy in the Presbytery attacked Robertson for unneccessarily limiting the scope of the enquiry and, in particular, for avoiding the issue of "the grievousnesses of commercial speculation".[42]

There was some degree of divided opinion amongst the commissioners. There were notes of dissent appended to the report - the notes being concerned especially with the role of the municipal authorities. The commissioners, drawn from various backgrounds,

already had developed views on how to tackle the housing problem. Councillor, later Bailie, James Gray was a member of Glasgow town council, the Glasgow Presbytery of the Established Church, and a commissioner to the general assembly of the Church in 1881 and 1892 (representing the Presbytery) and in 1886 and 1894 (representing the City of Glasgow).[43] In 1888, Gray criticised the city's slum-clearance scheme for not re-housing the dispossessed, and advocated commercial philanthropy to form a "society for erecting houses for the poor, with a dividend of not more than 5%".[44] By the early 1900s, Gray was opposed to the sale of land cleared of slums to private developers, and advocated the construction of municipal, though unsubsidised, housing.[45] The architect, John Honeyman, sought to influence the Church on housing policy in two articles in 1885 and 1886.[46] He rejected the principle of subsidised housing, calling it "rate-aided philanthropy" and "an unfair, one-sided kind of socialism".[47] However, he was equally critical of the demolition-without-reconstruction policy which had de-housed thousands in the centre of Glasgow. He felt that the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1885, "though practically inoperative", had introduced the principle of subsidised housing, thus deterring the construction of philanthropic housing. This "incubus of injudicious State interference", he felt, drove the volunteer worker from the field.[48] Honeyman was the most prominent exponent of commercial philanthropy in Glasgow in the late nineteenth century, and it was natural that, as an Established churchmen, he should join the Presbytery Commission. He made a significant dissent from the Commission's proposal for tax on land.[49] In contrast, William Jolly, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of schools, was a strong critic of "bad landlords, who are one of the chief sources of the evils deplored" and an

advocate of municipal housing "without seeking any dividend ... or even at a loss".[50] Jolly was a senior figure in the Ruskin Society of Glasgow, and the meetings of the Society in the late 1880s and early 1890s provided the venue for forceful attacks on those who contributed to the housing problem in the city. At one meeting in 1888, a speech by Jolly, in which he criticised landlords, was followed by an impassioned address by Dr. Robert H Story, the Established Church Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Glasgow. Story said that he would like to "get them [slum landlords] by the neck - (applause) - to make them disgorge their infamous rents - rents stained with the blood of those innocents who died before the dawn". He was particularly concerned because some of those landlords were members "of the evangelical churches" and some of them "office-bearers of the highest orthodoxy".[51] If such comments had a basis of truth, it indicates perhaps why the Free and U.P. churches declined the invitation to join the housing Commission. In addition, the fact that interdenominational co-operation in mission work and church-planting was beginning around 1890 was part of the reason why the Prebytery report concluded that "landords are absolutely blameless" in causing overcrowded and insanitary housing conditions.[52]

There was a mixed response to the report of the Commission. In part, the Presbytery's initiative was regarded as having the unofficial blessing of the municipal authorities in Glasgow. Local newspapers followed the course of the Commission in great detail. However, there was some criticism. The Glasgow Herald observed that "the surprising thing is that it [housing] has not occupied the attention of the Church Courts long before now". Furthermore, the Herald stated that the clergy and members of the Church of Scotland, "instead of noting and trying to find a cure for the

social and sanitary defects that appear in their own proper territory, ... are fully occupied with seat-letting".[53] A correspondent to the newspaper noted the two and a half years the Commission sat: "The Presbytery have not been in a hurry - they do not suffer from poverty or bad housing."[54] He was of the opinion that the Commission "was simply appointed for the sake of appearances - in order that the fathers and brethren might pose as the Church of the poor."[55] Within the Church of Scotland, there was an acknowledgement that the Glasgow group of Christian socialists (who were the main proponents and supporters of the Commission) was taking a valuable if innovative step. More than anything, the Commission was important for underlining the growth in importance of the urban section of the Church. The Established Church had been dominated traditionally by the rural gentry, and, insofar as the Church was concerned with social policy, it had been the problems of rural society which had been of greater concern to the general assembly. As Dr. Lockhart observed in 1888, the committees of the general assembly had not been particularly concerned with urban social problems, because "the bulk of ... /their/ members were country parsons, who did not know one-tenth part of the conditions of the problem" in Glasgow and other cities.[56] The appointment of the Commission in 1888 increased the confidence and standing of the Glasgow Christian socialists. In 1889, the general assembly agreed to the appointment of a Commission on the Religious Condition of the People of Scotland. With John Marshall Lang as chairman, the assembly Commission collected a large quanitity of evidence from within and outwith the Church on the nature and extent of social problems in all areas of Scotland. There was a concentration on the problems of the cities, and Lang made use of the Presbytery

report to point out to the assembly that there was a higher correlation between non-church-going and poor housing in the cities than in the rural areas.[57] The assembly Commission's final report in 1896 sought to explain the declining influence of the churches in terms of social divisions. Perhaps most significantly, the report concluded that Christian work in missions and philanthropic enterprises was not meeting the needs of the cities because such operations "are a mob rather than a disciplined host".[58]

As already discussed,[59] housing appeared to be a relatively minor issue in the debates and discussions of the church-labour group between 1890 and 1914. In large part, the obvious and inevitable panacea for insufficient good-quality housing for the working classes was the construction of subsidised council housing. However, the issue was so controversial that the Christian socialists in the Church of Scotland seem to have avoided the topic. Nonetheless, Established clergy were concerned with the problem; David Watson, in particular, became a strong and open supporter of council housing after 1918. More generally, the Church in Glasgow sought to improve its religious work by instructing its clergy and divinity students in "the economic and moral causes of the degrading poverty which is one of the chief hindrances of [sic] the diffusion of true religion". Consequently, the Glasgow Presbytery requested that instruction be given on "the outlines of recent legislation affecting housing, sanitation, child-life, licensing, etc.".[60]

In 1902, the town council of Glasgow appointed a commission on housing in the city. The commission was established at the behest of William Smart. In addition to him, the commission included James Gray from the Presbytery Commission eleven years'

earlier. The commission was set up to investigate "the causes which lead to congested and insanitary areas and overcrowding" and to suggest remedies.[61] The Commission had no representative from the Church of Scotland. Its one ministerial member was the Rev. Robert Howie of St. Mary's United Free Church in Govan who, at that time, was moderator of the U.F. Church general assembly. It is tempting to conclude that the reason for his nomination to the Commission was the fact that the Lord Provost of the city at that time was a member of the U.F. Church. In any event, Howie was a prominent presbyterian minister in Scotland. He had written a large statistical volume on church-going in 1893, and he had been convener of the Free Church and United Free Church assemblies' committees on home missions and church extension. Perhaps it was reasonable for the town council to endow the housing commission with a token "chaplain". In any event, the inclusion of Howie created more problems than might have been expected. Howie was a leading defender of the evangelical approach to social-policy issues. He created hostility on the Commission by trying to monopolise the questioning of witnesses with queries and statements regarding the duties of ministers in pastoral work. In particular, Howie stated repeatedly that the major cause of all social problems was drunkenness.[62] In the end, the Commission's report, which recommended that the town council erect tenements for "respectable people of the poorest class", was left unsigned by Howie.[63] Two Catholic priests who gave evidence to the Commission were strongly opposed to house building by the town council; one of them, a senior member of the archdiocese, stated: "If we were absolutely sober there would be no housing problem."[64] Two U.F. Church ministers from congregations in working-class areas of the city did support council action on

housing, since, as one of them stated, it was the most practical means to achieve an overall "remuneration to the community of health, comfort, purity and wealth".[65]

Housing did not become a major element in the Christian-socialist platform before 1914. Nonetheless, it is clear that the members of the Christian-socialist group in the Established Church Presbytery of Glasgow were the successors to Begg, Blaikie and Buchanan of the Free Church. The evangelicals became engrossed with revivalist evangelisation after 1870, and became increasingly disinterested in the promotion of "secular" means of social reform and improvement. The growth of interest in the housing problem in the Church of Scotland was an element in the emergence of the Christian-socialist "social question" between 1880 and 1914. Whilst the Christian socialists achieved very little in the housing field, it is significant that the Church's intervention around 1890 was welcomed, or at least accepted, by professional social-reformers like J B Russell and by the municipal authorities. Furthermore, it was clear that many prominent ministers in the Church of Scotland felt that religious influence in social policy could no longer be sustained by the contribution of evangelical palliatives to slum housing and poverty. The social significance of religion was being "tested" on a number of fronts, but, as the Glasgow clergy of the Established Church indicated quite clearly, the greatest dangers were declining religious influence in social policy and advancing social-policy options promoted by professional social reformers and the labour movement. In the Presbytery Commission of 1888-91 and the assembly Commission of 1890-96, we can see an attempt by non-evangelical clergy to use housing reform as a religious agency. However, there was wide acknowledgement of failure in this design. In 1919, David Watson,

the leading figure in the church-labour group in Glasgow and a witness to the war-time Royal Commission on Housing in Scotland, wrote:

> "The Church confesses her helplessness, her inability to influence the slum-dwellers in their present surroundings." [66]

Both the attempt and the failure were signs of crisis for organised religion.

Notes to chapter 12

1. W G Blaikie, Better Days for Working People (1863, London), pp 68-9.
2. For a general history of working-class housing in Britain, see E Gauldie, Cruel Habitations: A history of working-class housing, 1780-1918 (1974, London).
3. W Fraser, Memoir of David Stow (1868, London), pp 29, 33.
4. H Escott, A History of Scottish Congregationalism (1960, Glasgow), p 341; S Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development, 1780-1870 (1960, Oxford), p 28; R M W Cowan, The Newspaper in Scotland (1946, Glasgow), p 146.
5. Glasgow Examiner, 6 April 1844.
6. Ibid..
7. J Smith, The Grievances of the Working Classes, and the Pauperism and Crime of Glasgow with their Causes, Extent and Remedies (1846, Glasgow).
8. Ibid., pp 9-10.
9. Ibid., p 11.
10. Glasgow Examiner, 3 August 1844.
11. Ibid., 24 May 1845 and 12 December 1846.
12. Ibid., 18 April 1846 and 1 April 1848.
13. Ibid., 28 October 1848.
14. Ibid., 25 November 1848.
15. Ibid., 19 December 1846.
16. Ibid..
17. R M W Cowan, op. cit., p 147.
18. J Smith, op. cit., pp 33-34; Glasgow Examiner, 2 August 1845.
19. Ibid., 6 April 1844; J Smith, op. cit., pp 21-22.
20. Glasgow Examiner, 12 July 1845.

21. P.G.A.F.C., 1858, p 53.

22. Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1864, Report of Committee on the Housing of the Working Classes, p 7.

23. Ibid., 1866, Report of Committee on the Housing of the Working Classes, p 2.

24. Ibid., 1867, Report of Committee on the Housing of the Working Classes, p 4.

25. P.G.A.F.C., 1867, p 485.

26. R Buchanan, The Spiritual Wants of the City ... (1871, Glasgow, proof copy), p 6.

27. Ibid., p 5.

28. J Johnston, Religious Destitution in Glasgow ... (1870, Glasgow), p 10.

29. J Johnston, The Rising Tide of Irreligion ... (1871, Glasgow), p 7.

30. P.G.A.F.C., 1858, p 237.

31. Reports to the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1864, Report of Committee on the Housing of the Working Classes, pp 5-6.

32. P.G.A.F.C., 1864, pp 324-5.

33. Glasgow Herald, 6 December 1888.

34. J B Russell, Life in One Room (1888, Glasgow).

35. Quoted in Glasgow Evening Times, 23 January 1890.

36. E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, 28 March 1888, S.R.O., CH2/171/12.

37. Ibid., 17 April 1888.

38. Ibid., 5 December 1888.

39. E.C.S.P.G., Report of the Commission on the Housing of the Poor in Relation to their Social Condition (1891, Glasgow),

40. Ibid., p 19.

41. Quoted in Glasgow Herald, 18 April 1888.
42. The Rev. Brownlie of Kelvinhaugh Established Church, Glasgow, quoted in ibid..
43. Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1881, 1886, 1892, 1894, Roll(s) of Members.
44. Quoted in Glasgow Herald, 6 December 1888.
45. Glasgow Municipal Commission on the Housing the Poor, vol 1, Minutes of Evidence (1903, Glasgow), pp iii, 48.
46. One of the articles appeared in a magazine opposed to the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, the Scottish Church, February 1886, and both were reprinted in J Honeyman, The Dwellings of the Poor. Remarks on the Report of the Royal Commission, 1885 ... (1890, Glasgow), apparently to coincide with the sittings of the Presbytery Commission.
47. Ibid., pp 3, 15.
48. Ibid., pp 3, 28, 29, 36.
49. E.C.S.P.G., op. cit., p 35.
50. Ibid., p 36.
51. Quoted in Glasgow Herald, 21 November and 6 December 1888.
52. E.C.S.P.G., op. cit., p 15.
53. Glasgow Herald, 19 April 1888.
54. Ibid., 16 April 1891.
55. Ibid..
56. Dr. F L Robertson, quoted in Glasgow Herald, 18 April 1888.
57. Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1892, Report of the Commission on the Religious Condition of the People, p 955.
58. Ibid., 1896, Final Report of the Commission on the Religious Condition of the People, p 807.
59. See above chapter 7.

60. E.C.S.P.G., MS minutes, 24 February 1904, S.R.O., CH2/171/14.

61. Glasgow Municipal Commission ..., vol 2, Report (1904, Glasgow), p 1.

62. Glasgow Municipal Commission ..., vol 1, Minutes of Evidence (1903, Glasgow), pp 27, 85, 125, 248.

63. Glasgow Municipal Commission ..., vol 2, Report (1904, Glasgow), p 24.

64. Glasgow Municipal Commission ..., vol1, Minutes of Evidence (1903, Glasgow), p 442.

65. Ibid., pp 570-580; see also ibid., pp 564-570.

66. D Watson, The Social Expression of Christianity (1919, London), p 48.

Chapter 13

Municipal government as religious agency, 1833 - 1914

"That the inhabitants in general as well as in particular the Commissioners of Police, the [kirk] Sessions of Established and Dissenting Churches, Masters of Factories and their foremen, Undertakers of Railroads and other persons employing large numbers of workmen and labourers be requested to co-operate with the constituted authorities in ... measures for restraining the vice of intemperance, for insuring the due observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest from ordinary labour or employment, for the advancement of moral and religious improvement, and thus promoting not only the peace and good order of Society but the best and highest interests of the people."

Resolution of Glasgow town council, 9 January 1840[1]

(a) Introduction

In previous chapters,[2] it has been shown that the town council was an integral part of the operation of the Established Church in Glasgow throughout the early modern period and the first fifty years of the industrial revolution. Until 1833, the town council assumed the responsibility for co-ordinating and financing the agencies of the Church of Scotland in the city. Innovations in religious agency, such as the introduction of parochially-organised poor relief in 1783, Sunday schools in 1787, church extension in the 1810s and the St. John's parish experiment in 1819, had required the approval and support of the municipal

authorities. Despite changes in social theology resulting from urban expansion and industrialisation, the town council remained, as it had been since the Reformation, the supervisory authority for Established Church operations in the city.

The situation was changing in the 1820s. We have already seen that the council was becoming reluctant to spend large sums of money on the maintenance of the church establishment whilst dissenting churches and Established Church chapels-of-ease were being built at a rapid rate and attracting worshippers away from the council-owned City Churches. The two major events of 1833 - the Evangelical takeover of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland and the reform of Glasgow town council into an authority elected by public vote - radically changed the role of town councillors in the implementation of presbyterian social policy. The emergence of the electoral power of Evangelicals and evangelical dissenters led to the circumscription of the council's supervisory role in religious affairs. However, the council's role as an agency of organised religion was not diminished. On the contrary, it increased. Its function changed from that of a co-ordinating overseer to that of a separate agency whose undertakings, many of them not seeming "religious" on the surface, were regarded by the churches as contributory parts in the evangelical response to expanding urban society. In turn, the town councillors regarded the churches and religious voluntary organisations as agencies supporting the proper functions and duties of the municipal authority. In part it may be said that the formalised municipal theocracy of the Established Church that had been set up at, and developed since, the Reformation, gave way in 1833 to an informal theocracy of evangelicalism in which the town council's contribution, like that of other evangelical agencies, was pragmatic rather than

co-ordinated or coherent.

The development of Glasgow town council's "evangelical role" after 1833 covered a number of areas or themes which were not always distinct. In this chapter, the investigation is divided into two sections: the emergence of council involvement in areas of "mainstream" evangelical interest (church extension, temperance and education), and evangelical influence on the progress of municipal intervention in social and civic improvement.

Recent studies of politics in Victorian Glasgow have employed a number of "labels" for political/social/religious groupings. The town council of the period 1833 to 1846 has been divided into Whigs and Tories, according to voting patterns on certain issues.[3] This division can prove misleading, for on many issues (such as the non-intrusion controversy and municipal improvement) the voting did not adhere to the political groupings. In another study, the town council of the period 1846 to 1886 has been divided into Whigs and Radical Dissenters.[4] The former have been characterised as erastian members of the Church of Scotland and the main proponents of public-funded civic improvement. The latter have been characterised as opposed to such reform. Both studies imply that presbyterian dissent was strongly opposed to municipal improvement schemes.[5] The evidence presented in this chapter paints a different picture. Because of the complexity of Glasgow's political factions, the present chapter refers only to the old (Tory) oligarchy of Moderates whose municipal authority was virtually destroyed at the reform of the council in 1833, and to the religious affiliations of the new council members.

(b) Glasgow town council and "mainstream" evangelical agencies: church extension, temperance and education.

The reformed and newly elected town council was sworn in on 7 November 1833. At the first meeting the next day, the evangelicals started immediately to dismantle the old oligarchy's control of the judicial, ecclesiastical and municipal life of the city. To the new evangelical majority, the members of the old oligarchy had thrived on sinecures and mutual generosity with public money. A committee was appointed to report on entertainments given by the city at the induction of ministers at the council-owned City Churches, at annual fairs, at sittings of the circuit court (the High Court) and other occasions. Another committee was appointed to investigate the salaries and duties of council office-bearers and employees.[6] In the following two months, the evangelicals imprinted their philosophy on council affairs by, _inter alia_, resigning the patronage of any new Established Church parishes that might be created in the city by the general assembly, and prohibiting the playing of military music on Sundays.[7] In large part, the principles of the dissenting "Voluntaryists" - the members of the Relief and Secession churches - became the basis of municipal government. Whilst the Evangelical councillors from the Established Church, newly in control in the general assembly, were not entirely enthused with the dissenters and the voluntary principle, they tended to associate with the dissenting councillors in opposing the old Moderate oligarchy which was still represented on the council. Thus, much of the early activities of the reformed council was connected with the reduction in the formal council intervention in religious affairs. However, the restriction of formal council involvement

was carried out with the acknowledgement that individual councillors were promoting, as private citizens, the development of evangelical agencies. Furthermore, those evangelical councillors invoked council intervention in fields where it was felt appropriate for statutory enforcement or encouragement of evangelical designs.

Despite its firm statement against any extension of church patronage or of public funding of church-building, the new council was far from being opposed to increasing church provision. In 1834, William Collins' church-planting society for the city was set up with promises from twelve men that each would contribute £200 for each of five years. The twelve were made up of Collins and David Stow, both Evangelicals closely associated with Thomas Chalmers' St. John's experiment of 1819-23, two M.P.s, one minister, and seven Evangelical (later Free Church) town councillors.[8] The councillors were Henry Paul, later a bailie of the city, Henry Dunlop, Lord Provost 1837-40 and the most prominent lay participant in a famous general assembly debacle in the non-intrusion controversy,[9] John Alston, a former Lord Provost, John Sommerville, Richard Kidston (father of William Kidston, the prominent teetotaller in the Free Church and Glasgow School Board), John Leadbetter (later a leading evangelical figure in the opposition to the running of Sunday trains[10]) and Hugh Tennant (of a brewing family). The voluntary scheme these men initiated in 1834 was designed to provide church places for the poor and to form new parishes under congregational (as opposed to municipal) control. The twelve subscribers started with a strong, though implied, attack on the ecclesiastical policy of the old council:

> "It is our settled conviction, that high seat rents have had a most adverse influence on the Christianity of the people, and have operated as a powerful check to their church-going

> habits .... the end of an Endowed or Established Church is to provide, at the expense of the wealthier classes, church accommodation and pastoral superintendance for those who cannot, or will not, provide it for themselves ..." [11]

They rejoiced in the prospect:

> " ... that the effect of building twenty new churches will be, to lay the city rulers under the necessity of lowering the seat rents of the present churches, in order to meet the competition." [12]

In effect, these councillors were working from outwith the council to force it to lower seat rents in the City Churches. They started to implement their policy in January 1834 by getting the council to instruct the seat rents committee to permit "the accommodation of the lower Ranks". In April, it was decided to keep between 20 and 30 seats in each of the ten churches reserved for the poor, and a lowering of seat rents to allow the poorer classes to attend was implemented in the same year.[13]

In part, the Evangelicals' move to provide church accommodation for the working classes and the poor seems to have been sincere. But this was only one part of a policy to undermine the council's patronage of the City Churches and, in general, to annoy the Moderates. Henry Dunlop, the leader of the non-intrusionist councillors, and William Bankier, leader of the dissenting councillors, united to turn council policy against the Moderates. The two men tried, unsuccessfully, to get the council to ask parliament for the repeal of the offending Patronage Act of 1712. Furthermore, they got the council to discuss the possibility of opening up the City Churches for anyone who wished to hire them - including for political meetings. This was clearly intended to annoy the City Ministers, and the Established Church Presbytery of Glasgow protested vehemently.[14] Whilst such a move was overstepping the

mark, and was opposed by Evangelical clergy as well as Moderate clergy, it was clear by 1835 that the council enjoyed the majority support of the Established Church in the city - as represented by the general session and the Presbytery. In February 1835, the general session asked the council to lower seat rents "with a view to the accommodation of the Poor classes", and the council also agreed to build a church for the Outer High Congregation which had met in the cathedral crypt since the Reformation.[15] However, the non-intrusionist members of the council could not count on the support of the dissenters for all plans of ecclesiastical change. The subscribers to the church-planting society failed to get the council to agree to donating the site of the old Wynd Church as the location for a society church for the working classes; instead, the council accepted an offer for it.[16] Similarly, a voluntary scheme to create a new small parish on the Broomielaw, a slum area beside the river Clyde, in which to carry out intensive parochial work amongst the working classes failed to obtain council approval.[17] The existing parish system came in for strong criticism from Established Church Evangelicals in the 1830s. One parochial church society stated in 1835:

> "It is to be lamented that, from the large size to which Parishes have grown, we cannot now observe the Parochial System working, nor be sensible of ourselves or our families receiving benefit from the machinery it should employ - a Church and Pastor, Elders and Deacons, Schools and Teachers, placed over a small manageable number of people."[18]

The council was unwilling to implement change. The dissenting councillors wished to see the state church completely abolished, the Evangelicals wished to abolish the patronage system and the Moderates supported the status quo. In the context of the non-intrusion controversy of 1834-43, none of the three groups could move freely

and, in any event, it was found to be impossible for the council to remove its legal obligation to support the parish churches of the city. Nonetheless, the non-intrusionist and dissenting councillors worked to undermine the financial viability of the "Ecclesiastical Department". The non-intrusionists were quite willing to "so far impair the city revenue from these churches" that they would become untenable.[19] In 1833, an assistant minister at one of the churches showed that the City Churches were making a profit for the city of £1,707 per annum.[20] However, the new churches built by Collins and his colleagues were attracting worshippers away from the council's churches by 1835. Many seats in the City Churches were unlet by that year, and the City Chamberlain was ordered to present annual accounts for the Ecclesiastical Department with a fixed 5 per cent depreciation rate on outlays. Henceforth, the accounts showed a deficit for most years.[21]

The council maintained its policy of low seat-renting in the City Churches up to and beyond the Disruption of May 1843.[22] The formation of the Free Church accelerated the process. The City Churches never recovered from the disaster of 1843. Seven of the council's ten ministers seceded, and most of the elders and the majority of the wealthier pew holders left.[23] In 1842-3, the year before the Disruption, only 41 per cent of seats were let; yet, the churches only made a loss of £400. In May 1843, about 3,000 pew holders left the City Churches leaving only 30 per cent of seats let. The situation was so bad by September of that year that the council decided to rent all unlet seats at half price.[24] Thus, the full extent of the secession was concealed by an influx of new worshippers attracted by the cheap prices. The dissenting and Evangelical councillors, the latter now members of the Free Church, brought forward a strong financial argument for cutting or

abolishing the Ecclesiastical Department. They tried to amalgamate St. David's and St. George's churches, where only 5 and 11 per cent of seats respectively were let in 1843-4, and to reduce ministers' stipends from £450 to £250 in all churches bar one.[25] This led the council into a mass of court cases in the mid 1840s.[26] The council dropped the defence of one case and lost all the other cases.[27] They established very clearly that town councils could not dispose of City Churches, nor reduce stipends. Glasgow town council was forced to remain in control of the City Churches until the end of the century. With Free and U.P. councillors dominating the council for most of the second half of the nineteenth century, the council was a reluctant patron of the Church of Scotland. In stark reflection of this, the council maintained ministers' stipends at £450 for fifty years - a period during which the stipends of other presbyterian charges rose appreciably.

Whilst the voluntary principle became paramount in the operation of church-extension schemes, and the town council withdrew from this type of project, municipal involvement in other agencies of evangelicalism grew. The temperance cause was one in which the magistrates, who were the senior members (the Lord Provost and bailies) of the council, and the police had easily identified roles to play. In the late 1830s and 1840s, Glasgow councillors became very concerned with the increase in alcoholic consumption, drink-related crimes, and the effect of drink on civil disorder. In the main, evangelical councillors were the leading proponents of stronger enforcement of the law, the passing of tougher by-laws, and council co-operation with the temperance movement.

The drink question first became a major issue in the council in 1838. In March of that year, the magistrates reported to

the council that there had been an alarming increase in the incidence of drunkenness and crimes arising from it. It was stated that two-thirds of the 7,000 cases brought before the circuit courts in the preceding year had arisen from intemperance. Figures presented for drink-related offences indicated an increase of 38,000 per cent since 1805.[28] William Bankier, the leading dissenter on the council, proposed that the entire council should join a temperance society "in a body".[29] A committee was appointed to consider measures to counteract Sabbath desecration (the principle crime arising from drink), and the Glasgow Total Abstinence Society made the first recorded appeal to the municipal authority for council action in support of the temperance cause.[30] After no action for a year, the temperance and Sabbatarian movements joined forces to press the council. The Established Church Presbytery of Glasgow and Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, both dominated by non-intrusionists, various voluntary organisations, groups of merchants, shopkeepers and householders requested that spirit shops and the cattle market (a scene of much debauchery) be closed on the Sabbath and that Sunday funerals be prohibited or regulated.[31] The council committee finally reported eighteen months after its establisment. Its recommendations set the aims for the temperance cause in the city for the next sixty years.

The report, its proposals approved and adopted by the full council,[32] was produced by thirteen councillors, mostly evangelical. They included Dunlop, Paul, Leadbetter, Kidston and Bankier. The report observed of drunkenness:

> " ... the vice is seen every hour, in almost every street; and many of its effects are forced on the notice of the observer in the emaciated and miserable condition of hundreds of a population remarkable not long ago for sobriety, decorum and

comfort."

The committee recommended that wages should cease to be paid on Saturday evenings, that all places of business be closed "at a reasonable hour" on Saturday nights to discourage late-night drinking, that public houses be closed at reasonable hours, that the number of "tippling" houses (which offered free food and other things as "temptations and inducements") should be related to the "number and description" of the population in each district, that magistrates be empowered to withhold licences after hearing objections (a procedure not permitted by parliamentary act until 1862), and that the churches and employers should support the council in its objectives. This was a significant early victory for the temperance movement in the city, and all the more surprising for the movement's isolation from the ecclesiastical and civic establishments of the time.

The council continued to follow the objectives set out in the report for the rest of the century. The council was ready to bow to pressure from the temperance movement and the churches on this issue. In 1845, the Rev. Robert Buchanan and his elders, deacons and Sunday-school teachers at the Free Tron Church asked the council to curb the drinks supply "to promote the moral and religious welfare of the Inhabitants of the Parish"; as a result, the magistrates were instructed to limit the number of licensed premises in the Tron parish.[33] However, the will of the council and the magistrates was apparently circumvented by the justices of the peace on the licensing appeal court. In evidence to the 1846 Select Committee on Public Houses in Scotland, the Sheriff's Substitute for Lanarkshire, Henry Glassford Bell, said that although Glasgow magistrates investigated all applicants for licences and were restricting the number of licence approvals, the appeal court was

overturning many decisions.[34] As a previous chapter noted,[35] a vital aspect of the struggle to implement temperance policies at local level was the reduction in the power of justices. The town council of Glasgow was at the forefront of this struggle, and exerted its own authority to the limit. After a rapid growth in the number of pleas for action on drink, the council responded eagerly to the temperance campaign of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union in 1850. The council was inundated with memorials and petitions (more than sixty in all) from various evangelical church organisations. The new council regulations, detailed in chapter 11, were the most advanced in the country, and formed the basis for the Forbes Mackenzie Act of 1853.[36] The principles of the temperance movement were recognised and adopted by the council for the remainder of the nineteenth century. In 1850, the council sacked a precentor at a City Church for being a spirit-seller. The council welcomed the passing of the Forbes Mackenzie Act, although it expressed some doubts as to the likelihood of enforcing the law in regard to off-licences.[37] Towards the end of the century, the council was a notable stronghold of teetotalism with many Lord Provosts being abstainers and leading figures in church temperance movements.[38] By the beginning of the twentieth century, the licensed trade regarded the magistrates and councillors of Glasgow as hostile to publicans. However ineffective the council and the magistrates may have been in restricting alcoholic consumption in the city, they, like the members of the school board, regarded the pursuit of temperance objectives as an inherent part of their official responsibilities.

By the 1860s, the education issue was clearly removed from the area of concern of the municipal authorities. Plans for the

national system envisaged the establishment of ad hoc local school boards. However, Glasgow town council like other burgh councils played a role in education through the maintenance of a High or grammar school. In addition, the council sought another role before 1860 in the establishment of an education system for the working classes and the poor of the city.

After an abortive attempt at setting up a parochial education system in the city in the late 1810s,[39] the town council did not again consider the issue until after the reform of local government in 1833. The evangelicals on the new council, and, in particular, the Seceder William Bankier, sought to apply evangelical principles to municipal education policy. For the evangelicals, the new council's education policy amounted to an element in the assault on the system of the old oligarchy. Principally, the evangelicals disliked the High School as a council-subsidised school for the children of the old city fathers. In 1834, some evangelical councillors made a move to end teaching appointments to the school:

> " ... as being an unwise and undue application of the money of the citizens to create a favoured monopoly ... mainly if not exclusively for the wealthier classes ..." [40]

This unsuccessful move was accompanied by evangelical attempts to instigate municipal intervention in the provision of education for the working classes, the poor and the delinquent. In the 1830s, the Society for Repressing Juvenile Delinquency in Glasgow was establish- by a group of evangelical councillors as a charity to erect houses of refuge for the care of young offenders. By 1840, voluntary contributions were insufficient to maintain the charity, and those councillors promoted a bill in parliament for the establishment of a Juvenile Delinquent Commission to manage the refuges. The bill was passed in 1841, and the Commission, composed of David Stow and his

non-intrusionist friend the Very Rev. Duncan Macfarlan, and a group of evangelical councillors including Hugh Tennant, James Lumsden, Robert Kidston and John Leadbetter, was enabled to enact a one-penny assessment and to accept offenders in lieu of fines or imprisonment. Also in 1841, the Evangelical Henry Dunlop, then Lord Provost, successfully urged the council to establish a house of industry.[41] The growth of the city and the need for educational reform led to many evangelical councillors supporting the setting up of a national system.[42] With trade depression worsening in the 1840s, the evangelical councillors turned initially to the establishment of public works as the principal method for relieving un- and underemployment. Dunlop and Bankier persuaded the council to contribute to a number of ad hoc public works schemes in 1842-3.[43] From 1843, however, educational improvement became seen as the most important long-term panacea for poverty and civil unrest. A number of minor schemes were started in 1843-4, including the establishment of a School of Design and the initiation of municipal lectures for the working classes.[44] However, the emergence of the Free and U.P. churches in 1843 and 1847 respectively gave encouragement to evangelical councillors to undertake a radical reform of the educational policy of the council.

In late 1844, a post became vacant at the High School and a determined move was made by Bankier to redirect municipal funds from the school to the education of the poor. The City Chamberlain was asked to establish the social class of parents who sent their children to the school.[45] Although he was unable (or unwilling) to accomplish this task, Bankier announced in February 1845 a plan for:

> " ... a scheme for educating a large number of the Young of our City of both sexes, who are growing up to maturity nearly as ignorant as the beasts that perish.... The education to

> consist of the acquiring the art of reading and writing the English Language with the common rules of arithmetic, and vocal music." [46]

The recently-appointed "City Statist" was ordered to conduct a survey of educational provisions in the city. Teachers were to make returns of the number of children taught. Whilst this operation was underway, there was an unsuccessful evangelical attempt to open the grammar school to middle- and working-class children. However, more municipal schools of industry were established.[47] After a year, the City Statist reported that very few teachers had complied with the council's request and that he was unable to carry out the task assigned him.[48] The council then turned to the Glasgow Sabbath School Union for a fresh survey to be undertaken.[49] The results of the enquiry were presented to the council in September 1846 and a thousand copies printed. The survey showed that 55 per cent of all children under 13 years of age in the city were not attending day schools. The council, believing that this "great ignorance" prevailed throughout Scotland, "thereby encreasing [sic] the number of Paupers and criminals", petitioned parliament for measures to give working-class children "a sound Scriptural education on principles that will not interfere with the religious opinions or prejudices of their parents or others interested".[50] The movement for the establishment of a national system of education, led principally by the U.P. and Free churches, and then in its early years, thus received the backing of the largest municipal authority in Scotland. In 1849, the council petitioned parliament:

> " ... to free the Parochial schools [of the Church of Scotland] from all Sectarian Restrictions, and to adapt their Constitution and Government to the present circumstances of the country." [51]

In this way, the town council abandoned a local initiative and

sought national recognition of the need to invoke evangelical solutions to the problems of the large towns. The evangelical control of the town council was clearly indicated by the agreement to send this petition by 26 votes to 8. In education as in other fields, the council decided to await the outcome of national social-reform campaigning rather than pursue expensive and controversial municipal projects.

After 1850, the town council regarded educational reform as being a national issue. The group of evangelical councillors, like the dissenting presbyterian churches generally, believed that the establishment of a national system was always imminent.[52] The council supported the Scottish Education Bill of 1856. However, it opposed, by a narrow majority, the Burgh Education Bill of the same year, stating that "there is no want of school accommodation in Glasgow".[53] The education system proposed by the latter bill did not meet evangelical expectations, and some evangelical councillors joined with Established Church councillors to defeat approval of the bill by twenty votes to sixteen. Other evangelical councillors advocated acceptance of the bill as an emergency measure to deal with the educational destitution in the city. In particular, the Free Church <u>North British Daily Mail</u> urged the council to undertake a city-wide education programme, backed by an education rate. The paper carried out its own survey to show that there was severe shortage of schools in the city.[54] The education issue was never likely to to be resolved by local initiatives after 1850. Discussions on educational reform were all concerned with using the Church of Scotland's parish-school system as the basis for a national system, and the dissenting churches were unwilling to accept anything short of a national system. Consequently, the town council continued to manage its High School until the passing of

the Education Act in 1872. The Act made special provisions for burgh schools, and the Glasgow council secured the transfer of its High School within months of the election of the first school board.[55]

The town council's interest in evangelical schemes, such as those for church extension, temperance and education, was closely connected with interest in other municipal schemes for social improvement. For example, the Glasgow City Mission asked the council in 1846 to take action against saloons, shows and "exhibitions" which had recently appeared in working-class communities in the city. A council committee had already noticed the phenomena, and felt that "the Shows, the saloons and the low lodging houses now so numerous and extensive in the City" had "a demoralizing effect" (in the sense of corrupting morals) on young people. Councillors responded in two ways. In the first place, the council instructed the Procurator Fiscal (the public prosecutor) to suppress these saloons and shows as part of the police campaign against intemperance.[56] In the second place, three leading evangelical figures in the city, James Lumsden, then Lord Provost, John Blackie, Lord Provost in 1863-66, and James Watson, Lord Provost in 1871-4, with the support of the Rev. Robert Buchanan of the Free Church, founded the first model lodging houses in the city. Slum property was bought and converted into model lodging houses in which strict sanitary and "moral" regulations were enforced.[57] These four men started an association that was to develop over the next twenty years into an important part of municipal social policy. In the short term, however, it showed how the town council and councillors responded to evangelical concern for moral degeneration by collectivist and philanthropic action.

(c) Evangelicals and schemes of municipal improvement.

The town council of Glasgow has been regarded rightly as one of the pioneers of public-funded municipal improvement schemes in the nineteenth century.[58] A number of significant "milestones" in municipal development in the city have been emphasised: the Loch Katrine water project, begun in 1854 and completed in the early 1860s, the City Improvement(Glasgow) Act of 1866 which initiated municipal slum clearance, and the municipalisation of the trams in 1894. The last project has been seen as heralding a short era of "municipal socialism" in Glasgow in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The municipal improvements of the third quarter of the nineteenth century have been compared, perhaps inevitably, to the so-called "civic gospel" of Joseph Chamberlain's Birmingham in the 1870s.[59] An historian has stated emphatically that "there was no one in Glasgow to proclaim the message of the civic gospel".[60] Whether or not the "civic gospel" is a valid or valuable concept, and whether or not it "existed" in Glasgow, the evangelical influence on the development of municipal schemes of civic improvement in mid-Victorian Glasgow has been largely neglected. This section sets out to show this influence, and to underline the way in which municipal social policy was predicated on evangelical principles and dependent on an inter-action between religious voluntary organisations and philanthropy on the one hand and municipal government on the other.

Within four months of the election of the reformed council in 1833, the Seceder William Bankier and the non-intrusionist Henry Dunlop sought to improve the state of the city's water supplies. The supply of the water to the city, using wells and gravitation systems, was in the hands of many private citizens, and was of

insufficient quantity and quality, particularly in the working-class areas of the city. Bankier was the last Provost of Calton, situated to the east of Glasgow and erected burgh of barony in 1817 and incorporated in Glasgow in 1846. As a councillor on both Calton and Glasgow councils, he used his influence in trying to obtain improvements in the conditions of life in the industrial slums of the east end. He struggled for twelve years as the convener of the Glasgow council's committee on wells and water to get illegally-closed and damaged wells reopened. He and Dunlop tried as early as 1834 to municipalise all of the city's water supplies. They tried again during the depression of the 1840s, adding as an enticement a proposal for the municipal takeover of the gas companies which were unpopular at that time for charging exorbitant prices. To their great disappointment, the council agreed to greater control and even municipalisation of gas but rejected the takeover of water supplies by sixteen votes to seven.[61]

The business of council meetings was transformed in the 1840s from discussion of church affairs, minor municipal enterprises and mundane matters into sustained debate on economic depression, the unemployed, poverty and the means for relieving these problems. An ad hoc Relief Fund Committee was in operation between 1837 and 1843 distributing money, food, clothes and work to the able-bodied unemployed who were not covered by the poor-relief system. In one year alone, between May 1842 and May 1843, over £11,000 was spent by the committee, over half of it on work projects.[62] The committee was reconstituted in January 1847 to give food and work to the impoverished immigrants arriving from famine-hit Ireland. The committee's activities were co-ordinated on a day-to-day basis by the Rev. Robert Buchanan and James Watson, and received financial and other support from the town council.[63] Throughout the 1840s,

the evangelicals led by Bankier and Dunlop pressed for new poor-law legislation. In the early 1840s, they sought a special poor law act for Glasgow to enable the distribution of relief to the able-bodied. The Poor Law Amendment (Scotland) Act of 1845 ended these efforts, but the council was still unhappy about poor relief in 1850. However, a court ruling in 1851 sunk the hopes of the evangelical councillors that the 1845 Act could be used to provide relief to the able-bodied poor.[64] In this way, the council held in abeyance plans for local initiatives when the prospect of national legislation arose. Once obtained, the national legislation proved unsatisfactory.

This chain of events was repeated by Glasgow town council in other spheres of social action. The previous section showed how Bankier's plan in 1846-8 for a burgh education scheme was overtaken by the emergence of the movement for national education; in the event, the public-school system was not established until 1873. A similar process occurred with sanitary improvement. In 1839-40, the council was preparing an improvement bill at the instigation of Councillor James Campbell, a staunch adherent to the Moderate faction in the Established Church but, nonetheless, a promoter of social reform and certain evangelical agencies. At that time, the evangelical group on the town council was temporarily split by a fierce argument between Bankier and Dunlop concerning the latter's prominent part in the 1839 Established Church general assembly commission which barred the Moderate clergy and elders of Strathbogie Presbytery from the Church. The non-intrusion controversy, of which the Strathbogie case became a celebrated part, was dominating council affairs in 1839-40. As in Edinburgh town council, the result was not a Moderate-Evangelical split but a split between non-intrusionist Evangelicals of the Church of Scotland and the

presbyterian dissenters.[65] The net result of the complicated religious feuding was, ironically, the nomination of the Moderate Campbell as a compromise Lord Provost acceptable to both camps of evangelicals. Campbell received the unanimous support of the council,[66] and the prospects for Campbell's own project looked good. A committee was drawing up plans for the improvement bill. Within six months, however, news of the establishment of Edwin Chadwick's inquiry into the sanitary condition of the labouring population brought the local initiative to a halt. The council petitioned for Scotland to be included in Chadwick's inquiry.[67] This request was officially denied, and there is some evidence to suggest that Glasgow council resumed its plans for a local bill - this time in the form of a Police Bill in 1842. This bill sought powers, inter alia, to establish a local board of health in the city, to lay main drains, to improve the removal of nuisances from public and private places, to restrict the licensing of public houses to magistrates, and to prohibit the Sunday opening of public houses.[68] However, Chadwick on his own authority extended the inquiry to include Scotland; indeed, the conditions in Glasgow featured prominently in the report.[69] It is clear that Glasgow town council not only supported Chadwick's health of towns campaign in the mid-1840s, but was awaiting the passing of permissive sanitary legislation. In 1845, when Lord Lincoln's sanitary bill failed, Chadwick despaired of parliamentary action and founded the philanthropic Towns Improvement Company. Glasgow councillors and other prominent citizens, urged on by the Rev. John Smith at the Glasgow Examiner, copied Chadwick. At least seven slum-clearance companies, one building society, a Sanitary Benevolent Society and one model-lodging-house society were created in Glasgow between May and September 1845. The seven improvement companies divided the

slum areas of the city between them, each being responsible for driving streets through the worst property. The largest of the companies was the Glasgow Eastern Improvement Company, whose board of directors was composed almost entirely of leading evangelical councillors. As with Chadwick's company, however, the Glasgow ventures collapsed. The Glasgow Eastern folded in March 1846 with the town council assuming its debts. The other companies and the building society closed in March and April with nothing achieved.[70] These slum-clearance schemes came during a lull in the parliamentary struggle for health legislation. In 1847, Chadwick, in the view of one of his biographers, became a national hero, and agitation for legislation reached a new peak. When the cholera epidemic of 1848 finally spurred parliament to pass the Public Health Act, Scotland was excluded from the long-awaited legislation.[71] Not only had the town council of Glasgow waited forlornly for national action, but municipal social policy had been specifically brought in line with Chadwick's social-reform strategy. The result was that municipal improvement policy was left in tatters in 1848. As John Smith of the <u>Examiner</u> observed:

> "Seriously it is to be lamented, that after so many persons of influence took an interest in the formation of an [Glasgow Health of Towns'] association, it has been allowed to slip out of sight, and almost out of mind, without making an attempt at improving the state of the city." [72]

The sanitary movement's failure to achieve any success for Scottish cities in 1848 forced the municipal authorities in Glasgow to adopt a pragmatic and diverse approach to civic improvement. The cholera epidemic of 1848, which had led to the Public Health Act for England and Wales, together with the riots during the Spring of that year, gave rise to a number of council projects..

One important area of improvement that emerged directly from the contemporary and erroneous theory of "miasma" transmission of cholera was the provision of public parks. Until 1850, the only major public park in the city was the Green which had been formed piecemeal since 1450. William Bankier and other evangelicals were particularly concerned that the citizens should have access to "purifying"air. At the instigation of the evangelical councillors, the council agreed to rescue the city's Botanic Gardens (a private venture) from insolvency by donating £8,000 on condition that the working classes were admitted for a penny each on at least two days of the week. In 1851, Bankier persuaded the council to spend £10,000 creating a public park at Kelvingrove in the west end of the city. Once underway, the council agreed in principle to the creation of two other parks for the north and south of the city. When the West End Park (now called Kelvingrove Park) was opened in 1853, it was due to the persistent efforts of Bankier that the working classes were allowed free entry on certain days of the week. Indeed, Bankier challenged the need for charges at all, but the council was at this juncture unwilling to subsidise the ventures. However, when the Queen's Park was opened in 1859, an assessment was raised to finance the rapidly-expanding parks department.[73]

Such projects depended for their success on the willingness of the ratepayers to pay for them.[74] The largest and most prestigious of Glasgow's schemes in the mid-Victorian period, the Loch Katrine water project, almost collapsed because of a ratepayers' revolt against the assessment. Bankier and Dunlop had failed to municipalise water in 1846, but the cholera epidemic of 1848 produced great urgency for this improvement. It was suggested by evangelical councillors that the city required a large

amount of unpolluted and salt-free water from a Highland loch. Lord Provost James Anderson, a leading light in the 1845 slum-clearance companies and, like Bankier, a member of the Secession (later U.P.) Church, devoted much of his three-year term of office between 1848 and 1851 to negotiating a takeover of the city's two water companies. However, the council water committee could not agree on a price because of dispute as to the capabilities of the companies' pipes. It was not until the fever reappeared in the city in 1853, killing 3,885 people, that the next Lord Provost was able to engineer the passage of the city's water bill, against severe opposition, through the council. The project to pipe water from Loch Katrine began in 1854 under the direction of J F Bateman, the engineer of the successful Machester water works. Throughout the remainder of the 1850s, the project was constantly in danger of being abandoned because of an increasing water rate and no water. Each successive Lord Provost struggled to keep the project going.[75] Although the system did not become fully operational until 1862, Queen Victoria was obtained at short notice to open the sluice gates at Katrine in 1859 as a propaganda exercise to quieten the growing ratepayers' revolt. In 1858, 1859 and 1861, improvement projects on sewage disposal and slum clearance had to be shelved because of electoral opposition. The Lord Provost told the council im 1858:

> "It was a great pity to have the Corporation in such a state that the public were not disposed to lend them what they wanted." [76]

When the clean water did finally appear in city taps, it was generally regarded as "one of the greatest events in the history of Glasgow".[77] It was the first major success of the collectivist approach to municipal improvement, and attracted the approbation of the city's

evangelicals.[78] The Rev. Robert Buchanan, a prominent advocate of municipal improvement, used the success of the scheme to eulogise on the benefit of combining municipal and religious improvement. Making the "proposal" (the teetotal equivalent of the toast) to the "Moral, Religious and Social Improvement of the People" at the banquet celebrating the opening of the water works, Buchanan said of Katrine:

> "The very conception was magnificent, and its successful execution is one of the not least illustrious achievements of our age.... At least there can be no doubt that filth is a great enemy and hindrance to godliness. To live in it, is almost inevitably to lose that self-respect which lies at the bottom of all moral and social progress."

The stream of water from Loch Katrine, he went on, had to be augmented by another stream:

> "The stream of which I speak is the gospel. Let that living water be made to circulate through all the dwellings of the city.... In regard to all wise and well-directed efforts for the amelioration of those physical evils which abound in this city, I have nothing else to say but this, and I say it with all my heart, 'These things ought ye to do.' If they have not been done before, do them vigourously now; and therefore I say, my Lord Provost, God-speed to your new Police Bill, with its sanitary improvements ..." [79]

With the evangelical _imprimatur_ added to the royal one, the water project was brought to a successful conclusion.

There was considerable evangelical support for municipal improvement of slum housing. In the late 1840s and 1850s, three evangelical newspapers in Glasgow, the _Glasgow Examiner_, the _Scottish Guardian_ and, especially, the _North British Daily Mail_, all urged the council to undertake slum-clearance schemes. George Troup, editor of the _Mail_, was a member of Robert Buchanan's Free Tron

Church, and was influenced by him to write many articles on the need for municipal action on housing.[80] When the town council started to consider the question in 1858, Buchanan persuaded the Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow to set up a housing committee, with him as convener, to support the council. By clear implication, Buchanan and the Presbytery were challenging the ratepayers' revolt.[81] However, with the failure of the improvement plans of 1858-9 and 1861, at least one evangelical was becoming puzzled by the apparent lack of action.[82] Furthermore, Buchanan said little on the matter during the early and mid 1860s. What was not public knowledge at the time was that a major covert slum-clearance project, inspired by Buchanan and his work in evangelisation in the 1850s and put into operation in 1861 by a group of town councillors and industrialists, was started when the scheme of 1861 failed.

Robert Buchanan, minister of the Free Tron Church and widely regarded as the leading evangelical clergyman in Glasgow in the mid-Victorian period, provided the inspiration for the slum-clearance project. His pioneering work at the Wynd Mission attracted the interest of his friend and collaborator on the 1840s' relief committee, stockbroker James Watson. Although a member of the Church of Scotland, Watson was an evangelical who had decided not to join the Free Church. Between 1850 and 1854, Watson befriended a lay missionary at the Wynd Mission, James Hogg, who was employed by Buchanan to work amongst the slum dwellers.[83] With his experience of the Wynds, Hogg came to the conclusion that the only method by which the slums could be transformed was by a long-term programme of discreet purchasing of tenements, thus preventing property prices from soaring, followed by demolition. Hogg told Watson of the idea, and the latter was apparently impressed.[84] There seemed little need for action of this sort whilst the council was seeking a

a slum-clearance bill in the late 1850s. However, with ratepayers' petitions being presented to the council in 1858-61 opposing any bill,[85] Watson implemented Hogg's idea.

In 1860, Watson told the Social Science Association of the need for slum-clearance work:

> "It appears to us that the only radical cure for such evils is to sweep away these old buildings; to form commodious thoroughfares and to erect buildings with proper conveniences and comforts in room of the old." [86]

In 1861, Watson brought together seven like-minded philanthropists, whom the Mail later called the "Philanthropic Company", to buy up slum property, demolish it, and build "model" housing.[87] Two of the group, Watson and John Blackie, already had experience of this type of work through their model-lodging-house venture of the late 1840s. Over the period 1861-66, a further fourteen men joined the group. The twenty-two men included six consecutive past, present and future Lord Provosts of Glasgow and two M.P.s. The majority of the group were successful businessmen or industrialists, including two publishers, three merchants and two members of the Coats textile family of Paisley. The group was interdenominational, most of the members being elders in the Established, Free or U.P. churches. The most important figures in the running of the group were Watson and Blackie, both town councillors and future Lord Provosts. Blackie was an elder in the Free Church, a member of the Blackie publishing family, founder of the Scottish Guardian, a director of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union, and publisher to Robert Buchanan.

The original seven members of the group subscribed to a deed of copartnery, promising £1,300 each towards the purchase of the Tontine close, a slum block beside the Tron in central Glasgow. The work and the financial commitments were later extended to enable

purchase of property in all the major slum areas of the city centre - in the Trongate, Saltmarket, Gallowgate and High Street. The original agreement stated that the intention was to demolish the property by street widening, and to erect improved houses for the working classes. The signatories were to buy property as individuals or groups of individuals, and they agreed not to sell their holdings until Whitsunday 1866. The agreement was recorded in the Public Registers, but, apart from a brief reference to it by Watson in 1865, it was not otherwise publicised before 1872. Between 1861 and 1866, at least thirty-three properties (a "property" varying in size from a single tenement to a group of tenements) were bought by the group under the guidance of a three-man acting committee headed by Watson. Upwards of £60,000 was spent through loans arranged with the Clydesdale Bank. Attempts were made to maintain a code of sanitary and moral conduct amongst the tenants of the properties, and some people were evicted and a few buildings left derelict. There appears to have been no demolition of houses, and there was certainly no erection of new housing. By 1865, the Watson group must have been one of the largest slum landlords in Glasgow. Whether or not the group intended to make a profit out of the enterprise is unclear, but the original deed of copartnery was interpreted by later detractors as pointing to an expectation of profit. At least one other prominent citizen, Councillor William Miller, was also buying slum property with philanthropic intent, though he did not keep his operation secret and had to pay three or four times above the normal property prices.[88] With interest on loans mounting, the Watson group and Miller were under some financial pressure by 1865. It must have been becoming clear to them that their undertakings could not be completed on private capital alone without selling the property back to "landlords, and sharks in the

shape of accountants and house factors".[89] The only alternative - and this might have been the original intention of Watson and Blackie - was to wait for the ratepayers to become more receptive to an improvement scheme and to turn their enterprise over to the council.

Several members of the group were on the council during the years 1863-66. One of them, Blackie, was Lord Provost during that period. In addition, there were a group of councillors who had tried to obtain an improvement bill in the 1850s and who had since turned their efforts into extending sanitary regulations. This group was led by John Ure, convener of the nuisances removal committee. Despite the strength of social reformers on the council, there was no mention of slum clearance at council meetings or municipal elections between 1863 and 1865. In the latter year, one development changed the situation. Despite radical and oppressive sanitary regulations introduced by Ure and his committee since 1858, fever returned to the city in August and September. With the ratepayers becoming atuned to the need for radical municipal improvement, and with the deadline for the Watson group approaching, John Blackie led the campaign to municipalise the slum-clearance scheme.

At a meeting of the council in early September 1865, Blackie first broached the subject of a City Improvement Bill. He wished the council to take advantage of the railway constructions then proceeding in the city by making "improvements in the streets and removing certain hotbeds of fever".[90] In a soft, hesitant voice, Blackie outlined his plan for the purchase and demolition of slum property in the city centre. He must have been aware that he, Bailie James Watson and other members of the council were about to break the law, for the bulk of the property designated was held by the Watson group yet no "declaration of interests" was made.

However, the council, the press and the public warmly received the proposal to make the city "free altogether of attacks of epidemic disease". Blackie and his colleagues were well prepared. They had details of the properties, plans and financial estimates available within three weeks.[91] In another two weeks, the council approved the schedules to the Bill, and accepted, with some misgivings, Blackie's suggestion for a 6d. rate for five years followed by a 3d. rate for three to five years. The entire Bill was approved, with only one minor amendment, by one meeting of the council.[92] From first suggestion to approval of the draft Bill took the council only fifteen weeks.

The proposal was effectively "cut and dried" before it reached council. Blackie and Watson opposed all amendments to the proposal, even those suggesting greater powers. At the same time, Blackie encouraged the council to undertake other schemes. Experiments by J F Bateman and a chemistry professor at Glasgow University between 1853 and 1859 on the disposal of the city's sewage had come to nought. In 1864, Blackie persuaded the council to resume its interest, and he and the newly-appointed medical officer of health for the city toured London, Paris and other major European cities collecting information. When the Improvement Bill was well under way in 1866, Blackie used the new enthusiasm for reform to re-employ chemists and engineers to tackle the problem. This led directly to the closing-in of the city's open sewers and to the formation of a large Sanitary Department.[93] Blackie worked tirelessly both on and off the council during his term as senior magistrate, producing reports on possible solutions to sanitary problems and travelling extensively to see engineers and other city councils - all at his own expense. The City Improvement (Glasgow) Act received the royal assent in 1866. Under its terms, the town council acted as an

Improvement Trust for the city for the purposes of purchase and demolition of slum property. It was also permitted to build new houses. The 6d. rate was levied, and in the municipal elections of November 1867 Blackie lost his council seat to an "economist" candidate. It seems that Blackie was punished in one ward of the city by a ratepayers' revolt. Despite the loss of Blackie, the project was not endangered. All six Lord Provosts of the city between 1860 and 1874 were members of the Watson group, thus ensuring the continuation of the scheme.

The visitations of fever in 1865, 1866 and 1869, and the initiation of municipal slum-clearance, led to a short period of intense evangelical enthusiasm for combined municipal and religious action on sanitary reform. A large-scale scheme of co-operation between evangelical volunteers on the one hand and the town council and its sanitary and police departments on the other was instituted between 1866 and 1869. At the instigation of William Gairdner, the first medical officer of the city, and his deputy J B Russell, later medical officer and the inspirer of the Presbytery Housing Commission of 1889-91, members of the presbyterian churches in the city were formed into parish groups in 1866 to undertake house-to-house visitation of the entire city, providing the working classes with advice on measures for improving domestic hygiene and sanitation. The groups were promoted and led by parish ministers, such as John Marshall Lang, and were centrally organised under the Sanitary Visitation Committee formed by the Glasgow Sanitary Benevolent Association. This association, like its predecessor of the 1840s, had quasi-official status. John Ure and Lord Provost William Rae Arthur (a member of the Watson group) were the official council representatives on the Visitation Committee. The groups were clearly based on parish evangelising schemes, and they appear to have

been very active. The groups broke up in 1867 and 1868, but were reformed in March 1869 after fever had caused a large number of deaths.[94]

Between 1869 and 1872, Glasgow evangelicals urged the council to expand its social-reform schemes. The North British Daily Mail published a long series of articles in 1869-70 on various aspects of social reform (including social "evils" such as the truck system and the conditions in lunatic asylums), but they concentrated on comparisons of the sanitary conditions in Glasgow and other cities. With "civic pride" seemingly at stake, the Mail was very critical of the Improvement's Trust's failure to actually demolish the slums it had purchased. It urged the council to adopt improvements more radical than the one block of "model" flats for the very poor that had been opened in an old cotton factory; in any event, these flats were clearly far from being "models", having poor sanitation and water supplies, few windows and no gas lighting. The paper made scathing criticism of the "ludicrously inadequate" designs so far drawn up for further improvement schemes, and attacked the "daub with whitewash and slop with water" policy of some councillors.[95] Speaking for the council and for James Watson in particular, the Glasgow Herald replied by describing the "model" flats as a great success, and published a letter from a medical inspector in Whitehall (who had been brought to Glasgow by the council) which spoke of the Trust's efforts very highly.[96] The outcome of the Mail's agitation was a packed evangelical meeting in the City Hall in March 1870 at which general agreement was reached that the council should adopt more radical improvement schemes for the slums, and that the collectivist role of the council was too small and should be increased. Several prominent evangelical ministers spoke of the need for the Christian community to bear the expense of municipal social reform.[97] In the

next two years, there was considerable evangelical activity concerned with religious and municipal action for improving the physical conditions of the working classes. Many clergy produced pamphlets employing figures on mortality rates and related data. Robert Buchanan rose to the defence of the Improvement Trust he had played a part in bringing about.[98] A pamphlet by another Free Church minister resulted in interdenominational meetings of presbyterian office-bearers in the city. One of these meetings, chaired by John Blackie, considered ways in which the churches could assist in the sanitary reform of the city. As a result of the meeting, an Association for Promoting the Religious and Social Improvement of the City was formed in 1871. The other meetings resulted in the formation in the same year of Free Church and U.P. Church elders' organisations which sought to increase church-building and evangelising schemes.[99] Many new evangelical societies were formed in the early 1870s, and the Free and U.P. church presbyteries increased their interest in housing, sanitation and population growth in the city. Both presbyteries asked, for the first time, that the collection of statistical information on mortality rates and housing conditions should be improved.[100] The interest of the evangelical churches had been aroused, and they sought to maintain their influence in social-policy formation.

Evangelical enthusiasm for social reform was strong in Glasgow in the early 1870s. The national education system was established in 1872, and was regarded as a victory for the Free and U.P. churches. Housing and sanitary reform was never more popular amongst Glasgow evangelicals that between 1866 and 1872. Evangelical activities in general were showing signs of increased growth, and the emergence of new church-building schemes owed a great deal to the consensus in favour of tackling the physical problems of the working-class slums. By 1874, however, evangelicals' enthusiasm had

been channelled into "mainstream" methods of social reform. One contributory factor to this development was the "revelation" in the evangelical North British Daily Mail that the municipal slum-clearance scheme had involved corruption on the part of a group of prominent citizens. In October 1872, the Mail published details of the Watson group and its activities during the 1860s. The Mail provided the names of the group members, the text of the original copartnery agreement, the amounts of property and money involved, a list of the properties and their Watson-group owners, and details of the payments received by these men when the City Improvement Trust started operations. The paper accused Watson, Lord Provost at the time of the revelations in 1872, and Blackie of illegally using their position on the town council to buy property from themselves at what the Mail calculated were profitable prices.[101] Watson admitted his part in the operation, but strenuously denied that the members of the group had made any profits or that there had been corruption. He told the town council on the day the Mail published its allegations:

> "All the labour and money we spent was spent in the service of the public, and spent with the greatest goodwill, for the purpose of improving that district, and improving generally the sanitary condition of the city."[102]

The Glasgow Herald, acting as the mouthpiece for the Watson group, printed balance sheets and statements from various people involved in the affair showing that no profits had been made. The Mail could not produce more authoritative information than this, and was sued in the Court of Session for £2,000. The paper later made a retraction and paid damages.[103] Whether or not these allegations were true, the controversy and the references to "Tammany Hall" seriously affected evangelicals' views on municipal administration and, in particular, collectivist social action.

More generally, evangelical support for municipal improvement schemes was weakened by the advent of religious revivalism in 1873-4. The revival of Moody and Sankey increased the evangelical churches' sense of their own importance in social reform, and decreased their interest in "secular" means of reform. As earlier parts of this study have shown, the churches became preoccupied with religious conversion and total abstinence as means for the reform of society.

This reversal, almost, in evangelical social theology gravely affected the interaction between religious and municipal social action. Municipal schemes for the improvement of the city did not progress substantially between 1875 and 1890. The City Improvement Trust did not demolish many slums after 1877 because of a prolonged depression in the property market (which made it difficult for the Trust to sell land). By 1888, the Trust was the largest slum landlord in the city, and it had made no attempt after 1877 to provide model housing.[104] No further schemes of evangelical co-operation with the local authority in "secular" reform took place. Evangelicals did seek and gain council support for the advancement of the aims of the temperance movement. In this respect, the council provided "moral-force" backing to the "moral-suasion" policies of the evangelicals. However, the greatest religious influence on collectivist social action after 1885 was exerted by the group of Christian-socialist clergy in the Established Church Presbytery of Glasgow. After the Improvement Trust constructed two blocks of model housing as an experiment in 1886, J B Russell made his appeal for extensive municipal action. The Church of Scotland presbyterial investigation of housing in 1889-91, which resulted from Russell's appeal, gave rise to extensive discussion of the success of the Trust and the justifiableness of subsidised council housing. The idea of reviving the type of philanthropic action undertaken by the

Watson group was floated, and the Glasgow Social Union, with strong ministerial support from David Watson and other members of the church-labour group, initiated the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company which built some 600 houses in the mid- and late-1890s.[105] The council responded by accelerating its house-building programme, and had opened 1,184 houses (mostly for the artisan classes) and 171 business premises by 1899.[106] More generally, the influence of William Smart gave rise to strong Established Church support for municipal socialism between 1890 and 1914. The municipal ideal of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries developed from the evangelical-municipal activities of the mid-Victorian period. Certain minor figures in the sanitary visitation scheme of the late 1860s, for instance, included ministers such as J M Lang and Donald Macleod and professional social reformers such as J B Russell who were to become prominent in the church-labour group and its activities in the 1890s. However, the mid-Victorian evangelical movement in favour of collectivist reform, led by Free Church minister Robert Buchanan, was quite different from the Christian-socialist movement of the 1890s, led by Lang, Macleod and David Watson. The first developed from evangelicals' self-confidence in the ability of evangelical organisations to mould urban society in their (evangelicals') own image. The second was a last, almost despairing, attempt - generally opposed by dissenting evangelicals - to revive the powers of organised religion in social action and social prophecy. In short, the post-Moody evangelical approach to social reform dangerously (for organised religion) left no room for collectivist solutions to social ills.

(c) Conclusion

This chapter has sought to illustrate the rise and fall of

Victorian municipal government's role as an agency of evangelicalism. The inter-action between religious organisations and the town council of Glasgow was ad hoc and pragmatic. Nonetheless, it is clear from the diversity of types of evangelical-municipal co-operation in the early- and mid-Victorian periods that there was a perceived affinity of interests between evangelical religion and local government. The "advancement of moral and religion improvement" and the promotion of "the peace and good order of Society" were the joint aims of both the town council and the churches. Municipal government and many of its undertakings helped to serve the interests of organised religion. In turn, the town council, being composed of many senior laymen from the evangelical churches, regarded the churches and religious voluntary organisations as aids to good government. Thus, for example, the evangelical responses to the cholera and riots of 1848 included the opening of Sunday schools, young men's societies and mission halls alongside the council's responses of improved water supplies, the formation of new parks and support for a national system of education. In the end, however, the emergence of revivalist evangelicalism shifted the emphasis of religious social improvement away from a balanced treatment of spiritual destitution and "environmental" aspects of social problems towards the encouragement of the individual's conversion to Christianity. With the expansion of urban government and the extension of state intervention in social policy in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the precise areas of common interest to churches and local government became more blurred and the opportunities for co-operation less apparent.

Notes to chapter 13

1. Motion given in Glasgow town council, MS minutes, S.R.A. (hereafter G.T.C. minutes), 19 September 1839, c1.1.62.
2. See above chapters 3 (c) and 5 (b) and (c).
3. D A Teviotdale, "Glasgow Parliamentary Constituency, 1832-46", B.Litt. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1963, pp 57-61.
4. I G C Hutchison, "Politics and society in mid-Victorian Glasgow, 1846-86", Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1973, p 156 and passim.
5. For instance, see ibid., p 166.
6. The only major sinecure that was found was that of City Treasurer, an office with no duties since the appointment of the City Chamberlain in 1776; G.T.C. minutes, 8 November 1833 and 4 December 1833, c1.1.59.
7. Ibid., 12 November and 4 and 13 December 1833, c1.1.59.
8. [Glasgow Church Building Society] Proposal for Building Twenty New Parochial Churches in the City and Suburbs of Glasgow (n.d., but 1834, Glasgow).
9. Dunlop was a member of the Evangelical-dominated Established Church general assembly commission of 1839 which ejected the ministers and elders of Strathbogie Presbytery.
10. I am grateful to Mr. C J A Robertson, Department of Modern History, University of St. Andrews, for this information.
11. [Glasgow Church Building Society] Proposal ...., op. cit., p 4.
12. Ibid., p 8.
13. G.T.C., minutes, 27 January, 28 March, 1 April and 9 October 1834, c1.1.59.
14. Ibid., 27 February, 8 April, 12 June, 7 July and 7 August 1834, c1.1.59.
15. Ibid., 5 February 1834, and 7 February, 23 March and 24 July

1835, c1.1.59 and c.1.1.60.

16. Ibid., 9 March and 13 April 1837, c1.1.61.

17. Brownfield Church Society, An Address ... on erecting Brownfield into a new Parish ... (1835, Glasgow).

18. Ibid., p 3.

19. [Glasgow Church Building Society], Proposal ..., op. cit., p 8.

20. J Gibson, Remarks on the Speech of A. C. Dick, Esq., Advocate, With the Expenditure of the Glasgow City Churches ... (2nd. ed., 1833, Glasgow), pp 13-15.

21. G.T.C., minutes, 11 September and 2 October 1834, and 22 March and 25 June 1835, c1.1.59 and c1.1.60. See appendix II.

22. See for instance G.T.C., minutes, 11 March 1841, c1.1.62.

23. The non-seceding Established Church councillors opened discussion at the town council on the adverse effects the Disruption caused to the operation of the religious social policy of the city. One of them, Bailie James Bogle, told the council: "With dislocated [kirk] Sessions, the spiritual and physical wants of the Poor cannot receive the same attention, the Seceding [Free Church] Elders having almost altogether abandoned their former charge and the new churches having been erected far from the chief abodes of the Poor of the City .... much of the education machinery established and supported by the Sessions and Congregations for the education of the Poorer Classes is in danger of being broken up, and Societies connected with the Congregations formed for the clothing [of] the Poor in Winter have not been reorganised ..."; ibid., 17 November 1843, c1.1.63.

24. Ibid., 19 September 1844, c1.2.21.

25. Ibid., 2 and 17 November and 7 December 1843, and 3 September

1846, c1.1.63 and c1.1.64.

26. The cases included one in the Court of Teinds on the amalgamation of parishes, one in the general assembly of the Church of Scotland concerning the payment of stipends of vacated charges into the Ministers' Widows' Fund, and two cases brought by ministers (one from Port Glasgow where Glasgow town council was the senior patron) concerning the full payment of stipends.

27. _Ibid._, 9 May 1844, c1.2.21.

28. _Glasgow Herald_, 23 March 1838.

29. Quoted in _ibid._.

30. G.T.C., minutes, 22 March and 19 April 1838, c1.1.61.

31. _Ibid._, 21 February, 21 March, 2 and 11 April, and 30 May 1839, c1.1.62.

32. The report is given in _ibid._, 19 September 1839, from which the quotations in this paragraph are taken; the council's approval is recorded in _ibid._, 9 January 1840, c1.1.62.

33. _Ibid._, 21 August and 2 October 1845, c1.2.21.

34. _PP, Report from Select Committee on Public Houses, Scotland; together with Minutes of Evidence_, 1846, pp 27-29, paras. 403-414.

35. See above chapter 11.

36. G.T.C., minutes, 31 December 1846, 7 April 1847, 7 and 28 March 1850, 25 April 1850, and 6 April 1853, c1.1.64, c1.1.65 and c1.2.25; _Glasgow Herald_, 26 April 1850; _Scottish National Sabbath School Union, Annual Report_, 1905, p 21.

37. G.T.C., minutes, 4 July 1850 and 3 October 1850, and 14 April 1853, c1.2.24 and c1.2.25.

38. See J Tweed (publisher), _Biographical Sketches of the Lord Provosts of Glasgow, 1833-1883_ (1883, Glasgow).

39. See chapter 9.

40. G.T.C., minutes, 20 September 1834, c1.1.59.

41. It has been generally believed that the ragged schools in Edinburgh in the late 1840s were the first to accept offenders. From 1841, the Glasgow municipal refuges were able to accept offenders under 12 years of age for periods of residence stated by the courts; Act for Repressing Juvenile Delinquency in Glasgow, 1841, preamble/clause 1; Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1841-2, "House of Refuge" entry; G.T.C., minutes, 11 March and 25 November 1841, c1.1.62. On house of industry, see ibid., 1 and 15 October 1840, 15 April 1841, and 22 June 1843, c1.1.62 and c1.2.20.

42. Ibid., 27 March 1835, c1.1.60.

43. One scheme at Hogganfield Loch near Shettleston in the east end employed over 400 people; ibid., 31 March, 30 June, 8 September and 5 October 1842, and 9 February 1843, c1.1.63.

44. Ibid., 23 February 1843 and 18 April 1844, c1.1.63 and c1.2.21.

45. Ibid., 8 November and 5 December 1844, and 9 and 16 January 1845, c1.2.21.

46. Ibid., 6 February 1845, c1.2.21.

47. Ibid., 7 February and 10 April 1845, and 5 March and 26 June 1846, c1.2.21 and c1.1.64.

48. Ibid., 7 February, 13 March, 10 and 24 April, and 3 July 1845, and 5 March 1846, c1.2.21.

49. See above chapter 9.

50. G.T.C., minutes, 21 and 29 October 1846, c1.1.64.

51. Ibid., 12 April and 3 May 1849, c.1.1.65.

52. Cf. I G C Hutchison, op. cit., p 179, where "unsectarian" is mistakenly equated with "secular" education, thus implying that the town council supported the principles of the Glasgow

Secular School Society.

53. G.T.C., minutes, 8 May 1856, c1.2.26.

54. See above chapter 9.

55. Glasgow town council, Committee on High School and Education, MS minutes, 11 April 1872 and 9 May 1873, S.R.A., c2.17.

56. G.T.C., minutes, 26 June 1846, c1.1.64.

57. J Tweed (publisher), op. cit., pp 87, 237, 297-8; N L Walker, Robert Buchanan D.D. An Ecclesiastical Biography (1877, London, Edinburgh and Glasgow), pp 506-7; J Butt, "Working-class housing in Glasgow", in S D Chapman (ed.), The History of Working-class Housing (1971, Newton Abbot), p 63.

58. See for instance J N Tarn, "Housing in Liverpool and Glasgow", Town Planning Review (1968-9); C M Allan, "The Genesis of British Urban Development, with special reference to Glasgow", Economic History Review, second series, vol 18 (1965).

59. E P Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons ... (1973, London); A Briggs, Victorian Cities (1971, Harmondsworth), p 184.

60. I G C Hutchison, op. cit., pp 218-9.

61. G.T.C., minutes, 6 February and 13 March 1834, 27 March 1835, 16 and 30 October 1845, and 6 and 11 November 1845, c1.1.59, c1.1.60 and c1.2.21.

62. A Watt, The Glasgow Bills of Mortality for 1841 and 1842 ... (1844, Glasgow), pp 92-5, 104-5.

63. N L Walker, op. cit., pp 506-7; G.T.C., minutes, 30 June and 5 October 1842, c1.1.63.

64. Ibid., 31 March, 8 September 1842, 12 December 1850, and 21 August and 13 November 1851, c1.1.63 and c1.1.66.

65. For an analysis of the religious split on Edinburgh town council, see Glasgow Herald, 6 November 1840.

66. Glasgow Herald, 9 November 1840.

67. G.T.C., minutes, 20 June and 5 July 1839, and 23 January 1840, c1.1.62.

68. Glasgow Police (No. 2) [Bill]: Breviate, 5 Victoriae, Sess. 1842; I am grateful to A P Donajgrodski, University of Leeds, for supplying me with this reference.

69. M Flinn (ed), Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain by Edwin Chadwick, 1842 (1965, Edinburgh).

70. G.T.C., minutes, 11 September and 2 October 1845, 23 April 1846, c1.2.21; Glasgow Examiner, 6, 13 and 20 September 1845, and 18 April 1846; S E Finer, The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick (1852, London), pp 240-1.

71. Scotland obtained its equivalent act in 1867; S E Finer, op. cit., p 293; M Flinn (ed.), op. cit., pp 72-3.

72. Glasgow Examiner, 1 April 1848.

73. G.T.C., minutes, 7 June 1849, 20 February and 13 March 1851, 14 April 1853 and 28 February 1859, c1.1.65, c1.2.24, c1.2.25 and c1.2.26.

74. Glasgow had few successes in making municipal enterprises self-financing before 1870. Manchester was able to pay for its improvements and water projects from the profits made by the municipal gas operation. Similarly, the civic improvements in Chamberlain's Birmingham of the 1870s were funded from, amongst other things, the municipal gas. Glasgow, however, started its major improvement schemes earlier than Birmingham and did not have the benefit of municipal gas. Attempts were made to takeover the city's gas companies in 1845, 1849-51 and 1859, but success was not achieved until 1869. Until that last date, Glasgow's rates assessment was constantly growing because of the interest that had to be paid on council loans. Consequently,

municipal projects were frequently affected by ratepayers' revolts.

75. Letter from J F Bateman to Glasgow Corporation, printed in Glasgow Herald, 3 December 1858.

76. Lord Provost Andrew Galbraith, quoted in Glasgow Herald, 24 September 1858.

77. J. Tweed (publisher), op cit..

78. See for instance A Sunday-school teacher (pseud.), The Moral Statistics of Glasgow in 1863 (1864, Glasgow), p 26.

79. Quoted in N L Walker, op. cit., pp 511-513; I am grateful to Dr. Peter Hillis for drawing my attention to this reference.

80. G E Troup, Life of George Troup, Journalist (1881, Edinburgh), pp 66-78, 82.

81. F.C.P.G., MS minutes, 7 October 1859, S.R.O., CH3/146/36.

82. A Sunday-school teacher (pseud.), op. cit., pp 26-7.

83. Hogg became well-known as the first lay missionary to be accepted by the Free Church; N L Walker, op. cit., pp 306-8; G E Troup, op. cit., pp 108, 116.

84. Ibid., pp 79-80.

85. G.T.C., minutes, 2 December 1858, 1 September 1859 and 4 April 1861, c1.1.68.

86. J Watson, On the measures required for improving the low parts of the city (1860, Glasgow). I am grateful to Mr. Ian Bradley for supplying me with this reference.

87. The description of the Watson group is based on the following: G E Troup, loc. sit.; a speech by Watson to the town council, reported in Glasgow Herald, 22 December 1865; articles in Glasgow Herald, 4 and 7 October 1872; articles in North British Daily Mail, 3, 4, 5 and 26 October 1872. Recent works which mention the Watson group in some of its details include:

I G C Hutchison, op. cit., pp 165-6, 202-3; and H W Bull, "Working-class housing in Glasgow, 1862-1902", M.Litt. thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1973, pp 43-4, 109. Members of the Watson group were also involved in the demolition of slums brought about by railway construction, and there were implications of corruption; see J R Kellett, The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities (1969, London and Toronto), pp 115-118.

88. Glasgow Herald, 22 December 1865.

89. A Sunday-school Teacher (pseud.), loc. sit..

90. Quoted in Glasgow Herald, 8 September 1865; see also G.T.C., 7 September 1865,

91. Ibid., 5 October 1865, c1.1.69 ; Glasgow Herald, 6 October 1865; Indeed, Blackie stated in a pamphlet in 1866 that "the actual outline of the present plan, so far as the greater part of the north side of the river is concerned, had been sketched out ten years before ..." (Blackie's italics); J Blackie jun., The City Improvement Act: A letter to the Lord Provost of Glasgow ... (n.d., but 1866, Glasgow), p 12.

92. G.T.C., 7, 11 and 21 December 1865, c.1.1.69 ; Glasgow Herald, 8 and 22 December 1865.

93. Glasgow Herald, 28 January 1859; G.T.C., minutes, 6 October 1864, 14 June and 4 October 1866, c.1.1.68 and c1.1.69; H W Bull, op. cit., p 45.

94. Glasgow Herald, 4, 13 and 25 September, and 2 October 1866, and 2 January 1867; North British Daily Mail, 15 November 1869 and 13 January 1870; A N Somerville, Precious Seed sown in many lands (1890, London), pp xv-xvi; G F Barbour, The Life of Alexander Whyte D.D. (1923, London), pp 131-2; Lady Frances Balfour, Life and Letters of the Reverend James MacGregor D.D. (1912, London), p 173.

95. North British Daily Mail, 10 January 1870.

96. Glasgow Herald, 14 April and 5 May 1870.

97. The meeting was attended by many evangelical ministers, John Blackie, and William Quarrier (a Free churchman and founder of the Quarrier children's homes); Glasgow Herald, 15 March 1870; North British Daily Mail, 15 March 1870.

98. R. Buchanan, The City's Spiritual Wants ... (1871, Glasgow, proof copy), pp 5-6.

99. J Johnston, Religious Destitution in Glasgow (1870,Glasgow); Glasgow Herald, 8 April 1870; Association for Promoting the Religious and Social Improvement of the City, Report on the Religious Condition of Glasgow (1871, Glasgow).

100. F.C.P.G., MS minutes 2 February 1870, 7 May, 6 August, 3 September and 18 September 1873, S.R.O., CH3/146/38 ; U.P.C.P.G., MS minutes, 6 May to 9 September 1873, S.R.O., CH3/146/58.

101. North British Daily Mail, 3 October 1872.

102. Quoted in ibid., 4 October 1872.

103. Ibid., 30 October 1872; I G C Hutchison, op. cit., pp 202-3.

104. J Butt, op. cit., p 72; H W Bull, op. cit., pp 55-6.

105. See above chapter 7. There was a history of the Watson group circulating in Glasgow in 1890, though the present author has been unable to trace it.

106. By 1902, the council had erected only 483 housed for the lower working classes; H W Bull, op. cit., pp 60-2.

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Chapter 14

Conclusion

(a) Changes in the social significance of religion in modern urban society.

> "Social questions are the vital questions of today: they take the place of religion."
>
> Beatrice Potter, 1884[1]

This study has sought to illuminate the role of religion in one large industrial city. Changes in the social significance of religion have been investigated in a number of ways. The limitations of each method and aspect of study - the sociological analysis of church typology, the quantitative analysis of church adherence, the identification of periods of religious and social change, and the examination of religious adaptation to modern city life - have to be recognised. The use of these different methods may, in the aggregate, produce some significant conclusions.

It has been suggested in this study that urbanisation and industrialisation did not necessarily signify, imply or even herald "secularisation". It has been shown that pre-industrial urban and rural society in Scotland was not significantly "more religious" than industrial society. Indeed, quantitative evidence on church adherence and qualitative evidence on the importance of submission to religious imperatives (especially amongst the middle classes) and of

religious social policy (as implemented by the churches, religious voluntary organisations and public authorities) indicate that the significance of religion in many aspects of social and political life actually increased during the one hundred years between 1780 and 1880. Furthermore, the notion that the advent of religious pluralism directly induced or reflected secularisation does not seem to accord with the interpretation given here. Certainly, there were many changes in the ways that religion found social significance, and in the ways the churches sought to sustain or increase that significance. The church as law-giver and law-enforcer, for example, disappeared. On the other hand, religious voluntary organisations emerged as powerful promoters and propagators of the religious world view. It is clear that the balance of ways in which religion finds social significance may vary according to country and to social and economic context. Thus, it may be misleading to assume that a decline in certain forms of religion's social significance during urbanisation and industrialisation reflects an overall "secularisation" of society.

For example, one of the most ancient functions of the churches has been their role as arbiters of moral and social habits. In Protestant Victorian society, this function became a prime means for projecting religious influence - by demanding high (if hypocritical) standards of social and sexual behaviour, of abstinence from or temperance in alcoholic consumption. and so on. The Victorian churches in the aggregate set, demanded and, to a remarkable degree, gained standards of "respectability" amongst their members and adherents far in excess of any such standards that had been set

and attained by the commonalty of churches in almost any previous Christian age. More importantly, even if Victorian religious standards of "respectability" were not always adhered to, they were widely accepted as the standards which should be adhered to.

Evangelicalism - broadly defined as a framework of religious response to urban and industrial society - has been examined as the key to the adaptation of organised religion to modern society. Despite the appeal of its stress on religious individualism as a concomitant of economic individualism, the essential attributes of evangelicalism were neither theological nor doctrinal. In large measure, evangelicalism was anti-theological - its concern being the "call to action"[2]: in other words, evangelising. The emphasis of parts II and III of this study has not been on evangelicalism as the ethos of Victorian middle-class respectability, but on evangelicalism as social theology and social action. Above all, evangelicalism has been described as a popular movement of nineteenth-century urban society. It involved clergy and large numbers of laity in undertaking evangelising work in Sunday schools, temperance societies, day schools and other organisations and activities. It also involved evangelicals in seeking state assistance in certain fields. The municipal and education authorities became strongly influenced by evangelicals, and the promotion of "moral-suasion" reform was backed up by "moral force".

The social significance of evangelicalism has been attributed in great measure to its status as a movement providing a framework for urban social policy in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this capacity, evangelicalism permitted the identification of obstacles to social stability and

progress. The obstacles were defined primarily in religious terms. Thus, the problems arising from alcoholic consumption, insanitation, house-overcrowding, educational destitution, poverty and irreligious working-class culture were seen as moral problems. The problems required some solutions which we might identify as "religious" (such as the construction of churches, evangelisation, Sunday schools and young men's societies), some solutions which we might identify as "quasi-religious" (such as day-school education and the total-abstinence pledge), and some solutions which we might identify as "secular" (such as the dissemination of sanitary advice, the construction of sewers, the provision of water supplies, slum-clearance schemes and the provision of public works schemes). To evangelicals, particularly those of the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, these diverse types of social action were regarded as emanating from a single social-policy tradition. Not all evangelicals agreed on the need for all the types of action. By its very nature as a movement, evangelicalism crossed denominational boundaries, developed along different though interconnected paths, and was subject to internal strain. Nonetheless, promoters of social-policy schemes saw in the evangelical movement the roots of their plans, and found there the justification for their various causes. John Ure, the convener of Glasgow town council's nuisances removal committee in the 1860s, took the axiom "cleanliness is next to godliness" quite literally, and urged the churches to support the work (and the expansion) of his Sanitary Department. David Watson, a leading participant in the move away from the narrow revivalist and teetotal evangelicalism of the 1870s and 1880s, felt that it was the churches' duty to support

plans for the construction of subsidised council housing in Glasgow in the 1920s.

As well as deriving items of social policy from social theology, social reformers of the nineteenth century were virtually obliged to obtain evangelical and ecclesiastical sanction (whether formally or informally) for their schemes. Obtaining the consensus approval of the evangelical movement, or a significant section of it, was almost a prerequisite for the consideration of policy options. In an *ad hoc* and disorganised fashion, the members of the evangelical movement were the arbiters of social action. The courts of the presbyterian churches had numerous committees which discussed social-policy questions in great detail and liaised with public and other bodies. Considerable time was spent by presbyteries discussing local social problems and their cure. In addition, the general assemblies of the Established and Free churches, and the synod of the United Presbyterian Church, were regarded by many as "Scots parliaments". Many pieces of parliamentary legislation depended on the consent or the agitation of these courts. More generally, the tenor or topics of ecclesiastical concern often reflected public concern, and church interest assisted in the promotion of state intervention. The Free Church interest in housing in the late 1850s and 1860s is a notable instance where clergy backed up the efforts of Free churchmen in their efforts to obtain improvement acts for Glasgow and Edinburgh.

The conception of social policy in most western societies in the mediaeval and early-modern periods rested on religious foundations. Furthermore, the churches had been the prime agents in the execution of social-welfare schemes. With the

advent of urban and industrial society in the late eighteenth century, the parameters of social policy broadened. Contemp-oraries regarded social problems as becoming more complex. As a result, the solutions to those problems became more numerous and refined. In this process, evangelicalism provided the framework within which to see the structure of society, its problems and the cures. In this way, the churches maintained their role of social prophet. Moreover, that role became more important as a method of promoting the social significance of religion.

In the main, evangelicals' contribution was organisational. Problems were categorised according to religious and moral interpretations, and most of the solutions were in the form of social action - whether by religious voluntary organisations, ad hoc agencies or municipal government. The threat to religion was not perceived to be ideological. Radical ideas in the period 1780-1850 were feared for their contribution to social anarchy - the evangelical solution was the provision of social organisations. The emergence of Darwinism and secularism in the late 1860s and early 1870s was perceived as an ideological threat, but the evangelical response was a contraction of evangelical social theology into a form that emphasised social action through revivalist and teetotal organisations. Popular philosophy did not reject the religious world view because of Darwinism and secularism alone. Evangelicalism adapted to changing conditions and was able to sustain the social significance of religion. Church recruitment and membership of Sunday schools and other religious voluntary organisations continued to grow until 1885-90. In the intense evangelising schemes of the 1870s and 1880s, 'religion was able

to project a very strong influence on society. Arguably, the organisational significance of religion in Britain reached its highest point ever in those years.

The description of evangelicalism given in this study is broadly applicable throughout Britain, the United States and much of Western Europe. The particulars of how evangelicalism projected its influence in public authorities may differ from country to country and city to city. However, the same general development of evangelicalism and its organisational response to urban society can be observed in many countries. The social gospel of evangelical collectivist action, for instance, has been observed in cities such as Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield and the northern cities of the United States. The later development of industrial society in other countries may have delayed the construction of the evangelical framework of response, and may have led to the omission of certain "stages" of evangelical development.

The collapse of the evangelical framework of response, and the general religious crisis of the period 1890 to 1914, are becoming better documented. Stephen Yeo has described in great detail the problems of religious voluntary organisations in Reading during this period.[3] He implies that religion had become greatly dependent on such organisations for the maintenance of its social significance. Religious organisations providing leisure opportunities for young and old alike had become so numerous and so well supported that when they started to decline (because of changing leisure opportunities, increasing state intervention in social policy and so on) a general crisis for religion resulted. The same process occurred in Glasgow at the same time. However, the present study has argued that the

collapse of evangelicalism and the religious crisis that resulted was not at root an organisational problem. The primary cause has been identified as a weakening of the role of organised religion in social prophecy, leading to a decline in the religious influence in popular philosophy. The declines in church growth rate, in membership of religious voluntary organisations and in lay involvement in the running of those organisations emanated from a weakening of evangelical self-confidence and resolve in the area of social-policy formation and implementation. The leading role in social prophecy passed to the labour movement; the leading role in social action passed to the state.

In 1919, a group of twenty-eight prominent clergymen from many of the leading Protestant churches in Britain published a report entitled The Army and Religion. This contained a synthesis of results obtained from an inquiry into soldiers' views on the churches. The report, written mainly by the Rev. D S Cairns of the United Free Church of Scotland, stressed the apparent change that had taken place in popular attitudes to the churches and to religion. Whilst the war itself was regarded as a factor in the decline in popular regard for the churches, Cairns emphasised the same points concerning the social mission of the churches that he and other Christian socialists had aired in the 1900s. The "real poison in the situation", as the report put it, was "the belief that the Christian Church has been and still is blind to its [social] duty and in secret sympathy with the governing classes".[4] The deline in the churches' role as social prophets was seen as crucial. The churches had to proclaim a "social gospel" if they were to win the hearts and minds of the people:

"If the masses of the nation have in their hearts a deep

> sense of wrong against society, and think of the Churches as supporting that injustice, when they ought, if their professions are true, to be protesting against it, it is as clear as daylight that this sense of wrong will continue to poison the whole situation, drive them from indifference into opposition to the organised Churches, and that revealed Christianity which they exist to proclaim." [5]

The writing of this report, let alone its findings, was indicative of interdenominational concern at the changing situation of the churches in British society. The faults of the churches - their social exclusivity and defence of social injustice - were recognised as being of long standing. But Cairns and his colleagues recognised also that the religious crisis had developed between 1890 and 1914 and that it had deepened during the First World War. In the years after the war, the report stated, "we shall have a time of great social tension, and, possibly, of revolutionary movements".[6] The churches, it went on, had to prevent "the impression that Christianity had no social Gospel at all".[7] Organised religion's inability to adapt to the changing social-policy needs of late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain was central to the secularisation of urban and industrial society.

(b) Secularisation and the historian

> " ... it is time to recognise that the significance of religion in the modern city is not exhausted by saying that it has declined."
>
> Hugh McLeod, 1978[8]

The historiography of religion has been dominated by the study of periods in which religion, through the churches, had direct and major effects on government, revolution and war. In particular, historians view the historical significance of religion in modern British society in the light of its apparent greater significance in the mediaeval and early-modern periods. If religion was, on the surface, the central issue in the Reformation and an important issue in the English civil wars, then the apparent absence of "religious" revolutions and wars in industrial Britain must signify a decline in the historical significance of religion. It is perhaps true to say that, in reflection of this, ecclesiastical history and social history of religion, as academic disciplines, and the practitioners thereof, are more distinct and isolated from the "mainstream" of historical investigation in the study of the modern period than in the study of the mediaeval or early-modern periods.

The historical significance of religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has long been recognised and is easily "proven". By contrast, religion's role in modern industrial society seems, from the vantage point of the late twentieth century, to be less clear and less important. The evidence of nineteenth-century Britain, for example, seems confusing. On the one hand, the term "Victorian" has become synonymous with puritanical attitudes and habits. On the other hand, the Victorian churches stated that the 1851 religious census revealed

how irreligious British people had "become". The key point has been that religion was not central to general historical development in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain. The significance of religion during those centuries has been seen as a series of largely unconnected riverlets and eddies. The riverlets include the growth of toleration (a development which, more than any other, has been taken to signify the diminishing importance of religious "issues"), the rise of Methodism and the Nonconformist challenge to the Anglican establishment. These developments are seen merely as small tributaries to the great flow of modern British history - tributaries which create small eddies when, for instance, Methodism affected working-class culture and politics and when Nonconformity became associated with Victorian Liberalism. Such religious changes that took place between 1700 and 1980 are worth often less than a few paragraphs or footnotes in general political and social histories. In general, modern religion is regarded as a hangover from pre-industrial society.

Historians who try to study the social history of religion in industrial Britain are faced inevitably with the historiographical tradition of "the world we have lost". Beyond that, they are faced with the separate though not dissimilar tradition that has built up in the sociology of religion. Both traditions stress the decline of religion as a result of modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation. One recent book that seeks to expand the historiography of secularisation tends to lean towards the modernisation/secularisation interpretation of religious decline, emphasising the long-term nature of religious decline and the capacity for secularisation which is inherent within Christianity and,

especially, Protestantism.[9] The implicit assumption lingers on that religion is most socially significant when it is in the form of a one-church, episcopal theocracy within a pre-industrial society.

It is suggested here that for the study of secularisation to attain greater historiographical significance it must have stringent definitions of religious decline. Those definitions should allow secularisation to be seen as an historical process that is measurable, varied in form and time-span, and possible within various social and economic contexts. It should be measured by applying a series of tests to the social (or economic or political) significance of religion. In crude terms, perhaps secularisation should be defined and measured by social historians in much the same way as economic historians define and measure industrialisation. The analysis and empirical investigation undertaken in the present study have been an attempt to apply such an approach.

Notes to chapter 14.

1. B Webb, *My Apprenticeship* (1971, Harmondsworth), p 164.
2. Cf. I Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: the Evangelical Impact on the Victorians* (1976, London)
3. S Yeo, *Religion and voluntary organisations in crisis* (1976, London)
4. (D S Cairns *et al.*), *The Army and Religion: An Enquiry and its Bearing upon the Religious Life of the Nation* (1919, London), pp 305-6.
5. *Ibid.*, pp 316-7.
6. *Ibid.*, p 316.
7. *Ibid.*, pp 326, 328.
8. H McLeod, "Religion in the city", *Urban History Yearbook*, 1978, p 19.
9. A D Gilbert, *The Making of Post-Christian Britain: A history of the secularization of modern society* (1980, London and New York). See my review of this book in *The Sociological Review*, forthcoming 1982.

Appendices

Appendix I

Sunday Worship in the nineteenth century

The results of the religious census of 1851 show that there were significant geographical variations in the pattern of Sunday worship. Table I.1 shows that evening worship was considerably more popular in England and Wales than in Scotland. The aggregate of attendances at afternoon and evening worship in England and Wales exceeded morning attendances; the situation was reversed in Scotland. On the surface, these figures seem to contradict the notion that "twicers" - those people who attended two religious services on Sunday - were more prevalent in Scotland than in the rest of mainland Britain. "Half-day hearing" - or attending only one Sunday service - was considered an offence in many if not most Scottish eveangelical congregations. However, it seems possible that attending only afternoon or evening worship was more common in England. The lower amount of church accommodation in England, where sittings were available for only 57·0 per cent of the total population compared with 63·5 per cent in Scotland, may reflect this.[1]

There were also variations in the pattern of religious worship within Scotland. "Half-day hearing" was probably more common in rural districts than in urban areas. This was due in large part to the greater degree of difficulty and the

Table I.1 Attendances at Sunday services, 1851: Scotland and England and Wales.

	Scotland		England and Wales	
Attendances				
Morning	943,951		4,428,338	
%		53•86		42•50
Afternoon	619,683		3,030,280	
%		35•37		29•08
Evening	188,874		2,960,772	
%		10•78		28•42
		100•01		100•00

Sources Census of Great Britain, 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, 1851 (1854, London), p ix; W S F Pickering, "The 1851 religious census - a useless experiment?" British Journal of Sociology vol. xviii (1967), 4, p 392.

Table I.2 Churches open for worship on 30 March 1851: town and country districts of Scotland compared.

	Towns		Rural districts	
	Churches	%	Churches	%
Open on Sunday:				
Once	111	13•7	988	50•5
Twice	524	64•8	860	44•0
Thrice	174	21•5	108	5•5
	809	100•0	1,956	100•0

Source Census of Great Britain, 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p 34, table D.

greater time involved in getting to church in a country district where the population was widely dispersed. Many rural parishes had more than one place of worship serving one denomination, and ministers occasionally performed worship in one church in the morning and in other churches in the afternoon and evening. Evening worship was particularly difficult in rural areas in winter months, not merely because of the difficulty of getting home in the dark, but also because few rural churches had the convenience of gas lighting. The difference in organising Sunday services in country and town churches is shown in table I.2. From this it can be seen that only 49•5 per cent of rural churches opened at least twice on Sundays compared with 86•3 per cent of town churches. However, the pattern of church opening was by no means uniform in country areas, as table I.3 shows. In the largely-industrial counties of the central belt, such as Lanarkshire (which included most of Glasgow), the number of afternoon and evening openings represented about the same as the number of morning openings. In the north-east, however, afternoon and evening worship was much less available. Nairn was a notable exception, but with only nine churches in this tiny county its high figure of 122 per cent is not representative. In the Gaelic-speaking Highlands and Islands, on the other hand, afternoon and evening openings exceeded the number of morning openings. The counties of Inverness, Ross and Cromarty and Sutherland were strongholds of the Free Church. Strict presbyterians and Sabbatarians, the population in the north-west was obviously encouraged to attend worship more than once on Sundays even in winter. Further down the west coast, Argyllshire had a somewhat lower proportion of churches open

in the afternoon and evening, reflecting perhaps the strength of the Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches in that county. However, it was in the south-west, in the counties nearest to England, that afternoon and evening openings were at their lowest. This may have been due to cross-border English influence, or to the strength of the Irish Catholic community in that area.[2]

Quantifying the extent of "half-day hearing" is difficult, but table I.4 provides the best indication from the 1851 religious census. With the exception of the Highlands and Islands, the areas with the largest proportion of attendances taking place in the afternoon and evening were the towns. The largest cities - Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee - did not have the largest non-morning attendances despite the strength of evangelicalism there. Towns of medium size, such as Perth, Paisley and Greenock, had about 60 per cent of their Sunday attendances taking place in the afternoon and evening. The smaller towns with populations of under 20,000 had figures of about 50 per cent. In Caithness - strongly evangelical and presbyterian - afternoon and evening attendances were clearly in the majority. But in other counties, morning worship accounted for between 55 and 70 per cent of total attendances. In general, it seems that, in 1851 at least, the medium and large cities and the strict presbyterian counties of the north-west may have had the highest incidence of "twicing".

Such variations in the relative significance of morning, afternoon and evening church services make problematic the use of church attendance statistics. If single attendances at afternoon and evening worship were more common

in England and Wales than in Scotland, morning attendances on their own will provide a misleading comparison of levels of church-going in these two parts of Britain: church-going in Scotland will be exaggerated. Alternatively, if "twicing" was more common in Scotland, total attendances will mislead also by again exaggerating the proportion of the population attending church in Scotland. The same imbalances will emerge from comparison of church-going in different parts of Scotland. Another factor to be considered is worshippers attending one church in the morning and another, possibly of a different denomination, in the afternoon and evening. Without precise quantitative information on "half-day hearing" and "twicing", it is impossible to weight accurately the available attendance figures.[3] Such problems should be borne in mind when considering levels of church-going.[4]

Notes to Appendix I.

1. Census of Great Britain, 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p ix.
2. J Handley, The Irish in Scotland (1964, Glasgow), pp 42-4.
3. Horace Mann, the compiler of the 1851 religious census, made a crude attempt to weight the data. In the English and Welsh results, he sought to calculate the number of individual church attenders by adding together the total of morning attendances, one half of afternoon attendances and one third of evening attendances. W S F Pickering, "The 1851 religious census - a useless experiment?" British Journal of Sociology vol. xviii (1967), 4, p 390.
4. See above vol. I pp 198-206.

Table I.3 Churches open for worship on 30 March 1851: selected Scottish counties [1]

	Morning	Afternoon	Afternoon openings as % of morning openings	Evening	Evening openings as % of morning openings	Afternoon and evening openings as % of morning openings
Scotland	2,515	1,575	62•6	623	24•8	87•4
Central						
Lanark	253	186	73•5	71	28•1	101•6
Edinburgh	178	137	77•0	66	37•1	114•1
Renfrew	116	97	83•6	27	23•3	106•9
Dunbarton	50	33	66•0	17	34•0	100•0
Ayr	166	113	68•1	26	15•7	83•8
Linlithgow	31	14	45•2	4	12•9	58•1
Fife	186	154	82•8	26	14•0	96•8
North-east						
Aberdeen	216	85	39•4	68	31•5	70•9
Banff	64	14	21•9	24	37•5	59•4
Elgin	42	22	52•4	15	35•7	88•1
Nairn	9	8	88•9	3	33•3	122•2
North and west						
Inverness	67	64	95•5	26	38•8	134•3
Ross and Cromarty	60	49	81•7	15	25•0	106•7
Sutherland	21	18	85•7	8	38•1	123•8
Argyll	72	52	72•2	17	23•6	95•8
South-west						
Kirkubright	46	8	17•4	11	23•9	41•3
Wigton	42	17	40•5	8	19•0	59•5
Dumfries	80	34	42•5	18	22•5	65•0

Source Figures for numbers of open churches taken from Census of Great Britain, 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London).

Note 1. All place-names (other than Scotland) in this table refer to counties.

Table I.4 Indication of "half-day hearing": church attendances by time of day for selected Scottish towns and counties

Area	Population	Church attendances			
		Morning	Afternoon	Evening	Afternoon and even- attendances as % of total attendances
Towns					
Glasgow	329,097	70,381	62,075	15,047	52·29
Edinburgh & Leith	191,221	48,886	47,227	11,319	54·50
Dundee	78,931	19,692	22,019	5,643	58·42
Paisley	47,952	12,041	14,412	2,981	59·09
Greenock	36,689	10,307	12,261	2,387	58·70
Perth	23,835	7,706	9,658	3,536	63·13
Ayr	17,624	5,090	4,328	640	49·39
Arbroath	16,986	3,354	3,166	135	49·60
Dunfermline	13,836	4,977	5,242	460	53·34
Inverness	12,793	5,844	3,522	2,321	50·00
Dumfries	11,107	2,937	2,020	756	48·59
Counties -north					
Caithness	38,709	8,530	10,103	3,381	61·25
-west					
Argyll	89,298	13,101	7,667	2,415	43·49
-south-west					
Dumfries	78,123	18,325	5,914	4,309	35·81
-south-east					
Berwick	36,297	15,922	4,860	1,834	30·00

Source: Figures for population and church attendances from *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland* (1854, London).

Appendix II

Church management as business history: the Glasgow City Churches in the nineteenth century

"Heritors, as a rule, can boast no good name in the present and none in the past history. Half the ugly barns in Scotland, are the product of their parsimony and lack of the spirit of devotion. Town Councils have been notorious in every age since the Reformation for their niggardly outlay and penurious upkeep, combined with desire to make, when possible, a profit out of every city charge."

Lady Frances Balfour, 1912[1]

(a) Introduction.

From the Reformation, the fully-sanctioned Established churches in Glasgow, referred to as the City Churches, were under the patronage of the town council. With the exclusion of the Cathedral, which was under Crown patronage, they were the only recognised and public places of worship in the city until the eighteenth century. In 1600 there had been two City Churches; in 1700 there were four; by 1800 the number had risen to seven. With the addition of St. John's and St. James' churches, built in 1819 and 1820 respectively, there were nine City Churches under council ownership until the end of the nineteenth century.[2] The nine City Churches of Glasgow were the largest group of churches under the same management in the city; with the exception of the churches under Crown patronage, the Glasgow City Churches were also probably the largest such group in Scotland. The growth

of presbyterian dissent and the erection of other Established churches in the second half of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries created alternative facilities for presbyterian worship. More particularly in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the construction of churches by the Established Church Building Society between 1833 and 1843, and the building of over twenty Free churches between 1843 and 1850, dramatically increased presbyterian facilities. In this context, the churches owned by the town council provide an opportunity to study the corporate management of churches during a period of radical change in denominational arrangements.

It is argued here that it is possible to study church management, or management of Glasgow's City Churches at least, as business history. Further, it is argued that in the pricing of church pews, locating of churches, spending on them and selecting of ministers, the council's management of the churches was, in part, similar to that of a commercial company. However, there are important qualifications. In the first place, there is no evidence to show, despite the views of Lady Balfour, that the council made or sought long-term profits from church management. Nonetheless, the council sought to balance income and expenditure. In periods when income to the "Ecclesiastical Department" was high, the council tended to spend money by increasing ministers' stipends and improving or rebuilding churches; the council did not reduce its seat-prices in such circumstances. In periods when income was low, the council sought loss-minimisation. In the second place, the council did not always seek to expand its ecclesiastical operations. In the late eighteenth and first two decades of the nineteenth centuries, when the Established Church was still regarded as the "senior" denomin-

ation and when the council was dominated by members of that Church, efforts were made to increase and improve church provision in response to middle-class demand and as the social desirability of church extension for the working classes was accepted. After the reform of the town council in 1833, many evangelical councillors of the Established and dissenting churches opposed the extension of municipal church provision - Church of Scotland Evangelicals because they opposed patronage and dissenters because they opposed the ecclesiastical role of the "civil magistrate". In the third place, the presbyterian religious system did not operate completely as a "free market". It may be valid to view the church seat and divine service as a "product" and the pew-renters as the worshipping "consumers". But family ties to, and the social status attaching to membership of, denominations, were important factors inhibiting the operation of <u>laissez faire</u>. Entrenched religious divisions could over-ride the willingness of the consumer to seek the best "value for money". However, there was little doctrinal obstruction to switching adherence between presbyterian denominations. And the provision of other Established churches, as a result of church extension because of growing and shifting population, and the building of Free churches after 1843, allowed significant movement between congregations for those of evangelical persuasion. In this way, it is reasonable to suggest that there was some degree of "consumer choice".

The town council's patronage and ownership of the City Churches involved some clearly-defined and some ill-defined obligations as laid down in the Deeds of Erection for each church or as adopted by common usage. These were, firstly, to pay the stipend of the ministers as stated in the Deeds or as

subsequently agreed, and the stipend of any assistant ministers as might be agreed between council, minister and Presbytery of Glasgow. Secondly, to pay the salaries of the beadles, although these payments are difficult to trace. Thirdly, to maintain the church buildings. And fourthly, to maintain the fabric of the churches - the pews, pulpits, curtains, communion tables and, in the nineteenth century, heating apparatus. The exact legal obligations of the council in regard to certain moves - such as dispensing with a City Church - were not made clear until tested in the Court of Teinds.[3] The obligations of the council towards provision and maintenance of each item of church fabric were also unclear. Frequently, when the Presbytery, minister or congregation asked for a new communion table or a modern heating system, lengthy negotiations would ensue and the congregation often agreed to pay a proportion of capital and/or running costs.

To pay for the management of the churches, the city's Common Good Fund provided the only account. Within this fund, the "Ecclesiastical Department" of corporation business was divided between expenditure (principally ministers' stipends but also including church repairs) and revenue from the letting of church seats. Seats were rented, in normal circumstances, at annual public meetings. The City Chamberlain organised and conducted these meetings at which he produced plans of each church with the seats and prices marked as in a theatre-booking office. The basic means of allocation was by roup (auction). However, the roup was not completely free. There was a complicated system of preferential rights to seats in the churches - these rights belonging to families and passing from one generation to the next along with other heritable rights. Such rights appear to

have become established as a result of common usage. Occasionally, the council would lease the right to let seats, or sell some seats, to persons or institutions. For example, the University of Glasgow bought a large number of seats in the College Church for the use of staff and students. Seats within a church were priced differently in order to provide accommodation for persons of different means. The price of the seat constituted the annual rental. The price of a seat was determined by its location in the church. The survival of a near-complete set of the City Chamberlain's plans for 1870 is examined in section (d) below. The seat prices were set annually. The council operated the pricing system on a supply-and-demand basis: the higher the demand for seats, the higher the prices. In addition to control of revenue, the council had the right to select the ministers of the City Churches.

(b) The variables in the "marketing" of the City Churches.

The brief description of the City Churches given in the previous section provides a number of variables in their "marketing" history, <u>viz.</u>:

(i) location of a church within the city;

(ii) status or quality of the minister;

(iii) comfort in, and appearance of, the church;

(iv) number and quality of "competing" places of worship;

(v) price of pews, relating to social class of worshippers.

(i) The location of a church within the city was crucial in determining its popularity with potential worshippers. Around 1800, the wynds in the old centre of Glasgow were being evacuat-

ed by the middle classes. The City Churches suffered quickly, for, with the exception of the St. Enoch's Church built in 1780, they were all located in the city centre. The Wynd Church was abandoned by the council in 1808 and a replacement church, now called St. George's Tron, was built in Buchanan Street in the west end. Similarly, the Outer High congregation, which had met in the crypt of the cathedral since the Reformation, found the location in the High Street unsuitable and unbecoming of a fully-sanctioned church. In 1836, the council erected a new building, called St. Paul's Church, in North John Street west of the city centre. The College (Blackfriars) Church moved in 1876 from its site near the old University after the college moved out to the west end to make way for a railway goods yard; as the university built its own chapel on its new premises, the College Church moved eastwards to Dennistown.

The council was inhibited from moving the location of many of the nine city churches because of the low value of land in the city centre relative to the value of land in parts of the city more convenient for worshippers. Consequently, only three of the nine churches moved in a century when the property map of Glasgow changed very radically.

(ii) The quality of the minister was, to Victorian church-goers, probably the paramount factor determining church attendance. From 1780 to 1830, the town council pursued a policy of employing the very best evangelical clergy in Scotland. To do this, the council had to provide lucrative rewards, and the flat-rate stipend is an excellent indication of the rising stature of Glasgow's City Churches over that period. The stipend increases are given in Table II.1. The increase between 1788 and 1830

Table II.1 Flat-rate stipend for each minister of the City Churches of Glasgow, 1638-1893.

Date	Stipend (in sterling)
1638	£ 55
1723	111 2s. 2d.
1762	138
1788	165
1796	200
1801	250
1808	300
1814	400
1830-1893	425

Source J Bell and J Paton, Glasgow: Its Municipal Organisation and Administration (1896, Glasgow), p 411.

was over 250 per cent, averaging 6 per cent per annum. The increase of 33 per cent in 1814 is particularly interesting as it was passed by the council at a meeting when cut backs in other parts of municipal expenditure were agreed. Between 1780 and 1830, the City Churches of Glasgow had some of the greatest Scottish presbyterian ministers of the age. Apart from Thomas Chalmers and Stevenson Macgill, few are remembered now. As a sign of their standing, though, none of the ministers of those years left their charges for other congregations; all of them either died in office or whilst retired, or moved to a University professorship.

The council tried to keep its ministers at all cost before 1820. St. John's Church was specially built for Thomas Chalmers after his friends complained to the council about the unhealthy condition and location of the Tron Church.[4] The east-end experiment Chalmers started at St. John's was so popular amongst the middle classes of the city that the seat-rent prices in the church and the neighbouring St. James' Church attained the highest average up to that date for any City Church - 10s 6d.[5]

The standing of the ministers of the City Churches declined after 1833, and especially after 1843. The reform of the council in 1833 led to dissenters and non-intrusionists being elected. Consequently, there was strong opposition to maintaining the "ecclesiastical department" of municipal business. Most of the remaining high-calibre clergy (such as Robert Buchanan) left at the Disruption of 1843. After 1850, the growth of the city and the easing of general assembly regulations on the creation of new parishes led to the erection of new churches in the suburbs where the middle-class congreg-

ations paid their ministers handsomely. The best-paid ministers in Scotland between 1860 and 1914 were in the rich suburbs of Glasgow and Edinburgh. One of the highest-salaried ministers was Donald Macleod (younger brother of Norman Macleod of the Barony Church) who received £1,000 a year in the 1880s at the Park Church in the west end of Glasgow. The movement of top-grade ministers away from the City Churches after 1830 is one of the key factors in the overall decline of the municipal churches.

(iii) The degree of comfort in, and the appearance of, churches were factors in the marketing model which operated in inverse relationship to the overall "success" of the council's ecclesiastical department. When a City Church was popular, with over 80 per cent of its seats let, the congregation was in a weak bargaining position with the council. If new items of fabric were required, the council could, in such circumstances, delay action in the knowledge that the church was already sufficiently "attractive" to worshippers. This was noticeable in the early 1820s when St. John's Church was well attended and "high rented": the council refused to undertake the customary annual whitewashing.[6] With rising demand for seats and rising revenue, the council could allow its current expenditure to fall somewhat. Only on one occasion was there a successful revolt by the "consumers". In 1823, the congregation of the Ramshorn Church refused to pay their rents until the whole church was renovated; the council reluctantly agreed and rebuilt the church.[7] During the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s, when the popularity of the City Churches was falling dramatically, the council took major steps

to maintain the "commercial" viability of the ecclesiastical department. Congregations were able to demand and get new heating systems, curtains and, most interestingly, an increase in the width of sitting space. Until the 1840s, the council allowance "per bottom" was either 17 inches or 17½ inches depending on the price of the seats. In 1836, complaints came from worshippers that it was a tight squeeze on the pews.[8] However, it was not until 1842 that the council took any action. In that year, the secession of the non-intrusionists from the Church of Scotland was being anticipated. The town-council committee in charge of the ecclesiastical department made attempts to improve the attraction of the City Churches prior to the likely increase in the number of competing churches. Consequently, amongst other measures, they increased the sitting space to 18 inches on expensive seats - thereby reducing the number of sittings but increasing the comfort of those that remained.[9] In 1852, further complaints from St. George's, St. Enoch's and St. Andrew's churches forced the committee to increase some of the 17-inch seats to 17½ inches.[10] For comparison, the "bottom" allowance in one rural church, North Ronaldsay parish Church in Orkney, was 18 inches for all seats in 1842.[11]

Improvements in the standard of comfort and appearance in churches rose considerably after 1830. With the formation and growth of the Free and U.P. Churches from the 1840s, the council found that the City Churches were unattractive and uncomfortable in comparison to recently-built and properly-funded churches.

(iv) The council was forced to take note of "competing" places of worship. From 1780 to 1830, the number of dissenting presby-

terian churches in Glasgow rose from about three to twenty. At that time, movement of worshippers and ministers between different presbyterian denominations was quite common. The Relief Church, in particular, thrived and suffered from congregations switching allegiance between it and the Established Church. Consequently, there were real alternative and competing places of worship to the City Churches. The council was forced to maintain precentors' salaries in line with salaries paid in dissenting churches, and to keep ministers' stipends above the average in order toattract the best clergy.[12] With the creation of the Free and U.P. churches in the 1840s, however, it became less easy to move from one church to another as fierce denominational rivalry developed. Each denomination opened its own divinity halls, for instance, where previously they had relied on the divinity halls of the Church of Scotland. For the City Churches after 1830, the competition came not from the dissenters but from the growing number of non-council Established churches being opened in the city and suburbs. With the middle classes moving progressively further away from the city centre, the council churches remained in poor locations and with decreasing numbers of the wealthy patrons who could pay high seat rents.

(v) Seat rents are the final variable in this model, being the quantitative factor which provides an insight into the management history of the City Churches. The level of seat rents represent the price of the "product", indicating the City Churches' position in the "market". Changes in the level of seat rents may also indicate changes in the social composition of worshippers, based on the assumption that church attenders would wish to pay seat rents commensurate with their income group and social status.

Certainly, two people in the same social group might consider paying different proportions of their income on seat rents, but as a variable over time the level of seat rents combined with percentage occupancy should provide a fairly good indication of changes in the social composition of worshippers.

(c) Changes in seat rents 1800-1885.

In this section, analysis is made of data on the price of seats, sittings and percentage occupancy in the City Churches for most of the nineteenth century. In this section, the City Churches are defined as including the Inner High or cathedral charge. Although this church was under Crown patronage, the council was delegated with the responsibility of setting and collecting seat rents and of maintaining the church in good repair under the supervision of the Crown Office of Woods in Edinburgh.

Unfortunately, only sporadic statistics remain of seat-letting of the City Churches before 1830. However, from the minutes of the town council and its committees, there is evidence of high occupancy of seats. For most of the period between 1780 and 1830, occupancy seems to have been in excess of 80 per cent, and in 1806 there was 100 per cent occupancy. As a result, price increases were very frequent up to 1830, indicating that the City Churches were performing well in the market, if not dominating it. The average rent of occupied seats was probably around 40 pence[13] in the first decade of the century, and rose to 55 pence by 1830. Thereafter, there was a steady decline until 1885.

The complete data are presented in tableII.2. The two most important columns are column 5 (% seats let) and column 6 (Average rent of rented seats - AR(R)); these are additionally represented in graphII.1. The analysis is best rendered by a column-by-column study of the findings.

Column 2: Sittings The sittings represent the total number of seats in the ten City Churches. As the number of churches stayed constant for the whole period between 1830 and 1885, it would be expected that the number of seats would remain roughly constant. However, there is a difference of 16 per cent between the maximum and minimum figures. This is explained by two factors. Firstly, some of the churches were replaced, resulting in slight variations in total number of seats. Churches were replaced in 1824, 1836 and 1876. The quite appreciable increase in the number of seats in 1875-6 seems to have been due to the inclusion of seats in both the old and new Blackfriars churches. Secondly, as the demand for pews dropped, the council were obliged to either remove unwanted or unsightly seats or to increase the "bottom" allowance on each seat. On one occasion in the early 1870s, the entire layout of pews on the ground floor of a church, St. Mary's, was redesigned, reducing the number of pews to allow greater comfort for the congregation.

The council discovered in the 1840s that it could not dispose of any of the City Churches.[14] Although similar moves were suggested in the 1860s and 1870s, the council was unable to contract the ecclesiastical department in accordance with the financial income.

Columns 3,4 and 5: Seats let and unlet These columns show the occupancy rate of the seats in the City Churches. It is uncertain

Table II.2

(overleaf)

Data on the operation of the ten City Churches of Glasgow, 1813-1885.

(Descriptions of the methods of calculation used to compile the various columns are given in the text.)

I Year	2 Sittings	3 Sittings let	4 Sittings unlet	5 % Sittings let	6 AR(R) average rent of let seats	7 AR(O)[2] average rent of offered seats	8 R(R) revenue realised	9 R(EI)[3] revenue expected	I0 R(E2) revenue expected	II % error of R(E2) from R(EI)	I2 % of R(EI) real-ised	I3 Expenditure/	I4 % of same paid by seat-rent income
I8I3							£2,250					£2,986	75.35
I824						49.2p[I]							
I830-I							4,802	£5,836			82.27	4,468	Io7.48
I832-3	II,626	8,737	2,889	75.I5	56.7p[I]	5I.6	4,955	6,0I0	£5,999	-0.I83	82.44		
I842-3	I2,630	7,360	5,270	58.27	47.2	42.95	3,480	5,444	5,425	-0.349	63.92	3,825[4]	90.98
I843-4	I2,630	3,856	8,774	30.53	48.I	43.77	I,855	5,538	5,528	-0.I8I	33.49	3,825[5]	48.49
I844-5	I2,630	5,425	7,205	42.95	47.2	42.95	2,565	5,444	5,425	-0.349	47.II	3,800[6]	67.50
I845-6	I2,630	5,677	6,593	44.94	48.2	43.86	2,74I	5,560	5,540	-0.360	49.29	3,800[7]	72.I3
I850							3,305					4,978	66.39
I85I-2	I2,205	7,262	4,943	59.50	44.8	40.77	3,255	4,986	4,976	-0.40I	65.27		
I852-3	I2,I64	6,967	5,I97	57.27	43.9	39.95	3,062	4,874	4,859	-0.390	62.82		
I855-6	II,005	6,2I7	4,788	56.49	42.9	39.04	2,669	4,307	4,296	-0.255	6I.96		
I856-7	II,869	6,39I	5,478	53.84	42.0	38.22	2,688	4,55I	4,536	-0.330	59.06		
I857-8	II,869	6,323	5,546	53.27	40.3	36.67	2,550	4,364	4,353	-0.252	58.43		
I858-9	II,869	6,2I7	5,652	52.38	39.4	35.85	2,454	4,270	4,256	-0.328	57.46		
I860-I	II,838	6,6I9	5,2I9	55.9I	38.5	35.03	2,554	4,I64	4,I47	-0.408	6I.33		
I86I-2	II,838	6,620	5,2I8	55.92	38.7	35.22	2,562	4,I76	4,I69	-0.I68	6I.34		

(table continued on next page)

I Year	2 Sittings	3 Sittings let	4 Sittings unlet	5 % sittings let	6 AR(R) average rent of let seats	7 AR(O)[2] average rent of offered seats	8 R(R) revenue realised	9 R(EI)[3] revenue expected	IO R(E2) revenue expected	II % error of R(E2) from R(EI)	I2 % of R(EI) real-ised	I3 Expenditure/	I4 % of same paid by seat-rent income
I863-4	II,8I6	6,643	5,I73	56.22	38.2p	34.76p	£2,54I	£4,I20	£4,I07	-0.3I6	6I.67		
I864-5	II,8I6	7,II0	4,706	60.I7	38.8	35.3I	2,672	4,048	4,I7I	+3.039	66.00		
I865-6	II,834	7,III	4,723	60.08	38.8	35.3I	2,763	4,I92	4,I78	-0.334	65.90		
I866-7	II,834	7,048	4,786	59.55	38.9	35.39	2,744	4,200	4,I89	-0.262	65.32		
I867-8	II,834	7,086	4,748	59.87	38.3	34.85	2,72I	4,08I	4,I25	+I.078	66.67		
I874-5	II,496	6,766	4,730	58.85	36.0	32.76	2,44I	3,78I	3,766	-0.397	64.55		
I875-6	I2,296	6,587	5,709	53.57	36.0	32.76	2,375	4,04I	4,028	-0.322	58.76		
I878-9	II,6I7	6,I39	5,478	52.84	35.3	32.I2	2,I70	3,743	3,732	-0.294	57.97		
I879-80	II,6I7	5,868	5,749	50.5I	36.4	33.I2	2,I4I	3,864	3,848	-0.4I4	55.40		
I884-5	I0,560	5,940	4,620	56.25	35.4	32.2I	2,I04	3,4I0	3,273	-4.0I8	6I.70		
I885-6	I0,560	5,82I	4,739	55.I2	35.7	32.49	2,08I	3,44I	3,43I	-0.29I	60.46		

Sources and Notes are given on the following page.

Table II.2 (continued)

Sources Data were taken from or derived from the annual accounts of the "Ecclesiatical Department" conducted by the City Chamberlain on behalf of the town council of Glasgow. The accounts were presented in the following: Glasgow town council, MS minutes, 3 September and 29 October 1846, c1.1.64; 23 October 1850, c1.2.24; 6 April 1853, c1.2.25; 2 April 1857, c1.2.26; 6 April 1859 and 10 April 1862, c1.1.68; 5 April 1865, 11 April 1867 and 4 April 1868, c1.1.69. Committee [of Glasgow town council] on Churches and Churchyards, MS minutes, 5 March 1833, c2.7.1; 15 December 1876, c2.7.2; 14 December 1877, 14 June 1880 and 19 May 1886, c2.7.3. All above sources are held in Strathclyde Regional Archive, to which reference numbers relate. Additional sources: Renwick, minutes of Glasgow town council, vol. x, 24 February 1814, and vol. xi, 13 January 1824; J Gibson, Remarks on the Speech of A. C. Dick Esq., Advocate. With the expenditure of the Glasgow City Churches (2nd ed., 1833, Glasgow), pp 13-15.

Notes 1. Figures in these columns have been converted to sterling new pence.

2. All figures in this column are estimates, except those for 1824 and 1832-3. See text.
3. All figures in this column are estimates, except that for 1832-3. See text.
4. Figure relates to 1842.
5. Figure relates to 1843.
6. Figure relates to 1844.
7. Figure relates to 1845.

whether the seats let represents all seats occupied, ie. including free seats, but, as the number of the latter were very small, the difference is only marginal. The 16 per cent drop in the number of seats let between 1832 and 1842 is a feature of what might be called the "pre-Disruption secession" from the Church of Scotland's urban parish churches. In Glasgow, the development came about as the result of the efforts of the Church Building Society to erect twenty churches in the city in those years. With the council speculatively providing 1,000 extra seats during those years, the number of unlet seats rose from 3,000 to over 5,000. The figure then rose dramatically to almost 9,000 at the Disruption and then stabilised around the 5,000 mark until 1885.

The recovery in the proportion of let seats by 1851 is indicative of a swift restoration of worshippers to the Church of Scotland. There seems to have been an influx of worshippers from lower-income groups who may not have worshipped in parish churches before; this was aided by the fall in seat prices evident in column 6. But what is most apparent is that despite continual reductions in seat prices and improvements in comfort, the number of occupied seats declined for most of the period down to 1885. The rise in occupancy in the mid and late 1860s is curious for it comes between religious revivals. Indeed, the religious revivals of the mid-Victorian period seem to have had an adverse effect on seat-letting in the City Churches, reinforcing the view that the Established Church neither welcomed nor encouraged religious revivalism.

Column 6: Average Rent of rented seats (AR(R)) This column gives the average rent paid for seats, worked out on the basis of the

average of the average rents of each church.

Once again, the decline between 1832 and 1842 is quite prominent, indicating a rapidly falling demand as the churches erected by the Church Building Society were opened. The figures show a continuous depreciation in the value of seats in the City Churches down to 1885. It might also be a fair conclusion that this fall represented a lowering of the average social status or income-group of seat occupiers. As the seat prices dropped, an increasing proportion of lower-income groups came into the City Churches. If comparable statistics were available from other churches in the city, there would probably be a rising AR(R). In the absence of such data, the conclusions that can be drawn as to social class of attenders in the City Churches are severely limited. However, it is argued in the next paragraph that the exodus from the City Churches was led by the higher social groups and that there was a definite shift in the social status of attenders from middle towards working classes.

<u>Column 7: Average Rent of offered seats (AR(O))</u> This column gives figures for the average rent of seats offered for rent. The figures for 1824 and 1832-3 are actual figures; the remainder are estimates based on the relationship between the AR(O) and the AR(R) for 1832-3; AR(O) = 91% of AR(R). In other words, the average rent paid by attenders was 9·9 per cent higher than average rent of seats offered by the council. Thus, pew occupiers tended to choose the more expensive seats in the churches, and those seats that were vacant tended to be the lower-priced ones. This is confirmed by data on the individual churches which show that only in the very poor congregation of Blackfriars, where average rent was in the region of 22 pence,

did the rent offered exceed the rent paid. As the percentage of seats let was relatively more stable than the AR(O), particularly between 1851 and 1885 (when % let dropped by 7•36 per cent whereas AR(R) dropped 20•31 per cent), every unit drop in AR(R) produced less of a drop in percentage seats let. Thus, it was the vacation of the small number of high-priced seats which produced so large an effect on AR(R). Therefore, it seems to follow that the exodus from the City Churches was led by the relatively high status group of attenders.

Column 8: Revenue realised from seat rents (R(R)) From the figures for 1813 and 1830-2, and from references in council minutes, it appears that revenue from seat rents was rising quite steeply between those dates. This explains why the council felt able to increase seat-rent charges so often in the early nineteenth century. However, revenue declined substantially in 1833-1842, and even more dramatically at the Disruption. This accounts for the attempt by the council to dispose of up to two churches in the years after the Disruption. It is interesting to note that there was relative stability in revenue between 1844 and 1885. This might indicate prudent management by the progressive reductions in seat prices in order to prevent dramatic drops in occupancy rates in the City Churches.

Column 9: Revenue expected - estimate 1 (R(E1)) This column gives the revenue that would have been expected had all the seats been rented out. The figure for 1832-3 was calculated by the council; the others are estimates by multiplying % seats let by the constant 1•097 (obtained from 1832-3, where 1 per cent of seats let produced 1•097 per cent of expected revenue), then dividing the products into R(R) for each year and

multiplying by 100; in other words:

$$\% \text{ let} \times 1{\cdot}097 = a$$

$$\text{then} \quad \frac{R(R)}{a} \times 100 = R(E1)$$

Column 10: Revenue expected - estimate 2 (R(E2)) This provides a second estimate of expected revenue, calculated by multiplying AR(O) by the number of sittings for each year.

Column 11: Percentage error of R(E2) from R(E1) This shows that the error of estimate R(E2) for 1832-3 was only -0·183 per cent from the actual figure for that year, given in column R(E1). Thus, R(E2) is a fairly accurate method of calculation, and, since its error from R(E1) for other years is also small in most cases, the R(E1) may be taken as fairly accurate.

Column 12: Percentage of R(E1) realised in revenue This column gives the percentage of R(E1) realised; in other words:

$$\frac{R(R)}{R(E1)} \times 100$$

The figures show that the town council's success in maintaining income was very high in 1830-[illegible], but that thereafter it dropped about 30 per cent to remain at 60 per cent sale. The pews were in reality capital assets that could not be sold or disposed of. Thus, this column gives a measure of the council's efficiency in utilising capital assets. It is clear that for most of the nineteenth century the assets were being under-utilised by some 40 per cent.

Columns 13 and 14: Expenditure and percentage of expenditure paid out of seat rents. These columns give the council's expenditure on the City Churches (the main item being ministers'

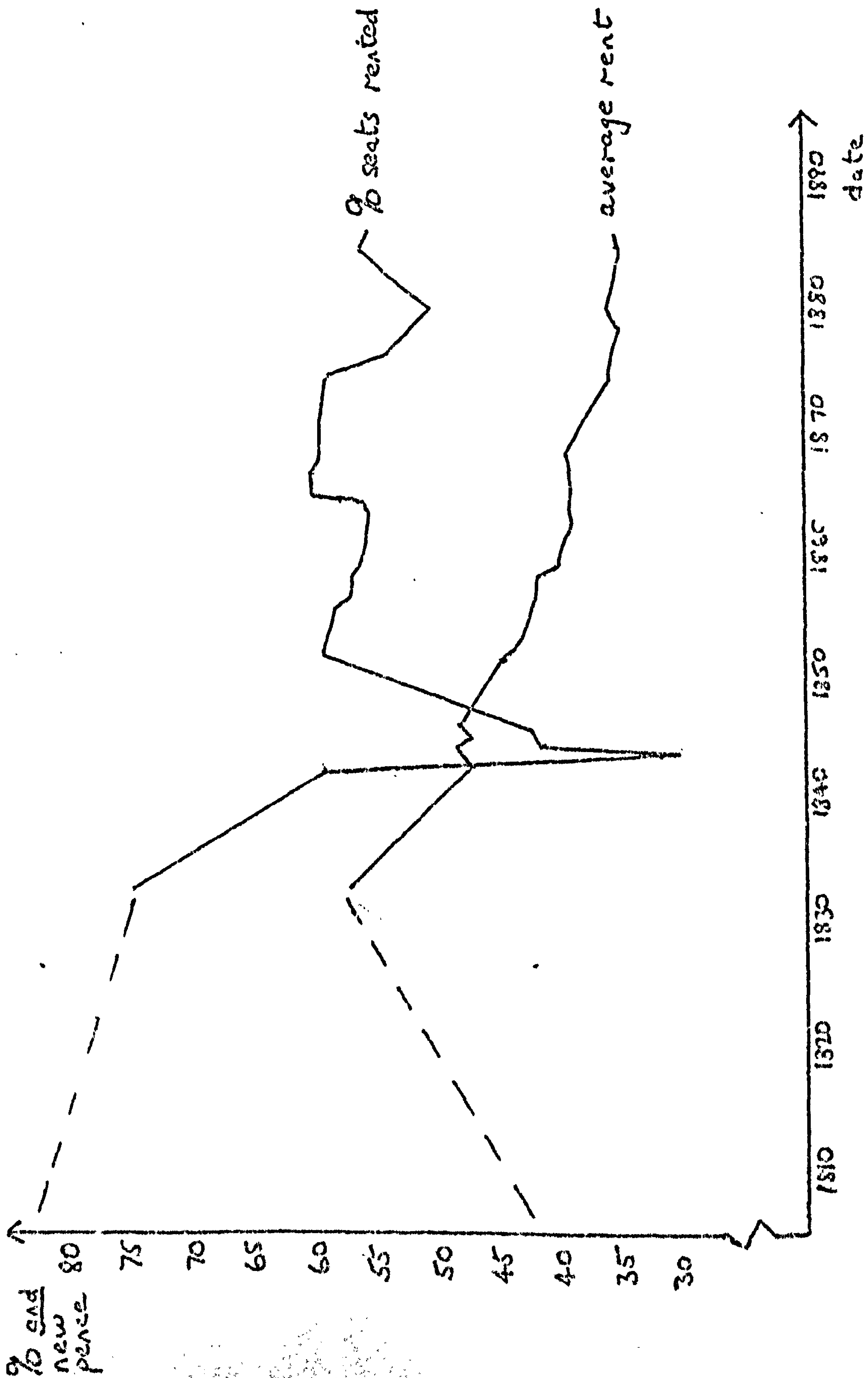
stipends, which accounted for over 80 per cent of total expenditure), and the percentage of this expenditure met out of income from seat rents. Only in one year, 1830-1, was a profit registered, and, for the most part, losses were incurred throughout. After 1850, it would seem likely that the losses became enormous as maintenance costs for church buildings rose. The data here explains why the stipends for ministers of the City Churches did not rise at all between 1830 and the early 1890s. In contrast, the stipends for other presbyterian ministers in the city rose substantially.

This table illustrates how a corporate institution, the town council of Glasgow, without a united commitment to the religious principles of the Church of Scotland, tried to manage the City Churches on a semi-commercial basis. If the restriction on the liquidity of assets had been removed, it might be conjectured whether the council could have maintained a semblance of financial viability (say, with over 75 per cent of expenditure recouped) by rationalising the churches. Certainly, the changes in the social geography of the city militated against any long-term solutions, and the council merely tried to minimise losses.

GraphII.1 shows the instability of the council's religious "product" in the market. In the main, the council had to reduce prices in order to maintain attendance at the City Churches - especially between 1845 and 1865. At a time when financial commitment to the churches was taken as a measure of the individual's religious commitment, it would seem likely that the drop in average rent represents a change in the

Graph II.1 Seat rents and occupancy of the Glasgow City Churches, 1832-1886

The vertical axis indicates the percentage of seats in the City Churches which were rented and the average rent paid. The dotted lines are estimates based on reports in town council minutes.



social composition of church attenders. The Free Church took many of the rising middle classes away from the Church of Scotland. After 1843, it appears that the City Churches suffered from losses to other Established churches in the city. TableII.3 illustrates this. It is clear that other presbyterian churches, including the non-council Established churches in the city, were attracting higher demand. The ten City Churches were doing very badly in the market for

TableII.3 Seat occupation in Glasgow presbyterian churches in 1851.

	Churches	Sittings	% of sittings occupied
Established Church			
All	25	22,907	70·68
City Churches	10	12,205	59·50
Non-council churches	15[1]	10,702	83·44
Free Church	27	22,339	79·96
U.P. Church	20	22,484	88·63

Sources Census of Great Britain, 1851: Report of Religious Worship and Education, Scotland (1854, London), p 27; tableII.2 above.

Note 1. Figures for these fifteen churches were calculated by subtracting the figures for the City Churches from the figures for all twenty-five churches (as given in the religious census).

religious provisions in 1851.

Other indicators give the same impression. The status of the ministers of the City Churches was never as high after 1843 as before. The churches' location in the old city centre led inevitably to declining attendances. By 1977, only three of

the ten churches (the cathedral, St. David's and St. George's - now called St. George's Tron). The town council relinquished ownership of the City Churches around 1900 to the Church of Scotland.[15] The major question that is raised is whether other churches experienced the same management problems during the nineteenth century. Certainly, the City Churches had particularly serious problems of finance and attendance. Nonetheless, it may have been that churches managed by congregations may have experienced similar kinds of problems.

(d) Price distribution of seats in the City Churches in 1870.

One set of plans for the price of seats in the City Churches remains from the City Chamberlain's office, dated 10 February 1870. They are complete but for the gallery of the Inner High or cathedral charge. For this reason, the cathedral has been omitted from this section. The complete data for the the nine council-owned churches have been abstracted from the plans and given in table II.4.

It is immediately striking how the price distribution was different in each church. Table II.5 makes this clear, displaying the average rent in each church. Each church seems to have had a distinct social "complexion". It is surprising to find that the number of free seats is quite small, for the churches had such a low figure for seat occupancy at this time (around 59 per cent of seats let). However, the council was managing the City Churches as it would any other branch of municipal business. In such circumstances, and with possibly two-thirds of the electorate belonging to dissenting churches, the council could not appear to be wasting public money trying

Table II.4 Price distribution of seats in the City Churches of Glasgow in 1870.[1]

	Free[2]	%	1/6	%	2/-	%	2/6	%	3/-	%
Blackfriars	16	2·1					133	17·4		
St. Andrew's			10	0·9	10	0·9	44	4·1		
St. George's							24	1·9		
St. Mary's	16	1·2								
St Enoch's							46	3·8		
St. David's	12	1·1			276	24·8			61	5·5
St. James'					20	1·5	84	6·5		
St. Paul's	79	6·7								
St. John's					58	3·5	32	1·9	32	1·9
TOTALS	123	1·2	10	0·1	364	3·4	363	3·9	93	0·8

	3/6	%	4/-	%	4/6	%	5/-	%	5/6	%
Blackfriars			122	15·9			130	17·0		
St. Andrew's	46	4·3	30	2·8	44	4·1	46	4·3	32	2·9
St. George's			22	1·7			74	5·9		
St. Mary's			228	17·2			88	6·7		
St. Enoch's	14	1·2	18	1·5					14	1·2
St. David's	11	0·9	104	9·3	10	0·9	10	0·9		
St. James'	16	1·2	150	11·6			139	10·7		
St. Paul's			29	2·5	4	0·3	62	5·2	8	0·7
St. John's	36	2·2	126	7·7			90	5·5		
TOTALS	123	1·1	829	7·8	58	0·6	639	6·2	54	0·5

	6/-	%	6/6	%	7/-	%	7/6	%	8/-	%
Blackfriars	72	9·4			10	1·3			40	5·2
St. Andrews	136	12·6			61	5·6	12	1·1	98	9·1
St. George's	94	7·4							42	3·3
St. Mary's	88	6·7							224	16·9
St. Enoch's	98	8·2								
St. David's	42	3·8					513	46·1		
St. James'	144	11·1			68	5·3	136	10·5	29	2·2
St. Paul's	82	6·9	10	0·8	46	3·9			85	7·2
St. John's	174	10·6			170	10·4			126	7·7
TOTALS	930	8·5	10	0·1	355	2·9	661	6·4	644	5·7

	8/6	%	9/-	%	9/6	%	10/-	%	10/6	%
Blackfriars			40	5·2			110	14·4		
St. Andrew's			147	13·6			16	1·5	282	26·1
St. George's			77	6·1			61	4·8		
St. Mary's			107	8·1			265	20·0		
St. Enoch's			96	8·0						
St. David's							20	1·8		
St. James'	28	2·2	126	9·7			16	1·2		
St. Paul's							101	8·6	48	4·1
St. John's			170	10·4			534	32·6		
TOTALS	28	0·2	763	6·8			1,123	9·4	330	3·4

Table II.4 (continued)

	11/-	%	11/6	%	12/-	%	12/6	%	13/-	%
Blackfriars					91	11·9				
St. Andrew's	18	1·7			36	3·3				
St. George's					78	6·2	48	3·8	64	5·1
St. Mary's					217	16·4				
St. Enoch's					60	5·0			64	5·3
St. David's					6	0·5	5	0·4		
St. James'					77	5·9	259	20·0		
St. Paul's	92	7·8	122	10·3	335	28·4				
St. John's					88	5·4				
TOTALS	110	1·1	122	1·1	988	9·2	312	2·7	128	1·2

	13/6	%	14/-	%	15/-	%	20/-	%	26/-	%
Blackfriars										
St. Andrew's			12	1·1						
St. George's	45	3·6	570	45·1					65	5·1
St. Mary's					80	6·0	10	0·8		
St. Enoch's	60	5·0	728	60·8						
St. David's			44	3·9						
St. James'										
St. Paul's					78	6·6				
St. John's										
TOTALS	105	0·9	1354	12·3	158	1·4	10	0·1	65	0·6

Source Data abstracted from: Mitchell Library, Glasgow, MS/plans of seat-price arrangements of City Churches of Glasgow, drawn up by City Chamberlain's office/, folder G 285·2, A 631272, SR 209, held by the "Glasgow Room".

Notes 1. The figures under each price (in old currency) refer to the number of seats in each church offered at that price. The percentage figure immediately to the right of the number of seats refers to the percentage of seats in each church which the number of seats represents. The same applies to the "TOTAL" lines, except that the percentages refer to percentages of seats in all nine churches at the prices stated.

2. "Free" seats include unmarked seats on the City Chamberlain's plans. See tableII.5 below.

Table II.5 Summary of seating and pricing arrangements in the City Churches of Glasgow, 1870

Church	Seats	Free seats	Unmarked seats	Average rent of offered seats
Blackfriars (College)	764	-	16	36·2 new pence
St. Andrews	1,080	-	-	38·8
St. George's	1,264	-	-	60·8
St. Mary's (Tron)	1,323	-	16	42·7
St. Enoch's	1,198	-	-	59·8
St David's (Ramshorn)	1,114	-	12	28·4
St. James'	1,292	-	-	38·5
St. Paul's (formerly Outer High)	1,181	79	-	47·3
St. John's	1,636	-	-	38·3
		Average rent : new pence		43·7
		old currency		8/9d

Source Table II.4 above

Table II.6 Average rents and occupancy in the City Churches, 1832 and 1875.

	1832-3		1875-6	
	Average rent	% let	Average rent	% let
Blackfriars	22·2p	43·38	21·6p	40·00
St. Andrew's	50·1	73·26	[illegible]6·3	100·00
St. George's	61·6	98·31	45·6	97·28
St. Mary's	54·0	63·63	36·4	64·17
St. Enoch's	83·2	95·29	32·5	39·58
St. David's	56·9	89·55	20·2	13·65
St. John's	51·7	92·91	36·9	58·90
St. James'	50·9	85·43	31·9	62·95
Inner High (Cathedral)	41·3	[illegible]8·93	36·1	81·46
St. Paul's	45·1	57·28	41·2	16·48

Sources Strathclyde Regional Archive, MS minutes of Committee [of Glasgow town council] on Churches and Churchyards, 18 February 1833, c2.7.1, and 15 December 1876, c2.7.2.

to attract the "lapsed masses" to the Established Church. Thus, the frequent appeals from ministers and kirk sessions for permission to give unoccupied seats away for gratis were turned down by the council. Despite this, it is still surprising to find only 1·2 per cent of seats without an annual rental in the old parish churches of Glasgow. It is perhaps even more surprising that even these free seats were strictly allocated by the kirk sessions. A person wandering into the church could not expect to, and most probably did not, get a seat during divine service. Although there were occasional complaints that people were occupying seats without authority, the council empowered the elders to remove them. In no sense was there a right to use a vacant seat in a City Church of Glasgow. To this extent, these churches were not "churches of the people".

Trying to distinguish social groups by the price distribution of seats alone is rather difficult. The seats priced from 1/6d to 6/- may be regarded as the very cheap; the 13/- to 15/- seats were expensive; the 20/- and 26/- seats were few in number and for the very wealthy attenders to two of the nine churches. The remainder from 6/6d to 12/6d formed the vast majority of seats. This division into groups of seats is arbitrary, though it is drawn from the layout of the churches and the location of seats in the churches. Nonetheless, other factors make the divisions tentative. For instance, the seat price a man would select might well depend on his income as related to the number of seats he required. If he had a large family, say a wife and six children, he might be compelled to take seats at 5/- per annum, giving a total bill of £2. If he had only a wife and one child, he could take seats at

13/- each, costing him £1 19s. Thus the size of his family might dictate his choice of seats. A factor like religious commitment would also have a bearing on how much a person was willing to pay for access to religious services.

However, assuming some levelling of these factors in the aggregate, we can accept that the price distribution represents some degree of class differentiation. This does not bring any exactitude to the study, and the conclusions that can be drawn from the data are very vague. Without comparable data from other churches, it is difficult to state that the City Churches had a higher-than-average proportion of lower-income groups, although this would seem likely. The tables do show that there was a vast range of prices available in the churches. In the context of the intense religious atmosphere of mid-Victorian Scotland, it may not be absurd to suggest that the price of the church seat that a man rented determined his social status in church and some aspects of daily life rather than his income or profession determined the price of the seat he selected.

The seat plans show that there was a complex pattern for price distribution within the churches. The ground floor, known as "the area", was made up of the mid-priced seats. In St. Mary's, for instance, most of the 217 seats at 12/- were in the area together with the prices immediately above and below that figure. The range of prices available in the area was small, normally only between 7/- and 12/6d. It was in the gallery that a real social mix existed. The seats along the edge of the balcony were the most expensive in the whole church, ranging from 14/- in the "cheaper" churches to 26/- in the "expensive" ones. In steep gradation behind these seats, the

prices fell with each row of pews towards the back of the gallery. They fell, in most churches, from 15/- in the second row of pews to 10/- in the third to 6/- in the fourth to 4/- in the fifth, until, at the back of the gallery, the cheapest seats at 1/6d, 2/- or 2/6d. In St. Paul's, the free seats were located there. The seats at the back of the gallery were narrow, uncomfortable and arranged in peculiar shapes. By 1870, most of the cheap seats that had formerly been located behind pulpits had been removed. Thus, in terms of seat location, we can identify three major price groupings: firstly the very cheap, from 2/- to 6/-, at the rear of the galleries; secondly, the middle range from 6/6d to 12/6d in the area; and thirdly, the most expensive seats in the front row of the gallery. Interestingly, the pew reserved for the minister, for the use of his wife, children and any visitors he might have, was payable. In the nine churches, the ministers' pews were all in the area - their prices ranging from 6/- per seat in St. John's to 14/- in St. George's.

Each church had a different gradation of prices, and, from table II.6, it is clear that the higher the rate of occupancy the higher were the prices. This gives further evidence of the failure to attract lower-income groups to church despite lowered seat charges. Between 1832 and 1875, changes were evident in the pricing arrangements in the City Churches. All the churches except Blackfriars lost financial status badly; Blackfriars held its own as the lowest-priced church with average prices of about 22 pence. In terms of popularity, St. Andrew's and St. George's retained their position well in the west end of the city, whilst St. David's, St. John's, St. James' and St. Enoch's suffered badly. The

Inner High or cathedral showed a remarkable recovery over the forty-year period. The cathedral had been out of favour since the Reformation, and in the early nineteenth century was in a very poor state of repair. Extensive renovations were carried out in the second and third quarters of the century and, with increasing pride in the city and its status as the second city of the empire, attendances at the cathedral increased as it became once again the premier Established Church in the city. The Outer High, moving from the cathedral crypt to its own church, suffered badly; certainly, the new structure was bare and utilitarian in comparison to contemporary standards of presbyterian church-building. One exception to the broad price-range system was St. Enoch's where, as can be seen from table II.4, 60 per cent of the seats were priced at 14 shillings. As the average rent for let seats was 6/6d in 1875-6, it would seem that very few of the 14-shilling-seats were occupied. With only 40 per cent of seats occupied, the area or ground floor of St. Enoch's must have been very empty of paying worshippers.

(e) Conclusion.

Although the analysis that has been presented in this appendix is rather cursory, there seems to be sufficient cause for considering church managment in the age of _laissez faire_ as business history. In the early nineteenth century, the town council of Glasgow sought to maintain the status of the City Churches by using seat-price increases to raise stipends, thus attracting prominent clergy, and to build new churches. After 1833, the council had a strong contingent of evangelicals

who were opposed to municipal patronage of the Church of Scotland. Finding that they could not dispose of the "ecclesiastical department", the churches were administered with a view to loss-minimisation. The following extract from Lady Balfour in 1912 describes the events when the council were fortunate in 1864 to attract James MacGregor, a rising light in the Church of Scotland, to the ministerial charge at the Tron Kirk:

> "When Mr. MacGregor filled the empty pews in the Tron, the Town Council took thought how they might turn his coming to profit. Repairs were needed in the kirk. 'The Council,' wrote a pew-holder, 'look on church matters as a bull would on a red shawl. Two or three years ago,' the writer continues, 'the cry was raised concerning the loss which the city sustained through a few of the city churches, but after the arrival of Mr. MacGregor the church was filled, every seat was let, and even the window-sills were used. Then it was found that the church was so badly ventilated that some had to leave it altogether, while not a Sabbath passed but a few went out sick. The seats of the church being at a premium, the church committee [of the town council] raised them thirty-three and a half per cent. and declined to let them for less than one year. [The council reserved the right to raise rents again.] The congregation were taken by surprise, but believed that the advance was intended to cover the expense of the necessary alterations. To the indignation of the people, this was found not to be the case. The Town Council came to the congregation to raise two hundred pounds to put the city property in order.'
>
> The kirk-session, showing appropriate spirit, refused 'to spend a single halfpenny on this unjust demand.' The Town Council ultimately was shamed into more honest ways, and the only interest in the sordid controversy is the picture of the church pews with seven sittings let to eight or more holders, and every door beleaguered by non-

> seat-holders. The 'aggrieved parties' urged in the public press that the complaint was not a new one, as Dr. Chalmers had been recommended to flee from the Tron on account of its unhealthy condition, and 'Certainly,' says the writer of 1864, 'the locality has not improved since 1815.'"[16]

The relationship between council and pew-holders was very similar to that between landlord and tenant. Despite the bias of the extract, it is clear that the council was responsive to circumstances which might increase the financial yield of the City Churches. However, it was plain on many occasions that the concerted action of congregations restricted the council's freedom of action, and attempts to make long-term profits were out of the question.

Few overall conclusions can be drawn about the social class of worshippers at the City Churches. However, the declining average rent paid for seats between 1830 and 1885 was probably not typical of other churches. New Established churches were being erected in Glasgow in large numbers after the mid-nineteenth century, and the continuation of such building could not have proceeded without some evidence of financial viability. The spread of "voluntaryism" in the dissenting churches also affected the City Churches.. In 1845, the kirk sessions of the City Churches asked the council for permission to collect and distribute church-door collections to the poor without council supervision as previously. This would be, in the view of the sessions, "the means of encreasing [sic] the collections"; if not permitted, the sessions "very much feared there would almost be no collections at all".[17] The council felt compelled to gradually devolve administrative duties to the kirk sessions over the

following forty years. By the 1860s, the congregations were virtually selecting ministers themselves with the council merely rubber-stamping their choice. In 1870, the council's committee on churches offered the kirk sessions the complete running of the seat-letting system, but the transfer could not be completed.[18] With the expansion of municipal affairs after 1860, the "ecclesiastical department" became increasingly anachronistic.

Notes to appendix II

1. Lady Frances Balfour, Life and Letters of the Reverend James MacGregor D.D. ... (1912, London), p 164.
2. Some sources refer to a tenth church, but this arises from confusion over the status of the Inner High or cathedral charge.
3. See above vol. I pp 155-6, note 50.
4. See above vol. I pp 331-2.
5. Renwick, minutes of Glasgow town council, vol. xi, 13 January 1824.
6. Ibid., vol. x, 9 May and 31 May May 1822.
7. Ibid., vol. xi, 13 January and 18 April 1823.
8. Strathclyde Regional Archive, MS minutes of Committee [of Glasgow Town Council] on Churches and Churchyards, 14 March 1836, c2.7.1.
9. Ibid., 9 March 1842, c2.7.1.
10. Ibid., 6 and 7 April 1852, c2 7 2.
11. S D B Picken, The Soul of an Orkney Parish (1972, Kirkwall), p 71.
12. Strathclyde Regional Archive, MS minutes of Committee [of

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Appendix III

Proletarian evangelicalism in Glasgow

"Mr. Long delivers an instructive, yet amusing lecture on the 'Political Situation', having nothing to do with party politics, but only Protestantism as opposed to Popery and Infidelity, illustrating his subject from the weekly papers of the Roman Catholic and Infidel Press."

Report of the Glasgow Working Men's Evangelistic Association, 1880 [1]

Professor Best has stated: "Evangelicalism was in some parts popular, even proletarian."[2] He notes also that Victorian evangelicalism was "largely lay and often anti-clerical in character".[3] Since evangelicalism encouraged the laity to take an important part in evangelising and, if necessary, to undertake mission schemes in voluntary organisations without formal ecclesiastical sanction, then it was perhaps inevitable that entrepreneurial religious zeal would result in the formation of sub-movements or an "underground" evangelicalism that were beyond the ecclesiastical pale. Such a trend was probably accentuated in Scotland because of the strength of presbyterianism. The most prominent characteristic of proletarian evangelicalism in Victorian Scotland, and possibly elsewhere, was anti-Catholicism. However, there were other characteristics - notably the promotion of total abstinence. This appendix provides a brief survey of working-class evangelical organisations in Glasgow.

Between 1795 and 1845, tension between Protestants ("Proddies") and Catholics ("Papes") in Glasgow seems to have been at a relatively low level. The anti-Catholic riots of the 1780s and early 1790s against the Catholic Relief Bill were not repeated with the same vigour during the next fifty years. Perhaps the most notable incident was the agitation by Protestant mobs on the opening of the Catholic cathedral in Clyde Street beside the river in 1814.[4] The hostility towards Catholics and episcopalians ("Piskies") on the part of the Protestant lower orders, civil administration and presbyterian establishment was open and often united during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From about 1790, however, there was a noticeable relaxation in official attitudes towards those two religious groups. Catholic and episcopalian relief Acts were passed by parliament in the early 1790s. Catholic chapels were being erected in lowland towns and cities from the late eighteenth century, and, whilst there was continuing Protestant antipathy towards Catholicism, the immigration of large numbers of Irish Catholics did not result in intense religious conflict in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, as late as 1842 there was evidence of remarkable calm in Protestant-Catholic relations in the city. In that year, the Irish temperance campaigner Father Mathew attracted massive support from the presbyterian Scottish Temperance Union and Protestant admirers during a visit to the city.[5]

This relative peace in Protestant-Catholic relations in Glasgow seems to have been radically transformed in the period after the Irish potato famine of 1845-6. Massive immigration increased the numbers of Catholics resident in the

city's slums. A survey of certain wynds in the centre of Glasgow in the 1850s showed that 8,000 out of 12,000 destitute people were Catholics.[6] A specific grievance that was being voiced in the 1840s and 1850s was that Irish Catholics were forcing native Protestant workers out of employment and, because of the swollen labour market, were causing wages to fall. Some members of the presbyterian and civil establishments supported this view. Sheriff Archibald Alison said in 1840 that "the annual immigration from Ireland is the chief cause which weighs down the British poor".[7] The widening acceptance of this argument, and of anti-Catholic feeling in general, appears to have been due to the increased Irish immigration of the 1830s and, particularly, of the 1840s. For instance, the Protestant association to fight the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 was not formed until 1835. Similarly, the "Orange-and-Green" riots in Ayrshire and Lanarkshire did not become widespread until the 1830s.[8]

From the early 1850s, a greater degree of organisation became apparent in anti-Catholicism in Glasgow. A movement developed outwith the presbyterian churches, and very few ministers appear to have been associated with it. Indeed, ministers were frequently reprimanded by working-class evangelicals for failing to adopt fierce anti-Catholic stances. The movement of the post-1850 period seems to have emerged from the radical working-class temperance and total-abstinence societies of the 1830s and 1840s. Total-abstinence societies had attacked the churches in the 1840s for lack of support for the teetotal cause. Working-class evangelicalism seems to have been nurtured in these societies between 1830

and 1850. In the 1840s, political aspirations created an association between total abstinence and Chartism. The Glasgow teetotal campaigner Edward Morris, for instance, used his campaigning platforms to promote the cause of political radicalism. In 1855, the Glasgow Abstainers' Union was formed with a strong anti-Catholic bias. It too attacked presbyterian clergy despite growing ministerial support for the total-abstinence cause.[9]

In 1852, the Glasgow Protestant Laymen's Association was formed to fight Popery and Infidelity - "the two great evils of the age".[10] In its early years, the Association was shunned by the presbyterian churches. On the tercentenary of the Reformation in 1860, the Association received no co-operation from the presbyteries of the three main churches in the celebration of the event.[11] However, in the late 1860s and early 1870s there is evidence of increasing anti-Catholic feeling in Glasgow. The Orange Order, previously with no lodges in the city, made an unsuccessful missionary campaign in 1862, but in 1868 six hundred people turned up for the 12th of July procession; in 1873, the Order claimed to recruit 3,000 new members in the city. During the 1870s, the July parades attracted 10,000 people in the city, and by 1878 there were reputedly one hundred lodges with 14,000 members out of a British total of 90,000. Anti-catholicism became partially respectable with the Orange Order becoming aligned with the Tory party in the city.[12] In such circumstances, some clergy of the presbyterian churches were to be found supporting Orangism. Similarly, the Glasgow Protestant Laymen's Association attracted considerable support from ministers of the Free and U.P. churches in the late 1870s,

with the intent of encouraging "evangelising" amongst the Catholic population of the city.[13] Other organisations were formed by working-class evangelicals. In 1862, the Cross Society, later called the United Working Men's Christian Mission, set up a mission station at Glasgow Cross and conducted open-air meetings in Jail Square and Glasgow Green in a proselytising campaign directed at Catholics of the east end.[14]

The most prominent anti-Catholic agitator in the city in the second half of the nineteenth century was Harry Long. In 1870, he founded the Glasgow Working Men's Evangelistic Association. He and several agents were employed by the Association to campaign by open-air and public-hall oratory against Catholicism and Secularism. The Associations's report of 1880 states of Long:

> "He had his usual debates, either on the Green or in Halls, principally with Infidels, as Roman Catholics are strictly forbidden to discuss with him." [15]

Long's fame went beyond Glasgow, but he sometimes found that the religious context in that city did not pertain everywhere. He found himself in an embarrassing situation in 1881 when he went to the United States to lecture to branches of the Y.M.C.A.:

> "The people of the New World pursue a different policy towards Romanists to that adopted by us.... There are more Roman Catholic members in the Young Men's Christian Association of Boston than there are Presbyterians." [16]

Long's election to the school board of Glasgow in 1873 was a notable victory for the proletarian-evangelical movement. His activities on the board, and particularly his exchanges

with Catholic members, were followed closely by his supporters. When three Catholics came top of the poll in the school-board election of 1882, the Working Men's Evangelistic Association, "being aggrieved", formed the "Knoxite Society" to "displace the Papal three by a Protestant Five".[17] The Irish Home Rule movement of the 1880s further increased the level of hostility. Long and his supporters engaged in a long struggle with a Catholic society for use of the municipal band-stand on Glasgow Green, ending with the town council trying to maintain its religious neutrality by refusing the applications from both sides.[18] The many votes that Long attracted at the school-board elections must be counted as votes for Protestantism versus Roman Catholicism since practically the only policy publicised in his election campaigns was the defence of Protestant schooling from the attacks by Catholic priests and laity on the board. Whilst religious voting patterns in parliamentary and municipal elections were more complex,[19] the elections for the school board provide an insight into religious conflict in the city and, to no small degree, were means for expressing and cultivating that conflict.

Despite the extremism of proletarian evangelicalism, the movement attracted some measure of support from prominent middle-class evangelicals. J N Cuthbertson, a well-known presbyterian figure in the field of public education, was honorary president of Long's Association.[20] Working-class evangelicals undertook mission work amongst the inhabitants of the city's east end. Long conducted Sunday services, prayer meetings and bible classes, funerals, and tract distribution. Like the United Working Men's Christian

Mission, Long engaged in activities normally associated with evangelical home-mission work, but, unlike middle-class evangelicals, placed greater stress on attacking Popery. The Glasgow Protestant Laymen's Association and the Glasgow Protestant Missionary Society stated that they did not object to Roman Catholicism as such but only to the re-establishment of the Apostate system in Britain.[21] It is significant that the proletarian-evangelical movement attracted greater support from Protestant employers than from Protestant clergy. The subscription and donation lists for Long's organisation and for the United Working Men's Christian Mission are dominated by firms - especially employers of semi- or unskilled labour. One example was the Calton Spinning Company, situated in the east end, where the proletarian evangelicals were most active.

Proletarian evangelicals did not form their own denomination. Nonetheless, they were clearly dissatisfied with the weakness of anti-Catholic feeling amongst the majority of presbyterian clergy. However, despite their religious bigotry, the desire of these evangelicals to bring about "the Religious and Moral Improvement of the Working Classes"[22] places them in the same category as the self-help total-abstinence societies. The proletarian-evangelical movement, insofar as it was a coherent movement, is difficult to study because of the shortage of documentary evidence.

Notes to appendix III.

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