

**The formation and impact of the Scottish Evangelicals'  
programme for working-class education, 1818-1846  
— including its influence in post-Meiji Japan**

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# Contents

<b>Abstract</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>viii-ix</b>
<b>Declaration</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>List of Abbreviations</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>Notes on Japanese terms and titles</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter I St John's experiment in the history of Glasgow Town's Hospital: 1733-1818</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>1. Glasgow Town's Hospital and educating children for industry</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>2. Supporting industrious families and education for social duty</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>3. Reform of the poor relief system and Chalmers's programme</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Appendix for Chapter I</b>	<b>31</b>
Illustration I-1 Picture of Glasgow Town's Hospital in 1733	31
Table I-1 Background information on entry and departure of the children of Glasgow Town's Hospital : 1741-1743	32
Table I-2 Payments for 'adopted children' to the Town's Hospital — 1802-1817	33
Table I-3 Distributions of scholars of charity schools in Glasgow 1783 & 1787	34
Figure I-1 Assessment and costs of indoor and outdoor pensioners of the Town's Hospital— 1791-1817	35
<b>Chapter II The St John's experiment</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>1. The ideas behind the experiment</b>	<b>37</b>
(1) The mechanism of the Scottish parochial system— family as the core	38
(2) Forming habits of education through the parochial school	42
(3) The role of religious influence in the parochial system	44



<b>2.</b>	<b>The commencement of the St John's Experiment</b>	<b>46</b>
(1)	The structure and agents of the St John's Experiment	47
(2)	Statistical survey of the parish and influence of Sabbath schools	49
(3)	Stimulating family responsibility	52
<b>3.</b>	<b>Organising Sabbath schools and parochial schools</b>	<b>57</b>
(1)	Extending Sabbath schools using the local system	57
(2)	The formation of parochial schools in the parish	60
(3)	Transformation of charity schools into parochial schools	64
	<b>Appendix for Chapter II</b>	<b>68</b>
Map II-1	St John's parish in 1818 in comparison with the division of the city of Glasgow in 1780	68
Map II-2	The Original 25 Visitation Districts in St John's Parish	69
Table II-1	The Results of the St John's Moral and Educational Survey in 1819	70
Table II-2	Children attending Sabbath schools and their religious background in St John's parish in 1819	71
Table II-3	Elders, Deacons and Sabbath school teachers in St John's 1819-1820	75
Table II-4	Teachers of the Tron Sabbath School Society in April 1819	77
Table II-5	Sabbath school teachers admitted at monthly meetings of St John's Sabbath School Society: June 1819-Aug. 1823	78
	<b>Chapter III The termination of the experiment in the context of its new developments</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>New programme of infant schools inspired by the experiment</b>	<b>81</b>
(1)	Importing infant schools from England to Scotland	81
(2)	Stow's aims of founding the Glasgow Infant School Society	85
(3)	The GISS's connection with St John's experiment	88
<b>2.</b>	<b>Development of the educational methods in infant schools</b>	<b>90</b>
(1)	Establishment of the Edinburgh Infant School Society	90
(2)	Development of intellectual education by Stow	95
(3)	A new footing for national education	100
(4)	Some views promoting a national system of education	102
<b>3.</b>	<b>Termination of the St John's experiment</b>	<b>103</b>
(1)	Extending Sabbath schools in Glasgow and beyond	104

(2)	The role of Sabbath schools and its new adaptation to the city mission	108
(3)	The termination of the experiment in the new framework	110
<b>Appendix for Chapter III</b>		<b>115</b>
Table III-1	Innovations related to Sabbath and infant schools between 1816 and 1829	115
Table III-2	Office Bearers of the Glasgow Infant School Society—1827-30	116
Table III-3	Office Bearers of the Edinburgh Infant School Society in 1832 and 1835	120
Table III-4	Numbers of articles in different categories in <i>The Glasgow Infant School Magazine</i> in 1832, 1834 and 1835	123
Plate III-1	Annfield Juvenile Parochial School in St John's	124
Table III-5	The incomes of St John's parish between 1819 and 1835	125
Table III-6	The expenditures of the funds of St John's between 1819 and 1835	126
Table III-7	The state of income and expenditure of St John's between 1820 and 1833	128
 <b>Chapter IV The training system and the Glasgow Normal Seminary</b>		 <b>129</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>Stow's training system in connection with Chalmers's theology</b>	<b>130</b>
(1)	Chalmers's theology of conscience and Stow's moral training	133
(2)	The method of moral training	139
(3)	Bible and secular intellectual training and its curriculum	142
(4)	'Picturing out' and Bible intellectual training	146
<b>2.</b>	<b>The establishment of the Glasgow Educational Society</b>	<b>151</b>
(1)	The background to the Glasgow Educational Society	152
(2)	The establishment of the Glasgow Educational Society	155
(3)	The approach to government aid for parochial schools	162
(4)	Establishing a normal seminary of the Glasgow Educational Society	166
<b>3.</b>	<b>The foundation of the Glasgow Normal Seminary</b>	<b>171</b>
(1)	Interdenominational and independent character of the normal Seminary	171
(2)	The first government grant to a normal seminary in Britain	175
(3)	Teacher training courses of the Glasgow Normal Seminary	178
<b>Appendix for Chapter IV</b>		<b>184</b>
Table IV-1	'Elements of Science' in secular training lessons—Tuesday and Friday weekly course of stage II	184

Table IV-2	The office bearers of the Glasgow Educational Society 1834-39	186
Table IV-3	The teachers of the Normal Seminary— 1837, 1839, 1841	192
Figure IV-1	Gallery in an infant school	193
Figure IV-2	Training schools— the infant department and the juvenile department	194
Figure IV-3	Ground floor plan of the Glasgow Normal Seminary shown in 1841	194

## **Chapter V Impact of the training system in Britain and beyond 195**

### **1. The impact of the training system on government policy 197**

(1)	The influence of the training system on Kay's promotion of education	198
(2)	Proposal for a government normal school based on the training System	203
(3)	The training system in government policy	207
(4)	Extending normal schools (seminaries) under the CCE	210

### **2. The influence of the GNS within Scotland 212**

(1)	The students of the GNS	213
(2)	The influence of the training system in Scotland	216
(3)	Decline of the schools using the training system	219

### **3. Influence of the training system outside Scotland 220**

(1)	The adoption of the training system in England & Wales	221
(2)	The introduction of the training system in Australia	225
(3)	The introduction of the training system in the West Indies	227

## **Appendix for Chapter V 230**

Map V-1	Locations and schools from which teachers went to the Normal Seminary and to which teachers were appointed by April 1837	230
Table V-1	The schools in Glasgow and its surrounding areas influenced by the training system by April 1837	232
Table V-2	Infant schools in Scotland with government grants—1834-1842	233
Table V-3	Dissenters and the development of their Sabbath schools in Glasgow and its suburbs	234
Figure V-1	School of the probationary ward in Parkhurst Prison	235

<b>Chapter VI A new framework of working-class education in Scotland</b>	<b>236</b>
1. <b>The transfer of the GNS after the Disruption</b>	<b>238</b>
2. <b>The government's attitude towards the distress of Paisley</b>	<b>241</b>
3. <b>The approval of Scottish evangelicals' programme on pauperism in the poor law report of 1844</b>	<b>245</b>
4. <b>Forming a new framework educating the working-class children</b>	<b>249</b>
<b>Appendix for Chapter VI</b>	<b>256</b>
Table VI-1 Numbers of adult classes in Glasgow—1838-1843	256
<b>Chapter VII The influence of the Chalmers-Stow programme in Japan: 1878-1918</b>	<b>257</b>
1. <b>Sending a Japanese government official to the GFNS</b>	<b>260</b>
(1) The promotion of the western educational system and patriotism	261
(2) Nishimura Tei's interests before visiting Britain	264
(3) Nishimura's studies in Britain	266
2. <b>Stow's influence on Japanese normal schools</b>	<b>271</b>
(1) Introducing British school management theories	272
(2) Stow's influence in British school management theories	275
(3) Stow's influence on Nishimura's book	277
(4) The rise and fall of British school management theories	284
3. <b>Chalmers in the context of urbanising Japan</b>	<b>290</b>
(1) Emphasis on education in Japanese poor relief policy	291
(2) The visit by two experts to Glasgow searching for new policies on the poor	295
(3) Discovering Chalmers's ideas in the Home Department	301
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>309</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>316</b>

## Abstract

This thesis analyses the formation of the Scottish Evangelicals' educational programme for working class children which centred on moral education and was backed by family visitation, and its impact on Scotland and beyond, during the period between 1818 and 1846. To show its lasting influence, the case of post-Meiji Japan is also discussed.

In particular, this study highlights three aspects of the programme which have not been considered properly in previous works: (1) education was combined with family visitation by moral agents in the community; (2) the programme can be seen as a part of the 'British Enlightenment'; (3) it had a close association with the government after 1834. All three elements were an essential part of the programme.

Thomas Chalmers's experiment in Glasgow was its starting point. To place this experiment in the history of the poor relief system and the British Enlightenment from the eighteenth century, the history of the Glasgow Town's Hospital is discussed in relation to ideas of various enlightenment thinkers. The experiment, based on the analysis of human nature, attempted to keep the family united as the basic unit of poor relief, by restricting relief and establishing parochial schools. Christian instruction through visiting agents to families such as elders and Sabbath school teachers was, however, considered decisive for this purpose. After 1834, a new development of infant schools led to a national movement of education by the Scottish evangelicals, combining the elements of the experiment with David Stow's methods of education. This movement aimed to save the existing order of society, the nation and the established church. In promoting this movement, the Glasgow Normal Seminary for teacher training played a significant role, backed by the government. This thesis shows the enduring legacy of the programme in Scotland, its success and failure in the rest of Britain and certain British colonies, and the way Japan was later influenced by it.

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Any errors, either of fact or interpretation, are of course my own responsibility.

## **Declaration**

This thesis has been composed by the candidate and the work is the candidate's own.



## List of Abbreviations

BFSS	British and Foreign School Society
BAAS	British Association for the Advancement of Science
CCE	Committee of Council on Education
<i>CSM</i>	<i>The Church of Scotland Magazine</i>
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
EISS	Edinburgh Infant School Society
<i>ER</i>	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i>
GCA	Glasgow City Archives
GCM	Glasgow City Mission
GES	Glasgow Educational Society
GFNS	Glasgow Free Church Normal Seminary
<i>GISM</i>	<i>The Glasgow Infant School Magazine</i>
GISS	Glasgow Infant School Society
GML	Glasgow Mitchell Library
GNS	Glasgow Normal Seminary
GSSU	Glasgow Sabbath School Union (two different unions)
(G)TH	(Glasgow) Town's Hospital
LCOS	London Charity Organisation Society
NCL	New College Library (The University of Edinburgh)
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NSS	National School Society
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (online version)
OED	Oxford English Dictionary (online version)
<i>PJM</i>	<i>The Phrenological Journal and Miscellany</i>
PP	Parliamentary Papers
NA	The National Archives
RLS	Royal Lancasterian Society
TMCOS	Tokyo Metropolitan Charity Organisation
<i>WN</i>	<i>The Wealth of Nations</i>

## Notes on Japanese titles

In the text and the bibliography, Japanese terms and titles are translated into English along with alphabetized Japanese normally in brackets. Only English translations are used in footnotes.

## **Introduction**

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Scottish evangelicals developed an influential programme of working-class education which centred on moral education and was closely associated with visitation of working-class families by moral agents. The programme was gradually formed through a social experiment in Glasgow and its influence. It used experimental and observational analyses of society and human nature while keeping the Bible as its ultimate authority. After 1834, it was developed as a national education movement, promoting moral education and organising agencies for family visitation, supported by government aid, and disseminated not only in Scotland but also in the rest of Britain and some of the British colonies. This thesis aims to explore this process, including the influence of the programme in post-Meiji Japan.

Two main figures involved are Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847) and David Stow (1793-1864). Chalmers was a social and ecclesiastical reformer, influential not only in Scotland but also in Britain at large. He was a parish minister in the Church of Scotland and later became a professor in St Andrews and Edinburgh universities. He was also a leader of the Free Church at the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843. His evangelical teaching in a variety of areas including politics, economics, social policy, education and theology was widely influential in his time, through his writing and preaching.

This thesis, however, does not aim to discuss Chalmers's ideas and programme as a whole. It will identify and highlight those aspects of his ideas and social programmes related to 'de-pauperisation' and their enduring influence beyond the period and across cultural borders even as far as Japan. Chalmers considered that pauperism, which was the condition of persons dependent on public relief should be eliminated. In this thesis, his two core approaches are explored. The first was to organise moral supervision to the family which was regarded as the basic unit on which the poor should rely in society. The second was to educate children morally, backed by religious principles.

To this second point, the other main figure of this thesis, David Stow (1793-1864) contributed most. He was an evangelical silk merchant in Glasgow and an educationist who established the first state-aided teacher training college in Britain.

He was also an active Sunday school teacher and organiser. At the Disruption he followed Chalmers. Stow developed his educational methods deeply influenced by Chalmers's evangelical theology, while learning from other educationists. His ideas on education were widely accepted, not only in Scotland but also in the rest of Britain and beyond. Chalmers, who in his earlier period focused on education without special emphasis on early moral education, also accepted Stow's ideas later. Stow's moral education was also intended to strengthen the family unit in society. This thesis will focus on these two closely related approaches to de-pauperisation.

The analysis of family and school education together was pioneered by Philippe Ariès,<sup>1</sup> studying mainly France. Ariès argued that ideas on the family in the upper and middle classes, along with the idea of childhood, emerged in strong connection with the introduction of authoritarian school discipline through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This process, he argued, reflected the moral and physical separation of the middle class from the lower class. Although his work assumed that the middle class ideals of the family and childhood, and therefore of education, gradually embraced the whole of society including the working class through the nineteenth century and beyond, he did not study this process himself.

Jacques Donzelot undertook this task, studying eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France. But he criticises Ariès's assumption of a simple diffusion of the image of the family held by the upper and middle classes to the working class, since it does not explain why the working class came to adhere to the morality of the upper and middle classes. Donzelot, in contrast, urges that the transformation of the family should be studied in socio-political relationships and presented the idea that the bourgeois family and the working class family were differently reorganised in that process.<sup>2</sup> Although this thesis does not deal with the middle class family, this point is important in order to investigate the work of Chalmers and Stow, who both belonged to the middle class and whose policies targeted the working class. However, Donzelot does not see any role for moral education in reorganising the working class family in the first half of nineteenth century. According to Donzelot, in France,

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<sup>1</sup> Philippe Ariès, translated by Robert Baldick, *Centuries of Childhood* (London, 1962)

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Donzelot, translated by Robert Hurley, *The Policing of Families* (New York,

public schools were organised against religious schools in order to spread medical and educative norms which were expected to restrict child labour and early marriage, pressed by medical-hygienist philanthropists. Regarding those philanthropists who emphasised assistance towards the private sphere (families) in solving pauperism and indigence, Donzelot did not mention any role for education.<sup>3</sup> However, in Scotland, moral and religious education in religious schools played an important role in reorganising working class families, employing state-aid, and promoters of such a policy including Chalmers and Stow were those who emphasised assistance to the private sphere. The Scottish case therefore might present a different model from the French.

It is, however, important to see Chalmers's and Stow's ideas in the light of the 'British Enlightenment'. Roy Porter argues that evangelicals such as Hannah More and William Wilberforce were anti-enlightenment and that their core belief was human depravity which could be overcome only by Christ crucified.<sup>4</sup> For Porter, the position of Thomas Robert Malthus, who was originally a philosophical radical as well as an Anglican clergyman, is to represent 'the crux of the Enlightenment', since Malthus in his population theory emphasised a harsh aspect of nature, which would be overcome only by man's moral restraint, bringing himself closer to evangelicals.<sup>5</sup> In the area of education Harold Silver also sees evangelicals who held the idea of the essential corruption of human nature as opposed to enlightened rationalism.<sup>6</sup> For Porter, as far as evangelicals held the idea of "innate 'sinfulness'" as their core belief, their ideas could not be part of the Enlightenment, since the Enlightenment thinkers rejected such an idea as unscientific and without foundation.<sup>7</sup> However, if the goal of the Enlightenment was the study of man using the scientific methods improved by

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1979), pp.xx-xxi, xxv, 5-6, 47, 72-73.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp.54-57, 72-73, 77-78.

<sup>4</sup> Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London, 2000), pp.467-469.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp.467-473.

<sup>6</sup> Harold Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education* (London, 1965), pp.37-55. See also Brian Simon, *Studies in the History of Education* (London, 1960), p.69.

<sup>7</sup> Roy Porter, *The Enlightenment* (London, 1990), p.19.

Francis Bacon and Isaac Newton, as Porter himself and Anand C. Chitnis suggest,<sup>8</sup> Scottish evangelicals such as Chalmers and Stow should also be seen as part of the British Enlightenment.<sup>9</sup>

Both of them developed views on society, education and human nature using observational and experimental methods, while keeping the Bible central to their thinking. Their ideas were also widely shared in particular in the mid-nineteenth century, and were connected with a newly emerged movement to disseminate science, the British Association for the Advancement of Science founded in 1831.<sup>10</sup> Their ideas could be seen as an influential and core part of the Enlightenment in mid-nineteenth-century industrialising and urbanising Britain. For that reason, evangelical figures such as Chalmers and Stow could be closely connected to pro-enlightenment figures such as Malthus (1766-1834), Henry Brougham (1778-1868), a liberal Whig and an influential contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*,<sup>11</sup> and a former Edinburgh educated medical practitioner and later secretary to the Privy Council's Committee on Education, James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth (1804-77).<sup>12</sup> Studying Chalmers's and Stow's ideas in the context of the British Enlightenment is essential.

This approach, seeing evangelicals as not anti-enlightenment, has already been explored by some historians. Although Doreen M. Rosman does not directly discuss evangelicals as part of the Enlightenment, she attempts to show that evangelicals shared the contemporary culture in such aspects as the importance of intellectual

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp.12, 15-19. Anand C. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History* (London, 1976), pp.4, 6, 91.

<sup>9</sup> Scottish evangelicals who became gradually influential in the Church of Scotland from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century have been described as supporters of free speculation, enlightened educational ideal in Scotland and secular learning, building on the achievements of the eighteenth century Enlightenment. Ian D. L. Clark, 'The Leslie Controversy, 1805', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, XIV (1963), p.184. Ian D. L. Clark, 'From Protest to Reaction: The Moderate Regime in the Church of Scotland, 1752-1805', in N. T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison (ed.), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* (Edinburgh, 1996), pp.201, 222. Paul Baxter, 'Deism and Development', in S. J. Brown and M. Fry (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1993), p.99.

<sup>10</sup> S. F. Cannon, *Science in Culture: The Early Victorian Period* (New York, 1978), p.167.

<sup>11</sup> Anand C. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment & Early Victorian English Society* (London, 1986), pp.85, 102

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp.154-163.

development for human growth. Rosman also displays that evangelicals accepted natural theology which argued the existence of God based on reason, sharing a common ground with the Enlightenment rational Christians such as William Paley, although the former differed from the latter in putting much emphasis on human sinfulness and the principles of atonement.<sup>13</sup> A historian of science, Susan Faye Cannon, has also confirmed Rosman's argument that evangelicals supported the development of science. Cannon has shown that Chalmers was an important supporter of advancing science which was closely connected with Christianity, as a system of truth in the first two-thirds of nineteenth-century Britain.<sup>14</sup> Boyd Hilton, a historian of economic ideas, has also argued that influential free trade individualism was adopted by some evangelicals who combined their belief in atonement with enlightenment rationalism. Hilton sees their ideas in the eighteenth-century tradition of rationalistic and mechanistic natural theology and Chalmers has been considered one of the most influential figures among them.<sup>15</sup>

This thesis, building on this approach, focuses on the two aspects: the emphasis on supervising the family and on moral education in popular education. Both of these emerged as a new framework to deal with the unrest of the working class during industrialisation and urbanisation. This was not an issue for the earlier Enlightenment. Only in the early nineteenth century was it raised as an issue. This thesis will demonstrate that these two aspects embodied the characteristics of the late Enlightenment developed in Scotland.

In order to fully understand Chalmers's and Stow's position in the Enlightenment, two key concepts, science and human nature, need to be explained here. The usage of science in the first half of nineteenth-century in Britain was quite different from the present usage. Science, in modern use, denotes 'knowledge ascertained by observation and experiment, critically tested, systematized and

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<sup>13</sup> Doreen M. Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture* (London, 1984), pp. 8-10, 44-45, 51-53, 220.

<sup>14</sup> Susan Faye Cannon, *Science in Culture* (New York, 1978), pp.1, 229, 243.

<sup>15</sup> Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: the Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford, 1988), pp.viii, 3, 8.



brought under general principles'.<sup>16</sup> In the second quarter of nineteenth century, science started meaning natural and physical science.<sup>17</sup> *The Oxford English Dictionary's* first citation of this use was in 1867 by W. G. Ward, saying 'we shall...use the word "science" in the sense which Englishmen so commonly give to it; as expressing physical and experimental science, to the exclusion of theological and metaphysical.'<sup>18</sup> As this quote hints, in the first half of the nineteenth century the concept 'science' often included theology and metaphysics depending on who used it. However, as Cannon suggests, it was also true that science at that time tended to mean natural philosophy, or physical science.<sup>19</sup> In fact the British Enlightenment in the post-1688 period is characterised by its development of natural science within Protestantism, represented by the work of Isaac Newton.<sup>20</sup> The rise of natural theology, separate from revealed theology, reflected this process. Natural theology demonstrated the existence and knowledge of God through the use of reason. In particular, a type of natural theology relied on developed scientific knowledge and encouraged the integration of science and religion.<sup>21</sup>

Chalmers's and Stow's thinking was inevitably influenced by the rise of natural theology. Chalmers positively supported rational, scientific, Baconian philosophy. At the same time, he saw astronomy as 'the most certain and best established of the sciences'. The important elements were two-fold according to Chalmers. The first was to use evidence from actual and sensible observation and experience, and the second was to be silent about things without firm evidence.<sup>22</sup> These two principles formed 'science' as Chalmers defined it, and he also argued that theology was a science.<sup>23</sup> Later accepting also natural theology as the basis of Christianity and

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<sup>16</sup> 'Science', in *The Chambers Dictionary* (repr. 1997, Edinburgh, 1993), p.1542.

<sup>17</sup> Cannon states that the use of this meaning started in England in the 1830s. Cannon, *Science in Culture*, p.2.

<sup>18</sup> 'Science' (5b), in *OED*.

<sup>19</sup> Cannon, *Science in Culture*, p.2, 146.

<sup>20</sup> Porter, *Enlightenment*, pp.52, 131-132, 152, 524.

<sup>21</sup> John Hedley Brooke, *New Interaction between Theology and Natural Science* (Milton Keynes, 1974), pp.8-9.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *Discourses on the Christian Revelation, viewed in connection with the Modern Astronomy: The Works of Thomas Chalmers*, vii (Glasgow, n.d.), pp. vii, 20, 50-52.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Chalmers, 'Christianity', in David Brewster (ed.), *Edinburgh Encyclopædia. Vol. VI. Part I & II* (Edinburgh, 1813), p.394.



Christianisation, he analysed social and economical relationships between man and man in many of his articles and, in particular, in his *Bridgewater Treatise* of 1833,<sup>24</sup> in which he developed the modern concept of social science in his notion of 'science'. Stow also shared a similar idea of social science with Chalmers while he chiefly saw 'science' as natural science, introducing contemporary achievements of natural science into his school curriculum.<sup>25</sup>

Chalmers's and Stow's ideas also depended on the concept of human nature. The concept itself is a historical word and denotes 'the basic character or disposition of mankind'.<sup>26</sup> In Chalmers and Stow's time, there were briefly three different ways of looking at human nature. The first was to see human nature as a tabula rasa, but created by environment and education through the principle of association. This view was initially presented by John Locke and developed by David Hartley and Joseph Priestley. For them, well controlled education and environment became the key to forming moral and rational manhood guided by reason.<sup>27</sup> The second approach was by evangelicals who saw human nature as being originally sinful and essentially fallen. Education was in this case expected to restrain and correct it.<sup>28</sup> The third way of viewing human nature was completely opposed to rationalist and materialist determinism and emphasised feeling rather than reason, based on the ideas of the innocence of childhood, represented by Jean-Jacques Rousseau.<sup>29</sup>

Chalmers's and Stow's concept of human nature was a mixture of the first and second types. They both supposed the concept of conscience, which was 'a voice within every heart', immediately to suggest God's judgement, but it was considered

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<sup>24</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *On the Power Wisdom and Goodness of God as Manifested in the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man* (London, 1853) This book was originally published in 1833 as the first volume of *The Bridgewater Treatises*.

<sup>25</sup> David Stow, *Moral Training, and the Training System* (5<sup>th</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1841), pp.239-244.

<sup>26</sup> 'Nature' (7.a), in *OED*.

<sup>27</sup> Porter, *Enlightenment*, pp.262-264, 339-349. Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education*, p.52-55. Simon, *Studies in the History of Education*, pp.44-50. Peter Coveney, *The Image of Childhood* (1957, revised in 1967, Harmondsworth), pp.37-40.

<sup>28</sup> Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education*, pp.37, 53 and 55. Porter, *Enlightenment*, pp.339-340.

<sup>29</sup> Coveney, *The Image of Childhood*, p.33.

that whether it worked properly or not was a different matter.<sup>30</sup> Their concept of human nature had also similar implications. Moral and religious education was expected to awaken and strengthen the conscience or human nature before other faculties such as ambition and avarice took its place<sup>31</sup> and prepare 'sinners' to accept God and Christianity through the Bible. In this way Chalmers and Stow believed that education can strengthen human nature which was created by God and so bring 'sinners' to Christianity through biblical study.<sup>32</sup> Science education was also thought useful to form the basis of Christianity or Christianisation by suggesting the existence of God.<sup>33</sup> Human sinfulness was thus considered amendable through education for Chalmers and Stow.

The tendency of modern historians has been to view Chalmers as backward looking. An early example is Nisbet. Although he sees Chalmers as 'a forerunner of much modern economic theory' which considered the future of Britain to depend on wiser consumption and improved education, as well as increased productivity,<sup>34</sup> Nisbet chiefly views Chalmers as an agriculture-based economic thinker who emphasised the importance of agricultural improvement as the basis of national prosperity backed by a moral and Christian restraint among agricultural labourers.<sup>35</sup> However, Chalmers's emphasis on moral education focused on preventing labourers in industrialised urban areas from depending on public relief and also supposed commerce working in the principle of the free market.<sup>36</sup>

Rosalind Mitchison is an exception who shows that Chalmers should not necessarily be seen as backward-looking, although she heavily criticises Chalmers's ideas. Mitchison argues that until the eighteenth-century Scottish poor law practices developed on similar lines to England's, which gave the able-bodied the right to

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<sup>30</sup> Chalmers, *On the Power*, pp.41-48.

<sup>31</sup> *GISM*, 5 (May, 1832), p.110.

<sup>32</sup> Chalmers, *On the Power*, pp.416-417, 427. David Stow, *Bible Training* (Glasgow, 1838), pp.5-8.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, iii (Glasgow, 1826?), p.378-379. Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.244.

<sup>34</sup> J. W. Nisbet, 'Thomas Chalmers and the Economic Order', in *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, 11 (1964), p.157.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p.156.

<sup>36</sup> See for example, Chalmers, *The Christian and Civic Economy*, iii, pp.29-49.

relief. However, Scotland, in the nineteenth century, established the principle that the able-bodied were not eligible for relief, whereas the English Poor Law in 1834 simply limited it to indoor relief. This Scottish nineteenth century principle was, according to Mitchison, initiated and strongly promoted by Chalmers under the influence of Malthus's ideas and promoted by the Scottish Whigs who reinterpreted the poor laws in line with Chalmers's ideas.<sup>37</sup>

Audrey Paterson, on the other hand, still sees Chalmers's ideas on poor relief as based on seventeenth-century peasant society. In her view, Chalmers's views on poor relief were inadequate when applied to nineteenth-century urban society. Paterson argues that the nineteenth-century Scottish poor relief system influenced by Chalmers was backward in comparison with England's, which was modernised in 1834 to adjust to an industrialising society. She considers the eleven years delay in reforming the old Scottish poor law after England's as a sign of delay in modernisation.<sup>38</sup> But as Mitchison's work shows, the Scottish nineteenth-century disablement principle was established even earlier than the new English poor law in 1834, which held a similar principle in terms of restricting relief to the able-bodied.<sup>39</sup>

R. A. Cage and E. O. A. Checkland have also criticised Chalmers as essentially a traditionalist.<sup>40</sup> They focus on the St John's experiment, in which Chalmers attempted as the parish minister to put into practice his theory on poor relief. They strongly criticise the experiment, concluding that it was not financially successful as well as in its effect on the other parishes in Glasgow. The reason for the failure was

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<sup>37</sup> Rosalind Mitchison, 'The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law', *Past and Present*, 63 (1974), pp.58-93. Mitchison, 'The Creation of the Disablement Rule in the Scottish Poor Law', in T. C. Smout (ed.), *The Search for Wealth and Stability: Essays in Economic and Social History* (London, 1979), pp.199-217, also *The Old Poor Law in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2000), pp.144-148.

<sup>38</sup> Audrey Paterson, 'The Poor Law in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', in Derek Fraser (ed.), *The New Poor Law in the 19<sup>th</sup> century* (London, 1976), pp.171-193.

<sup>39</sup> Mitchison, 'The Creation of the Disablement Rule', pp.214-215. This point was made much clearer in her following articles in 1988 and 1990. Mitchison, 'The Poor Law', in T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland, I: 1760-1830* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp.252-267. See also Mitchison, 'Scotland: 1750-1850', in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain: 1750-1950, I: Regions and Communities* (Cambridge, 1990), p.199.

<sup>40</sup> R. A. Cage and E. O. A. Checkland, 'Thomas Chalmers and Urban Poverty: The St. John's Parish Experiment in Glasgow, 1819-1837', in *The Philosophical Journal*, 13 (1976),

mainly attributed to the traditional origin of its ideas.

The attempt to go back to traditional Scottish parochial principles was bound to fail.<sup>41</sup>

They also attribute Chalmers's inability to understand the industrial working class and its difficulties to his middle class origin.<sup>42</sup> Cage and Checkland have attempted to show that in spite of Chalmers's assertion of the success of the experiment, grounds for this were lacking. They suggested that Chalmers's reputation was raised only because some English critics of the English old poor law who wished to end relief to the able-bodied needed a model, which the St John's experiment provided. In this way, they attempt to show Chalmers's experiment as isolated from contemporary Scotland. However, Cage and Checkland concede that some of the educational aspects of the treatment and, in particular, the methodology of helping families in narrowly assigned local areas were constructive elements.<sup>43</sup> If these aspects are really worth valuing, why were they successful if Chalmers's system was just backward-looking and outdated? Their work has not answered this question.

Cage implies that the whole nineteenth-century movement to take away relief from the able-bodied, influenced by Chalmers, was not carried out in practice.<sup>44</sup> Cage shows that although the Scottish poor law did not admit relief to the able-bodied, private charity and workhouses in towns normally provided temporary aid for the able-bodied unemployed, even in the nineteenth century.<sup>45</sup> By saying this,

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pp.37-56.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p.52.

<sup>42</sup> This criticism of Chalmers coincides with a certain trend of interpretation that the Churches, in general, failed to reach the working class of the nineteenth century. See A. Allan MacLaren, 'Presbyterianism and the Working Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City', in *The Scottish Historical Review*, 46 (1967), pp.115-139. William G. Enright, 'Urbanization and the Evangelical Pulpit in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', in *Church History*, 47 (1978), pp.400-407.

<sup>43</sup> Cage and Checkland, 'Thomas Chalmers and Urban Poverty', pp.49-50, 52-53. See also A. F. Young and E. T. Ashton, *British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1956), pp.75-78.

<sup>44</sup> R. A. Cage, *The Scottish Poor Law 1745-1845* (Edinburgh, 1981). Oh's work follows almost identically Cage's work. Yeon-Soo Oh, 'Poor Relief in Scotland before 1845: with Particular Reference to the Contribution Made by the Church of Scotland', PhD thesis, Aberdeen University, 1994.

<sup>45</sup> Cage, *The Scottish Poor Law*, pp.14-15, 59-60, 154. See also Cage, 'Debate: The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law', *Past and Present*, 69 (1975), pp.113-118.

Cage has rejected Mitchison's argument that the disablement principle was fully established in the nineteenth century and, as a result Cage again isolates Chalmers's experiment from his contemporaries. While it may be true that the able-bodied still received some relief, Cage underestimates how much attitudes changed from previous practice, under the influence of people like Chalmers.<sup>46</sup> Helen J. MacDonald, for example, displays how an intrusive approach to child care was spread in Scotland under the 1845 new Scottish Poor Law.<sup>47</sup> This, she argues, was a result of the family emphasis:

The emphasis on family obligation, as supported by upholders of the old system such as Chalmers, remained an integral feature of the new Poor Law in Scotland.<sup>48</sup>

Although it is questionable to see Chalmers as just an upholder of the old system, MacDonald shows how Chalmers's emphasis on family obligation had a real impact in practice.

Chalmers's most important biographer, S. J. Brown, however, also sees him as a backward-looking religious figure. Brown presents the idea that Chalmers was a communitarian theorist proposing a social ideal of small communities against individualism, in a line not dissimilar to that of Robert Owen, the utopian socialist.<sup>49</sup> Brown questioned whether the St John's experiment realised Chalmers's Christian communal ideal and concluded that Chalmers failed to achieve his main aim, that of forming a close-knit working-class community united by evangelical ideals. The area of education, however, which was at the centre of his vision, is considered by Brown to have shown more genuine development. He argues that local Sabbath schools were successfully created in the St John's experiment and that, in particular, parish schools

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<sup>46</sup> Cage, *The Scottish Poor Law*, pp.88-89.

<sup>47</sup> Helen Jane MacDonald, 'Children under the Care of the Scottish Poor Law, 1880-1929', PhD thesis, the University of Glasgow, 1994.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p.22. See also M. A. Crowther, 'Family Responsibility and State Responsibility in Britain before the Welfare State', in *The Historical Journal*, 25, I (1982), pp.132-133, 136, Helen J. MacDonald, 'Boarding-Out and the Scottish Poor Law, 1845-1914', in *The Scottish Historical Review*, 75-2-200 (October 1996), pp.197-220.

<sup>49</sup> Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1982), pp.122, 148-149.



showed considerable success and became 'a showpiece for the entire experiment'.<sup>50</sup> Brown further points out Chalmers's significant contribution to extending popular education in general.<sup>51</sup> However, despite these positive elements, overall Brown's work, in line with Cage and Checkland's view, serves to reinforce how Chalmers's ideas were based on traditional communal ideas, and fated to fail.<sup>52</sup>

The negative view of Chalmers's vision is generally supported by Mary T. Furgol.<sup>53</sup> However she sees that Chalmers emphasised 'self-preservation' or 'safeguarding the independence of the individual', based on essentially non-religious principles.<sup>54</sup> Furgol argues that in Chalmers's years in Glasgow he emphasised human nature, man's innate natural ability which would work to provide relief for neighbours as long as any artificial relief system was removed, without necessarily requiring the actual Christianisation of the people. According to Furgol, Chalmers accepted 'the Enlightenment concept' of a natural society with innate moral laws, in which man possessed human nature or natural morality and she argues that this secular emphasis on human nature captured many of the middle and upper classes in the early nineteenth century.<sup>55</sup> Although, as has been earlier suggested, Chalmers accepted the concept of human nature supposing conscience, as its core, which was God's voice in everybody's heart, Furgol fails to connect this with Chalmers's goal of leading people to Christianity.

The point hinted at by Furgol's thesis has been much more explored by Boyd Hilton. Hilton locates Chalmers as an influential thinker promoting free trade individualism in the first half of nineteenth-century Britain. This work paves the way to viewing Chalmers's ideas as a nineteenth-century invention and further shows that

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., pp.129-144.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., pp.375-379.

<sup>52</sup> For example, the following two works are in a similar line with Brown's. Donald C Smith, *Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest: Social Criticism in the Scottish Church 1830-1945* (New York, 1987); Donald MacLeod, 'Thomas Chalmers and Pauperism', in Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp.63-76.

<sup>53</sup> Mary Theresa Furgol, 'Thomas Chalmers's Poor Relief Theories and their Implementation in the Early Nineteenth Century', PhD thesis, Edinburgh University, 1987, pp.401-411.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp.98, 409.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., pp.92, 404.

his ideas symbolised the dominant mentality, politically and intellectually, of that period. Hilton shows that moderate evangelicals linked the promotion of individual morality with *laissez-faire* economic and social policies.<sup>56</sup> Chalmers was the main figure of his study.

Evangelicals, in general, according to Hilton, were characterised as those who amalgamated the rational thinking of the enlightenment and the Christian doctrine of the atonement.<sup>57</sup> They were within the tradition of the rationalistic and mechanistic eighteenth-century natural theology on the one hand, but they also saw life as a trial for the sinful soul, only saved through faith in Christ's atonement.<sup>58</sup> Hilton argues that Chalmers's ideas on the poor laws should also be seen in the light of this emphasis on individuals' salvation and also on an economic individualism backed by the moral development of individuals. Brown's argument which pictures Chalmers as a communal idealist is strongly criticised by Hilton.<sup>59</sup> However, perhaps, neither of these views is wholly satisfactory: Hilton develops arguments that Chalmers was not a religious communitarian, but because of his heavy focus on Chalmers's economic ideas he neglects Chalmers's emphasis on organising social policy based on the family rather than the individual alone.

Apart from his family-based social policy Chalmers also emphasised education. Writers on education have tended to follow the negative line of the social historians. R. D. Anderson notes that Chalmers's idea on education based on the traditional parochial school system had a practical impact including establishing schools in towns in the 1820s and 1830s and was shared by other intellectuals including moderate Whigs.<sup>60</sup> According to Anderson, Chalmers did not consider education to be something people would spontaneously demand, and therefore insisted that supply must be provided first to stimulate them. On this point Chalmers was even ready to accept state intervention, though in general he was a supporter of the *laissez-faire* principle. Anderson argues that Chalmers's stand on national education was

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<sup>56</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, pp.7, 10-17.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p.3 and *passim*.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.87-88.

<sup>60</sup> R. D. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People, 1750-1918* (Oxford, 1995), pp.39-40,

supportive of state intervention and sees him as the most important re-creator of the ideal of parish school system for nineteenth-century purposes. However, seeing Chalmers's ideas based on rural homogeneous Scotland,<sup>61</sup> he has failed to explain why Chalmers's ideas on national education were shared by those beyond his religious circle at that time, and their long influence.

Donald J. Withrington, in contrast, sees Chalmers's ideas on education as being of little influence in practice beyond his religious circle, although he agrees with Anderson in considering Chalmers as a supporter of national education aided by state aid. Analysing a pamphlet influenced by Chalmers's ideas on education, Withrington attempts to show that the picture depicted in the pamphlet, reflected in its title, *Scotland a Half-educated Nation*, tended to underestimate the extent of private schools in order to emphasise the necessity of the established church's supervision. Although Chalmers and his supporters attempted to extend parochial schools in the 1830s seeking state aid, Withrington argues that they were fighting a losing battle since they aimed only to extend the influence of the established church, which many parents had lost interest in supporting and considered useless for their children's earnings.<sup>62</sup>

Overall, therefore, social historians have been relatively negative about Chalmers's impact, but for varying reasons. Nevertheless, all, except Withrington, tend to agree that he was influential on government policy throughout the nineteenth century. There is, however, no coherent explanation of how it was possible that such

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<sup>61</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, pp.41, 48, and 'Education and the State in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', in *The Economic History Review*, second series, 36 (1983), pp.518-534. Anderson criticises views of E. G. West that even before the 1872 Scottish Education Act, under the industrial revolution the predominant number of children in large towns went to private fee-paying schools rather than to parochial schools and highlights a significant role of the church schools employing state aid to extend schools after the 1830s. West, *Education and the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1975), pp.59-72. D. M. Mason, 'School Attendance in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', in *The Economic History Review*, second series, 38 (1985), pp.276-281. Anderson, 'School Attendance in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: A Reply', in *The Economic History Review*, second series, 38 (1985), pp.282-286.

<sup>62</sup> Donald J. Withrington, "'Scotland a Half-Educated Nation" in 1834?: Reliable Critique or Persuasive Polemic?', in Walter M. Humes and Hamish M. Paterson (eds.), *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education: 1800-1980* (Edinburgh, 1983), pp.55-74; D. J. Withrington, 'Schooling, Literacy and Society', in T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison, *People and*



an apparent failure of his ideal could be so influential. The key to such an explanation is perhaps to be found in the link between Chalmers and Whig lawyers and politicians, as Mitichison displays this connection in the area of social policy and Anderson in education. This link represents a connection between evangelical activism and secular rationalism and makes Chalmers into a much more modern figure than has been previously thought.

Although one of his disciples, David Stow, has been studied, the context in which he was discussed was normally not connected with wider social policy in the first half of the nineteenth century. Robert R. Rusk argues that Stow, for the first time in Scotland, set the infant school on religious lines, unlike Robert Owen, the originator of the infant schools in Scotland, and developed methods for religious teaching with the use of infant schools. Rusk also highlights Stow's promotion of training teachers for the moral development of a young child,<sup>63</sup> and sees these two elements further integrated in his activities in the Glasgow Educational Society, which established the first teachers' training college in Scotland.<sup>64</sup> Stressing Stow's endeavour as being religiously biased, Rusk criticises the idea that the college was a national nondenominational college.<sup>65</sup> Later studies on Stow essentially accept this view,<sup>66</sup> although some scholars have taken a rather wider view. For example, Marjorie Cruickshank explores Stow's introduction of a variety of secular subjects further, and also his introduction of a new humanity into teaching, based on the nature of children.<sup>67</sup> Henry P. Wood explores Stow's influence not only in Scotland, but also in England and the colonies.<sup>68</sup> However these have not been investigated in

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*Society in Scotland, 1760-1830* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 180-181, 183-185.

<sup>63</sup> Robert R. Rusk, *The Training of Teachers in Scotland: A Historical Review* (Edinburgh, 1928), pp.26-26, 39-41.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.62, 65-71, 94.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p.82.

<sup>66</sup> James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, i (London, 1969), pp.280-81, 311-315. Marjorie Cruickshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland* (London, 1970), pp.32-39, 42-50. Henry P. Wood, *David Stow and the Glasgow Normal Seminary* (Glasgow, 1987). Glenda White, 'David Stow', in Margaret M. Harrison and Willis B. Marker, *Teaching the Teachers: The History of Jordanhill College of Education 1828-1993* (Edinburgh, 1996), pp.1-12.

<sup>67</sup> Marjorie Cruickshank, 'David Stow, Scottish Pioneer of Teacher Training in Britain', in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 14-2 (1966), pp.209, 213.

<sup>68</sup> Wood, *David Stow*, pp.57-61.

depth in relation to not only social history at that period but also its intellectual history, in both of which Stow shared a great deal in common with Chalmers. Although Thomas A. Markus attempts to locate Stow in intellectual history, Markus, by simply putting Stow's ideas in a line of rational and mechanical thinking, fails to see Stow's ideas in the context of the influence of evangelical thought which mixed rational enlightened ideas and evangelical ideas of atonement, represented by Chalmers, as Hilton argues.<sup>69</sup>

This thesis concentrates on highlighting the 'scientific' and rational character of Chalmers's and Stow's ideas in deep connection with their evangelical belief. It will firstly examine in chapter I the location of Chalmers's St John's experiment in the history of the poor relief system and education in Glasgow from the eighteenth century, focusing on the changing roles of Glasgow Town's Hospital, which corresponded to different phases of the British Enlightenment. Chapter II attempts to locate Chalmers's ideas of St John's experiment in the British Enlightenment, through the analysis of his emphasis on the family and education in relation to his ideas on 'science' and human nature. The experiment itself is also studied focusing on practices of family visitation and on extending parochial schools and Sabbath schools. Chapter III shows how the transformation of St John's experiment into another movement was prepared. In particular, a development of infant schools partly influenced by Chalmers's thought, influences from England and further developments made by Stow are investigated. In connection with these new developments, the termination of the St John's experiment is also discussed. Chapter IV analyses how Stow's methods of education were influenced by Chalmers's theology and adopted into a new national movement for education led by Scottish evangelicals and to which the St John's experiment was virtually transferred. The core body were the Glasgow Educational Society and its normal seminary, the first teacher training

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<sup>69</sup> Thomas A. Markus, 'The School as Machine: Working Class Scottish Education and the Glasgow Normal Seminary', in Thomas A. Markus (ed.), *Order in Space and Society: Architectural Form and its Context in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.201-261. In Japan there are also some attempts to analyse Stow's ideas. However, these, also, more or less, share the similar problems with British works. For example, Kozaburo Ueno, 'The Birth of "Moral" Schools', in *The Historical Development of Modern Education* (1988), 251-275.

college in Britain to obtain state aid. Chapter V focuses on the influence and fate of the seminary's educational programme inside and outside Scotland and Chapter VI investigates how it survived the Disruption of the Church of Scotland. Finally, chapter VII shows that Chalmers's and Stow's approach to the family and moral education had an influence even in the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Japan. Through these chapters, this thesis analyses the formation and impact of the Scottish evangelicals' programme of working class education starting from the St John's experiment through to the Glasgow Educational Society's normal seminary, and attempts to demonstrate its influential features backed by rational and 'scientific' elements.

## **Chapter I**

### **St John's experiment in the history of Glasgow Town's Hospital: 1733-1819**

This chapter aims to locate Thomas Chalmers's St John's experiment in the history of the practices and ideas on the poor relief system and on education of the poor in Glasgow from the eighteenth century. The main focus is given to placing the experiment in the history of Glasgow Town's Hospital, the transformations of which corresponded with those of the British Enlightenment.

In 1707, the year of union, while the Scottish economy was still predominantly agricultural and most of the people of Scotland lived in small towns,<sup>1</sup> Glasgow was already a highly successful urban centre through her overseas trades, the population reaching 12,700.<sup>2</sup> The shift of the economic centre from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde made Glasgow the leading centre of economic growth in Scotland.<sup>3</sup> Glasgow also contained one of Scotland's universities, which played a significant role in promoting economic and social improvement through enlightenment thinking. The city's population rapidly increased through the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> By 1755 it rose to 23,546, largely because of the immigration of young adults from the countryside.<sup>5</sup> The foundation of Glasgow Town's Hospital (see Illustration I-1) in 1733 was part of this wider social transition.

Although previous studies look into various aspects of the hospital,<sup>6</sup> little has been done to explain its changing modes of management along with the corresponding phases of the British Enlightenment. Cage attempts to locate

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony Slaven, *The Development of the West of Scotland 1750-1960* (London, 1975), p.79.

<sup>2</sup> T. C. Smout, 'The Glasgow Merchant Community in the Seventeenth Century', *Scottish Historical Review*, 47 (1968), pp.55-57. T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London, 1985), pp.149, 356.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Hamilton, *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1963), pp.xiii-xiv.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.xv, 131-134. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, pp.11-13, 91-92.

<sup>5</sup> Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, p.259.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas A Markus, 'Buildings for the Sad, the Bad and the Mad in Urban Scotland: 1780-1830', in T. A. Markus (ed.), *Order in Space and Society: Architectural Form and its Context in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1982), p.38. T. Ferguson, *The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare* (London, 1948), pp.177-181, 275, 287-88. Fiona A. Macdonald, 'The Infirmary of the Glasgow Town's Hospital: Patient Care, 1733-1800', in Paul Wood (ed.), *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in Reinterpretation* (Rochester, 2000), pp.200, 205, 224-5. Cage, *The Scottish Poor Law*, pp.46-65, 107-108.

Chalmers's experiment in the hospital's history,<sup>7</sup> but he has failed to distinguish the original elements of the experiment from the hospital-led reform in 1818 and 1819.

This chapter discerns three different phases in the history of the hospital between 1733 and the reform of 1818 and 1819. The first phase, which covers the period from its foundation to the late 1760s, will be studied in correspondence with the ideas of Francis Hutcheson, a leading philosopher of the British Enlightenment and the second phase from the 1770s to the reform will be discussed in relation to the liberal economic philosopher, Adam Smith. Finally, the third phase, the 1818-19 reform, will be explored, highlighting its new features and the original roles of Chalmers's experiment in it.

## **1. Glasgow Town's Hospital and educating children for industry**

Glasgow Town's Hospital opened in November 1733 as the first 'charity workhouse' in Scotland, supported by four corporations in Glasgow: the Magistrates and Town Council; the Merchants' House; the Trades' House; and the General Session.<sup>8</sup> In January 1731 the Magistrates and Town Council explained the aim of the proposed workhouse:

The Magistrats and town Council Conveened taking under Consideration the present design of Erecting a Charity School or work house in this City for Employing and Entertaining the poor and restraining the Scandalous practice of Idle Begging and Encouraging of Virtue and industry.<sup>9</sup>

The workhouse was expected to make the idle beggars and the poor 'more beneficial to the Public'.<sup>10</sup> Actually 'the public' interest was a principal concept in poor relief policy during that period.

Representing this idea on the Scottish scene was Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), professor of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow from 1730 to his death. Hutcheson considered 'universal industry' as the common interest of

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<sup>7</sup> Cage, *The Scottish Poor Law*, pp.46-65, 107-108.

<sup>8</sup> GTH, Minutes of Directors Quarterly Meetings: 1732-1816, 25 September 1733, GML, Arts Room. James Ewing, *Report for the Directors of the Town's Hospital of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1818), p.65. *The Regulations of the Town's Hospital at Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1735), pp.4-5.

<sup>9</sup> Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, 7 January 1731, GCA.

<sup>10</sup> *The Regulations of the GTH*, p.16.

society and that everybody was bound to share in it. However, according to him, as men naturally tended to avoid ‘the slow, constant, and intense labours’ strong motives such as ‘men’s own necessities, and the love of families and friends’ needed to be presented to lead them to severer labours.<sup>11</sup> In Hutcheson’s view, charity workhouses were places where those who lacked such motivation could be forced to labour.<sup>12</sup> Hutcheson argued that

no law could be more effectual to promote a general industry, and refrain sloth and idleness in the lower conditions, than making perpetual slavery of this sort the ordinary punishment of such idle vagrants as, after proper admonitions and trials of temporary servitude, cannot be engaged to support themselves and their families by any useful labours.<sup>13</sup>

Whilst Hutcheson considered that relief should be provided to the indigent as a right, he expected it to be provided voluntarily by the wealthy,<sup>14</sup> to whose universal benevolence Hutcheson appealed.<sup>15</sup>

He also admitted the right of society to exercise its parental power over orphans ‘in educating them to some useful industry’.<sup>16</sup> The hospital accepted orphans, but the majority of its children were those whose parents were too poor to rear them by themselves. As Table I-1 shows, of the total of 101 children taken to the hospital between 1741 and 1743, the largest group by background (numbering 60) were children whose fathers, mothers or other relatives were alive and known, mostly from the working class, such as a boatman, a tanner, a barber, a weaver and so on.<sup>17</sup> These

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<sup>11</sup> Francis Hutcheson, *A System of Moral Philosophy in three books*, i (1755: repr. Taipei, 1989), pp.320-321. *Ibid.*, ii, pp.109-110.

<sup>12</sup> A. W. Coats, ‘Economic Thought and Poor Law Policy in the Eighteenth Century’, *The Economic History Review*, new series, 13-1 (1960), p.41. Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty* (London, 1984), pp.25, 35. Porter, *Enlightenment*, pp.160, 176, 261, 368-369. A. W. Coats, ‘Changing Attitudes to Labour in the Mid-Eighteenth Century’, *The Economic History Review*, new series, 11-1 (1958), p.35.

<sup>13</sup> Hutcheson, *A System*, ii, p.202.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, i, p.258.

<sup>15</sup> Francis Hutcheson, Wolfgang Leidhold (ed.), *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue in Two Treatises* (1726: repr., Indianapolis, 2004), pp.119-120, 147. Michal J. Rozbicki, ‘To Save Them from Themselves: Proposals to Enslave the British Poor, 1698-1755’, *Slavery and Abolition*, 22-2 (August, 2001), p.37. Coats, ‘Economic Thought’, p.41. Hutcheson, *A System*, ii, p.199.

<sup>16</sup> Hutcheson, *A System*, ii, p.110.

<sup>17</sup> D-HEW 39/1 Town’s Hospital Minute Books, 1741-1743, GCA.



children were also treated in the way that Hutcheson had advised for the case of orphans.

Children consisted of no small part of the hospital: in 1735 over 60% (114 out of 180) of the inmates were children.<sup>18</sup> They were chiefly provided with education in 'work suited to their age and ability'.<sup>19</sup> However, as Hutcheson saw education as ineffective for the lower orders whose perceptive powers or moral senses were originally much lower than 'the superior orders',<sup>20</sup> general education was largely limited to reading.<sup>21</sup>

Education for industry in the hospital was aided by the state financed Board of Trustees for Improving Fisherys and Manufactures in Scotland, which was established in 1727. The board had an annual sum of £6,000 in order to raise standards in some areas of industry.<sup>22</sup> The hospital for the first time obtained £10 from the board in 1736 for teaching spinning lint,<sup>23</sup> and this aid continued up to 1739.<sup>24</sup> From 1737 it began to obtain another £10 for spinning coarse tarred wool,<sup>25</sup> but from 1740, the annual sum for the latter purpose was doubled to £20 and continued up to 1764.<sup>26</sup> The hospital, through teaching spinning skills, constantly contributed to promoting the woollen and linen industry. It should also be remembered that one of the chief advocates of the hospital, John Gordon was 'a great promoter of the linen manufactory in Glasgow' and had been a director of the hospital at least three times by the 1760s, elected by the Merchants' House.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> GTH, Minutes of Directors Quarterly Meetings, 19 November 1735.

<sup>19</sup> *A Short Account of the Town's Hospital in Glasgow* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1742), p.9.

<sup>20</sup> Hutcheson, *An Inquiry*, pp.70, 119, 178. Hutcheson, *A System*, i, pp.119-120.

<sup>21</sup> *A Short Account of the GTH*, p.30. *The Regulations of the GTH*, p.21. GTH, Minutes of Directors Quarterly Meetings, 17 May, 16 Aug., 1759, 5 June 1760.

<sup>22</sup> Hamilton, *An Economic History*, pp.xv, 133-134.

<sup>23</sup> NAS, NG1/7/1-2, Copies of Annual Reports to Crown, 1727-1747, Vol.2, Report of the Commissioners and Trustees for Improving Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland, p.12. See also NG1/1/4-5, Minutes of Meetings of the Board and its Committees, 1734-1740, Vol.4, 28 January 1737, p.143.

<sup>24</sup> NG1/7/1-2, Copies of Annual Reports to Crown, 1727-1747, ii, pp.32-71.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.33-73.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.97-240. NG1/7/3, Reports of the Trustees, 1747-1754, pp.24-161. NG1/7/4, Reports of the Trustees, 1754-1758, pp.22-230. NG1/7/5-6, Reports of the Trustees, 1758-1773, v, pp.14-196, and vi, pp.11, 64.

<sup>27</sup> Andrew Brown, *History of Glasgow; and of Paisley, Greenock, and Port-Glasgow, Vol.2* (Edinburgh, 1797), p.47. Fiona A. Macdonald, 'The Infirmary of the Glasgow Town's



Any boys in the hospital who were thought by the weekly committee to be sufficiently educated were sent into apprenticeships for seven years with farmers or tradesmen. Girls were also engaged in 'common service' or a trade.<sup>28</sup> Between 1741 and 1743 (see Table I-1), most of the children (83%) leaving the hospital became apprentices or went into service. In 37 cases where occupations of people who accepted children from the hospital were known, 13 were girls who were taken into service in several different types of work and 20 out of 24 boys went to weavers.<sup>29</sup> In the case of boys, therefore, the training for industry in the hospital had a direct connection with outside demands.

## **2. Supporting industrious families and education for social duty**

In the late eighteenth century, Scotland experienced a significant transformation, from an agricultural society to the beginning of 'a modern and urbanised society'. In particular, Scottish cities expanded phenomenally, employing in their industrial transformation the workforce freed from the old farms in the agrarian transformation of lowland Scotland.<sup>30</sup> Glasgow saw further industrial and economic growth during this transformation. The population of Glasgow grew from 23,546 (the suburbs being partially included) in 1755 to 42,832 (the whole of the suburbs being included) in 1780, and to 83,769 in 1801.<sup>31</sup> As a consequence of these changes, a large section of the population was constantly threatened with unemployment through market fluctuation.<sup>32</sup> This situation transformed the role of the hospital, corresponding with newly emerged *laissez-faire* ideas represented by Adam Smith. The 1770s was its turning point.

In 1772, nursing wages (allowances) were introduced to rear children under

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Hospital, 1733-1800: A Case for Voluntarism?', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 73-1 (1999), pp.73-77. See also H. L. Fulton, 'John Moore, the Medical Profession and the Glasgow Enlightenment', in Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher (eds.), *The Glasgow Enlightenment* (East Linton, 1997), pp.178-181.

<sup>28</sup> *A Short Account of the GTH*, p.29.

<sup>29</sup> D-HEW 39/1 Town's Hospital Minute Books, 1741-1743.

<sup>30</sup> Leah Leneman and Rosalind Mitchison, *Sin in the City* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.15-17.

<sup>31</sup> Hamilton, *An Economic History*, p.18.

<sup>32</sup> Mitchison, *The Old Poor Law in Scotland*, p.114.

hospital care outside it, in foster families, until they were ready for education.<sup>33</sup> In 1774 outdoor relief was introduced for both the disabled, and the able-bodied poor,<sup>34</sup> leading to the regular use of legal assessment after 1776.<sup>35</sup> The assessment was borne by ‘the wealthy inhabitants’, distinct from ‘the middle and lower classes’, as only 3.7% (2,139 out of 58,334) of the total population was assessed in 1811.<sup>36</sup>

The ideas of Adam Smith encapsulate the rationale behind the change. Unlike Hutcheson, Smith accepted a compulsory poor-rate as reasonable.<sup>37</sup> His principle of ‘the charity of well-disposed people’ was also different from Hutcheson:

The greater part of his [a beggar’s] occasional wants are supplied in the same manner as those of other people, by treaty, by barter, and by purchase.<sup>38</sup>

With money or goods provided by charity, recipients could buy food or exchange them for other useful things.<sup>39</sup> The idea of the General Session that the allowance in the case of the able-bodied poor with a large family should be kept at the level of subsistence of a labouring man<sup>40</sup> was also associated with Smith’s insistence that adequate subsistence increased the strength of the labourer’s body and encouraged his hope of bettering his condition.<sup>41</sup>

It should, however, be recalled that Smith saw charity not being based on the givers’ benevolence as Hutcheson did, but on their self-love.<sup>42</sup> He considered that the distinction of ranks, the peace and order of society were more important than the relief of the poor.<sup>43</sup> Smith justified the fact that years of dearth would kill many children among ‘the inferior ranks of people’ as God’s providence.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> GTH, Minutes of Directors Quarterly Meetings, 20 August 1772.

<sup>34</sup> Ewing, *Report for the Directors*, p.18. William Porteous, *A Letter to the Citizens of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1783), pp.4-7.

<sup>35</sup> Ewing, *Report for the Directors*, p.12.

<sup>36</sup> James Cleland, *Maintenance of the Poor* (Glasgow, 1828), p.14. PP 1831 XVIII.1. (348) ‘Comparative Account of the Population of Great Britain, in the years 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831, with the Annual Value of Real Property in 1815’, p.392.

<sup>37</sup> Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, i, edited by R. H. Campbell, A. S. Skinner and W. B. Todd (1979: repr. Indianapolis, 1981), pp.152-153, and *ibid.*, ii, 842.

<sup>38</sup> Smith, *WN*, ii, p.27.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.26-27.

<sup>40</sup> Porteous, *A Letter*, pp.4-5.

<sup>41</sup> Smith, *WN*, i, p.99.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.26-27.

<sup>43</sup> Adam Smith, D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie (eds.), *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*

Actually the high death rate of children in the hospital was significant. In the 1800s there were three types of children in the hospital. Apart from orphan children, who generally entered the hospital 'when ready for education',<sup>45</sup> the other two types were taken to the hospital in their early years. Among 187 'exposed children' (foundling children) under hospital care from 1806 to 1818, 103 (55%) died by 1818. Also between 1802<sup>46</sup> and 1818 of 197 adopted children ('illegitimate offspring'),<sup>47</sup> 113 (57.3%) were dead by 1818, leaving considerable profits to the hospital (see Table I-2).<sup>48</sup>

Instead of merely education for industry, more general education was promoted in the second phase. There were by 1783 three charity schools managed by the General Session which offered 'a preferable right' to attend to children whose parents received poor relief from individual sessions. These schools charged no fees to parents<sup>49</sup> and employed salaried teachers.<sup>50</sup> As Table I-3 shows, in 1783, 45 children were allotted to each school (135 children in total) from three or four different parishes.<sup>51</sup> According to the 1786 regulations on charity schools, each scholar was to be examined twice a year in reading, spelling and questions from the Shorter Catechism.<sup>52</sup> By 1794 a similar curriculum was also employed by the school in the hospital.<sup>53</sup>

While Hutcheson did not see any positive role for education among the lower orders, Smith acknowledged an important role:

The difference between the most dissimilar characters...seems to arise not so much from nature, as from habit, custom, and education.<sup>54</sup>

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(1979: repr. Indianapolis, 1982), pp.225-226.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p.274. Smith, *WN*, i, pp.97-98, 101.

<sup>45</sup> GTH, Minutes of Directors Quarterly Meetings, 26, November, 1818.

<sup>46</sup> Adopted children were first admitted to the hospital in 1802.

<sup>47</sup> Ewing, *Report for the Directors*, p.78.

<sup>48</sup> GTH, Minutes of Directors Quarterly Meetings, 26, November, 1818.

<sup>49</sup> *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, vii (1791-99: repr. Wakefield, 1973), p.323.

<sup>50</sup> The General Session of Glasgow Minute Book: 1782-1785, TD209/1, GML.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 3 July 1783.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 2 February 1786.

<sup>53</sup> GTH, Minutes of Directors Quarterly Meetings, 15 May 1794.

<sup>54</sup> Smith, *WN*, i, pp.28-29.

However, Smith observed that because of the lack of time for education and because the condition of their labour demanded only a few simple operations, the education of the common people could not fully give them the ability to understand or judge the relationship between their own interest and that of the society. The only remedy Smith proposed for this problem was education supported by the government.<sup>55</sup> The 3R's and 'the elementary parts of geometry and mechanics' were considered to be the complete literary education for children of that rank.<sup>56</sup> Religious education was also approved of as enforcing 'the natural sense of duty'.<sup>57</sup> While Smith accepted the use of public funds to cover 'the expence of the institutions for education and religious instruction', he also considered favourably that it could be provided altogether either by parents or from the voluntary contribution.<sup>58</sup> Like their curriculum, charity schools supported chiefly by bequests, fit well with Smith's recommendation.<sup>59</sup>

### **3. Reform of the poor relief system and Chalmers's programme**

It is commonly recognised that after 1815 demobilisation of the army after the French War, immigration from Ireland and the Highlands and natural increase of population in the Lowlands created a rapid increase in the urban population, exceeding that caused by economic expansion. The 1816 depression, one of the worst in the nineteenth century, experienced the triple blows of a failed harvest, trade depression and a glutted labour market.<sup>60</sup> Under these circumstances, a committee was formed in the hospital to consider in particular the most efficient method of preventing the increase of pauperism, comparing the efficacy of indoor and outdoor provisions.<sup>61</sup> Its convenor was the West Indian sugar merchant James Ewing (1775-1853), a dominant figure in the Merchant House and the town council by that date.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., pp.266, *ibid.*, ii, 781-82.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., pp.784-786. Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education*, p.30. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.27.

<sup>57</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p.170.

<sup>58</sup> Smith, *WN*, ii, p.815.

<sup>59</sup> The General Session of Glasgow Minute Book, 6 October 1785.

<sup>60</sup> Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, p.375. Eric J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., London, 1996), pp.147, 150, 191.

<sup>61</sup> Ewing, *Report for the Directors*, p. iii.

<sup>62</sup> GTH, Minutes of Directors Quarterly Meetings, 4 November 1817. Irene Maver, 'James Ewing', The Glasgow Story website.

Ewing wrote the committee's report, published in April 1818, which proposed some radical changes in the poor relief system of Glasgow.<sup>63</sup> The report approved of Chalmers's idea for his experiment in suppressing pauperism but it rejected the immediate abolition of the legal assessment which Chalmers wished for, thinking it 'extremely impolitic'. It, nevertheless, agreed with Chalmers that once legal assessment was introduced, its amount tended to increase rapidly and that it diminished 'the natural impulse' by which people were led to 'industry and good conduct', benevolence and family affection. These defects were what the report hoped to remedy. It claimed that the amount of assessment should be kept within the 'most prudent legitimate bounds' and proposed changing the poor relief system.<sup>64</sup> Among the plans which the report proposed, the one on which the actual reform was based argued for keeping the present administration in principle, but changing its local defects, by subdividing parishes and multiplying visiting agents,<sup>65</sup> innovations which were also proposed by Chalmers.<sup>66</sup>

The plan's main target was to transform the method of the outdoor relief, while keeping the assessment. The report recognised the recent increase of the assessment, as Figure I-1 shows, pushed largely by the total expenditure for outdoor relief which by 1817 reached its highest ever amount of £10,187, more than twice that for indoor relief. In October 1816, a speaker at a public meeting stated that as a result of the current distress:

thousands of the industrious and labouring poor are furnishing for want of employment and the means of procuring subsistence; while others, after parting with all they possessed—after parting with their very keep-sakes—are forced to wander homeless and heart-broken in search of that support from the bounty of others, which they can no longer obtain by the honest exertions of their own industry.<sup>67</sup>

The report, however, criticised the situation in which a pensioner once admitted was on the session roll for life and argued that a distinction should be made between the

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<<http://www.theglasgowstory.com/story.php?id=TGSC09>>

<sup>63</sup> GTH, Minutes of Directors Quarterly Meetings, 23 April 1818.

<sup>64</sup> Ewing, *Report for the Directors*, pp.13-16, 45-46.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.29-32.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.38-39.

<sup>67</sup> *Times*, 5 November 1816.



regular poor and the occasional (industrious) poor. To enforce this distinction properly, the report insisted that all the applicants for relief and the poor on the roll should be visited regularly and their situations examined in their own houses. Unlike the former phase of poor relief system which positively approved of relief to the industrious poor, the report insisted that the occasional poor should obtain only ‘a little temporary aid’ privately,<sup>68</sup> a provision with which Chalmers also agreed.<sup>69</sup>

In April 1818 the directors of the hospital decided to require the General Session to manage its own poor from its own funds and to withdraw the annual grants from the hospital to the General Session, a procedure which had begun in 1802.<sup>70</sup> Following this, in October 1819, the St John’s parish under the guidance of Chalmers was given ‘the entire and separate management of the Poor’ with ‘their funds within the Parish of St John’s’,<sup>71</sup> although this opportunity was also open to other parishes in the city. In November, it was also agreed that the General Session was to cease its central role in collecting the funds from different sessions for poor relief and distributing to each session. The only body for ‘the whole management and administration of the Poor of the City’ was now the hospital and each kirk session was to negotiate with the hospital to be supplied from the assessment when it had a deficit in funds.<sup>72</sup> While each parish was only expected to operate its outdoor relief to the able-bodied poor temporarily, Chalmers, aiming not to depend on assessment funds, was also given an experimental sphere to show practical evidences of his hypothesis.<sup>73</sup>

As was the case in the former phase, the report also emphasised education for children. A new element, however, was the importance of families for children who were under hospital care and would have died under the previous system. The report aimed to avoid the early death of those children. While criticising the acceptance of

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<sup>68</sup> Ewing, *Report for the Directors*, pp.23-24, 26-30, 36-37.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p.46. See Mitchison, ‘The Creation of the Disablement Rule in the Scottish Poor Law’, pp.200, 207-215.

<sup>70</sup> GTH, Minutes of Directors Quarterly Meetings, 23 April 1818.

<sup>71</sup> The Glasgow General Session Minutes, 7 October 1819.

<sup>72</sup> GTH, Minutes of Directors Quarterly Meetings, 17 November 1819.

<sup>73</sup> Ewing, *Report for the Directors*, pp.39, 44, 50.



the illegitimate children as 'an encouragement to vice',<sup>74</sup> it approved of the complete boarding-out of children from the hospital. It criticised the situation in which children under hospital care had to enter the world, 'exposed to every species of temptation, without the affectionate eye of parents to watch over and to warn them in the hour of need'.<sup>75</sup> Parental affection was now considered indispensable for forming children's moral conduct. Following these suggestions, the acceptance of illegitimate children was greatly restricted and all the children under hospital care were to be placed in families and 'educated at the neighbouring schools' the fees of which were now to be paid by the hospital.<sup>76</sup>

Chalmers also approved of placing those children in families.<sup>77</sup> However, his view went further, emphasising the decisive importance of moral and religious influence to cure pauperism, on which the report reserved judgement, leaving it to be proved by his experiment.<sup>78</sup>

The reform carried out through 1818 and 1819 expressed a new principle of the poor relief system which aimed to restrict outdoor relief for the able-bodied so as not to have recourse to public funds and to promote education based on families. Chalmers shared the principle, but to prove the two main arguments was left to his experiment: the practicability of abolishing legal assessments and the efficacy of moral and religious influence in suppressing pauperism.

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p.78.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pp.109, 111-112.

<sup>76</sup> GTH, Minutes of Directors Quarterly Meetings, 26 November 1818.

<sup>77</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *Statement in regard to the Pauperism of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1823), pp.15-16, 35note. St John's Kirk Session Minutes Book, 2 & 30 October 1826, 1 October, 10 December 1827.

<sup>78</sup> Ewing, *Report for the Directors*, pp.39, 44, 50.

## Appendix

### Illustration I-1 Picture of Glasgow Town's Hospital in 1733



Source: James Pagan and James H. Stoddart, *Relics of Ancient Architecture and other Picturesque scenes in Glasgow, thirty drawings by Thomas Fairbairn* (Glasgow, 1885), inserted between pp.xv-xvi.

**Table I-1 Background information on entry and departure of the children of Glasgow Town's Hospital : 1741-1743**

**Entry**

<b>Origins</b> \ <b>Ages</b>	<b>-2</b>	<b>3-5</b>	<b>6-9</b>	<b>10-</b>	<b>Not known</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Fathers, mothers, other relatives (alive &amp; known)</b>	2	22 (1)	27 (1)	8 (3)	1	<b>60 (5)</b>
<b>Enter with mothers</b>			1		2 (1)	<b>3 (1)</b>
<b>Orphans</b>	2	4	13	2 (1)	1	<b>22 (1)</b>
<b>Foundlings</b>	1	2	1 (1)		2 (1)	<b>6 (2)</b>
<b>Bastards</b>		1				<b>1</b>
<b>Not known</b>	1	1	3		4 (3)	<b>9 (3)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>30 (1)</b>	<b>45 (2)</b>	<b>10 (4)</b>	<b>10 (5)</b>	<b>101 (12)</b>

Notes) The numbers of those entering the infirmary from the hospital are shown in brackets.

**Departure**

<b>Placement</b>	<b>Boys</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Servants</b>		24	<b>24</b>
<b>Apprentices</b>	24		<b>24</b>
<b>Parents or other relatives</b>	3	7	<b>10</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>58</b>

Sources: These two tables are based on minutes of the Weekly Committee in the Town's Hospital dated from 17 November 1741 to 27 September 1743. D-HEW 39/1 Town's Hospital Minute Books, 1741-1743, GCA. This is the only available minutes book of the Weekly Committee for the hospital.

**Table I-2 Payments for ‘adopted children’ to the Town’s Hospital  
— 1802-1817**

<b>Years</b>	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808
<b>Amounts (£)</b>	50	50	125	50	204	216	325
<b>No. of Children</b>	2	2	5	2	8	8	13

1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816 to Aug.1817
513	331	150	300	428	496	406	850
20	13	6	12	17	19	16	34

Note: The numbers of children are calculated dividing each amount by £25.

Source: ‘Progressive View of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Town’s Hospital of Glasgow, from 1791 to 1817, Inclusive’, in Ewing, *Report for the Directors of the Town's Hospital*, table between pp.178-179..

**Table I-3 Distributions of scholars of charity schools in Glasgow  
1783 & 1787**

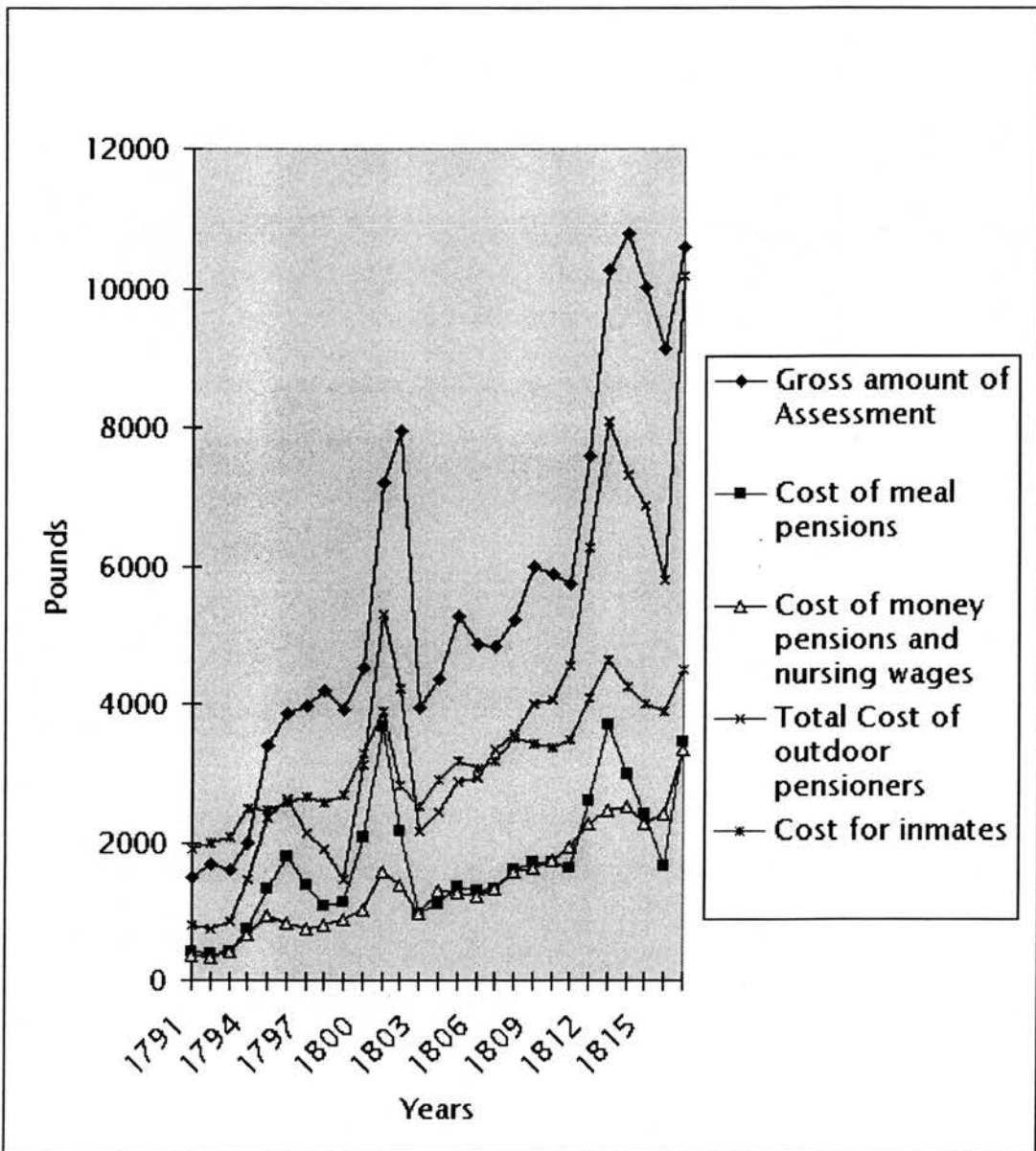
	Nor.	Mid.	Ea.	So.	S. West	We.	N. West	St Enoch	Total
<b>Crawford (1783)</b>	23	21					1		<b>45</b>
<b>Crawford (1787)</b>	31	17							<b>48</b>
<b>Tennant (1783)</b>			12		15	11	7		<b>45</b>
<b>Tennant (1787)</b>		11	19		18				<b>48</b>
<b>Tennant (1783)</b>				24		6		15	<b>45</b>
<b>Tennant (1787)</b>				32				16	<b>48</b>
<b>Baxter (1787)</b>					5	23	14	6	<b>48</b>
<b>Total (1783)</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>135</b>
<b>Total (1787)</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>192</b>

Source: Minutes of the General Session of Glasgow, 3 July 1783 and 5 July 1787, TD209-1, GCA.

Notes: In the minutes of 3 July 1783, the three schools' names are recorded not by the names of the persons who bequeathed to the schools but by their teachers' names. However, it is possible to find the corresponding schools between 1783 and 1787 by comparing the numbers of scholars in each year.

Abbreviations are as follows: Nor.= North parish, Mid.= Middle parish, Ea.= East parish, So.= South parish, S. West= South West parish, We.= West parish, N. West= North West parish.

**Figure I-1 Assessment and costs of indoor and outdoor pensioners of the Town's Hospital— 1791-1817**



Note: The divisions for the years of 1816 and 1817 are irregular in the original source. The column for the year 1816 includes only five months up to May and that of 1817 deals with the period from June 1816 to August 1817. This irregularity seems to have become necessary because of the enactment of the Corn Law in 1815 to protect landowners and farmers against falling prices. In fact, the cost per meal for pensioners in the latter period doubled. See Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State*, pp.147, 150, 191.

Source: 'Progressive View of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Town's Hospital of Glasgow, 1791-1817', in Ewing, *Report for the Directors of the Town's Hospital*, inserted between pp.178-179.



## **Chapter II**

### **The St John's Experiment**

The St John's experiment marked an important starting point from which Scottish evangelicals developed their social programme to deal with pauperism in growing industrialisation and urbanisation. As has been shown in chapter 1, the reform of the poor relief system in Glasgow prepared for Chalmers an experimental sphere in the newly created St John's parish where he was expected to prove the practicability of poor relief without legal assessment and the effectiveness of moral and religious influences on pauperism. This chapter explores Chalmers's ideas behind the experiment, locating them more thoroughly in the context of the British Enlightenment. It also examines the practical working of the experiment which highlighted family unity and moral and religious education to deal with pauperism. These points are especially important in reappraising the experiment as a strategic programme to transform people's attitudes towards poor relief, families and education.

The first section of the chapter investigates Chalmers's ideas on human nature and the role of Christianity, in relation to his debts to T. R. Malthus and John Robison (1739-1805), natural philosopher and professor of the University of Edinburgh. The second section discusses the initial setting of the experiment and its poor relief policy of promoting family unity. Finally its promotion of general and religious education is studied.

## **1. The ideas behind the experiment**

Although attempts to locate Chalmers's ideas in the British Enlightenment have been carried out by some historians, the St John's experiment has not yet been adequately discussed in this light. Daniel Rice considers that Chalmers's debt to the common sense philosophy lay in his belief in the constancy of nature, which was intuitively perceived by the constitution of the mind. He argues that this philosophy led him to accept a natural theology which attested the existence of a moral God based on reason, although Chalmers rejected its final reliance on reason for men's moral principles and for God's character.<sup>1</sup> David Cairns also argues that although Chalmers accepted natural theology, he used it only to confirm his belief in the special

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel F. Rice, 'Natural Theology and the Scottish Philosophy in the Thought of Thomas Chalmers', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 24-1 (February 1971), pp.23, 30-36.

revelation shown in the Bible.<sup>2</sup> Accepting these arguments, Boyd Hilton remarks Chalmers's rational and mechanical thinking in the tradition of eighteenth-century natural theology<sup>3</sup> and Jonathan Topham traces how Chalmers developed his reliance on natural theology while creating Scotland's leading evangelical theology.<sup>4</sup> These valuable arguments, however, have not yet extended to analysing Chalmers's St John's experiment itself.

When Chalmers shaped his ideas on the experiment, as Topham has shown, he had already started using natural theology as the basis for arguing Christianity.<sup>5</sup> This usage of natural theology was further developed by his study of Malthus's and Robison's work. This section attempts to place the experiment in the context of their influence.

(1) The mechanism of the Scottish parochial system— family as the core

When Chalmers conducted the experiment, the city of Glasgow was still rapidly expanding: the population increased dramatically from 77,385 in 1801 to 147,043 in 1821 and 202,426 in 1831.<sup>6</sup> The ramified textile industry was implanted in the already overcrowded and noxious, normally older, built-up areas of the towns.<sup>7</sup> This implanting of industries increased demand for labour and produced high density living conditions in the city, as found in the stone tenements of High Street, Gallowgate, Trongate and Saltmarket by the 1830s.<sup>8</sup> These four streets, as Map II-1 shows, were centred on the Cross and located in the middle of the Old Town.<sup>9</sup> The Tron parish where Chalmers was minister from 1815 and the new St John's parish partly included these areas.

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<sup>2</sup> David Cairns, 'Thomas Chalmers' Astronomical Discourses: A Study in Natural Theology', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 9 (1956), pp.410-418.

<sup>3</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, p.8. See also Daniel F. Rice, 'An Attempt at Systematic Reconstruction in the Theology of Thomas Chalmers', *Church History*, 48 (1979), pp.176-177, 185.

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan R. Topham, 'Science, Natural Theology, and Evangelicalism in Early Nineteenth-Century Scotland—Thomas Chalmers and the Evidence Controversy', in David N. Livingstone, D. G. Hart and Mark A. Noll (eds.), *Evangelicals and Science in Historical Perspective* (Oxford, 1999), pp.142-174.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p.166.

<sup>6</sup> R. H. Campbell, 'The Making of the Industrial City', in T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (ed.), *Glasgow*, i (Manchester, 1995), pp.184-186. David Goodman and Colin Chant (eds.), *European Cities and Technology: Industrial to Post-industrial City* (London, 1999), p.57.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas A. Markus, Peter Robinson and Frank Arneil Walker, 'The Shape of the City in Space and Stone', in Devine and Jackson (eds.), *Glasgow*, i, p.130.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> See R. J. Morris, 'Urbanization', in J. Langton and R. J. Morris (eds.), *Atlas of Industrializing Britain: 1780-1914* (London, 1986), p.169.

In 1816, on the eve of the experiment, as has been shown, the city witnessed one of the worst depressions of the century. A typhus epidemic also spread through the town, the number of cases increasing from 382 in 1816 to 1,929 in 1818.<sup>10</sup> Riots backed by 'the operative weavers' which broke windows of a soup-kitchen and a cotton mill were suppressed and in April 1817 special constables were enrolled.<sup>11</sup> In October 1816, 'the largest [meeting] that ever took place for any political purpose in Scotland', attended mostly by the working class, was held in Glasgow. It highlighted the plight of 'the industrious and labouring poor', and demanded the reform of the parliamentary representation.<sup>12</sup>

Chalmers was highly alerted by 'the wild outbreakings of turbulence and disaster' and claimed that the truest policy of a nation was Christianizing 'her subjects'.<sup>13</sup>

A permanent security...is only to be attained by diffusing the lessons of the gospel throughout the great mass of our population—even those lessons which are utterly and diametrically at antipodes with all that is criminal and wrong in the spirit of political disaffection. The only radical counteraction to this evil is to be found in the spirit of Christianity.<sup>14</sup>

Suppressing the political unrest of the working class lay behind Chalmers's experiment. Chalmers found the model for attaining this in the parochial system in the Scottish country parish. However, the logic through which he adapted it to towns elucidates Chalmers's position which was still in line with the British Enlightenment.

Chalmers drew a contrast between the mechanism of the original parochial system in which 'Nature' was considered as being in 'free operation' and the compulsory poor relief provision which abused it.<sup>15</sup> He thought that 'certain principles' were originally implanted in the constitution of man by 'the hands of Nature'.<sup>16</sup> Under the parochial system these principles were considered to be working

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<sup>10</sup> J. Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1829), pp.105-6, quoted in Furgol, 'Thomas Chalmers', p.88.

<sup>11</sup> Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1809-1837 (Glasgow, 1915), 16 June 1816, 14 April 1817, quoted in Furgol, 'Thomas Chalmers', pp.87-88. *Times*, 6 August 1816, 28 February 1817.

<sup>12</sup> *Times*, 5 November 1816.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *A Sermon Delivered in the Tron Church, Glasgow, on Wednesday, Nov. 19<sup>th</sup>, 1817* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Edinburgh, 1817), pp.9-11.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Chalmers, 'Causes and Cure of Pauperism', *ER*, 29-58 (Feb. 1818), p.272. Hereafter 'Causes and Cure 2'.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p.262.

properly. Chalmers's aim was to revive this in towns.

Chalmers supposed two types of mechanism of the parochial system: its material mechanism and 'its springs' which can be discovered 'in the constitution of our nature'.<sup>17</sup> The material mechanism operative in the parochial system where legal assessments had still not been introduced was based on the kirk session, consisting of elders and the minister as the moderator, which ran the charitable fund for the poor within the parish. The fund mainly consisted of the weekly Sunday collection on 'the free-will contribution at church'. In the case of emergency, such as periods of scarcity or uncommon depression, special collections were made at the church door, also keeping the character of 'a free-will offering'.<sup>18</sup> As has been seen in chapter 1, the 1818-1819 system reform realised a similar material mechanism in the city parishes of Glasgow, although each parish could depend on the assessment's funds in the case of deficiency.

Chalmers argued that since the mechanism worked on human nature, if 'similar circumstances' were brought about 'similar results' ought to come out.<sup>19</sup> Behind this lay his belief in 'the constancy of Nature'<sup>20</sup> and 'man's faith in that constancy' which was considered as 'an instant act of intuition' (common sense). Chalmers learned this originally from Robison.<sup>21</sup>

We have long felt this close and unexpected...contingent harmony, between the actual constancy of Nature and man's faith in that constancy, to be an effectual preservative against that scepticism, which would represent the whole system of our thoughts and perceptions to be founded on an illusion.<sup>22</sup>

Chalmers's experiment was to adopt this principle into social reorganisation.

The other aspect of the mechanism to be brought into large towns was what Chalmers called the 'springs' of the mechanism. Their chief element was 'almost total withdrawment' of support for the poor from 'external sources', which, Chalmers argued, was carried out in many Scottish parishes. He expected:

In such a case, every family *must* look to itself: and if they who are at the head of it do not always amass a competency to meet the wants of old age, they do, in fact, look to their children.

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<sup>17</sup> Thomas Chalmers, 'Causes and Cure of Pauperism', *ER*, 28-55 (March 1817), p.11.

<sup>18</sup> Chalmers, 'Causes and Cure', pp.9-11.

<sup>19</sup> Chalmers, 'Causes and Cure 2', p.265.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.268.

<sup>21</sup> William Hanna, *Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers*, i (Edinburgh, 1854), p.28.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *Natural Theology*, ii (Edinburgh, 1850), pp.169-170.

As Chalmers put it, 'interest and necessity are the powerful agents for giving a practical establishment to many of the virtues'.<sup>23</sup> Although Chalmers here highlighted the obligation of children to look after their parents, he, as will be shown shortly, supposed a variety of patterns in a family. Malthus's emphasis on the responsibility of parents to provide for their own children<sup>24</sup> was also Chalmers's. As he later put it:

It is in the bosom of families, and under the touch and impulse of family affections, that helpless infancy is nurtured into manhood, and helpless disease or age have the kindest and most effective succour afforded to them.<sup>25</sup>

For Chalmers, family affections were thought to have been implanted by nature herself.<sup>26</sup> The withdrawal of relief, therefore, was a physical stimulus to unite a family, or properly operative according to human nature. As has been shown, the 1818-1819 reform accepted a similar policy on outdoor relief for the able-bodied poor. It is also noteworthy that although in previous studies Chalmers has been considered as a person who emphasised either the community or the individual,<sup>27</sup> in fact, he saw the family as the central unit of society, even for those in poverty, from which nobody should be severed and on which everybody should rely.

Chalmers also considered some mechanisms in which psychological pain would operate to deter a man from applying for relief: the personal acquaintance of members in a community and acquaintance between 'the labouring classes and the administrators of the parochial charity'.<sup>28</sup> Chalmers saw the effects of the first type of acquaintance on pauperism:

The exposure of one's degradation in the eyes of his fellow-men, is at all times painful; but the pain is inconceivably heightened, when this takes place in the sight of those with whom for years we have been in terms of familiar converse, among whom we have maintained, down to the present period of our history, the standing of an equal estimation, with whom we are every day in the habit of exchanging the notices and the civilities of good neighbourhood, and before whom, therefore, it may be quite insufferable to make a visible descent amongst

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<sup>23</sup> Chalmers, 'Causes and Cure', p.11.

<sup>24</sup> Malthus, *An Essay*, pp.199-200.

<sup>25</sup> Chalmers, *On the Power*, p.169.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p.174. Chalmers also stated that:

A vastly greater amount of good is done by the instrumentality of others, and that the instrumentality itself is greatly more available under the family system, to which we are prompted by the strong affections of nature, than if that system were dissolved.

I appreciate Dr Kenneth Fielden for drawing my attention to Chalmers's views on family.

<sup>27</sup> Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. xv-xviii, 1, 32, 36-37, 50, 66-69, 119-122, and passim.

Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, pp.87-88.

<sup>28</sup> Chalmers, 'Causes and Cure', pp.14-15.



the wretched dependants upon the charity of the parish.<sup>29</sup>

A similar 'delicacy' was also expected from acquaintance of the second type, which was considered to be 'so often reciprocated on the honourable footing of independence and mutual respect'. Chalmers considered that the contribution of 'the labouring classes' to the parish charity would also deter them from being a receiver.<sup>30</sup> All of these elements were introduced into his experiment.

For these mechanisms Chalmers followed Malthus's materialistic views on necessity.

A disciple of Mr Malthus need not be the enemy of Beneficence. All he proposes, is to change the direction of it. He looks on the constitution of our nature, as affording, in the pain it annexes to the sensations of hunger and cold, an immutable guarantee against the starvation of those who can earn a subsistence; and as to those who cannot, he leaves them to the kindness and the watchfulness of private charity.<sup>31</sup>

Chalmers believed that the pain felt through the body (hunger and cold) creates the stimulus to work, following Malthus's idea that 'the wants of the body' were the driving force of creating the human mind.<sup>32</sup> Malthus, with strongly materialistic bias, linked the existence of evil with the human being's creation of mind, which was considered by him 'to fulfil the will of his Creator'.<sup>33</sup> Chalmers's explanation of certain principles working in the mechanism of the parochial system also followed Malthus's views.

## (2) Forming habits of education through the parochial school

Chalmers attached to education an important role in the parochial system and highlighted the role of general education in forming habits of education in the family. As previous studies have already suggested,<sup>34</sup> in explaining the system of parochial schools Chalmers criticised two types of school systems. The first was the 'wholly unendowed' system which was entirely dependent on parents' fees, or 'native and spontaneous demand', whilst the second, the 'free' system, was wholly endowed and

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p.14.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp.14-15.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p.8.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Robert Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (London, 1798), pp.357-358.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp.359-360, 395-395. Brian Young, 'Malthus among the Theologians', in Brian Dolan (ed.), *Malthus, Medicine & Morality* (Amsterdam, 2000), pp.100-101.

<sup>34</sup> For example, Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p.136, and Anderson, 'Education and the State in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', p.521.

therefore no fee was requested from parents. Criticising the former, Chalmers argued that unlike merely physical wants, moral or intellectual wants would not create a desire for themselves, following Malthus's materialistic views.<sup>35</sup> Without giving 'extraneous attempts' for education, according to Chalmers, 'a habit of general education' would not be effectively promoted. The 'free' schools were also criticised on the ground that if parents did not pay for education, they would not take pains for their children to acquire it.<sup>36</sup>

Chalmers suggested that the only way of thoroughly incorporating the education of the young into the habit of families was to make it form part of the family expenditure, and to make parents interested and watchful for the diligence of their children.<sup>37</sup> The 'medium' system he approved of was that used by the Scottish parochial schools for over two centuries, in which the school was endowed but also collected moderate fees. For this system Chalmers insisted that the first move needed to be made by the founders. In the Lowland parishes, Chalmers argued that the payment of low fees by parents created 'the habit of education' in families, being supported by other elements: 'the very circumstance of a marked and separate edifice', standing visibly in people's eyes; the continuous residence and existence of a teacher; and 'the tie' which brought all the neighbourhood to school through example.<sup>38</sup> Chalmers shared Malthus's emphasis on preventive checks to overpopulation, or moral restraint to delay marriage without 'irregular gratifications'. The 'medium' system was to Chalmers a system to attain this by disseminating the idea that each family was responsible for rearing its own children.<sup>39</sup>

In Glasgow, Chalmers criticised the system of charity schools, in particular, the continuous shortage of places and their relative invisibility managed in many cases in a single rented apartment of a house, which would diminish 'the demand for schooling' among the labouring classes.<sup>40</sup> Instead, Chalmers urged the introduction of the 'medium' system, in a similar way to the poor relief system, breaking down the

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<sup>35</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *Considerations on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland, and on the Advantage of Establishing them in Large Towns* (Glasgow, 1819), pp.3-4. Chalmers argued that 'the want of virtue ... has the effect of extinguishing the desire for virtue'.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.5-7.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.8-11.

<sup>39</sup> T. R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, i, edited by Patricia James (Cambridge, 1989), p.18. This book is based on the second edition published in 1803 with additions from various editions. Chalmers, *The Christian and Civic Economy*, iii, p.96.

<sup>40</sup> Chalmers, *Considerations*, p.16.

whole city into manageable sections, or operating schools in each parish individually.<sup>41</sup> The proposed method of founding parochial schools in each parish was to collect subscriptions from the wealthy individuals connected with the parish, including the congregation who rented seats in the church.<sup>42</sup> This was different from the way it was carried out in country parishes, where a rate for a parochial school was levied on landed property in each parish.<sup>43</sup> Chalmers, however, anticipated a future in which revenue raised from legal assessments was used for funding education.

Had this expense [of funding education] been gradually incurred with the progress of the population, so as to keep towns under as powerful a control of parochial influence and jurisdiction, as still exists in country districts, then nothing more would have been necessary to ward off the mischief that has now accumulated upon them, than a simple rejection of every method of relieving the poor which pointed at legal assessments.<sup>44</sup>

Although reluctantly, Chalmers conceded that ‘the most practical plan’ to lead the public into abolishing assessments for poor relief was to promote general education constantly.<sup>45</sup>

### (3) The role of religious influence in the parochial system

Religious education was also indispensable for Chalmers. He considered Christianity ‘to foster’ the principles implanted in the constitution of man, embedded in the mechanism of the parochial system.<sup>46</sup> This corresponded with Malthus’s idea that religious teaching was useful to ‘the improvement of the human faculties, and the moral amelioration of mankind’. However, Malthus did not believe in revelation as opposed to reason.<sup>47</sup> On this point, Chalmers departed from Malthus. Chalmers considered that following the principles of human nature was ‘the basis of Christianity’ or ‘the basis of Christianization’.<sup>48</sup> Thus, Chalmers’s final goal in religious education was in leading the population to Christianity or ‘eternity’.<sup>49</sup>

Chalmers, nevertheless, thought that not everybody needed to be a fully practicing Christian in order to operate the mechanism. He presented three different

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p.20.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., pp.21-24.

<sup>43</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.3.

<sup>44</sup> Chalmers, ‘Causes and Cure’, p.23.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Chalmers, ‘Causes and Cure 2’, p.274.

<sup>47</sup> Malthus, *An Essay*, pp.393-394.

<sup>48</sup> Chalmers, *On the Power*, p.427.

<sup>49</sup> Chalmers, ‘Causes and Cure 2’, p.273.

effects of Christianity. The first was 'the perceptive influence' of Scripture which would create 'a most strenuous habit and principle of independence' in persons, but he thought this influence would be very limited. The second was the indirect influence of Christianity on 'the general tone of feeling and of character' of persons. This was thought to be more influential on the population.<sup>50</sup> The third type was, however, vital:

But what perhaps is of more consequence than both of these put together, is the reflective power of dignified and honourable example emanating from the few who receive an impression from Christianity, on the many who do not, and who, we fear, constitute the great mass of our population...<sup>51</sup>

Chalmers anticipated the power of Christian example which would multiply the influence of Christianity. He suggested that one-tenth of the labouring population should be distinguished for the first two types of influence, then their example would spread through 'daily exhibition and comparison' to other people.<sup>52</sup>

It is noteworthy that he set an exact numerical target and abstracted the three types of Christian influence, from his own experience and observation. This was part of Chalmers's method for understanding society, probably originally learned from Robison,<sup>53</sup> who, following Francis Bacon (1561-1626), combined mathematical logic with the inductive or experimental method.<sup>54</sup> Robison argued:

It is in experimental philosophy alone that hypotheses can have any just claim to admission; and here they are not admitted as explanations, but as conjectures serving to direct our line of experiments.

Robison accepted hypotheses only in the case where it was deduced by mathematical logic from 'irresistible evidence'.<sup>55</sup> Chalmers's frequent use of statistics and his generalization of principles of human nature can be attributed to this method.

To introduce religious education into large towns where he saw 'a most impracticable distance' between the minister and his people,<sup>56</sup> Chalmers found the Sabbath school to be 'the only supplement we can at present command' for the

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<sup>50</sup> Chalmers, 'Causes and Cure', pp.20-21.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p.21.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., pp.21-22.

<sup>53</sup> Hanna, *Memoirs*, i, p.28. Chalmers, *On the Power*, pp.323-326.

<sup>54</sup> John Robison (and George Gleig), 'Philosophy', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, xiv (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., Edinburgh, 1797), p.598. Robinson M. Yost, 'Pondering the Imponderable: John Robison and Magnetic Theory in Britain', *Annals of Science*, 56 (1999), pp.156, 165. Chalmers, *On the Power*, pp.323-327.

<sup>55</sup> Robison, 'Philosophy', p.595.

<sup>56</sup> Chalmers, 'Causes and Cure', p.22.

defects of the ecclesiastical system in towns.<sup>57</sup> The method of disseminating Sabbath schools was termed the 'local system', and originated with David Stow. Stow wrote to Chalmers:

From your experience in Glasgow you know I began with a local school in two classes of the Saltmarket 3 Decr 1816. I am fully satisfied that no other plan whatever will be effectual in drawing forth the most debased and careless part of our Population.<sup>58</sup>

Chalmers later explained the local system as follows:

In the work of filling up a parish with Sabbath schools, we would recommend the local system in its purest form; that is, that a small separate district should be assigned to each teacher, and that it should no more be his practice to draw the young from all parts of the parish indiscriminately, than to draw them from all parts of the city indiscriminately.<sup>59</sup>

Complaining that a general Sabbath school could only draw children whose parents were ready to be instructed in Christianity, or those from the more decent and reputable families, Chalmers claimed that within the local system the Sabbath school could draw 'the very poorest and most profligate of children'.<sup>60</sup>

The development of Sabbath schools using the local system coincided with a new movement which promoted interdenominational and free Sunday schools using unpaid voluntary teachers,<sup>61</sup> different from an earlier movement which used salaried schoolmasters,<sup>62</sup> and taught mainly children from the week-day schools.<sup>63</sup> Chalmers set his experiment in cooperation with this new Sabbath school movement on which the local system soon became influential,<sup>64</sup> as will be shown later.

## **2. The commencement of the St John's Experiment**

Backed by the 1818-1819 reform of the poor relief system in Glasgow, the essential material framework was prepared for Chalmers's experiment. Further details,

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<sup>57</sup> Chalmers, *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, i, pp.346-7.

<sup>58</sup> Letter from David Stow to Thomas Chalmers, 1 December 1823, CHA.4.29.51, NCL.

<sup>59</sup> Chalmers, *The Christian and Civic Economy*, i, p.75.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p.64.

<sup>61</sup> Callum G. Brown, 'The Sunday-school Movement in Scotland, 1780-1914', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, vol.21 (1981-83), pp.9-12. *An Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home* (Edinburgh, 1799), pp.3-15.

<sup>62</sup> Brown, 'The Sunday-School Movement', p.5. Report of the Society for Managing the Sunday Schools in Glasgow (1795), p.2.

<sup>63</sup> James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress* (Glasgow, 1820), a table between pp.227 and 228. The General Session of Glasgow Minute book, 2 February 1786.

<sup>64</sup> Ewing, *Report for the Directors*, p.50. Chalmers, 'Causes and Cure', pp.27-30.



however, needed to be filled in gradually before and through the experiment.

(1) The structure and agents of the St John's Experiment

The newly created St John's parish (see Map II-1), consisted mainly of part of the old Tron parish but also of part of the old Outer and Inner parishes. As Brown has already pointed out, it did not, however, include the most destitute parts of the Tron.<sup>65</sup> In fact, the areas closely connected to the Cross, the south of Gallowgate and the east of Saltmarket, were largely excluded from the new parish, although these areas would have been the most overcrowded parts in the Tron. But when the division of the first 25 districts in St John's parish (Map II-2) and Table II-1 are compared, it becomes clear that districts 1, 2, and 15-21 connecting the Old Town areas were densely populated in comparison with the other districts. These nine districts contained 36% (3,828) of the inhabitants: more than one third of the total population of the parish lived in this relatively small area. In the parish there were a few wealthy inhabitants with means valued above £300, who were requested to pay the assessment. Only £140 or 1.6% of the total amount of the assessment for Glasgow as a whole (which was £8,561) was paid from the parish in 1823, although St John's was not the poorest parish in Glasgow.<sup>66</sup>

Recognising the situation of the new parish, in May 1818, before finally accepting the post of minister, Chalmers requested permission to take his wealthy congregation from the Tron Church into the new parish although he knew this was in 'apparent contrariety' to his principle. In Glasgow the congregation of each parish church could be made up from its own parishioners but also non-parishioners. Chalmers wrote as follows:

Now the most painful part of the whole business to me is the apparent contrariety of this determination to my own favourite principle of restoring parishioners and hearers to one set of people. This is a very favourite principle of mine insomuch that I look upon a Clergyman in a city as sadly crippled in his influence and means of usefulness by the disjunction of his parishioners from his hearers. One of the most desirable proportions of the New Parish would be that I could thereby secure a nearer approximation to this state of things than I at present enjoy. I might at least have several hundreds of parishioners in my day congregation and that is more than I can now number. Still however I cannot consent to abandon my present congregation and I hold myself to have good public reasons for this determination. Shall the preference be given to the parishioners they will generally speaking be of a poorer description than my present hearers and I cannot look for an assistant from them. Now with my

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<sup>65</sup> Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p.129.

<sup>66</sup> Cage and Checkland, 'Thomas Chalmers and Urban Poverty', pp.46-47.



assistant I can if I choose have an evening sermon for parishioners exclusively—so that in point of fact I meditate a more extended connection with the people of my parish through the medium of my present congregation than if I parted with them.<sup>67</sup>

Chalmers thought that the connection with his current congregation who were relatively wealthier was indispensable for developing his connection with the people of the new parish.

Apart from enabling him to find an assistant for his ministry, there were other reasons for this decision. Chalmers planned to distinguish two different collections, one from the day congregation and one from the evening congregation.

Now what I would propose...would be to meet any new cases [needing relief] exclusively out of the evening collection furnished by parishioners alone. The existing sessional poor I would maintain out of the Day collection and devote the whole surplus of this last collection to the endowment of Parochial schools.<sup>68</sup>

The proposal for employing the evening collection only for new cases arose from his principle that there was 'not a District or Parish of the Town that out of its own capabilities cannot sustain the whole burden of its own pauperism'. Chalmers supposed here the condition where the mechanism of the parochial system was revived in towns. The endowment of the parochial school also ranked high in Chalmers's consideration. Chalmers thought the wealthier congregation would in time be replaced by parishioners, making one fund rather than two, and by that time the parish would have developed a school system. The Town Council agreed in June 1818 that the preference of church seats in St John's should be given to parishioners, which numbered 120 at that point.<sup>69</sup> Since the number of church seats was about 1,630 the majority could have been let to the wealthy congregation.<sup>70</sup> It should be remembered that without the wealthier congregation, parochial schools could not be founded.

At the same time, Chalmers hoped to keep the connection already attained between some active members of the Tron session and its parishioners, some of

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<sup>67</sup> Letter from Thomas Chalmers to James Ewing, 26 May 1818, CHA3.8.43, NCL. To decipher this letter I appreciate Andrew Gunn's help. Also my first supervisor, Professor Anderson continuously helped me decipher some handwritten letters including this one.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Letter from James Ewing to Chalmers, 9 June 1818, CHA4.7.63. See also Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, 5 June 1818, C1/1/52, GCA.

<sup>70</sup> PP 1837-8, XXXII, Evidence Respecting the Presbytery of Glasgow, St John's Parish, *Second Report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland*, p.284.

whom would be in the new St John's parish. In his letter to Ewing, Chalmers explained:

The superior situation of the new church and the circumstance of its parish consisting mainly of a part of my present parish and the degree of connection already attained with its people and above all the attachment of some excellent members of my session to its proportions would induce me to accept of the new Parish.<sup>71</sup>

On the first meeting of the St John's kirk session held on 4 June 1819, Chalmers reported that he had appointed twelve elders on the previous day, all from the Tron kirk session,<sup>72</sup> where he had already tried to revive the eldership, according to the intention of the founders of the Church of Scotland. These elders were therefore familiar with the role expected by Chalmers, as 'a spiritual office' to 'help...in watching over the flock of Christ, both publicly and privately, that no corruption of religion or manners might enter in'.<sup>73</sup> Apart from those schools which were situated in Saltmarket area, the Tron Sabbath School Society was also transferred to St John's parish.<sup>74</sup>

In addition to elders and Sabbath school teachers, Chalmers also appointed deacons, which had almost disappeared from the recent management of kirk sessions in Scotland. Deacons had been formerly employed as members of a kirk session to deal with poor funds. Chalmers restored this and tried to separate the role of elders from deacons.<sup>75</sup> He asserted that deacons in St John's were expected to deal only with new cases of poor relief using the funds from the evening congregation, while elders dealt with the old cases.<sup>76</sup>

## (2) Statistical survey of the parish and influence of Sabbath schools

Amongst these three types of agent, Chalmers considered that Sabbath schools were

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<sup>71</sup> Letter from Chalmers to James Ewing, CHA.3.8.43, Chalmers Papers, NCL.

<sup>72</sup> St John's, Glasgow, Kirk Session Minutes, 1819-36, 4 June 1819, CH2/176/1, GCA. In October 5 elders were added (ibid., 24 October 1819).

<sup>73</sup> George Lewis, *The Eldership of the Church of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1834), pp.4, 8. Hanna, *Memoirs*, i, p.440.

<sup>74</sup> 'Sunday Schools, and Sabbath School Associations', in Cleland, *The Rise and Progress*, between pp.227 & 228. Also David Stow, *Bible Training* (9<sup>th</sup> edn., Edinburgh, 1859), p.29.

<sup>75</sup> Lewis, *The Eldership*, pp.24-25. Chalmers had already attempted using deacons in Tron. See also Chalmers's letter to Stow dated on 17 April 1817, quoted in William Fraser, *Memoir of the Life of David Stow* (London, 1868), p.30.

<sup>76</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *Statement in Regard to the Pauperism of Glasgow, from the Experience of the Last Eight Years* (Glasgow, 1823), p.29.

'the most important organ' for spreading Christian influence.<sup>77</sup> He proposed, as has been shown, that one-tenth of the total population should be directly influenced by Christianity. To achieve this goal, Chalmers first carried out a survey to find out the present situation of Christian influence and education in general.<sup>78</sup> The survey was probably proposed at the first meeting of the session on 4 June and was carried out between 5 June and 26/27 August 1819,<sup>79</sup> when deacons were not yet ordained.<sup>80</sup> The survey was carried out in each of the 25 districts by assigned elders and Sabbath school teachers, partly to help acquaint them with the people and the families in the district.<sup>81</sup>

From the survey, Cage and Checkland have pointed out that only 28.7% of the population held church seats and even fewer (7.6%) in the established church. From these findings they asserted that if Chalmers had refused to provide relief to members of non Church of Scotland churches, 21.1% of the population would not have been entitled to relief and that the influence of the established church could not have been great since over 70% of the population did not hold church seats.<sup>82</sup> However, the outdoor relief of the Town's Hospital was available to anyone. In 1815, 17.1% (207 out of 1,208) of those who received outdoor relief from the hospital belonged to churches other than the established church. Also the dissenters kept their collections for their own use and some of them supported 'the greater part of their own poor'.<sup>83</sup> So in this way, the dissenters were not cut off from relief.

It should also be remembered that, in preparing the experiment, Chalmers

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<sup>77</sup> Letter from Chalmers to William Craig, 2 July 1819, quoted in St John's Sabbath School Society Minute Book, 6 July 1819.

<sup>78</sup> *A Statistical, Moral, and Educational Survey of St John's Parish, Glasgow, for the Year 1819*, p.3. CHA5/1/14, Chalmers Paper, NCL.

<sup>79</sup> The earliest date of the survey was 5 June 1819 and the latest was 26 and 27 August 1819.

<sup>80</sup> The first deacons were ordained in January 1820. See 2-(3) below.

<sup>81</sup> *A Statistical, Moral, and Educational Survey*, p.3.

<sup>82</sup> Cage and Checkland, 'Thomas Chalmers and Urban Poverty', p.42. Cage, *The Scottish Poor Law*, table III between pp.94 and 95. See also Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p.130. Cage and Checkland's calculation about the percentage of the established church can be slightly revised from 7.6% to 10% (one third of the people who had seats in churches) since they seem to fail to count some seats where only ministers' names were given as the places of worship. For example 33 seats for the established church in district 1 can be corrected to 51 seats.

<sup>83</sup> Fifty eight persons on the out door relief of the hospital in 1815 belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, 44 to the Relief Church, 32 to Burghers, 29 to Methodists, 23 Episcopal Church, 6 to Reformed Congregation, 5 to Baptists, 6 to Antiburghers and 4 to Independents. Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow*, p.227 and its notes.

supposed 'a ready co-operation' among 'individuals of all denominations' in matters including education.<sup>84</sup> Some Protestant dissenting ministers in St John's were actively diffusing Sabbath schools, in connection with the Glasgow Sabbath School Union (GSSU), which was founded in 1816 and included societies from both the established church and other denominations. It aimed to 'stimulate each other in the religious education of the young' improving methods of instruction.<sup>85</sup> Apart from two ministers of the established church,<sup>86</sup> as Table II-2 shows, six ministers of different denominations were connected with the GSSU and they would have organised their own Sabbath school societies. As Table II-2 shows,<sup>87</sup> one fifth of children attending Sabbath schools in the former Tron area (districts 11-25) had parents who belonged to the Relief Church, and the Methodists were also among the most active dissenting churches in this area.

In fact in both the former Tron area and areas 11-25, although the established church as a single religious denomination taught the most children, if all the dissenting Protestant denominations are put together their school rolls equalled or exceeded that of the established church. On 30 June 1819, in the middle of this survey, 35 teachers and schools, and 1039 children belonged to the St John's Sabbath School Society.<sup>88</sup> As Table II-2 shows, the total number of children attending Sabbath schools in the area of the former Tron parish was 661 and among them only 222 had parents who belonged to the established church. Therefore the Tron Sabbath School Society would have reached far greater number of children whose parents did not belong to the established church. It could have even reached those belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. Sabbath schools crossed over denominational differences.

Although only less than 30 per cent of the population of the parish held seats in Protestant churches, as Table II-1 shows, almost 50 per cent of children between 6 and 15 years old attended Sabbath schools. This tendency was much clearer in the former Tron area than in that which did not. In districts 1-10, 33 per cent had seats in

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<sup>84</sup> Ewing, *Report for the Directors*, p.50.

<sup>85</sup> *First Annual Report of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union, in Connexion with the Sabbath School Union for Scotland* (Glasgow, 1817), p. v.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p.iii.

<sup>87</sup> Although the recorded places of worship in the survey show those of the occupiers of each house, these places are taken as those of the parents of children who attended sabbath schools in this text.

<sup>88</sup> Cleland, *The Rise and Progress*, p.228.



churches while Sabbath school attendance was 37 per cent. However, in districts 11 to 25, the former Tron area, the former was 27 per cent while the latter was 53 per cent. Thus, even though the percentage of church sittings in districts 11 to 25 was much lower than in districts 1 to 10, the actual influence of Christianity in the former could have been much higher in the latter. In fact, in all former Tron parish districts the percentage of Sabbath school attendance was higher than that of church sittings, except in districts 22 and 23, where no labourers or weavers were found and the percentages of church sittings were 49 per cent and 41 per cent respectively. This fact suggests that Christianity could have a considerable influence in large towns through the means of Sabbath schools even if the number of actual holders of church seats was not high.

It is, however, noteworthy that at this stage that those children connected with Sabbath schools mostly already had connections with Christian churches. At the commencement of the St John's parish experiment there was already a strong network of Sabbath schools organised by the established church as well as by other denominations. However, more than half of children aged between 6 and 15 in the newly created St John's parish were far from Christian instruction, as Table II-1 shows. The local system of Sabbath schools was also not really achieved. For example, in the former Tron area, the parents who belonged to the established church and whose children attended Sabbath schools included those belonging to seven churches in the city of Glasgow (in total eight church parishes existed before St John's was created), two churches of its neighbouring parishes (Barony and Gorbals), and at least five chapels in the city of Glasgow and the neighbouring parishes. Children were still collected from a wide range of surrounding areas.

### (3) Stimulating family responsibility

Although the first meeting of St John's session was held in June 1819, the final decision of the General Session to cease its role of managing poor relief came in October. The experiment of independent poor relief management commenced following that event. The first appointment of deacons was much delayed and the first fourteen deacons were ordained in January 1820.<sup>89</sup>

The introduction of deacons has been normally considered as a symbol of the traditional parochial poor relief system which tended to ignore the necessities of the

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<sup>89</sup> St John's Kirk Session Minutes 1819-36, 3 January 1820.



poor in the parish. Cage and Checkland insist that the deacon's main function was to encourage the poor to help themselves and re-invoke the system of family inquisition which had been employed in Scottish parochial life. The inquisition on applicants' family circumstances normally took a long time and resulted in few applications for relief.<sup>90</sup> Brown also makes the criticism that many deacons were far too occupied in reducing relief rolls to serve the people who needed relief and claims that Chalmers must be faulted for not encouraging the deacon's communal responsibilities of being a friend and adviser to the community.<sup>91</sup> However, these criticisms against how deacons functioned obscures Chalmers's intention in introducing deacons to the experiment and it must also be doubted whether being a friend and adviser was really expected of deacons.

Chalmers's aim in introducing deacons was to revive the traditional role of elders as ecclesiastical agents, and to change people's views on poor relief:

I do not hesitate to say, that my reason for vesting in the deacons the charge of the small evening collection alone was, that I felt as if their free access to the large day collection would have insensibly brought on the same relaxation in their management, which access to the Town Hospital did in the management of our elders under the former system....And their system of treatment has not, generally speaking, been a system of neglect, but a system of firm and patient, yet withal, kind investigation—the object of which has been, not to facilitate the access of applicants to the parochial charity, but, if possible, to divert it—not to help them on, but rather to help them off—and for this purpose, to try every previous expedient of relief, and to make that humiliating expedient of a supply from the poor's fund, the very last which ought to be resorted to.<sup>92</sup>

In practice, in a transitional period of the experiment, elders were still expected to deal with the management of the poor relief (the old cases). But, deacons were introduced to transform radically people's mindset on poor relief, which was the leading feature of the experiment.

Deacons also seem to have been expected to be relatively distant from people. Since only fourteen deacons were ordained at first, eleven vacant districts existed for a while, as Table II-3 shows. Some deacons were expected to be in charge of more than two districts. At least two deacons were each assigned to two additional districts and one deacon was in charge of three other districts of which one was considered to

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<sup>90</sup> Cage and Checkland, 'Thomas Chalmers and Urban Poverty', p.43.

<sup>91</sup> Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp.132-135.

<sup>92</sup> Chalmers, *Statement*, p.30.



possess no poor.<sup>93</sup> The other four districts would also have been run by deacons who were not properly assigned to them. As Table II-1 shows, each of 25 districts in St John's had, on average, 421 inhabitants, with 90 families and 85 children between 6 and 15. In November 1820 one deacon resigned and some vacancies were not filled until October 1823 when eleven new deacons were appointed,<sup>94</sup> just before Chalmers's departure from St John's in November.<sup>95</sup> This, however, might not have been a serious problem for Chalmers.

As Table II-3 shows, no deacon was assigned a district where he was a Sabbath School Teacher, while elders overlapped as Sabbath school teachers in three districts. Even in 1833, there were four cases in which an elder was also a Sabbath school teacher but no similar case was found for deacons.<sup>96</sup> Although one exceptional case is found in 1825,<sup>97</sup> the avoidance of overlapping duties was probably intentional. Whilst Sabbath school teachers and elders were expected to develop their moral and religious influence through close connection with people, deacons would have been expected to work at a certain distance from people. Replying to Chalmers's queries in 1823, all the deacons who answered confessed that they did not need to spend a significant amount of time on their tasks except for a period at the start. One of the first deacons, Campbell Nasmyth, stated that for the first 6 or 8 months he spent a great deal of time dealing with applications from people, being ignorant of his duties. However, after that he devoted only an hour or two each month to the work.<sup>98</sup> Chalmers himself commented:

A deacon when first appointed to his district, may find it very troublesome at the first, and perhaps alarmingly so. There is among a part of the people a very natural expectation from him, and urgency upon him...—and it is in the power of a very few to keep him in considerable perplexity and occupation for sometime.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.40-53.

<sup>94</sup> St John's Kirk Session Minutes, 28 October 1823. Furgol, 'Thomas Chalmers', p.160 note 1. Chalmers, *Statement*, pp.31-54 notes.

<sup>95</sup> PP 1844, XX, Thomas Chalmers (Evidence), *Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Poor Law Inquiry Commission for Scotland*, p.266.

<sup>96</sup> 'Abstract of the Survey of the Parish of St John's, Glasgow; with a Statement of its Moral Machinery—1833', *CSM*, 1-1 (March 1834), p.33.

<sup>97</sup> William Craig was, as a deacon and Sabbath school teacher, assigned the second district of the Western Division in St John's parish. Abstract of the Survey of St John's Parish 1825, CHA5.1.29, NCL.

<sup>98</sup> PP 1844, XX, Campbell Nasmyth (Evidence), *Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Poor Law Inquiry Commission for Scotland*, p.347.

<sup>99</sup> Chalmers, *Statement*, pp.32-36.

Chalmers further considered however that once a deacon began a strict investigation with every applicant, this would act as a preventive measure and people would cease to apply.

Providing nothing was the deacon's basic policy. Even when decisions were made to provide relief, deacons were expected to supply as small as possible in order to encourage family unification and help from relatives and neighbours. In the case of a weaver who had sixpence a day as a pension and was seriously affected by typhus fever, no additional help was given by a deacon during the great depression in the winter of 1819-20. Regarding this case, Chalmers commented that 'our confidence was in the sympathies and kind offices of the immediate neighbourhood'. An outcry, however, was raised against the session. To vindicate its policy the session investigated the amount of donations given by the neighbourhood and found that it exceeded by at least ten times the sum that would have been provided by the assessment fund. Chalmers asserted that these contributions had been induced by the fact that no additional support was made from the legal or parochial charities.<sup>100</sup> In this case, neighbours helped the family.

The same method was adopted over cases of disappearing fathers which Chalmers considered as a crime.<sup>101</sup> There were two cases in which a husband left his wife and family but aid was refused to them. In one case the husband came back and in the other the family discovered the husband. The deacon who dealt with these cases stated that:

Had the court of deacons interfered in this case, and given support to the family..., we should never have seen or heard any thing of the husband; but the refusal of all aid from the court of deacons, was the only cause, I am fully persuaded, of bringing the family together.<sup>102</sup>

This was valued highly. Even children were expected to take care of their younger siblings. Chalmers presented a few cases from the Tron parish to illustrate his principle of relief. A family of six children lost their parents through death. Three of them were not able to provide for themselves but the other three earned wages. An application was made to an elder by the three earners for the younger three to be

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<sup>100</sup> Chalmers, *A Speech, Delivered on the 24<sup>th</sup> of May, 1822, before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1822), Appendix, pp.59-60.

<sup>101</sup> Chalmers, *Statement*, p.15.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p.52 note.

taken into the Town's Hospital where the average annual cost was £20 per person. The elder remonstrated with them, both 'on the evil of thus breaking [up the] family' and on the disgrace of handing over the younger children to pauperism. The older children should look after the education and subsistence of the younger. Based on this conviction, the session offered them a small quarterly allowance on the condition that they tried to live together. They accepted, but the quarterly allowance was made only twice. Chalmers claimed that a sum of at least fifty-fold was saved by the Town's Hospital, and 'the worth of such management to the habit and condition of the family cannot be estimated in gold'.<sup>103</sup> By refusing relief or providing only a small sum temporarily, the experiment tried to promote the unity or responsibility of families and the mutual support of families in close communities.

There were, however, two areas in which assistance was positively provided through the deacons' and elders' private contribution: education and employment. William Collins, an elder and Sabbath school teacher of St John's, explained as 'the practice of my brethren' that elders and deacons frequently paid 'the wages for poor children' from their own pockets in their assigned districts because no children were admitted to school without payment.<sup>104</sup> Regarding employment, William Buchanan, a deacon and Sabbath school teacher, stated that some of 'us' were able to give work to the poor adding 6d. or 1s. a week to the family if they were found to be 'industrious and well-disposed'.<sup>105</sup> Alternatively, they used their influence to find jobs for the poor, by writing to employers that a person was 'deserving, honest, and well-disposed' and 'it might be safe to give the work'.<sup>106</sup> The following point was crucial for the system of the experiment.

Endeavouring to get employment for them, and getting education for the children, and putting them on their own energies...is the great secret in the management of the poor.<sup>107</sup>

The experiment attempted to highlight that families should morally and financially support each other without recourse to public relief and, as an important means

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<sup>103</sup> Chalmers, *A Speech*, Appendix, pp.62-63.

<sup>104</sup> PP 1837-8, XXXII, William Collins (Evidence), *Second Report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland*, pp.296-297. There was the exception in the case of the foundlings as will be seen later (PP 1844, XX, Campbell Nasmyth (Evidence), p.350).

<sup>105</sup> PP 1844, XX, William Buchanan (Evidence), *Royal Commission for Poor Laws in Scotland*, p.378.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, Campbell Nasmyth (Evidence), p.350.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, William Davie (Evidence), p.356.

towards this, employment and education were positively encouraged. However harsh his system might have been, it, introducing deacons, attempted to create a new framework for dealing with the poor, which made families central, reflecting in Chalmers's mind the proper natural constitution of man.

### **3. Organising Sabbath schools and parochial schools**

Education was crucial for Chalmers's programme. Religious and general education was promoted through Sabbath and parochial schools.

#### (1) Extending Sabbath schools using the local system

Sabbath schools were already relatively well organised on the eve of the St John's experiment, especially in the former Tron parish area. This was largely promoted by David Stow, an elder in Tron. Stow was born in Paisley in 1793, a son of William Stow, a prosperous merchant and for many years a magistrate. In 1811 he moved to Glasgow to engage in business, and in 1817 became a partner in a silk firm, the Port-Eglinton Spinning Company, which first merchandised and later manufactured.<sup>108</sup>

By 1841 the introduction of the 'local system' into the Sabbath school was seen to have created 'a new era' in its history.<sup>109</sup> The originator, Stow, described the origin of the local Sabbath school as follows:

The origin of the Local System may be stated as having been, in common terms, somewhat 'accidental.' In the year 1816, apart from any Sabbath school society, one young man, desirous of doing a little good to a few of the 'ragamuffin' boys and girls of the Saltmarket (the 'St Giles of Glasgow,') who, in 'covies' of ten or a dozen, beset his path, as he walked daily through this quarter of the city to and from his place of business, bethought himself to catch a dozen of them, and endeavour to instruct them a little on Sabbath evenings.<sup>110</sup>

Stow hired a weekday schoolroom and determined to collect children only from the narrow back lane, contiguous to the schoolroom, instead of giving a general invitation. Before starting the school, every house of this lane was visited and the visitor recorded the name and occupation of the head of the family, the number, age,

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<sup>108</sup> White, 'David Stow', p.2. 'David Stow', in *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men*, ii (Glasgow, 1886), p.303. 'David Stow', in *DNB*, xix, p.1. Elizabeth J. Morse, 'David Stow', *ODNB*. [article/26609]

<sup>109</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union* (Glasgow, 1841), p.9.

<sup>110</sup> Stow, *Bible Training* (9<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.26. Stow probably referred to St Giles in London. By the time the 1859 edition of *Bible Training* appeared (in earlier editions of *Bible Training*, for example in its 1839 edition, Stow did not mention the origin of the 'local system' of Sabbath schools), St Giles was recognised as one of the worst slum areas in London.



sex, and names of the children who were able to read, who attended any Sabbath school or who had an intention of attending the Sabbath school. Stow invited only children who already had reading ability to give them religious education. It was also made clear that no child would be admitted other than from a limited area, and no denominational discrimination would be made. On the following Sabbath evening the local school began with 28 boys and girls between 8 and 14. A few weeks later a second and a third school were opened following similar principles by two other men.<sup>111</sup> George Heggie, one of the teachers for these two schools, also testified that Stow was the person who had first established local Sabbath schools, and it was he who informed Chalmers of their advantages.<sup>112</sup>

Stow's school was opened on 3 December 1816.<sup>113</sup> Just a week later, the Tron Church Parish Sabbath School Society was established at the request of Chalmers. The society first employed the general system, which invited children throughout the parish.<sup>114</sup> However Chalmers eventually adopted the local system into the society, probably in 1818.<sup>115</sup> Stow had been already admitted as a member of the society in January 1817,<sup>116</sup> following his ordination to the eldership of the parish in December 1816 as one of 'a few younger and less prejudiced men' than the existing elders of the parish.<sup>117</sup> This would have been the driving force for bringing the local system into the society.<sup>118</sup> Chalmers retrospectively stated that the local system was successfully introduced into the Tron Parish.<sup>119</sup> The new Sabbath school movement was emerging on the eve of the experiment.

Within St John's, 25 local Sabbath schools were planted and each school had one male teacher (see Table II-3) and 25 children on average. The schools were generally held in some large kitchen within 'the limits of the particular district or

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., pp.26-28.

<sup>112</sup> Fraser, *Memoir*, pp.26-27. William Keddie, *Memorials of St John's Congregation* (Glasgow, 1874), pp.23-24.

<sup>113</sup> Letter from David Stow to Thomas Chalmers, 1 December 1823, CHA.4.29.51, NCL.

<sup>114</sup> Stow, *Bible Training* (9<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.25. David Stow, *The Training System, Moral Training School, and Normal Seminary* (10<sup>th</sup> edn., London, 1854), p.49. St John's Sabbath School Society Minute Book, 1816-42, 10 December 1816, CH2/176/9, GCA. The minutes began as those for the Tron Sabbath School Society, but were transferred to St John's.

<sup>115</sup> Andrew Ramsay's and Heggie's schools were the first two local sabbath schools in the Tron society. Fraser, *Memoir*, p.27. Stow, *Bible Training* (9<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.25. See also Table II-4.

<sup>116</sup> St John's Sabbath School Society Minute Book, 16 December 1816 and 7 January 1817.

<sup>117</sup> Hanna, *Memoirs*, i, p.440. Morse, 'Stow, David (1793-1864)'.

<sup>118</sup> St John's Sabbath School Society Minute Book, 3 December 1816.

<sup>119</sup> Keddie, *Memorials*, p.23.

locality'.<sup>120</sup> By 30 June 1819 there were 35 schools and 35 teachers, probably including female teachers and assistants.<sup>121</sup> As Table II-3 shows, six male teachers were added between July and December 1819 and by the end of 1820 nine more were introduced. By then normally two or more male teachers were assigned to each district.<sup>122</sup> Sabbath schools were spreading rapidly.

The relative flexibility in employing teachers lay partly behind this. Firstly female teachers were included. The first time that a female teacher, Miss Ann Smith, was mentioned was still in the time of the Tron society. She was 'appointed to the charge of a Ladies School in Mr Wilson[']s proportion' on 1 June 1819. However, she was not treated as a full member of the society as the men who were proposed as members on the same day, and female teachers were only allowed to teach older female children who were reluctant to attend school with younger children.<sup>123</sup> Secondly, there were also assistant teachers. In November 1818, again still in the time of the Tron society, it was agreed that each teacher might admit a young person as an assistant who might be trained to be a future independent teacher.<sup>124</sup> Thirdly, teachers who did not belong to the Church of Scotland were included. As will be seen shortly, at least two teachers belonged to dissenting churches.

In addition, the Sabbath school teachers' social composition in St John's became more mixed, although James Cleland described the St John's Sabbath school teachers as well as the deacons and elders as 'young men of religious character and education, chiefly in the middle and upper ranks of life',<sup>125</sup> and this would also have been true for the Tron parish. Table II-4 shows that there were 32 teachers in April 1819 in the Tron society. Of these, 12 teachers became elders or deacons in St John's and most of these were wealthy employers such as manufacturers, merchants and printers, although also included a cabinetmaker and a clerk. However, 14 were not members of 'the Burgesses & Guild Brethren' or of the Merchant House. For example, James Aitken became a teacher for a parochial school which was founded in the experiment. Before this he had been a teacher for seven years in a private English school in

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<sup>120</sup> Stow, *Bible Training* (9<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.25.

<sup>121</sup> Cleland, *The Rise and Progress*, p.228.

<sup>122</sup> There was an exception in districts 22 and 23 where relatively high rates of church sittings existed and there were no weavers (see Table II-1).

<sup>123</sup> St John's Sabbath School Society Minutes Book, 2 March 1819 and 1 June 1819.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 November 1818.

<sup>125</sup> James Cleland, *Statistical and Population Tables* (Glasgow, 1820), p.123.



Gallowgate.<sup>126</sup> In fact, of 49 teachers in St John's (see Table II-3), only 7 were also elders or deacons at some point and all of the 7 were brought from the Tron parish. In 1824 Stow, writing to Chalmers about how he was extending Sabbath schools in Glasgow, commented:

Some difficultys [sic] exist which must I fear prevent the universal adoption of this system [the local plan]—prejudice in favour of large congregational schools...the great difficulty which tradesmen and more particularly clerks have in finding time through the week for the purpose of visiting the families and even in making the first round towards forming the school.<sup>127</sup>

This testifies that Stow chiefly recruited young 'tradesmen' and 'clerks' as Sabbath school teachers. Stow later complained that, after a year or two, young teachers who by then were conducting their classes efficiently, were attracted by 'the parlour fireside'.<sup>128</sup> Although frequent changes of teachers occurred, there was a constant supply of new teachers as Table II-5 shows. In St John's, thus, a distinction between elders and deacons, and Sabbath school teachers seems to have existed. In fact the Sabbath school teachers were not expected to have their own resources to provide for the poor. The relative abundance of Sabbath school teachers was probably the result of being able to recruit men from such a wider social background.

Backed by an increasing inter-denominational Sabbath school movement, as will be shown in the following chapter, a stable basis for religious education at which Chalmers aimed was gradually extending.

## (2) The formation of parochial schools in the parish

For children who could not read, Sabbath schools were considered unsuitable. Parochial schools were established not only to remedy this, but also to provide 'a habit of general education' in families. Unlike Sabbath schools, a parochial school needed premises visible to people, teachers' salaries, and the collection of fees. As has been seen, Chalmers suggested that the surplus of the day collections should be used for parochial schools after providing for poor relief. But this was not sanctioned by the Town Council until 1823.<sup>129</sup> In this situation, in September 1819, the day after the

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<sup>126</sup> James Aitken's school was recorded in a table appearing in Cleland, *Abridgment of the Annals of Glasgow*, p.302. See also Letter from James Aitken to the Revd Gentlemen, and Patrons of St John's Schools, 16 June 1820, CHA5.2.31, NCL.

<sup>127</sup> Letter from David Stow to Thomas Chalmers, 7 April 1824, CHA4.39.29, NCL.

<sup>128</sup> David Stow, *The Training System of Education* (6<sup>th</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1845), p.28. Stow stated that once (mail) teachers married they excused themselves saying 'they cannot come'.

<sup>129</sup> Chalmers, *A Speech*, p.53.

first sermon at the church, the Committee of Education for the parish of St John's was formed and resolved

that there should, in the first instance, and as soon as possible, be raised by subscription a sum of money deemed adequate to the erection of one fabric, to include two schoolhouses and two teachers' houses, which, when completed, shall in all time thereafter be exclusively occupied for the use and benefit of the parish of St John's.<sup>130</sup>

Chalmers's pamphlet *Considerations on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland, and on the Advantage of Establishing them in Large Towns* was used for promoting this project.<sup>131</sup> On 4 December 1819, Chalmers noted that he had received copies of the pamphlet together with the resolutions of the St John's Committee of Education.<sup>132</sup> From that day, publicity for erecting the first school 'fabric' began. Chalmers sent copies, with supplementary letters, to thirteen individuals. The publicity also reached outside Glasgow.<sup>133</sup> A total of £1,106 was subscribed by 17 individuals, most of whom were wealthy citizens with connections to the St John's parish, seven giving £100 and six contributing £50.<sup>134</sup> The original subscribers of £100 joined the group of patrons who had the right along with the minister, the elders and deacons, to appoint the teachers.

The first schools opened in July 1820 in McFarlane Street with two teachers: James Aitken for the English school and John McGregor for the commercial school. Aitken had had seven years' teaching experience in a private English school; McGregor had two years'. Both of them were dissenters and members of the St John's Sabbath School Society.<sup>135</sup> Unlike the original parochial school which requested its teachers to subscribe to the Church of Scotland's Confession of Faith, these parochial

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<sup>130</sup> Hanna, *Memoirs*, i, p.526. See also Chalmers, *Considerations*, p.21.

<sup>131</sup> See footnote 35.

<sup>132</sup> Record of Parish Schools in St John's, 1819-1820, CHA5.1.13, NCL.

<sup>133</sup> Letter from Kirkman Finlay to Thomas Chalmers, 14 December 1819, CHA4.11.39, NCL. Finlay showed the pamphlet to Henry Brougham and William Wilberforce in London.

<sup>134</sup> Record of Parish Schools in St John's, 1819. CHA5.1.13. At least four of the subscribers were Glasgow merchants. Chalmers, an elder and a deacon were also subscribers. See Scottish Record Society, *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow, 1751-1846* (Edinburgh, 1935)

<sup>135</sup> Account of Ordinary Week Day Schools, CHA5.2.34, NCL. Aitken became a member of the Society in March 1819 and McGregor became a member in January 1820. See St John's Sabbath School Society Minute Book, 2 March 1819 and 4 January 1820. Both of the teachers were described by Chalmers as not having taken the oath. William Collins stated that several teachers employed in parochial schools in St John's were dissenters and the first teacher the patrons elected was an Independent. See PP 1837-38, XXXII, Declaration of William Collins (3 May 1836), *Second Report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland*, p.293.

schools did not deter dissenters from becoming teachers.<sup>136</sup> Children above six years were expected to go to the English school and those from about ten to fourteen to the commercial school for preparation for business.<sup>137</sup> The commercial school was chiefly for children whose parents were in a relatively high social rank since its pupils were supposed to enter business, continuing study after ten years old. In 1836, referring to the commercial school, Stow stated:

It is difficult to state precisely what experience may suggest as proper to be introduced into a commercial school for the children of the working classes from the age of eleven to fourteen or fifteen years, for they are generally so early put to work, that few get more at this age than simple reading, writing, and arithmetic.<sup>138</sup>

It is very unlikely that the commercial school collected the majority of its children from the working class and it is also possible that it was open to children of other parishes.

The English school was able to attract more children from a lower rank in society. As Table II-1 shows, in St John there were 174 children between 6 and 15 who could not read and did not attend school. These were the English school's target. Each teacher was paid £25 annually as a salary, which was probably first paid from subscriptions,<sup>139</sup> plus a free house. The fees were 2 shillings per quarter for reading and 3 shillings per quarter for writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, etc.<sup>140</sup> These fees were significantly lower than other 'respectable' schools, whose fees were 7 and sixpence per quarter for English and English grammar, and 5 shillings for writing and accounts.<sup>141</sup>

Before opening the first schools in 1820, Chalmers addressed the parishioners. He claimed that each scholar would come upon 'the same equal and independent footing' with a relatively low fee which could be paid by all.

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<sup>136</sup> Account of Ordinary Weekday Schools, CHA5.2.34 and *Third Report of the Glasgow Educational Society's Normal Seminary* (Glasgow, 1837), p.26.

<sup>137</sup> This description is based on that of the second two schools. David Stow, *Moral Training, Infant and Juvenile* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1834), pp.240-241.

<sup>138</sup> David Stow, *The Training System Adopted in the Model Schools of the Glasgow Educational Society* (Glasgow, 1836), p.174.

<sup>139</sup> See 'Abstract of the Treasurer's Accounts of Receipts and Disbursements of the Funds of St John's Parish, Glasgow, as Applicable to the Maintenance of the Poor, Educational Purposes, &c., from 26<sup>th</sup> September, 1818, till 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1835', TD121/4, GCA. See Table III-6.

<sup>140</sup> Hanna, *Memoirs*, ii, pp.234-5.

<sup>141</sup> These amounts are the lowest fees given for each subject at schools considered most respectable. Cleland, *Abridgement of the Annals of Glasgow*, p.307.

There will no other inequality be ever known within the walls of our institution, but such as arises from the diversity of talent and diligence and personal character....It is well to have observed there that neither talent nor character are the prerogatives of rank alone. The ties of kindness will be multiplied between the wealthy and the labouring classes of our city...by the attentions of a soft and pleasing fellowship.

For Chalmers, only a child's own ability would distinguish him or her, regardless of class differences. The class mixture, however, was not intended to give labourers the chance of entering higher situations, but to 'turn an ignorant operative into a learned operative' being more morally and intellectually developed. Chalmers kept firmly to the idea that 'to the end of the world the men of opulence will be the few and the men of industry will compose the multitude'.<sup>142</sup> Although the commercial school was also expected to be managed on the principle of the class mixture since Chalmers referred to 'these schools', the reality would have easily belied this.

In August, less than one month after the first schools opened, Chalmers proposed to erect new schools, witnessing that the first schools were already crowded and the teachers were obliged to teach two day-classes instead of one.<sup>143</sup> In 1821, Aitken, the teacher in the English school, taught 122 day scholars, 33 afternoon scholars and 4 evening adult scholars, using a spelling book, the Catechism, Scripture and a grammar book. McGregor, the teacher in the commercial school, taught 50 day scholars, 35 evening and 5 'mathematical' scholars. Chalmers described the former as 'a very efficient School' and the latter as 'a very scientific seminary'.<sup>144</sup>

For the second schools, subscriptions were also collected speedily and reached around £1,000. The new schools, which also housed an English school and a commercial school, were established in 1821 in Annfield Street with two teachers, whose salaries were also £25 per year.<sup>145</sup> These would have been managed in a similar way to the first schools. The St John's experiment founded these parochial schools in a fundamentally different way from that of the charity schools, which primarily taught children whose parents were on the Sessions' rolls without charging fees.

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<sup>142</sup> Hanna, *Memoirs*, i, pp.530-534.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p.528.

<sup>144</sup> Account of Ordinary Week Day Schools, CHA5.2.34.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.* See also Table III-6. Stow, *Moral Training* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.), plate I, between pp.250 and 251.

### (3) Transformation of charity schools into parochial schools

In 1821, the charity schools managed by the General Session were completely transferred into a new system similar to St John's parochial schools, influenced by Chalmers's promotion of the parochial school.<sup>146</sup> Soon after the opening of the first parochial schools in St John's in July 1820, the children of the parish whose parents were on the session roll were excluded from the allocation of the charity schools,<sup>147</sup> freeing St John's from the charity school system.

In May 1821, it was decided that the management and expense of the six charity schools should be transferred from the General Session to the various parishes as their parochial schools. The cost of the paupers' education and other related sums, including teachers' salaries, however, were to be allocated by the General Session to these parishes annually or quarterly, according to the number of the poor in each. By this arrangement, of the city's nine parishes not including St John's,<sup>148</sup> five parishes were to have their own parochial schools: Inner High, College, St Andrew's, Tron and St Enoch. As Maps II-1 shows, these parishes were mainly located in Old Town areas. School rooms for these parochial schools, however, were allotted in the old Grammar School, thus they did not have their own buildings in their own parishes. Fees of 2 shillings per quarter were to be introduced for each child attending these schools,<sup>149</sup> which was the same amount as that charged for reading lessons in the English schools founded on Chalmers's initiative. These five new parochial schools were to work on a similar principle to Chalmers's.

The original proposal to establish parochial schools all over the city had already been presented in 1818 in the General Session and in 1819 it requested a certain annual sum for this purpose from the Magistrates as heritors of the burgh,<sup>150</sup> corresponding to Chalmers's plan that the endowment for the teachers of the parochial schools should in the end come from the revenue of legal assessments. In September 1819, the Town Council responded saying that although it was illegal to apply a part of the assessment to the education of the children of the labouring class unless they

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<sup>146</sup> The General Session of Glasgow Minutes Book, 1819-1832, TD209/2, GCA, 7 October 1819.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 February and 1 March 1821.

<sup>148</sup> St James's parish was newly created after St John's.

<sup>149</sup> The General Session of Glasgow, Minutes Book, 10 May 1821.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 September 1819.



were paupers, it would be right to give the annual sum of £220, which the Town Council had contributed to the Town's Hospital, for establishing parochial schools and for their teachers.<sup>151</sup> James Ewing, the core promoter of Chalmers's plan for the poor relief system in the Town's Hospital, was on the Town Council at the time and in fact the transformation of the charity schools in May 1821 was to be carried out under the expectation of aid from the Town Council.<sup>152</sup> However, this did not happen.

It was in this situation in March 1822 that Chalmers proposed that the English parochial school in McFarlane Street in St John's was endowed with a part of the surplus of the day collections which had not been employed.<sup>153</sup> More precisely the following was suggested:

We have now from these offerings reached a Capital Sum of £500 which we are desirous of putting into the hands of the Magistrates & Council of Glasgow in return for the grant of a perpetual Salary of £25 a year to the Teacher of English in the School erected on the east side of Macfarlane Street upon ground fenced from the College of Glasgow. We are desirous by this arrangement to place the Salary of the Teacher on a Secure and permanent basis.<sup>154</sup>

The role of the Magistrates and Town Council as 'Heritors of the Parish' was emphasised to secure the regular salaries.<sup>155</sup> In 1822, salaries for the four teachers of the two parochial schools in the parish were paid from the surplus of the day collection.<sup>156</sup> The kirk session resolved in February 1823 that £500 of the surplus of the day collection was to be given to the Town Council in return for a permanent salary of £25 per year for the teacher of the English school in McFarlane Street.<sup>157</sup> In 1823 it was also reported that another teacher was permanently endowed from another source.<sup>158</sup> This was the share from the interest of a bequest to the General Session for education, which was between £24 and £28 per year.<sup>159</sup> As far as this endowment was concerned, St John's was now also placed in the same situation as the other parochial schools endowed by the General Session. The remaining two teachers for the second

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<sup>151</sup> Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, 28 September 1819.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 November 1820, 2 May 1821.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 November 1822. St John's Kirk Session Minutes, Secular Affairs: 1819-25, 4 March 1822.

<sup>154</sup> Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, 8 November 1822.

<sup>155</sup> St John's Kirk Session Minutes, Secular Affairs, 5 August 1822.

<sup>156</sup> Chalmers, *A Speech*, p.53.

<sup>157</sup> St John's Kirk Session Minutes, Secular Affairs, 3 February 1823.

<sup>158</sup> Chalmers, *Statement*, p.59 note.

<sup>159</sup> PP 1837-8, XXXII, Evidence of William Collins, 3 May 1836, *Evidence Respecting the Presbytery of Glasgow. Commission of Religious Instruction, Scotland*, p.292.



schools were paid from an 'extraordinary' collection of the session for that purpose. It was hoped that even these schools would be endowed by other sources.<sup>160</sup> Chalmers was gradually transferring the funds for the parochial schools into more stable revenues.

It is, however, noteworthy that the parochial schools endowed by the General Session were partly supported by annual aid from the Town's Hospital, which had contributed to the expenses of charity schools since 1785,<sup>161</sup> although further aid requested in 1825 'to make out an amount for educating the Children of the out-door pensioners on the Hospital',<sup>162</sup> was rejected.<sup>163</sup> It is possible that those parochial schools were still largely attended by children whose parents were receiving poor relief neither from the hospital nor individual parishes. The number of the parochial schools endowed by the General Session increased from five in 1821 to ten including one in St John's in 1830.<sup>164</sup> Parochial schools were also gradually developing.

This chapter has attempted first to locate the St John's experiment in the context of the British Enlightenment. Chalmers's arguments on the principles of human nature were based on natural theology, chiefly influenced by Robison and Malthus, which many thinkers of the British Enlightenment shared. His belief in nature's constancy along with common sense, learned from Robison, underpinned his experiment to apply the mechanism of the parochial system to towns. Robison's adoption of mathematical logic combined with observation and experience also encouraged Chalmers's use of statistics and generalisation of principles of human nature. For the latter, Malthus's psychology which saw pain as a stimulus to create people's minds or morality was also influential. To Chalmers, however, Christianity was crucial for fostering the principles of human nature and in the end in leading people into Christianity.

This chapter also analysed the practical working of the experiment. In the St John's, the provision of poor relief was rigorously restricted in order to encourage the family unity which was considered natural, whilst help was given to find employment

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<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, and also St John's Kirk Session Minutes, Secular Affairs, 2 May 1825. Chalmers, *Statement*, p.59 note.

<sup>161</sup> GTH, Minutes of Directors Meetings, 17 November 1785. The amount was increased in 1800 (*ibid.*, 21 August 1800).

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 November 1825.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 March 1827.

<sup>164</sup> The General Session of Glasgow, Minutes Book, 7 October 1830.

and to educate children. However, for Chalmers the decisive element for strengthening family unity was religious education organised through Sabbath schools using the local system. The interdenominational new Sabbath school movement supported the experiment as well. Parochial schools were also introduced into the parish, transferring the system of charity schools into a similar system to that of parochial schools. They aimed to create habits of general education in families by requiring fees from parents. General education was ranked highly as the most practical road to abolishing the legal assessment for poor relief. Through these various reorganisations the experiment attempted to change people's attitudes and views on relief, education and themselves.



## Appendix

### Map II-1 St John's parish in 1818 in comparison with the division of the city of Glasgow in 1780

Eight Parishes in 1780

Inner High Yellow (Incomplete)

St Andrews Green

St George Pink

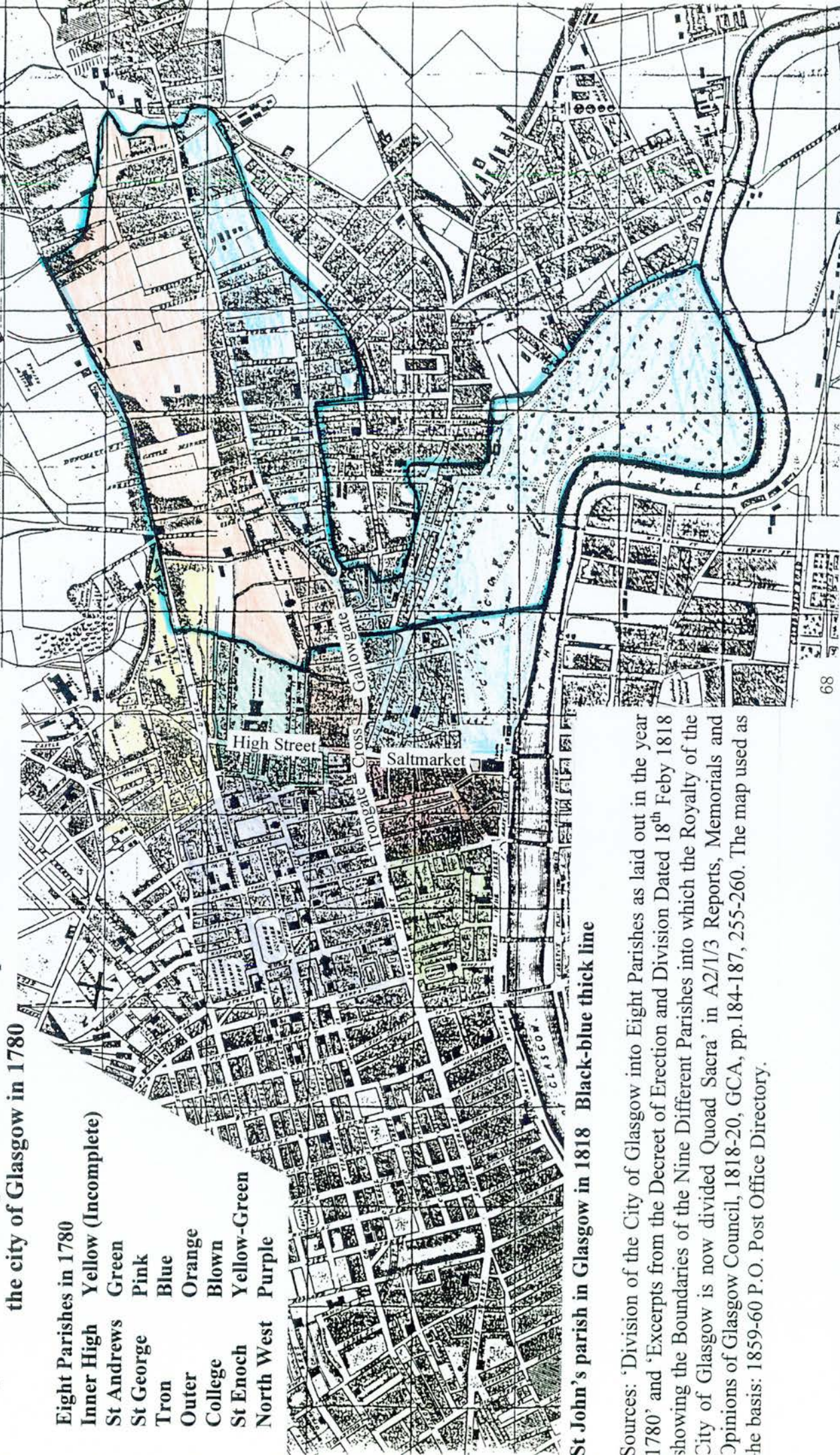
Tron Blue

Outer Orange

College Blown

St Enoch Yellow-Green

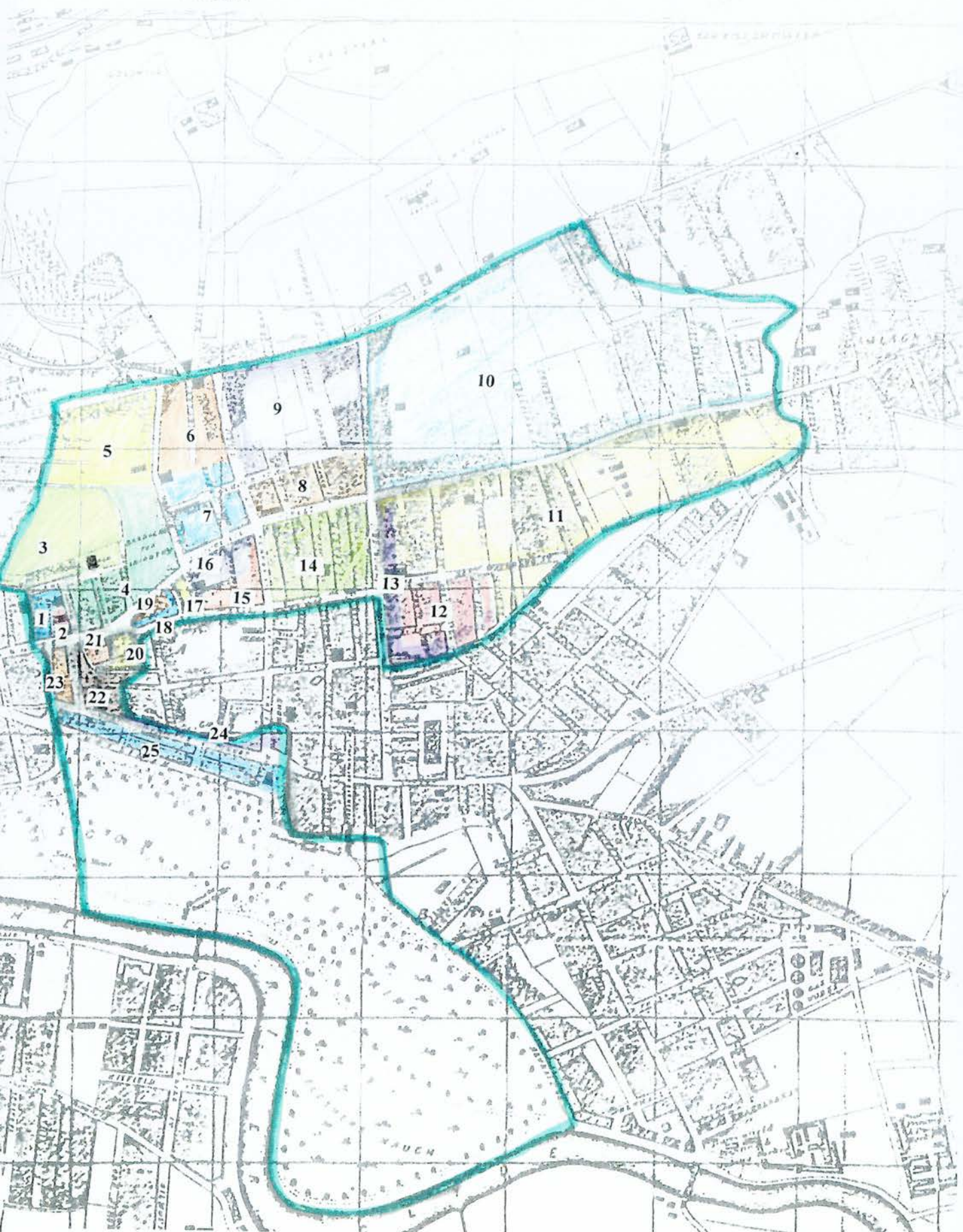
North West Purple



St John's parish in Glasgow in 1818 Black-blue thick line

Sources: 'Division of the City of Glasgow into Eight Parishes as laid out in the year 1780' and 'Excerpts from the Decree of Erection and Division Dated 18<sup>th</sup> Feby 1818 showing the Boundaries of the Nine Different Parishes into which the Royalty of the City of Glasgow is now divided Quoad Sacra' in A2/1/3 Reports, Memorials and Opinions of Glasgow Council, 1818-20, GCA, pp.184-187, 255-260. The map used as the basis: 1859-60 P.O. Post Office Directory.





Sources: 'Description of the Proportions of St John's Parish', in Statistical, Moral, and Educational Survey, of St John's Parish, Glasgow; for the Year 1819, pp.1-2, Chalmers paper, NCL, CHA5.1.14. The map used as the basis: 1859-60 P.O. Post Office Directory.

**Table II-1 The Results of the St John's Moral and Educational Survey in 1819**

District	Population	Households	Seats in Churches	Seats/Population (%)	Seats in Establishment	Seats (E)/P (%)	Labourers and Weavers	L&W/Households (%)	Children 6-15	Children attending SS	Children at SS/C6-15 (%)	Unable to read, not at school	Not attending SS
1	319	76	121	38	51	16	14	18	59	41	69	2	11
2	335	75	152	45	51	15	2	3	52	25	48	1	21
3	437	102	217	50	67	15	7	7	67	42	63	0	22
4	346	73	166	48	23	7	7	10	59	12	20	3	43
5	362	77	77	21	37	10	22	29	77	42	55	9	29
6	412	88	103	25	35	8	28	32	54	29	54	4	10
7	528	114	130	25	43	8	11	10	108	26	24	7	68
8	508	102	128	25	52	10	19	19	112	36	32	14	57
9	281	61	91	32	42	15	20	33	49	11	22	2	27
10	678	115	188	28	105	15	48	42	147	25	17	11	33
11	453	92	74	16	28	6	62	67	100	69	69	16	3
12	464	88	113	24	25	5	40	45	106	61	58	11	31
13	511	93	100	20	29	6	60	65	118	65	55	25	36
14	469	94	103	22	26	6	52	55	87	40	46	10	26
15	468	107	113	24	32	7	60	56	112	68	61	7	39
16	424	99	91	21	36	8	21	21	94	52	55	16	23
17	466	99	134	29	46	10	26	26	94	34	36	5	48
18	584	141	131	22	43	7	27	19	93	59	63	2	34
19	487	123	145	30	58	12	12	10	89	42	47	8	32
20	352	81	122	35	34	10	10	12	80	35	44	2	21
21	393	85	137	35	42	11	6	7	93	43	46	8	24
22	203	42	99	49	31	15	0	0	38	14	37	0	18
23	261	51	108	41	56	21	0	0	37	15	41	1	8
24	380	80	128	34	55	14	9	11	87	51	59	8	15
25	447	83	105	23	28	6	19	23	28	13	46	2	5
1-10	4206	883	1373	33	506	12	178	20	784	289	37	53	321
11-25	6362	1358	1703	27	569	9	404	30	1256	661	53	121	363
Total	10568	2241	3076	29	1075	10	582	26	2040	950	47	174	684

Notes: Abbreviations: P: Population, E: Establishment, L: Labourers, W: Weavers, C: Children, SS: Sabbath schools.

Source: Statistical, Moral, and Educational Survey of St John's Parish, Glasgow, for the Year 1819, CHA5/1/14, Chalmers Papers, NCL.



**Table II-2 Children attending Sabbath schools and their religious background in St John's parish in 1819**

<b>Place of Worship</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Sabbath School Districts 1-10</b>	<b>Percentage rate of each group</b>	<b>Sabbath School Districts 11-25 [Former Tron area]</b>	<b>Percentage rate of each group</b>
<b><i>Establishment</i></b>	<b>331</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>34%</b>
Establishment, Tron Church	67	19		48	
Establishment, Barony (John Burns)	42	16		26	
Establishment, Duke St. Gaelic Chapel (David Carmont)	34	14		20	
Establishment, Calton Chapel of Ease to Barony Parish (Mathew Graham)	78	13		65	
Establishment, (Outer) High Church	16	12		4	
Establishment, Canon St. Chapel (McLeod)	12	7		5	
Establishment, College or Black Friars (John Lockhart)	14	6		8	
Establishment, Ingram St. Gaelic Chapel (John McLaren)	22	5		17	
Establishment, Gorbals Gaelic Chapel (J. McKenzie)	9	5		4	
Establishment, North West (Alexander Rankin)	6	4		2	
Establishment, Inner High (Principal Taylor)	13	4		9	
Establishment, St. Andrew's Church (Gavin Gibb)	7	3		4	



**Table II-2 Children attending Sabbath Schools and their religious background in St John's parish in 1819 (continued)**

Place of Worship	Total	Sabbath School Districts 1-10	Percentage rate of each group	Sabbath School Districts 11-25 [Former Tron area]	Percentage rate of each group
Establishment, Chapel of Ease	1	1			
Establishment, Wynd Church (William Muir)	2			2	
Establishment, Gorbals (James MacLean)	1			1	
Establishment	7			7	
<b>Protestant Dissenting Churches</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>341</b>	<b>51%</b>
<b>Relief Church</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>21%</b>
Relief Church (John Barr)	79	15		64	
Relief Church (John Watson)	22	14		8	
Relief Church (Robert Brodie)	37	10		27	
Relief Church (John McFarlane)	41	5		36	
Relief Church (William Thomson)	6	1		5	
Relief Church	1			1	
<b>United Associate Secession Church Congregation</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>6%</b>
United Associate Secession Church Congregation (Kidston)	25	10		15	
United Associate Secession Church Congregation (W. Brash)	33	5		28	

**Table II-2 Children attending Sabbath Schools and their religious background in St John's parish in 1819 (continued)**

Place of Worship	Total	Sabbath School Districts 1-10	Percentage rate of each group	Sabbath School Districts 11-25 [Former Tron area]	Percentage rate of each group
<b>Methodist</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>10%</b>
<b>Associate Burghers</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>4%</b>
Associate Burghers (Alexander Turnbull)	18	7		11	
Associate Burghers (John Dick)	17	4		13	
Associate Burghers	2			2	
<b>Original Burghers (James Marshall)</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>9</b>		<b>9</b>	
<b>Associate Antiburghers</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>		<b>9</b>	
Associate Antiburghers (Robert Muter)	13	5		8	
Associate Antiburghers (John Mitchell)	1			1	
<b>Reformed Presbyterians</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>		<b>5</b>	
Reformed Presbyterians (Armstrong)	10	5		5	
McMillanites	1	1			
<b>Independents</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>2</b>		<b>15</b>	<b>2%</b>
Independents (Greville Ewing)	9	2		7	
Independents (Ralph Wardlaw)	3			3	
Independents (William Campbell)	5			5	
<b>English Episcopal (William Routledge)</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>20</b>	<b>3%</b>

**Table II-2 Children attending Sabbath Schools and their religious background in St John's parish in 1819 (continued)**

<b>Place of Worship</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Sabbath School Districts 1-10</b>	<b>Percentage rate of each group</b>	<b>Sabbath School Districts 11-25 [Former Tron area]</b>	<b>Percentage rate of each group</b>
<b>Unitarian</b>	<b>2</b>			<b>2</b>	
<b>Friends</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>	
<b>Baptist</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Bereans</b>	<b>2</b>			<b>2</b>	
<b>Roman Catholics (Andrew Scott)</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>4%</b>
Others	19	<b>8</b>		<b>11</b>	
<b>Nothing</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>			
<b>N. A.</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>38</b>		<b>63</b>	
<b>Total</b>	<b>950</b>	<b>289</b>		<b>661</b>	

Notes: Words and numbers in bold show the basic table and words and numbers in normal type show items of each group when grouping is appropriate. The persons listed under places of worship in column 1 with dark backgrounds were Office Bearers of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union in 1817. Where more than one denomination is listed for one family in the records, the first is automatically used as the parents' religious affiliation for this table.

Sources: Statistical, Moral, and Educational Survey, of St John's Parish, Glasgow, for the Year 1819, CHA5.1.14, Chalmers Paper, NCL. J. Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow* (1816), pp.124-151. PP 1837-8 XXXII, *Appendix to Second Report by the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland*, p.100. PP 1837-8 XXXII, *Evidence Respecting the Presbytery of Glasgow. Commission of Religious Instruction, Scotland*, p.304. *First Annual Report of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union, in connexion with the Sabbath School Union for Scotland* (Glasgow, 1817), p.iii. Robert Guthrie, 'Reformed Presbyterian: History of the Parish of New Cumnock', [[http://members.tripod.com/bob\\_newcumnock/churchF/welcomex.html](http://members.tripod.com/bob_newcumnock/churchF/welcomex.html)], 'Bereans', in *The Columbia Encyclopedia* (6<sup>th</sup> edn., Columbia, 2001), [<http://www.bartleby.com/65/be/Bereans.html>]

**Table II-3 Elders, Deacons and Sabbath school teachers in St John's 1819-1820**

District	Elders	Deacons	Sabbath School Teachers
1	<b>Robert Brown</b>	<b>Alexr McGreger</b>	Cuthbert <b>Rt Brown</b>
2		<b>Wm McAlpine</b>	<b>Rt Woodrow</b>
3	<i>Harry Rainey</i>	<b>Wm Brown</b>	<b>James Thomson</b> Mrs Brown
4		<b>James Playfair</b>	<i>George Black</i> (Dec. 1819) Miss Naismith
5	<i>Allan Buchanan</i>	Joseph Brown	<b>Walter Wood</b> Mrs Wood <b>Allan Buchanan</b>
6	<b>John Graham</b>	<b>John Somerville</b>	<b>John Graham</b> <b>James Weir</b>
7	<i>George Ord</i>	?	<i>Wm McKinlay</i> (July 1819) <i>Joseph Brown</i> (July 1819)
8	<i>James Robertson</i>		<i>John McGregor</i> (Jan, 1820) John Moffart <i>James Smith</i> (Feb. 1820) Wm Pinkerton (Sept. 1820) Hugh McPhun (Sept. 1820)
9		<b>John McVie</b>	<i>James Moffat</i> (Aug. 1819)
10		<b>James Sword</b>	<i>Cornfute</i> (Feb. 1820)
11			Mrs Chamberlain John McKellerir <i>Alexr Beith</i> (Jan. 1820) <b>James Rankine</b>
12		<b>Alexr Williamson</b>	<b>James Collier</b> John Gilmour (Aug. 1820)
13	<b>John Wilson</b>	<b>Archd Newbigging</b>	<b>James Aitken</b>
14	<b>James Rae</b>	<b>Campbell Nasmith</b>	<b>Rt Balfour</b>
15	<b>Robert Neilson</b>	George Watson	<b>Donald McLeod</b> <i>Alexr McKenzie</i> (Feb. 1820)

**Table II-3 Elders, Deacons and Sabbath school teachers in St John's 1819-1820 (continued)**

District	Elders	Deacons	Sabbath School Teachers
16	<b>William Collins</b>	<i>Wm Peebles</i>	<b>Rt Richardson</b> <b>Wm Woodrow</b>
17	<b>John Kirkland</b>	<b>Wm Buchanan</b>	<b>David Stow</b> <i>Thomas Aitken</i> <i>(Oct. 1819)</i> Mrs Turney
18	<b>Patrick Falconer</b>	<b>Robert Kettle</b>	<b>John Thomson</b> <i>Wm. Rose</i> <i>(Aug. 1819)</i> <b>Wm Collins</b>
19	<b>Alexander McVicar</b>	<b>David Stow</b>	<b>Wm Buchanan</b> <i>J. Knoff</i> <i>(Jan. 1820)</i> <b>John Hemitts</b>
20	<i>John McCulloch</i>		<b>Andrew Ramsay</b>
21	<b>Matthew Montgomery</b>		<b>George Burns</b>
22	<b>John Brown</b>		<b>Wm Craig</b>
23	<b>John Smith</b>		Miss Jannet Naismith
24		Charles Peeble	<b>Ths Pitcairn</b>
25		<b>Wm Craig</b>	<b>Robert Bowie</b> <b>Robert Gray</b> <i>Ths Christie</i> <i>(Jan. 1820)</i>

Sources: A memo recorded in Statistical, Moral, and Educational Survey, of St John's Parish, Glasgow; for the Year 1819, CHA5.1.14. NCL. St John's Kirk Session Minutes, CH2/176/1 and St John's, Glasgow, Sabbath School Society Minute Book, 1816-42, CH2/176/9, GCA.

Notes: This memo was written by Chalmers and added after the whole survey of 25 districts. Bold letters in the section of Elders show the persons who were appointed on 3 June 1819 and italic letters show the persons who were appointed on 9 October 1819. As for Deacons, bold letters show the persons who were appointed on 3 January 1820 and italic letters show the person who were appointed on 28 October 1823. Lastly bold letters in the section of Sabbath school teachers show the persons who became members of the Sabbath School Society until June 1819 and italic letters show persons who became members from that to June 1820 and the months of their admittance.

**Table II-4 Teachers of the Tron Sabbath School Society in April 1819**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Date of Admittance</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Position in St John's</b>
Peter Gilfillan	10 Dec. 1816		Deacon(March1828)
John Smith	10 Dec. 1816	Printer	Elder(June 1819)
George Burns	10 Dec. 1816	Merchant	
William Collins	10 Dec. 1816	Printer	Elder(June 1819)
Robert Brown	10 Dec. 1816	Merchant	Elder(June 1819)
David Stow	7 Jan. 1817	Merchant	Deacon(Jan. 1820) Elder(Nov. 1821)
Allan Buchanan	7 Jan. 1817	Merchant	Elder(Oct. 1819)
Robert Johnston	4 Feb. 1817		
Robert Woodrow	3 June 1817	Clerk	Elder(Nov. 1821)
John Cameron	1 July 1817		
Peter McLaren	2 Sept. 1817		
Basil Robert[?]	4 Nov. 1817		
James Thomson	2 Dec. 1817	Manufacturer	Elder(June 1821)
John Sommerville	2 Dec. 1817	Manufacturer	Deacon(Jan. 1820)
John Marshal	6 Jan. 1818		
Andrew Ramsay	3 Feb. 1818	Manufacturer	Elder(June 1821)
Donald McLeod	3 Mar. 1818		
George Heggie	5 May 1818	Cabinet maker	Deacon(Nov. 1823)
Robert Richardson	9 June 1818	Manufacturer	
Robert Gray	4 Aug. 1818	Merchant	
Thomas Pitcairn	1 Sept. 1818	Merchant	
James Anderson	3 Nov. 1818	Merchant	
Robert Bowie	1 Dec. 1818		
James Collier	5 Jan. 1819		



**Table II-4 Teachers of the Tron Sabbath School Society in April 1819 (Continued)**

Name	Date of Admittance	Occupation	Position in St John's
John Hewitt	5 Jan. 1819	Merchant	
James Rankine	5 Jan. 1819		
William Buchanan	2 Feb. 1819	Merchant	Deacon(Jan. 1820)
James Aitken	2 Mar. 1819	Teacher	
John Chamberlain	6 Apr. 1819		
Alex McLean	6 Apr. 1819		
Walter Wood	6 Apr. 1819	Merchant	
James Weir	6 Apr. 1819		

Sources: St John's Sabbath School Minute Book, 1816-42, CH2/176/9, GCA. St John's Kirk Session Minutes, 1819-36, CH2/176/1, GCA. J. R. Anderson (ed.), *The Burgesses & Guild Brethren of Glasgow, 1751-1846* (Edinburgh, 1935) *Members of the Merchants House Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1833). *A List of the Matriculated Members of the Merchants' House of Glasgow from 3d October 1768 to 5<sup>th</sup> October 1857* (Glasgow, 1858). James Cleland, *Abridgment of the Annals of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1817), p.302.

**Table II-5 Sabbath school teachers admitted at monthly meetings of St John's Sabbath School Society: June 1819-Aug. 1823**

Month Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
	1819						0	3	3	0	2	0	1
1820	4	4	0	3	0	0	1	1	4	3	1	0	21
1821	1	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	9
1822	3	1	0	1	0	3	0	3	4	0	0	2	17
1823	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1					5

Source: 1 June 1819 to 5 August 1823, St John's Sabbath School Society Minutes Book.

## **Chapter III**

**The termination of the experiment in the context of its new  
developments**

Following chapter II, this chapter investigates the experiment's development and its termination. Since the experiment's original task was to prove the practicability of poor relief management without legal assessment and the effectiveness of moral and Christian education as a remedy for pauperism, the termination is also observed from these points of view.

Previous studies normally see the experiment as a failure and have suggested several reasons for this. Cage and Checkland's work represents a tendency found in other related studies. They see the experiment as an inevitable failure caused by applying 'traditional Scottish parochial principles' to the plight of industrial labouring men in large cities. Whilst admitting its success and value in the area of schooling and Chalmers's locality principle, they present three types of argument to prove failure. Firstly, the parochial system was never adopted on a large scale in parishes where an assessment had been introduced. Secondly, St John's itself terminated the independent poor relief system in 1837 because of financial difficulty. Finally, the experiment burdened the other parishes with more expense, destroying the city's unified poor relief system.<sup>1</sup>

They fail, however, to see the experiment in its developments, in particular by separating both schooling and the locality principle from the parochial system itself. They also have missed that Chalmers aimed to break the central management and that, as chapter II shows, though reluctantly, Chalmers's realistic and practical scheme was not to remove the assessment for poor relief immediately, but to extend general education so as to stimulate the transfer of revenue from the poor relief assessment to the payment for education. Therefore, it is important to investigate both the development of the experiment and its termination with these considerations in mind.

In fact, as this chapter will show, a new programme of infant schools inspired by the experiment developed beyond Chalmers's original programme and in turn influenced the original programme itself laying the ground for a new national movement of education which will be discussed in the following chapter. Whilst a system similar to parochial schools was introduced into other parishes, as chapter II

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<sup>1</sup> Cage, and Checkland, 'Thomas Chalmers and Urban Poverty', pp.51-53. Also see Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p.378.

shows, Sabbath schools using the local system also spread throughout Glasgow and beyond.

To begin with, this chapter discusses the background of how infant schools partly influenced by Chalmers's ideas were brought from England to Scotland. Following this, the development of the infant school movement is investigated in close association with the experiment. Finally, the termination of the experiment is reappraised in the light of these new developments including the Sabbath school movement.

## **1. New programme of infant schools inspired by the experiment**

The system of general education introduced into St John's parish and other parishes in Glasgow was the 'medium' system (partially endowed) of the parochial school. An attempt was even made to promote this system beyond Scotland. Although this attempt failed as itself, its principle was promoted in a new programme of education for infants. The chief promoter of these two programmes was the Whig politician Henry Brougham. The idea of infant schools was then imported into Scotland by Stow. Although in the St John's experiment, general education promoted by parochial schools was essentially separated from the promotion of Sabbath schools which aimed to spread Christianity, infant education started amalgamating these two into one form of education.

### (1) Importing infant schools from England to Scotland

Henry Brougham entered the University of Edinburgh in 1792, where he was influenced by the common sense philosophy of Thomas Reid. Becoming a lawyer in 1800, he helped to launch the *Edinburgh Review*. He became a Whig MP in 1810, ultimately becoming Lord Chancellor.

As an early commitment on education, he became a member of the Royal Lancasterian Society (RLS) in 1810. On its re-establishment as the British and Foreign School Society (BFSS) in 1814 he became a vice-president.<sup>2</sup> Both of the societies used the school system developed by the Quaker educationist Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838), which employed monitors from the older pupils in order to

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<sup>2</sup> G. N. Cantor, 'The Academy of Physics at Edinburgh 1797-1800', *Social Studies of Science*, 6-2 (May, 1975), p.128. Michael Lobban, 'Henry Brougham', *ODNB*, [article/3581]

teach several hundred of pupils in a school, using only the Bible for religious education, unlike its rival National Society, founded in 1811, which also used the Anglican catechism. The *Edinburgh Review* group was in favour of the former.<sup>3</sup> In the 1820s the BFSS's vice-presidents included Brougham, Lord Lansdowne (1780-1863) and Lord John Russell (1792-1878), all of whom played important roles in developing educational policy in Melbourne's Whig government of the late 1830s.<sup>4</sup> The BFSS was also supported by some Anglicans, such as William Wilberforce, who was also one of its vice-presidents in the 1820s.<sup>5</sup> Although Brougham worked with Radicals such as James Mill (1773-1836), secretary to Jeremy Bentham, a strong atheist,<sup>6</sup> who played a leading role in the RLS, urging a secular popular education,<sup>7</sup> he was a positive promoter of religious education. Being a natural theologian inspired by William Paley, his core interest was not to protect revealed Christianity itself, but to acknowledge Christianity as the basis of moral and ethical principles.<sup>8</sup>

Chalmers also supported Lancasterian schools. When he was minister at Kilmany parish before moving to Glasgow, Chalmers organised the Bible Association and approved of giving the funds to Lancasterian Societies to support their Bible teaching.<sup>9</sup> In terms of the school system, however, he preferred the 'Scotch method' which provided 'a local and residing schoolmaster' and collected 'such a number of scholars around him as do not exceed the range of his own minute and personal superintendence' to Lancasterian schools. For the same reason, Chalmers was not impressed by the school system of Andrew Bell,<sup>10</sup> Anglican clergyman and educationist. Bell's educational system also used pupils as monitors

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<sup>3</sup> G. F. Bartle, 'Joseph Lancaster', *ODNB*, [article/15963]. 'Education of the Poor', *Edinburgh Review*, 21-41 (Feb., 1813), pp.207-219.

<sup>4</sup> J. L. Alexander, 'Lord John Russell and the Origins of the Committee of Council on Education', *The Historical Journal*, 20-2 (Jun., 1977), pp.399, 408-415.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander, 'Lord John Russell', p.399.

<sup>6</sup> Porter, *Enlightenment*, p.422.

<sup>7</sup> Simon, *Studies in the History of Education*, p.149.

<sup>8</sup> Colin D. Pearce, 'Lord Brougham's Neo-Paganism', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 55-4 (Oct., 1994), pp.656-664.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *The Influence of Bible Societies, on The Temporal Necessities of the Poor* (Cupar, 1814), p.37.

<sup>10</sup> Chalmers, *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, i, p.143 note. See Hanna, *Memoirs*, i, pp.564, 570-571.



to teach several hundred children in a single school.<sup>11</sup> Although Lancasterian schools did not really develop in Scotland,<sup>12</sup> Chalmers kept an intimate connection with a local Lancasterian school while being minister in St John's parish.<sup>13</sup> Brougham and Chalmers had a common basis in supporting interdenominational Bible education and also in their attachment to common sense philosophy along with natural theology.

In 1816 Brougham secured a parliamentary committee to inquire into the education of the lower orders in London, later extended to England as a whole. The committee's report in 1818 recommended a modified version of the Scottish parish school to extend education for the poor. Based on this report,<sup>14</sup> Brougham's bill in 1820 proposed government aid to build schools and pay schoolmasters from parish rates,<sup>15</sup> whilst requiring all parents to pay small fees. To meet difference between Anglicans and dissenters, schoolmasters were to be Anglicans, but the Scriptures were to be the sole religious text.<sup>16</sup>

Brougham frequently echoed Chalmers in forming his plan. In the *Edinburgh Review* in 1820 he praised Chalmers's 'large and enlightened views of human nature'<sup>17</sup> and emphasised that the main purpose of education was to create 'the religious, the moral, and intellectual character of the nation'.<sup>18</sup> Like Chalmers, he saw education as a means of ending poor laws through cultivating 'wholesome and independent feelings'.<sup>19</sup> Religious education was at the core of this: 'most essential to the welfare of every individual'.<sup>20</sup> He argued for the 'medium' system on

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<sup>11</sup> Jane Blackie, 'Andrew Bell', *ODNB*, [article/1995].

<sup>12</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.36.

<sup>13</sup> Hanna, *Memoirs*, i, pp.562-563. Chalmers's address to the people living in the vicinity was given every Friday in the Calton Lancasterian schoolroom.

<sup>14</sup> J. Stuart Maclure, *Educational Documents* (5<sup>th</sup> edn., New York, 1986), p.18, 20-21. See also Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.34.

<sup>15</sup> *The Parliamentary Debates*, new series, ii (London, 1821), 28 June 1820, pp.68-70.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.72, 77-78

<sup>17</sup> Henry Brougham, 'The New Plan of Education for England', in *ER*, 34 (August, 1820), p.236.

<sup>18</sup> Brougham, 'The New Plan', p.214.

<sup>19</sup> *The Parliamentary Debates*, new series, ii, 28 June 1820, p.65.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.74.



Chalmers's ground,<sup>21</sup> and urged the state's initiative,<sup>22</sup> for there would be no 'spontaneous demand'. He also accepted the principle of locality.<sup>23</sup>

The bill failed, but Brougham began to develop his programme of infant schools, creating a school in Westminster in 1819,<sup>24</sup> partly inspired by the Swiss educationist von Fellenberg and partly by Robert Owen at New Lanark.<sup>25</sup> He explained his aims in 1823:

While the mind is yet untainted with vice, while its habits are unformed, while it is most susceptible of deep and lasting impressions, in a word, while in its infant state, the most valuable opportunities are hourly afforded, of binding it to what is amiable and virtuous, and of training it to all right habits.<sup>26</sup>

Others also followed. The evangelical silk merchant Joseph Wilson founded an infant school in Spitalfields in 1820;<sup>27</sup> his brother Rev. William Wilson founded 'the first Church Infants' School' in 1824.<sup>28</sup> In 1820 the silk merchant Stow visited the Spitalfields infant school.<sup>29</sup> Together with Brougham's backing of infant schools in parliament in 1820, this may well have been the beginning of his own enthusiasm for infant education.

Stow's promotion of infant schools, however, had to wait until 1827. This would partly have been because of the unfavourable image of infant schools based on Owen's reputation for anti-clericalism in Scotland,<sup>30</sup> but also partly because of a lack of interest in early moral education.<sup>31</sup> According to Stow, however, by 1826 the attitude towards infant schools in Scotland had become favourable and it was argued

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<sup>21</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, p.243.

<sup>22</sup> Brougham, 'The New Plan', pp.223-224.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.236-238. These were quoted from Chalmers, *The Christian and Civic Economy*, i, pp.142-168.

<sup>24</sup> *The Parliamentary Debates*, xvi, 16 December 1819, pp.1195-1199. Rusk, *The Training of Teachers in Scotland*, p.25.

<sup>25</sup> *The Parliamentary Debates*, new series, ii, 28 June 1820, p.88.

<sup>26</sup> Henry Brougham, 'Early Moral Education', in *ER*, 38 (May, 1823), p.438.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p.444. Phillip McCann and Francis A. Young, *Samuel Wilderspin and the Infant School Movement* (London, 1982), p.35.

<sup>28</sup> Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education*, pp.141-143.

<sup>29</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.6.

<sup>30</sup> Gregory Claeys, 'Robert Owen', *ODNB*, [article/21027]. Rusk, *The Training of Teachers in Scotland*, p.25. *The Parliamentary Debates*, xvi, 16 December 1819, p.1202.

<sup>31</sup> Stow later criticised Chalmers's lack of attention to the early moral training in the St John's experiment. Stow, *Moral Training* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.), pp.259-262.

that only a demonstration of the system would convince people of its effect.<sup>32</sup> The favourable attitude towards infant schools was seen in a description of infant education in 1826 by John Sinclair (1754-1835), politician and compiler of *The Statistical Account of Scotland* published in the 1790s, who also published its analysis in 1825.<sup>33</sup>

It has been proposed to have day schools for the infants of the poor, where they may be trained to good habits, and taught the little which, at such an age, they are capable of learning. Great advantage may be derived by attention to their *moral culture* at such schools... This is of peculiar importance, in large towns; for... children may be kept out of mischief and free from the risk of accidents, — may be trained to subordination, — and may at the same time acquire ideas, which may be of singular use to them in their future progress in life.<sup>34</sup>

Sinclair emphasised the importance of diffusing infant schools in large towns. Further, arguing the necessity of universal education, Sinclair emphasised the point that ‘the education of the lower orders...should be *mainly* moral and religious’ and that ‘the Bible should be employed to impress...the minds of our youthful population’.<sup>35</sup> Since Sinclair set the age of seven as the starting age of boys for ordinary schools,<sup>36</sup> infant education, which was aimed at children younger than seven, was intended chiefly for the children of the ‘lower orders’ in large towns. Infant education was not yet considered to form a part of ‘ordinary schools’.

## (2) Stow’s aims of founding the Glasgow Infant School Society

Although previous studies on Stow cover his contribution to the infant school movement well, they have rarely connected it with the experiment led by Chalmers. Rusk’s standard work on Stow asserts that although Stow was not the originator of the Scottish infant school movement, one of his important contributions was to introduce religion as its basis, in contrast to Owen.<sup>37</sup> This is important. However, by not linking it with Chalmers’s experiment, he fails to connect the movement properly with the later national education movement, in which Stow was a leading promoter. Although studies by Wood and White on Stow briefly mention Stow’s connection

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<sup>32</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.7.

<sup>33</sup> Rosalind Mitchison, ‘John Sinclair’, *ODNB*, [article/25627].

<sup>34</sup> John Sinclair, *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland*, ii (London, 1826), pp.67-68.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p.71.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p.68.

<sup>37</sup> Robert Rusk, *A History of Infant Education* (London, 1933), pp.158-164.

with the experiment on his activities as a Sabbath school teacher,<sup>38</sup> his commitment to infant schools has been totally isolated from the experiment.

However, Stow's aim to promote infant schools came from his concern for extending religious education which was indispensable to Chalmers's experiment. He pointed out the essential defect of Sabbath schools: instruction was only once a week for two hours in contrast to 'the contaminating influence of a whole week'. This was worsened by two other limitations: children were not admitted into Sabbath schools unless they could read, and they often entered Sabbath schools after the age of 8 or older. Long before that period, Stow argued, they not only acquired many rude and bad habits, but were also found to be 'generally ignorant and insubordinate in the extreme': therefore when brought into a Sabbath school, the teacher often needed to spend much of the time settling them into the class.<sup>39</sup> Experiencing these defects, Stow found the infant school a more useful means of extending religious education to poor children, as it could even reach those who could not read. Similar interest had been appeared in 1824 in two articles of *The Sabbath School Magazine for Scotland*, which showed an intention to employ infant schools for teaching Christianity and religious instruction (see Table III-1 for different innovations relating Sabbath and infant schools).<sup>40</sup>

The Glasgow Infant School Society (GISS) was formed in 1827 on the initiative of joint secretaries, Stow and David Welsh (1793-1845), minister of St David's parish in Glasgow from 1827, later professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Edinburgh.<sup>41</sup> According to the society's first report, infant schools had three aims: to inspire the knowledge of religious truth in children from the ages of two to six; to train them up in habits of obedience and good order; and to give them some elementary instruction, which might be advantageous to them on entering parochial and other schools. The GISS was to establish and support a model school

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<sup>38</sup> Wood, *David Stow*, pp.9-17. White, 'David Stow', pp.2-5.

<sup>39</sup> David Stow, 'Infant Schools' [Extracted from Dr Cleland's *Statistical Work*, for 1831], p.1. STO/4/1, Jordanhill Archives. A part of this article appeared in James Cleland, *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow and County of Lanark* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1832), where it was stated that the article was written by Stow (*ibid.*, p.41).

<sup>40</sup> Rusk, *The Training of Teachers*, p.27.

<sup>41</sup> 'David Welsh', in *DNB*, xx (London, 1964-65), pp.1148-1149. Welsh joined the Free Church at the Disruption. Stow, 'Infant Schools' and *Third Report of the GES*, p.7. Rusk, *The Training of Teachers*, p.34.

in Glasgow conducted on these principles in order to exhibit the effect of infant education, and aimed to extend the system into other areas.<sup>42</sup>

Like Sinclair, the GISS did not orient itself to all classes of children, but targeted chiefly those of the 'lower orders'.<sup>43</sup> Stow saw the state of industrial towns as a new social phenomenon and argued the necessity of a 'new moral agency' for them as Chalmers also claimed.

This new state of society has not had applied to it any new moral agency suited to its altered circumstances, nor has the increase of population been met by a corresponding increase of that moral influence, which had been applied in olden times, which worked so well, and has been so efficient in rural districts.<sup>44</sup>

Stow's aim was to reach 'this most important, numerous, and neglected class' and to reform them into 'the rank of moral and happy citizens'.<sup>45</sup> He argued that prisons, bridewells or a house of refuge were useful, but would not reach 'the root of the evil'. To do so, he considered education should be not merely intellectual but also moral, and must be started earlier. Stow further stressed that:

If parents, from the particular circumstances in which they are now placed, or from inability, cannot accomplish this in regard to their own children, we think such ought to be done by accomplished, pious teachers in schools; not, indeed, to supersede the exertions of parents, but to assist.<sup>46</sup>

Stow's infant education aimed to reinforce the family obligation of educating children, in a close line with Chalmers's programme.

Stow also shared Chalmers's 'scientific' method in making positive use of statistical data. In narrowing down his target, Stow employed statistical data compiled by James Cleland (1770-1840), who had been the superintendent of public works of the Glasgow Town Council since 1814,<sup>47</sup> and one of the vice presidents of the GISS (see Table III-2). Stow stated that the population of Glasgow including

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<sup>42</sup> *The First Annual Report of the Glasgow Infant School Society, 1829* (Glasgow, 1829), p.4.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p.17.

<sup>44</sup> Stow, *Moral Training* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.), p.257.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p.258.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Irene Maver, 'Politics and Power in the Scottish City: Glasgow Town Council in the Nineteenth Century', in T. M. Devine (ed.), *Scottish Elites* (Edinburgh, 1994), p.120, and, 'The Guardianship of the Community: Civic Authority Prior to 1833', in T. M. Devine and G. Jackson (eds.), *Glasgow* (Manchester, 1995), pp.245-246. Stana Nenadic, 'James



suburbs was 202,000 of which 27,000 to 30,000 were Irish Roman Catholics. From his experiences, Stow supposed that Roman Catholics were inaccessible to 'any religious or moral influence at present in operation' and deducted their number from his target, leaving 172,000 nominal Protestants in Glasgow. He divided these into three groups. The first group of 43,000, or a quarter, made up the richer classes including the master tradesmen, clerks and managers, who did not need any endowment for education. The second group of 86,000, were the working classes who for moral reasons were ready to pay for their children's education when partial endowments were given. The third or lowest group (43,000), consisting of mostly labourers including 'ballad-singers, sand and match sellers, thieves and pickpockets', was considered as 'the special objects of our attention'. They were 'unable, at least unwilling, to pay for' education. For them, Stow thought, complete endowments or 'pretty nearly so', were necessary in the first instance, or they would 'continue, as heretofore, in ignorance'. Stow saw their distinction from the second class in their 'immorality, dissipation, and improvidence'.<sup>48</sup> Considering Chalmers's desire to reach one-tenth of the labouring population, Stow's target was much wider since he was trying to reach the lower one-third of the working classes.

### (3) The GISS's connection with St John's experiment

Behind this lay Stow's recognition of defects within the St John's experiment.

Every part of the system, which [Chalmers] remodelled, was excellent in itself; but the machine, as a whole, for the purpose of morally elevating large towns, was incomplete. It wanted the early moral training, which masters did not afford in school—which parents did not give at home—and which the altered circumstance of towns and factories rendered it impossible they properly could give.<sup>49</sup>

The GISS was in fact closely connected with the experiment through personnel. As Table III-2 shows, James Ewing, one of the strong promoters of Chalmers's experiment in the Town Council, was the president of the GISS. Amongst the total of 38 office bearers, around one third (12), were elders, deacons or Sabbath school teachers in St John's at some point. Of the twelve, five were still active in the parish

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Cleland', *ODNB*, [article/5594]. 'James Cleland', in *DNB*, iv, pp.483-484.

<sup>48</sup> Stow, *Moral Training* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.), pp.259-262.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p.278. See also p.272.



in 1833.<sup>50</sup> Further, apart from the GISS's model school, the first two infant schools in Glasgow were founded in St John's parish, one in Marlborough Street in 1829 and another in Chalmers Street in 1830. In both schools all of the committee members were elders and deacons of St John's and Stow was involved in both of the committees.<sup>51</sup>

The GISS's interdenominational feature also corresponded with that of the experiment's schools. Of the 38 office bearers, ten were ministers. Only half of these belonged to the established church: the remainder belonged to different denominations, one Independent, two United Secession, one Episcopal and one Methodist, from neighbouring parishes. Further, some members of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union were also office bearers, namely Ralph Wardlaw (Independent), Dr. Mitchell (Associate Antiburgher), and William Wardlaw,<sup>52</sup> displaying the connection between the GISS and the interdenominational Sabbath school movement. Those organised to the GISS were 'clergymen and laymen of all the Christian denominations usually termed Evangelical'.<sup>53</sup>

Their social status also displayed a similar feature to the elders and deacons of St John's who were mainly 'in the middle and upper ranks of life'.<sup>54</sup> As Table III-2 shows, most of the lay office bearers (21 out of 28) were merchants, including the president, James Ewing, who was a West India merchant, a manager of the Merchants' House of Glasgow from 1827-1830 and from 1831 the Dean of Guild of the House. At the first election under the Reform Act in 1832, Ewing became one of two members of parliament for Glasgow and also became Lord Provost in the same year. Ewing was, however, among those who opposed 'too radical' a change of the existing order,<sup>55</sup> whilst agreeing with the reform of 1832. As Maver has suggested,

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<sup>50</sup> The five were Patrick Falconer, James Playfair, William Collins, John M'Vey and David Stow. See 'Abstract of the Survey of the Parish of St John's, Glasgow; with a Statement of its Moral Machinery—1833', *CSM*, 1-1 (March, 1834), p.33.

<sup>51</sup> *The Second Annual Report of the Glasgow Infant School Society* (Glasgow, 1830), pp.21-23.

<sup>52</sup> *First Annual Report of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union, in Connexion with the Sabbath School Union for Scotland* (Glasgow, 1817), p. iii. *Second Annual Report of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union* (Glasgow, 1818), p.1.

<sup>53</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.5.

<sup>54</sup> James Cleland, *Statistical and Population Tables* (Glasgow, 1820), p.123.

<sup>55</sup> I. G. C. Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp.4, 12.

Ewing represented the sentiments of 'the well-organised Conservative-Evangelical group' which struck a chord among many in elite circles in Glasgow in the mid 1830s and this group was among what Hilton has termed 'Liberal Tories'.<sup>56</sup> One of the vice presidents of the GISS, J. C. Colquhoun, was also among them. Whilst being a Radical in the 1832 election and pleading for 'a thorough Reform',<sup>57</sup> he later became a Tory MP.<sup>58</sup> As most of the office bearers voted for Ewing at the 1832 parliamentary election, they shared his political standpoint as well.

Supported by Glasgow's evangelical social and political ruling group, the GISS was organised in a close connection with the St John's experiment. This indicates that a wider interest existed for developing the experiment.

## **2. Development of the educational methods in infant schools**

Although previous studies highlight Stow's growing interest in training teachers between 1827 and 1834,<sup>59</sup> they fail to recognise the crucial development in educational methods carried out by Stow at this period. As Withrington briefly suggests, a new national education movement organised in 1834 was based on the methods Stow developed through infant schools.<sup>60</sup> This section explores that development.

### (1) Establishment of the Edinburgh Infant School Society

The GISS opened its model school in Drygate, High Church parish, in 1828 with a house and garden, with David Caughie, who belonged to the Secession, and his wife as master and mistress.<sup>61</sup> The school was founded and supported by subscriptions to the GISS and the children's parents were also charged two pence weekly, which was

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<sup>56</sup> Maver, 'Politics and Power in the Scottish City', p.106. See also Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland*, pp.13-17.

<sup>57</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 20 January 1832.

<sup>58</sup> John Wolffe, 'J. C. Colquhoun', in Donald M. Lewis (ed.), *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography 1730-1860*, i (Oxford, 1995), p.244.

<sup>59</sup> Rusk, *The Training of Teachers*, pp.25-53. White, 'David Stow', pp.3-5. Wood, *David Stow*, pp.17-25.

<sup>60</sup> Withrington, "'Scotland a Half-Educated Nation" in 1834?', p.69.

<sup>61</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, pp.7-8. Stow, *Moral Training* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.), p.294. *The First Annual Report of the GISS*, p.22. Letter from David Stow to J. P. Kay Shuttleworth, 21 September 1843. STO/2/32, Jordanhill Archives. Caughie was paid one year's salary from 23 April 1828 in 1829.

almost the same as the fee for reading in the parochial schools in St John's.<sup>62</sup> It was established on the 'medium' system which Chalmers promoted in his experiment.

The school was, at the beginning, assisted by Samuel Wilderspin, the teacher of the Spitalfields Infant School in London, training Caughie and his wife as teachers for around a month.<sup>63</sup> Soon the school became influential in demonstrating the effect of infant schools, as well as being lauded in Wilderspin's lectures in different places across Scotland.<sup>64</sup> Local infant school societies were established in several towns and cities including Paisley, Greenock, Dundee and Dunfermline.<sup>65</sup> The Edinburgh Infant School Society (EISS) was also founded in 1829, with help from the GISS which sent some children for public exhibition of infant education.<sup>66</sup>

As McCann and Young argue, before 1832 nearly all infant schools in Scotland followed non-denominational religious teaching based on Wilderspin's practice,<sup>67</sup> despite differences in their social, religious and political backgrounds, represented by the GISS and the EISS, as will be shortly shown. However after 1832 the GISS began to emphasise religious education. In this process, the EISS, through the shape it took and the way it dealt with religious teaching, helped to stimulate a view in Stow's mind on the importance of intellectual and Bible teaching which became incorporated into his activities in infant education and later in a juvenile school in Glasgow.

The EISS was founded on the initiative of George Combe (1788-1858), an Edinburgh phrenologist and writer to the signet,<sup>68</sup> associated by John Ritchie, a phrenologist, and Charles McLaren, joint editors & owners of *The Scotsman*.<sup>69</sup> Following the lectures held by Wilderspin in November and December 1828 in Edinburgh,<sup>70</sup> the EISS was formed in January 1829.<sup>71</sup> Combe reported that although

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<sup>62</sup> *The First Annual Report of the GISS*, pp.5 and 22. Also see *The Second Annual Report of the GISS*, p.19.

<sup>63</sup> McCann and Young, *Samuel Wilderspin*, p.108.

<sup>64</sup> *The First Annual Report of the GISS*, pp.18-19.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p.19. *The Second Annual Report of the GISS*, pp.11-12.

<sup>66</sup> *Report of the Edinburgh Infant School Society* (Edinburgh, 1832), p.18.

<sup>67</sup> McCann and Young, *Samuel Wilderspin*, pp.109-125.

<sup>68</sup> Letter from George Combe to J. G. Spurzheim, 20 January 1829, MSS7384, ff.191-193. NLS, Combe Papers.

<sup>69</sup> Lionel Alexander Ritchie, 'William Ritchie', *ODNB*, [article/23679].

<sup>70</sup> *The Scotsman*, 22, 26, 29 November and 3 December 1828.

<sup>71</sup> *The Scotsman*, 7 January 1829.

James L'Amy, a leading advocate, proposed that 'Moderate ministers of the Church of Scotland, Episcopalian ministers, Dissenting ministers, a Quaker, a merchant' and Combe himself should be on the committee for establishing an infant school, this was opposed by evangelicals and put to the vote.

The evangelical party were out-voted. They retired, Ritchie, L'Amy, and Simpson took the lead, and got men of all parties,--Whigs, Tories, Moderate ministers, Dissenters, &c.<sup>72</sup>

In contrast to the GISS, evangelicals did not take the leadership of the EISS. As Table III-3 shows, the office bearers of the EISS consisted of at least nine ministers including one from the Secession, one from the Independents and the rest from the established church. In the last group (7), John Inglis was leader of the Moderate party for at least a time and Alexander Brunton was also a Moderate minister.<sup>73</sup> Since the office bearers were chiefly anti-evangelicals, most of the other five ministers would also have belonged to the Moderate party.

Unlike the GISS, there were only a few merchants among the office bearers. Most were professionals such as lawyers, professors and physicians. Among them Francis Jeffrey, J. A. Murray and Henry Cockburn were the core members of rising young Liberals who were associated with *The Edinburgh Review* and also *The Scotsman*.<sup>74</sup> Although there was at least one Tory among the office bearers, the leading political direction of the EISS was Whig-Liberal.<sup>75</sup>

The influence of phrenology in the EISS was also not small. At least five office bearers of the EISS were members of the Phrenological Society founded in 1820 as the first phrenological society in Britain<sup>76</sup> whilst the phrenologist James Simpson was the convenor of the EISS's ordinary directors, and wrote its first and second

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<sup>72</sup> Letter from George Combe to J. G. Spurzheim, 20 January 1829, MSS7384, ff.191-193. NLS, Combe Papers.

<sup>73</sup> *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation* (2nd edn., Edinburgh, 1915), p.42. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p.234.

<sup>74</sup> Mitchison, 'Scotland 1750-1850', pp.188-189. Mitchison, 'The Creation of the Disablement Rule', pp.208-209.

<sup>75</sup> Charles Gibbon, *The Life of George Combe*, i (London, 1878), pp.250-251. John van Wyhe, 'Was Phrenology a Reform Science? Towards a New Generalization for Phrenology', *History of Science*, 42-137 (2004), p.322.

<sup>76</sup> John van Wyhe, *Phrenology and the Origins of Victorian Scientific Naturalism* (Aldershot, 2004), p.56.



reports.<sup>77</sup> Although these reports never mentioned phrenology itself, their basic theoretical background of infant education derived from phrenological ideas. Phrenology was originally brought from Germany, 'a species of character divination and philosophy of brain function', which read the shape of the head as an indication of the mind consisting of different faculties.<sup>78</sup> The EISS's leading theorist, Simpson, had been an office bearer of the Phrenological Society since 1826, and author of an article entitled 'Phrenological analysis of Infant Education on Mr Wilderspin's System' in 1830.<sup>79</sup> In this article Simpson demonstrated how Wilderspin's ideas coincided with a phrenological analysis of human nature consisting of several different faculties and its adaptation to the proper exercise and improvement for human happiness.<sup>80</sup> Education was located as the indispensable means of developing these human capacities.

As far as ideas on human nature, faculties and the role of education were concerned, phrenologists' views were not so dissimilar to Stow's. Stow accepted the basic ideas of phrenology as he, in 1847 writing to George Combe, stated that he considered phrenology 'perfectly consistent with Scripture & human nature'.<sup>81</sup> In fact, David Welsh, the joint secretary of the GISS, later a member of the EISS after his move to Edinburgh, was an active member of the Phrenological Society from its foundation in 1820.<sup>82</sup> Phrenology was actually seen as a scientifically respectable theory,<sup>83</sup> as was even in mainstream medical scientific debates in the 1820s and 1830s.<sup>84</sup> Wyhe argues that phrenology was at that time well recognised as 'a science of certainty'.<sup>85</sup> Stow may well have been encouraged by this.

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<sup>77</sup> McCann and Young, *Samuel Wilderspin*, p.6. *Second Report of the Edinburgh Infant School Society* (Edinburgh, 1835), p.6.

<sup>78</sup> Wyhe, 'Was Phrenology a Reform Science', p.314. Wyhe, *Phrenology*, p.13.

<sup>79</sup> 'Office Bearers', *PJM*, 3-11 (1826). Also *ibid.*, 6-24 (1830).

<sup>80</sup> James Simpson, 'Phrenological Analysis of Infant Education on Mr Wilderspin's System', in *PJM*, 6-24 (1830), p.418. This article was anonymous. However it was stated the author had written the article entitled 'Education —Mr Wood's School' (*ibid.*, 5-20 (1829)) of which the author was Simpson (*ibid.*, p.621).

<sup>81</sup> Letter from Stow to G. Combe, 12 October 1847, STO/2/40, Jordanhill Library.

<sup>82</sup> 'Ordinary Members', *PJM*, 3-11 (1826), p.478. Wyhe, *Phrenology*, p.56.

<sup>83</sup> Tomlinson, 'Phrenology', p.1.

<sup>84</sup> Jacqueline Jenkinson, *Scottish Medical Societies 1731-1939: Their History and Records* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp.72-77.

<sup>85</sup> Wyhe, *Phrenology*, p.24.



But nonetheless, in his 1851 letter to Combe, Stow stated:

I quite agree with you as to the necessity of a greatly extended system of Secular training and on sound Phrenological principles of which I know but a little but believe more. I still argue however for Bible training apart from all dogmatism.<sup>86</sup>

His reservation in his approval of phrenology was on the issue of Bible training. As Welsh, with other evangelicals, resigned from the membership of the Phrenological Society in 1831,<sup>87</sup> religious education became the focal point dividing them then.

Phrenology saw religious education as important to improve morality, but it did not really aim to draw children to accept 'the God of the Bible' as Stow did, as will be shown shortly. Simpson stated that Wilderspin's system was in harmony with 'the MORAL LAWS of Nature'. For exercising of the moral faculties he argued that

human beings must be assembled; for the moral faculties of Benevolence and Conscientiousness have reference to our fellow-creatures. It is in community, too, that the selfish feelings must be restrained, and the social brought into active exertion. This is done by encouraging *actions* under their impulse.<sup>88</sup>

Restraining selfish feelings and encouraging the social composed part of his moral education. For the faculty of 'veneration', Simpson recommended the exercise 'to walk with...God' and to obey his will. For Simpson, however, Christianity was important only for cultivating morality. George Combe, in his *Constitution of Man*, accepted Christianity as being consistent with the natural laws.

Human nature and the external world have both proceeded from the Creator, and it is impossible, in interpreting their constitution aright, to arrive at any conclusions at variance with true religion....To the best of my knowledge, there is not one practical result of the natural laws expounded in the subsequent pages, which does not harmonize precisely with the moral precepts of the New Testament.<sup>89</sup>

Similar to this, Simpson approved of scriptural history with moral reference and Christian precept practically applied as religious teaching whilst excluding doctrines and creeds over which Christians disagreed, following Wilderspin. Simpson criticised teaching sectarian doctrines as beyond infants' comprehension and limiting

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<sup>86</sup> Letter from Stow to G. Combe, 24 March 1851, STO/2/45, Jordanhill Library.

<sup>87</sup> Gibbon, *The Life of George Combe*, p.241. At that time Welsh was its president.

<sup>88</sup> Simpson, 'Phrenological Analysis', p.426.

<sup>89</sup> George Combe, *The Constitution of Man Considered in Relation to External Objects* (6<sup>th</sup>

the school to certain denominations. The EISS's model school followed Wilderspin's ideas.<sup>90</sup>

## (2) Development of intellectual education by Stow

McCann and Young, basing themselves on Simpson's views, argue that after 1832 the Glasgow Model School became denominational institution being managed by 'the doctrines of one sect', the Church of Scotland while the local Catholic clergy withdrew Catholic children from the school.<sup>91</sup> Although they see this as a matter of its religious leaning to the established church, it was not simply so but was also deeply related to the education methods, Stow's growing emphasis on intellectual education. The change also did not deter other Protestant denominations from attending the model school.

The GISS's new infant school founded in Saltmarket in early 1832, though previous studies have little investigated this, gave Stow a field for experimentation.<sup>92</sup> The school was established, by arrangement with the managers of the Methodist Chapel, which was about to be erected in Saltmarket, on the ground floor of the Chapel, and a playground was made in front of the chapel.<sup>93</sup> This new school was adopted as the GISS's model school to replace the first model infant school in Drygate.<sup>94</sup> David Caughie and his wife, who were employed as master and mistress in the Drygate school, were also removed to the Saltmarket school.<sup>95</sup>

By this time the infant school, having exhibited the system of infant schools mainly developed by Wilderspin, lost its novelty and the GISS was in difficulty

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edn., Edinburgh, 1851), pp.6-7.

<sup>90</sup> Simpson, 'Phrenological Analysis', p.430. James Simpson, *Necessity of Popular Education* (Edinburgh, 1834), p.145. *Report of the EISS*, p.13. 'Extract from the Evidence Given by James Simpson, before the Select Committee on Education in Ireland, 1835', in James Simpson, *Education: Correspondence between Mr Simpson of Edinburgh, and Mr Colquhoun of Killermont, M.P.* (Glasgow, 1837), p.34.

<sup>91</sup> McCann and Young, *Samuel Wilderspin*, p.123. They quoted from Simpson's *Philosophy of Education* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Edinburgh, 1836), pp.195-96.

<sup>92</sup> Rusk, *The Training of Teachers*, pp.27-48. Wood, *David Stow*, pp.12-25. White, 'David Stow', pp.4-5.

<sup>93</sup> David Stow, *The Training System of Education* (11<sup>th</sup> edn., London, 1859), pp.554-555. William Fraser, *Memoir of the Life of David Stow* (London, 1868), p.117.

<sup>94</sup> See Glasgow Infant School Society Committee Book, 1829-31, GIS/1/3, Jordanhill Archives. Stow, 'Infant Schools', in Cleland, *Enumeration*, p.41. Also David Stow, *Moral Training, and the Training System* (5<sup>th</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1841), p. xiv.

<sup>95</sup> *The First Annual Report of the GISS*, pp.4-6, 19.

collecting the required subscriptions for its tasks. As a result, those two schools were supported by only one or two individuals for some years.<sup>96</sup> *The New Statistical Account* in 1845 explained the reason behind this decline.

As the [infant school] system was then conducted, the merely intellectual greatly predominated over the moral and religious, and this teaching wants stability.<sup>97</sup>

This was the reality Stow faced along with the financial difficulty. The direction Stow took was naturally to resolve these two obstacles, to adjust the infant school to current emphases on intellectual education, and to give a financial stability for infant schools. Saltmarket model infant school was commenced with these tasks.

From the start a group of Methodists supported Stow's efforts, providing him with an experimental space. In addition, as Stow stated, the locality of the Saltmarket school was 'admirable'.<sup>98</sup> Saltmarket was the place where the Saltmarket Sabbath School Society was organised and where Stow had managed a complete local system. Stow was able to obtain some help from Sabbath school teachers, as George Heggie taught in the infant school temporarily.<sup>99</sup> The school could accommodate 300 children.<sup>100</sup> It had two very large side class rooms for children and students who intended to be teachers.<sup>101</sup>

In these circumstances, an intellectual department was introduced to the school in 1832.<sup>102</sup> Stow considered that while the external physical training of children was addressed by Wilderspin, he neglected intellectual, religious and moral training. Stow argued that

the intellectual department of the system...including...Bible Training, which forms a distinctive feature of the Training System, was gradually worked out in the Sabbath school of an office-bearer of this Society; and its power, in an intellectual point of view, being apparent, this was engrafted first on the Model Infant School, and latterly on the Model Juvenile School.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Stow, *Moral Training* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.), p.273. *Third Report of the GES*, p.9.

<sup>97</sup> *The New Statistical Accounts of Scotland*, vi (Edinburgh, 1845), p.914.

<sup>98</sup> Stow, 'Infant Schools', p.41.

<sup>99</sup> Letter from George Heggie to Thomas Chalmers, 10 September 1832, CHA4.181.25, NCL.

<sup>100</sup> David Stow, *Infant Training* (Glasgow, 1833), p.124. Stow, 'Infant Schools', p.41.

<sup>101</sup> David Stow, *Granny and Leezy; A Scottish Dialogue* (6<sup>th</sup> edn., London, 1860), p.76.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

<sup>103</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, pp.10-11.

To improve Bible education was the starting point for his intellectual department. Stow originally learned it from the explanatory method by John Wood,<sup>104</sup> schoolmaster of the Edinburgh Sessional School, which was managed by a co-operative organisation of the kirk sessions in Edinburgh.<sup>105</sup> The method was gradually formed in Wood's teaching of reading the Bible.<sup>106</sup> In his school *The Shorter Catechism* was chiefly used, but he rejected using it just as questions and answers which children had to repeat by rote. Wood rather emphasised the meaning of 'catechising', as a method 'to instruct, by asking questions, and correcting the answers'.<sup>107</sup> Wood stated that 'the fundamental aim' of his school was two-fold, 'to cultivate the understandings of the pupils' and to treat them as intellectual and rational not as just 'mechanical beings'.<sup>108</sup> The explanatory method particularly aimed to give a child 'a general command of his own language', through the analysis of each passage which was read.<sup>109</sup>

Stow, essentially following this, added some modifications. In 1833, he stated that the aim of the GISS was 'to render the Infant System A BIBLE EDUCATION'.<sup>110</sup>

The purpose of all our lessons is to impress their understandings and hearts with a love for the Bible and the God of the Bible.<sup>111</sup>

The Bible was the only printed book used in the infant school, no catechisms being used, nor reading being taught, although the schoolmaster used in lessons questions and answers from the *Shorter Catechism*.<sup>112</sup> The core of his intellectual method was 'oral narrative',<sup>113</sup> which accompanied repeating a Bible story with 'elliptical plan',

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<sup>104</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.viii.

<sup>105</sup> John Wood, *Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School* (5<sup>th</sup> edn., Edinburgh, 1840), pp.29-33.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p.37.

<sup>107</sup> John Wood, *Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School* (Edinburgh, 1828), pp.49-50.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.12, 155.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p.142.

<sup>110</sup> Stow, *Infant Training*, p.31.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p.36.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.40-41, 82. *GISM* (1832), pp.80-84.

<sup>113</sup> Stow, *Infant Training*, p.14.



leaving some words to be answered by children in order to stimulate children's proper understanding of the meaning, and 'cross-questioning' about it.<sup>114</sup>

Stow claimed that since Bible knowledge cannot be obtained at a single glance it ought to be learned by children as 'a most pleasing study',<sup>115</sup> using a number of different types of materials to approach the Bible. Its development can be found in the different numbers of *The Glasgow Infant School Magazine*. The magazine aimed to show the public the practices and principles carried out in the infant schools connected with the GIIS, but also aimed to give chances to parents, whether their children attended infant schools or not, to examine or use materials with their children at home.<sup>116</sup> The preface of the magazine in 1834 claimed:

The rapid sale and increasing demand for the Glasgow Infant School Magazine, has induced the Editor to re-publish it, with some considerable improvements; consisting principally of the introduction of a few additional Scripture Lessons---thus rendering the Magazine more in Unison with the system of Bible Training adopted in the Model School<sup>117</sup>

This change would have reflected the introduction of Bible training into the Saltmarket school in 1832. The third edition in 1835 also increased materials for Bible training.<sup>118</sup> As Table III-4 shows, some items in the magazine increased significantly between 1832 and 1835. The most remarkable changes were seen in hymns, from 28 in 1832 to 85 in 1835 and also in scripture and Bible lessons, from 9 in 1832 to 27 in 1835. The contents directly connected to the Bible such as hymns, scripture and Bible lessons increased a great deal.

On the other hand, miscellaneous poetry, anecdotes, and miscellaneous lessons were always the main components of the magazine between 1832 and 1835. These general items were expected to link Bible teaching with children's everyday life. Stow criticised religious education where it was conducted 'as if Revelation had little or nothing to do with the things and ordinary affairs of this life'.

Animals, vegetables, minerals, arts and sciences are seldom included; the sea, sky, fish, land, and human habitations appear to be left out. The Divine Author himself has not done so; for when we look into the sacred page we see it

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p.40.

<sup>115</sup> Stow, *Infant Training*, p.57.

<sup>116</sup> *GISM* (1832), p.5.

<sup>117</sup> 'Preface', *GISM* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1834), p.2.

<sup>118</sup> 'Preface', *GISM* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., 1835), p.5.



enriched with references to all these, and that it is, by the familiar illustrations they afford, God has revealed a large portion of his will to man.<sup>119</sup>

Stow also admitted the value of teaching them, even independent of their relationship with the Bible. Stow claimed that ‘if you don’t employ the children’s time in learning good’, they would learn evil.

Why then not occupy a portion of it in exploring the power, wisdom, and goodness of God in the animal creation, as revealed in the Bible.<sup>120</sup>

The items in ‘Miscellaneous poetry’ included poems on natural history, which, for example, in 1832, consisted of 19 items out of the total 50, mostly about animals (17), along with other items of simple knowledge of everyday life such as ‘Apothecaries’ Weight’, ‘Geography’, ‘Geometrical Lesson’, ‘Multiplication Table’. ‘Anecdotes’ also consisted of stories about animals, 15 out of 38 in 1832. ‘Miscellaneous lessons’ included ‘Lessons on Objects’ and lessons on materials such as food, sugar, the oak tree and grass.<sup>121</sup> Intellectual method was also developed through these lessons, as Stow expected that ‘picture lessons of objects’ should be conducted ‘in unison with oral narrative, to inform [the child’s] understanding’.<sup>122</sup>

It is noteworthy that Stow did not impose the use of a particular catechism in his Bible training. Rather it sought to raise the status of the Bible and introduced general secular lessons along with it. This would have attracted not only other evangelical denominations including Methodists but also a wider group which shared the natural theology.<sup>123</sup> Caughie, a member of the Secession, was still the master of the model school, and children were welcomed from all Protestant denominations which were Stow’s targets and the school premises were in the Methodist chapel. It is therefore wrong to claim that the GISS became a denominational institution after 1832. It still kept an interdenominational character.

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<sup>119</sup> Stow, *Infant Training*, p.12.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p.33.

<sup>121</sup> *GISM* (1832), pp.283-287.

<sup>122</sup> Stow, *Infant Training*, p.14.

<sup>123</sup> For example, in 1847 the phrenologist George Combe consulted Stow about sending a nephew of his to the Glasgow Free Church Normal Seminary conducted on Stow’s methods. Letter from George Combe to Stow, 10 October 1847; Letter from Stow to Combe, 12 October 1847, STO/2/39-40, Jordanhill Archives.

### (3) A new footing for national education

Witnessing the change in the GISS's infant schools introducing the intellectual training, Simpson, in 1835, stated:

I know that in Glasgow, where there are six infant schools, the established clergy have drawn them all into their own system, while the directors who were dissenters have withdrawn.<sup>124</sup>

Two infant schools in St John's and one by St David's were originally established in connection with respective kirk sessions. By 1834, however, the original model school in Drygate was taken by the High Church session and Saltmarket model school also got a suggestion of funding support from St Andrew's and Tron sessions. One in Cawcaddens was also alarmed by the necessity to be attached to a particular congregation.<sup>125</sup> By 1835, probably all six infant schools in Glasgow were under parochial management although the model school in Saltmarket seems to have continued to be under the financial responsibility of some individuals of the GISS, using the same school premises.<sup>126</sup> These transformations eased their financial difficulties,<sup>127</sup> and also entailed their introduction of Stow's intellectual training. However, the new policy did not still obtain popularity.

At this crisis, several of the parochial congregations stepped forward and, established four or five infant schools; and while as careful as ever to cultivate and train the mind, they made Scriptural principle, spirit, and habit predominant and all-pervading. This was attended with good, but the public interest could not be sustained in behalf of infant schools, and many of them after a season were discontinued.<sup>128</sup>

Although Simpson could attribute this unpopularity to these schools' attachment to the established church, the EISS's model infant school also struggled to attract the public.<sup>129</sup> Infant schools with moral emphasis in general were not much welcomed.

However, another opportunity was opened after 1833 when Stow commenced to apply the intellectual department into the education of children above 6 years old

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<sup>124</sup> 'Extract from the Evidence Given by James Simpson', in Simpson, *Education*, p.34.

<sup>125</sup> Stow, *Moral Training* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), pp.273, 294.

<sup>126</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 15 May 1835. The space for Saltmarket infant school was at a lease of 10 years. See Stow, *The Training System* (11<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.555.

<sup>127</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.9.

<sup>128</sup> *The New Statistical Accounts of Scotland. Vol. 6*, p.915.

<sup>129</sup> A. F. B. Roberts, 'Scotland and infant education in the nineteenth century', *Scottish Educational Studies*, 4-1 (May, 1972), pp.40-41. Simpson, *Necessity of Popular Education*,

in Annfield parochial school in St John's.<sup>130</sup> The GISS used the school as its juvenile model school,<sup>131</sup> and not only the intellectual department including Bible education but also the infant school system itself was introduced into the school.<sup>132</sup> Stow stated that the main aim was to implant the moral training of the infant school. It also required the introduction of several new subjects such as vocal music, mental arithmetic, practical geography, linear drawing, outlines of geometry, natural history, and lessons in objects.<sup>133</sup> The school building also needed to be changed for these purposes. Plate III-1 shows the plan of Annfield school as converted into a 'training school'. First of all, a small classroom was created with each door fixed half open to permit the master to control the children. Secondly, in the area in front of the building, a division was made in order to separate children into two departments and also enable the master to superintend children at play. Thirdly, a playground for the English department was made by the kirk session of St John's at the back of the building. Lastly, small seats were set to constitute a substitute gallery, which was a sort of lecture theatre setting seats in wide stairs. As will be seen in the following chapter, a playground and a gallery were two indispensable pieces of apparatus for the infant school. Within a few months, the whole training system was established.<sup>134</sup>

This was in fact a significant step for the later promotion of national education. In 1833 Stow stressed the following ideas.

In order to bring our large towns into the state of moral cultivation, in which our rural districts were a century ago, the following Moral Machinery is necessary, viz., an Infant School for children of 2 to 6 years of age—a Juvenile School *upon the Infant System*, for those of the age of 6 to 10 or 12, with a separate play-ground for each, and an official visiting minister for such portion of the inhabitants in our most destitute city districts.<sup>135</sup>

The new idea to promote infant schools and juvenile schools together, both using 'the Infant System' and intellectual lessons, was formed by Stow when he succeeded in establishing them in Annfield School. Later, in 1854, discussing Chalmers's

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pp.150-151, 207.

<sup>130</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.58.

<sup>131</sup> Stow, *Moral Training* (2nd edn.), pp.229, 294.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.241-242.

<sup>133</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, pp.11-12.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.* Stow, *Moral Training* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.), pp.239-240.

<sup>135</sup> Stow, *Infant Training*, p.128.

experiment in St John's, he argued that Chalmers omitted 'the introduction of *moral school training* into the four schools which he established in that parish'.<sup>136</sup> This was therefore an entirely new development which, following Chalmers's ideas, Chalmers himself had not anticipated at the beginning of his experiment. To extend such a school system in 1833, Stow positively supported its partial endowment by the government,<sup>137</sup> which in fact coincided with a tide calling for national education with state aid.

#### (4) Some views promoting a national system of education

As Anderson has already pointed out, by the 1830s several groups of Scottish thinkers spoke about a national system of education. However the main target was usually England rather than Scotland. For example the philosopher William Hamilton (1788-1856) discussing the report on German schools by the French philosopher Victor Cousin, presented a similar argument to Chalmers against *laissez-faire* in education. Hamilton stated that 'it is education which creates the want which education only can satisfy'.<sup>138</sup> He then called for an immediate interference of the government in education:

As the state can now only be administered for the benefit of all, Education, as the essential condition of the social individual well-being of the people, cannot fail of commanding the immediate attention of the Legislature. Otherwise, indeed, the recent boon to the lower orders of political power, would be a worthless, perhaps a dangerous gift.<sup>139</sup>

Hamilton warned that England was failing to follow Germany and France, while he highly commended popular education in Scotland, which benefited from the legislation for the parochial school.<sup>140</sup> He did not consider that Scotland needed new policies. This view was also shared by Thomas Spring Rice, the Treasury's Financial Secretary, when the first government grant for schools which only applied to England, was introduced in August 1833.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> David Stow, *The Training System* (10th edn., London, 1854), p.22.

<sup>137</sup> Stow, *Infant Training*, pp.128-129.

<sup>138</sup> William Hamilton, 'Cousin on German Schools', in *ER*, 57 (July, 1833), p.507. As for the importance of Victor Cousin's report, see Anderson, 'Education and the State in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', p.533.

<sup>139</sup> 'Education and the State in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', p.505.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.507-508.

<sup>141</sup> D. G. Paz, *The Politics of Working-Class Education in Britain, 1830-50* (Manchester, 1980), p.14.

A call for state aid for Scotland came, in October 1833, from James Pillans (1778-1864), a former rector of the Edinburgh Royal High School and now professor of humanity at Edinburgh University.<sup>142</sup> Although he praised what had already been done in Scotland as well as in Germany, he pointed out a defect of the Scottish education system:

Of all the preliminary steps, then, to the adjustment of this great question, by far the most important is the appointment of some means for training schoolmasters,...The want of some such provision is the great vice of our Scottish system.<sup>143</sup>

Indeed, originated in the Drygate school,<sup>144</sup> the GISS, by December 1833, trained more than 100 future teachers in its model infant schools.<sup>145</sup> In 1833, not only the model infant school but also the model juvenile school were 'published as Model Schools for training schoolmasters'.<sup>146</sup> Stow presented a certain model to promote a new national education system with teacher training, employing state aid.

### **3. Termination of the St John's experiment**

The development of the educational method applicable to both infant and juvenile schools prepared a new national movement for education starting in 1834. St John's was the first parish that experienced this development through not only their infant schools but also the Annfield parochial school. It meant transforming a traditional parochial school into a more morally and religiously oriented juvenile school, along with an infant school, still keeping the 'medium' system. This was a new element which outreached Chalmers's original programmes. There was, however, another important development which had not really been anticipated at the beginning of the experiment. It was the development of the role of Sabbath school teachers to visit the family regardless religious teaching of children. The termination of the experiment will be investigated in these new developments.

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<sup>142</sup> Elizabeth J. Morse, 'James Pillans', *ODNB*, [article/22282].

<sup>143</sup> James Pillans, 'National Education in England and France', in *ER*, 58 (October, 1833), pp.27-28.

<sup>144</sup> Stow, *Granny and Leezy* (6<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.75-76. *The Second Annual Report of the GISS*, p.12.

<sup>145</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.12.

<sup>146</sup> *The Second Annual Report of the GISS*, p.12.



### (1) Extending Sabbath schools in Glasgow and beyond

As has been seen, Sabbath schools using the local system were started in 1816 by Stow, and were promoted in the St John's experiment with Chalmers's approval. However, beyond St John's, the most extensive promotion of the system was carried out by Stow himself. Stow, writing to Chalmers in April 1824, described his exertions in organising Sabbath schools in the city.

My first object in starting was by visiting families in different parts of the City to ascertain where was the greatest need 2<sup>nd</sup>ly To divide these quarters into distinct societies of not exceeding 15 or 16 Districts & 3<sup>rd</sup>ly after chalking out the ground to endeavour to persuade Individuals the least employed and the most likely to take upon themselves the office of Superintendent & Treasurer (The Secretary afterwards to be appointed). As you may suppose this was the most difficult and harrassing [sic] of any part of the labour. The next after finding out proper Teachers was to form the 1<sup>st</sup> District in each Society and afterwards to leave them entirely to their own management.<sup>147</sup>

Stow was active in extending Sabbath schools using the local system throughout Glasgow. In another letter to Chalmers in 1823, he stressed that 'no other plan whatever will be effectual in drawing forth the most debased and careless part of our Population'.<sup>148</sup> However, since Sabbath schools accepted only children who could already read, it is very probable that 'the most debased and careless part' of the society was not qualified to take advantage of this plan. Nevertheless, Stow kept emphasising this point. In the same letter he stated:

There is [sic] two subjects which coming from Your pen and circulated amongst Teachers and elders would I am persuaded do great good—1<sup>st</sup> a short address to elders & 2<sup>nd</sup> to Sabbath School Teachers setting forth the great importance of visiting frequently their respective Districts.<sup>149</sup>

Chalmers argued that the most important point of the local system was that the teacher could easily visit the families in the assigned locality.<sup>150</sup> In the letter, Stow strongly emphasised to Chalmers the necessity of spreading the strict local system since, in general, the local system was not as strictly carried out as originally

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<sup>147</sup> Letter from Stow to Chalmers, 7 April 1824, CHA.4.39.29.

<sup>148</sup> Letter from Stow to Chalmers, 1 December 1823, CHA.4.29.51.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Chalmers, *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, i, p.60-61.

expected.<sup>151</sup> Even in St John's this was the case. William Craig, deacon and Sabbath school teacher, reported in June 1822:

Mr Craig stated that when collecting at the Church Door on the Sabbath evenings he had observed great evils arising by taking children to School Rooms at a distance from the Districts where they reside from the turbulence and voice which they make in going and coming from the Schools.<sup>152</sup>

The schools were still not located in places close to where children lived, in the way the local system required. In 1834 Stow confessed that 'only a portion of the better sort could be got to attend Sabbath Schools' under the St John's experiment.<sup>153</sup> The emphasis on visiting families in each of the assigned areas of Sabbath schools was required in this situation.

The growth of Sabbath schools was, on the other hand, continuous in other areas in Glasgow and beyond. Brown indicates that in the period between 1820 and 1837, the Sabbath school movement was in decline since the organisational bodies of the Sabbath schools, both regional and national, seemed to have been discontinued.<sup>154</sup> But a new initiative started between 1821 and 1823 with the local Sabbath school system not only in Glasgow but also in other towns and populous areas in Scotland. For both of these Stow was the main promoter. In 1822 a letter suggesting the formation of a society which would be 'composed of the members of the Sabbath School Societies in Glasgow and its vicinity', was discussed in the St John's Sabbath School Society and it was decided to send a member as a representative to a meeting to frame rules for the suggested new society. At the same time, the St John's Society appointed two members as representatives to the committee for the management of *The Sabbath School Teachers Magazine*.<sup>155</sup> These two incidents indicate the growing activities of Sabbath schools.

Even before 1821, regular meetings were held for 'mutual encouragement and deliberation' of Sabbath school teachers. In June 1821, however, in one of these

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<sup>151</sup> Letter from Stow to Chalmers, 1 December 1823.

<sup>152</sup> St John's Sabbath School Society Minutes Book, 4 June 1822.

<sup>153</sup> Stow, *Moral Training* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.), p.272.

<sup>154</sup> C. G. Brown, 'The Sunday-School Movement in Scotland', p.3.

<sup>155</sup> St John's, Glasgow, Sabbath School Society Minute Book, 1 October 1822 and 5 November 1822. The proposed magazine was probably realised as *The Sabbath School Magazine for Scotland*.

meetings, it was resolved to have an annual dinner. The annual dinners of the 'Teachers and Friends of Sabbath Schools' began and in these meetings, representatives from different Sabbath school societies joined to communicate useful information.<sup>156</sup> The St John's Sabbath School Society would probably have joined these annual dinners as the request in 1822 to the society to send a representative to form a new Glasgow society indicates. In 1830, the annual dinners transformed into the annual soirees later extending membership to female teachers and others.

Stow was one of the main promoters of this movement. In 1836 Stow, explaining the state of the local Sabbath schools in Glasgow, claimed that the local Sabbath school system added nearly 7,000 children to the Sabbath schools of Glasgow from 1819 to 1836.<sup>157</sup> Stow even claimed that:

During the 10 years alluded to, from 1825 to 1835, when the population had increased above 60,000, and when both church-building and general Sabbath schools remained nearly stationary, the chief, or perhaps the only additional means provided for the young, was the local Sabbath school system.<sup>158</sup>

In 1838 the first report of the annual meeting of the Teachers and Friends of Sabbath Schools was produced, following 'the great increase in the number of societies'.<sup>159</sup> It showed that the group was spreading the local system. Distinguishing three different types of Sabbath schools, the report showed that among the 33 listed Sabbath school societies, 24 societies and 245 schools (72 per cent) adopted the local system whilst six societies and 88 schools adopting the general system and seven societies and nine schools adopting the 'central' system. The last system was a mixed system which aimed to solve the difficulty of finding suitable rooms for the local system. A church or school room was normally used for collecting children and they were divided into classes for lessons, except for the opening and the ending, according to the areas from which they came. To these areas teachers and visitors were assigned and expected to visit the families in their respective areas in order to discover children

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<sup>156</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union*, p.9.

<sup>157</sup> PP 1837-8 XXXI, Statement by Mr Stow, and Production therein, in regard to Sabbath Schools, 10 May 1836, *Second Report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland*, i, p.727.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the GSSU*, p.10.

not attending Sabbath schools, and to 'encourage, or counsel, or rebuke' those who attended, if necessary. This system thus kept the local system in assigning teachers and visitors into a small area.

The societies listed in the report included six Congregational, one Methodist and two of the Relief Church, with the remaining 24 societies probably belonging to the Established Church including the St John's, and the Saltmarket and Bridgegate societies.<sup>160</sup> The local system was developing inter-denominationally with the particular emphasis on visiting families

Further the influence was beyond Glasgow. In 1823 *The Sabbath School Teachers Magazine* published an article on the Sabbath School Union for Scotland which had been established in January 1816.<sup>161</sup> The magazine quoted from the union's *Sixth Annual Report*.

Your Committee would next call your attention to the rise and progress of the Local School System, as being one of the most important objects among the events of the year. The utility and efficacy of this system, in large towns and crowded populations, is now almost universally admitted, and has been either generally or partially introduced into the following among other places:--Edinburgh and Leith, Glasgow, Dundee, Dumfries, Dunfermline, Greenock, Perth, Bathgate, Grangemouth, Hillhousefield, Bonnington, Newhaven and Paisley; and various other places have been reported to your Committee, in which the Local System is immediately to be adopted.<sup>162</sup>

By 1823, in large Scottish towns, the local system was widely adopted. In Edinburgh it was reported that the rigid local system was modified or sometimes given up for reasons such as 'personal dislike to the teacher' or a desire of avoiding some neighbouring children being at the same school, in addition to the frequent changes of residences among 'the lower ranks' of people. Changing schools, because of the rigid local principle, made it difficult to maintain a continuous relationship between children and teachers. However, it was admitted that if 'a general surveillance' of all the area's families, including occasional visitations, was expected, a rigid local

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<sup>160</sup> Report of the State of Sabbath School Instruction in the City of Glasgow and Neighbourhoods, read at the Annual Meeting of the Teachers and Friends of Sabbath Schools held in the Baronial Hall, Gorbals, January 1838, hand written report, pp.6-9, NLS.

<sup>161</sup> 'Sabbath School Union for Scotland', *The Sabbath School Magazine for Scotland*, 1-1 (January 1823), p.21.

<sup>162</sup> 'Sabbath School Union for Scotland', *The Sabbath School Magazine for Scotland*, 1-2 (February 1823), p.91.

system was absolutely essential.<sup>163</sup> The frequent visits of families were now widely recognised as the most important role of Sabbath school teachers.

(2) The role of Sabbath schools and its new adaptation to the city mission

This newly emphasised role is confirmed by a letter to the editor that appeared in *The Scottish Guardian* in 1832. The author, probably Stow from the contents, claimed that local Sabbath evening schools were the only means of checking crime and ‘Sabbath profanation’ among ‘our degraded youth’ as the most powerful and only means ‘left for radically improving our present population’.<sup>164</sup> Acknowledging the powerful role of week-day infant schools in reaching younger children before ‘bad and unruly habits’ had been formed, the author still insisted that:

The immediate object in hand, is to catch, as instantaneously as possible, all those who are every month getting beyond the reach of schools of any sort; and therefore, we again repeat, that a universal plan of Sabbath schools, upon the local system, is our only resource.<sup>165</sup>

Another significant reason to extend local Sabbath schools was explained by Stow in 1834.

It must not however be denied, that Infant Schools will succeed only partially in bringing out the neglected children of a crowded city, unless we have, what would be felt a very unpopular measure, a compulsory legislative enactment; or until the whole surface of the population is covered with an efficient parochial agency.<sup>166</sup>

In reality at that time there was no political prospect for a compulsory legislation to be enacted. Therefore there was no choice but following the second suggestion, or extending activities of parochial agents, which included Sabbath school teachers on the local system. In 1836, Stow emphasised their importance, along with elders:

There is one class of labourers, affording religious or Christian instruction and domicile visits to a great extent, which are scarcely noticed in the manner they deserve. I mean the local Sabbath school teachers of the different parishes, and the elders.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Wood, *Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.46-8.

<sup>164</sup> ‘Local Sabbath Evening Schools’, *The Scottish Guardian*, 11 May 1832.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Stow, *Moral Training* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.), p.42.

<sup>167</sup> PP 1837-8 XXXII, 10 May 1836, ‘Statement by Mr Stow, and Production therein, in Regard to Sabbath Schools’, p.732.



In comparison with elders, however, Sabbath school teachers could be recruited more flexibly as has been shown<sup>168</sup> and extended more closely to families following the local system.

In fact the local system of the Sabbath school came to be a model for other similar organisations such as the Glasgow City Mission (GCM) founded in 1826. Stow, discussing the GCM, stated that ‘the originator...established it professedly upon the parochial model, as exhibited in the Local Sabbath Schools’.<sup>169</sup> Its second report stated that ‘this Society was the first, or among the first of this description’.<sup>170</sup> Similar societies were, however, by 1827 established, one in London, one in Edinburgh and one in Belfast,<sup>171</sup> and the GCM’s founder, David Nasmith (1799-1839), an evangelical, later founded various missions and associations in the US, Canada, Ireland, France and Britain.<sup>172</sup> The GCM employed paid agents<sup>173</sup> who were chosen from ‘all Evangelical denominations of professing Christians’, and were expected in their respective assigned areas to promote ‘a knowledge of Evangelical truth’. Their important tasks were visiting ‘the poor in their own houses’ and introducing a suitable week-day school and Sabbath school instructing parents in ‘the duty of giving their children a religious education’.<sup>174</sup> The work of the GCM was a new attempt using semi-professional lay members to promote religious house visits, seeking to carry out the plan more systematically.<sup>175</sup>

While local Sabbath schools were extending in Glasgow and beyond, the principle underlying them of family visitation, was accepted by the GCM as useful for encouraging attendance not only at Sabbath, but also weekday schools.

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<sup>168</sup> See chapter II-3-(1).

<sup>169</sup> PP 1837-8 XXXII, Stow, ‘Statement in Regard to Sabbath School’, p.729.

<sup>170</sup> *Second Annual Report of the Society for Promoting the Religious Interests of the Poor of Glasgow and its Vicinity* (Glasgow, 1828), pp.20-21.

<sup>171</sup> *First Annual Report of the GCM* (Glasgow, 1827), p.13.

<sup>172</sup> Gordon Goodwin, ‘David Nasmith’, rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *ODNB*, [article/19794].

<sup>173</sup> *Fifth Annual Report of the Society for Promoting the Religious Interests of the Poor of Glasgow and its Vicinity* (Glasgow, 1831), p.35.

<sup>174</sup> ‘Instructions to Agents’, *Seventh Annual Report of the Society for Promoting the Religious Interests of the Poor of Glasgow and its Vicinity; or The GCM* (Glasgow, 1833), pp.5-8. See *Second Annual Report of the GCM*, p.9

<sup>175</sup> *First Annual Report of the GCM*, pp.9-13.

### (3) The termination of the experiment in the new framework

Seeing the termination of the experiment as its failure, Cage and Checkland attribute this to its financial problems especially from 1825 to 1837, when its income was less than its expenditure. In their view, the financial difficulties arose from 'faulty managerial decisions and an over-zealous Agency' which increased expenditure for education and the relief of paupers who were not considered to be proper objects of parochial relief. As they point out, this was, in fact, the point that Chalmers himself claimed as one of the main reasons for discontinuing the experiment.<sup>176</sup> Furgol, however, argues that the experiment failed because of the increase in poor relief itself, rather than other expenditures.<sup>177</sup> Some external causes have also been pointed out by Mitchison, namely a low level of adherence to the established church, the proliferation of voluntary charitable societies and the rise of pew renting.<sup>178</sup> Although different reasons have been given, these have been commonly believed to prove the failure of the experiment itself.

However, as the above two sections show, the circumstances surrounding the experiment had greatly changed by the mid-1830s. The increase of expenses for education and some items of poor relief which pressed hard on the parish's finance should be examined in this shift. It is also important to observe the following two points on these conditions: the practicability of poor relief without legal assessment; the effectiveness of moral and religious education in suppressing pauperism, which the experiment was expected to prove.<sup>179</sup>

Actually the financial pressure of the parish had started soon after Chalmers left the parish. As Table III-5 shows, the basic collections and the main income of the parish were those at church and chapel doors. The chapel was erected in 1823 in the eastern part of the parish and after that the evening congregation of the church transferred to the ordinary day congregation of the chapel.<sup>180</sup> After 1823, as Table III-7 shows, the collections never reached the level attained when Chalmers was the

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<sup>176</sup> Cage and Checkland, 'Thomas Chalmers and Urban Poverty', pp.45-49.

<sup>177</sup> Furgol, 'Thomas Chalmers' Poor Relief', pp.281-287.

<sup>178</sup> Mitchison, *The Old Poor Law in Scotland*, p.145.

<sup>179</sup> See chapter I-3.

<sup>180</sup> PP1837-8 XXXII, Evidence respecting the Presbytery of Glasgow, St John's Parish, in Royal Commission on Religious Instruction in Scotland, p.283. This was converted into a

minister, and after 1825 the total expenditure always exceeded the total income. However, the serious problem after 1832-33 which led to the termination of the experiment was that the cost of poor relief (the item of paupers, lunatics, orphans, foundlings, coffins, etc.) came constantly to exceed the collections, which even slightly increased during this period.

The increase of the two categories of the poor pushed this. In 1843, Thomas Brown, the minister of the St John's parish from May 1826,<sup>181</sup> pointed out the following as reasons for the failure of the experiment:

There was a class of paupers that ought not to have been taken on the list of ordinary paupers—lunatics and deserted children—which bore exceedingly hard upon the funds...During the whole time that it [the experiment] was in operation, although there were 1053 l. expended in behalf of lunatics and deserted children, the whole deficiency at the close amounted to 624 l. 9s. 7¼d.<sup>182</sup>

Brown here followed Chalmers's views: families of runaway husbands or illegitimate children should not be looked after by poor funds since it could encourage immorality; the cases of disease ought to be supported by the public assessment funds. Although Chalmers also admitted both cases on to the parish roll, only 7 cases were admitted for these categories while he was there.<sup>183</sup>

A committee of the St John's session in 1836 also explained the causes of the debt after 1832:

A principal cause has been the increase of expenditure consequent upon the Cholera which raged in 1832 followed by Typhus Fever in 1833, and from the unlooked for & great extent of Lunatic cases principally augmented in 1834 & 35.<sup>184</sup>

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parish church in 1835. See also Chalmers, *A Speech*, pp.14, 43-46, and Furgol, 'Thomas Chalmers', p.185.

<sup>181</sup> After Chalmers's removal from St John's in November 1823 Patrick McFarlane succeeded as minister on 29 July 1824 and then McFarlane was also transferred into the St Enoch parish on 24 November 1825. Then Thomas Brown became the minister on 11 May 1826. St John's Kirk Session Minutes Book, first page.

<sup>182</sup> PP 1844 XX, Thomas Brown (13 April 1843), *Poor Law Inquiry (Scotland), Appendix, Part I* (Edinburgh, 1844), p.360.

<sup>183</sup> Chalmers, *Statement*, pp.15-16.

<sup>184</sup> GTH, Minutes of Directors Meetings, 17 May 1836. This minute of the St John's session was dated 28 April 1836 and it was omitted from discussion on the issue of St John's request to apply for the Hospital funds by the related committee in the Town's Hospital.

In the case of lunatics for whom the parish paid maintenance to be kept in the Glasgow Asylum for Lunatics,<sup>185</sup> their expenditure started to increase probably from 1834 pressing the expenditure for poor relief (see Table III-7). However, as Table III-7 shows, from 1832 the expenditure for foundlings and deserted children started to increase greatly. A committee on foundling children had been created in October 1826, there being three of them at that time.<sup>186</sup> In 1827 it was resolved that elders and deacons should be responsible for foundling children who were found in their assigned districts and that the expense of educating them should be paid from half yearly collections.<sup>187</sup> In 1836, William Collins, an elder, explained that

We consider ourselves the sponsors of [the foundlings]; we place them in families where they are taken care of, and we give them admission to our schools. We pay every thing for those foundlings out of the collections.

Foundling children were increased to 22 by 1836.<sup>188</sup> Their maintenance costs would greatly have contributed to the rise of the cost of poor relief.

But, as has been shown, there constantly existed a financial deficit after 1825. In Table III-6, after the item for poor relief that for schools ('Teachers' Salaries, Education of Poor, Insurance and Repair of Schools') displayed the second largest amount in expenditures throughout the period. This would have included the salaries for four parochial school teachers including one paid by the General Session funds,<sup>189</sup> the educational costs of the foundling and deserted children and the costs for the two infant schools and 'School of Industry'.<sup>190</sup> If £500 for 'Endowment of one Parochial school' were added to the amount for this item, the total cost for the period between 1819 and 1835 for schools resulted in £2,301. Since 'Interest on Bank Account, and from the City of Glasgow', 'General Session Fund for Education' and 'Collections

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<sup>185</sup> *Regulations of the Glasgow Asylum for Lunatics* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1823), p.22.

<sup>186</sup> St John's Kirk Session Minutes Book, 2, 30 October 1826.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 October 1827 and 10 December 1827.

<sup>188</sup> PP 1837-38 XXXII, Evidence of William Collins (3 May 1836), *Second Report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland*, pp.296-7. See also Stow, *Moral Training* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.), p.243.

<sup>189</sup> PP1837-8 XXXII, Evidence of Rev Dr Thomas Brown, in *Royal Commission on Religious Instruction in Scotland*, p.286.

<sup>190</sup> For the infant schools and the school of industry see PP1837-8 XXXII, Evidence of Rev Dr Thomas Brown, in *Royal Commission on Religious Instruction in Scotland*, p.286.



for St John's Parochial Schools'<sup>191</sup> (see Table III-5) were incomes for the parochial schools (in total £1,276), if this amount is deducted from the costs for schools, the excess amount was £1025. This would have constantly pressed the parish finance hard, for the total expenditure for poor relief was £5,846—much less than the collections at church and chapel doors of £6,786.<sup>192</sup>

In 1817 Chalmers had suggested as the most practical plan the idea that after an accumulation of burdens for building and maintaining schools, the time would come to reject legal assessments for poor relief and transfer the funds to supply schools.<sup>193</sup> But, after 20 years from the proposal, the assessment for poor relief still continued. The experiment was not able to convince the public of the practicability of poor relief without using the assessment so far, and Chalmers himself accepted its necessity for the cases of disease. Further, as the hospital in 1839 decided that all the cases of 'Orphans, or Fatherless Children, or Young Families, [that] required support' on the sessions' rolls were to be transmitted to the hospital,<sup>194</sup> supporting foundling children was also to be totally funded by the assessment. But these situations may have further convinced supporters of the experiment of the necessity to promote a new national movement of education, still hoping to persuade the public of the practicability of abolishing legal assessments.

Indeed, the effect of moral and religious education to suppress pauperism was widely accepted in particular as Sabbath schools using the local system spread to many large towns in Scotland. Parochial schools using the 'medium' system were also introduced into most parishes in Glasgow. The newly developed educational methods permitted parochial, including infant schools, to introduce moral and religious education more thoroughly.

Did the experiment change the people's views and attitudes towards poor relief, families and education? If, as Mitcheson argues, by 1825 the principle that being

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<sup>191</sup> After 1828, 'extraordinary' collections were made for parochial schools twice a year. PP1837-8 XXXII, Evidence of Mr William Collins, p.292. St John's parish session minutes, 10 December 1827 and 4 January 1828, CH2/176/1.

<sup>192</sup> These total amounts are derived from the original table. Abstract of the Treasurer's Accounts of Receipts and Disbursements of the Funds of St John's Parish, GCA, TD121/4.

<sup>193</sup> See chapter II-1-(2).

<sup>194</sup> *Report by William Thomson, Jun. Inspector of Sessional Poor, to the Directors of the Town's Hospital of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1839), pp.2-3.



destitute without disablement did not entitle for relief was established in Scotland,<sup>195</sup> the experiment, backed by the same policy of the 1818-1819 reform of poor relief system in Glasgow, would have been a prime promoter of this principle. Further it also advanced the policy of educating pauper children in families, adding the importance of moral and religious education. Through these, it shaped a new framework in which poor relief, families and education were viewed. In this sense the experiment enjoyed success.

The crucial element of its influence and success was two-fold. The first was the creation of a broad network of middle class agents in the city,<sup>196</sup> which shared the mechanism of the parochial system as an ideal of society to restrict pauperism. They supported the establishment of parochial schools and infant schools, spreading Sabbath schools and organising city missions. The core of the network in Glasgow was a group of interdenominational evangelical merchants and manufacturers, typified by the elders and deacons of the St John's parish and by the office bearers of the GISS.<sup>197</sup> They, however, also had a strong connection with a group of the upper working class through Sabbath school societies. These societies functioned to embody the new framework for treating the poor in society.

The other significant element in the success was the existence of a certain intellectual framework shared by wider social, political and academic groups in Britain, which could echo Chalmers's views on human nature based on common sense philosophy and natural theology. Brougham and even phrenologists could agree with this, although for them revealed Christianity was not their final goal. It is also important that interdenominational evangelical groups supported promoting infant schools and Sabbath schools. Well before the termination of the experiment, in 1834 a new movement to promote a national system of education had actually emerged.

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<sup>195</sup> Mitchison, 'Scotland', p.199.

<sup>196</sup> R. J. Morris, 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780-1850: An Analysis', *The Historical Journal*, 26-1 (Mar., 1983), p.110.

<sup>197</sup> See Stana Nenadic, 'Businessmen, the Urban Middle Classes, and the 'Dominance' of Manufacturers in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *The Economic History Review*, new series, 44-1 (Feb., 1991), pp.66-85.

## Appendix

**Table III-1 Innovations related to Sabbath and infant schools between 1816 and 1829**

Date of foundation	Name of society	Related information
1816	The Sabbath School Union for Scotland	
1816	Glasgow Sabbath School Union	Connection with the Sabbath School Union for Scotland. Only two annual reports in 1817 and 1818 are found.
1821	The Annual Dinners of the Teachers and Friends of Sabbath Schools in Glasgow and its suburbs	
1823	The Sabbath School Magazine for Scotland	Only publications in 1823 and 1834 are confirmed.
1827	Glasgow Infant School Society (GISS)	
1828	GISS's first model infant school in Drygate	
1829	Infant school in Marlborough Street, St John's	
1830	Infant school in Chalmers Street, St John's	
1832	GISS's new model infant school society in Saltmarket	
1829	Edinburgh Infant School Society	

**Table III-2 Office Bearers of the Glasgow Infant School Society—1827-30**

	1827	1829	1830	Occupation	Other Information	1832 Votes
<b>President</b>						
James Ewing	*	*	*	Merchant		--
<b>Vice-President</b>						
John C. Colquhoun	*	*	*	Writer	Church of England	
Andrew Mitchell	*	*	*	Merchant Writer		O, C
James Cleland	*	*	*	Writer	Town Council (1827-30)	S, E
John Wilson	*	*	*	Merchant	<b>Elder</b> (Jun.1819)	
Dugald Bannatyne		*	*	Merchant		O, C
<b>Committee</b>						
Rev. Dr. Wardlaw	*	*	*		Independent (George Street)	
Rev. John Smyth	*	*	*		Establishment (St George's)	E
Rev. H. Heugh	*	*	*		United Secession (Regent Place)	E
Rev. P. M'Farlane	*	*	*		Establishment (St Enoch)	C
Rev. G. Almond	*	*	*		Episcopal Chapel (St Mary's)	

**Table III-2 Office Bearers of the Glasgow Infant School Society—1827-30 (Continued)**

	1827	1829	1830	Occupation	Other Information	1832 Votes
Rev. Thos. Brown	*	*	*		Establishment (St John's)	S, E
Rev. Dr. Mitchell	*	*	*		United Secession (Anderson)	E
Rev. V. Ward	*	*			Methodist (Calton)	
Rev. Adam Gunn		*	*		Establishment (Hope Street)	E
Rev. William Black			*		Establishment (Barony)	
P. Falconer	*	*	*	Merchant	<b>Elder</b> (Jun.1819)	E, O
Basil Robertson	*				<b>Teacher</b> (Nov.1817)	
W. Crichton	*	*	*	Merchant		E
H. Barclay	*	*	*	Merchant Writer		
H. Brown, Sen.	*	*	*	Merchant		
Andrew Tennant	*	*	*	Merchant		E, O
H. Brown, Jun.	*	*	*	Merchant		E, C
James Playfair	*	*	*	Merchant	<b>Deacon</b> (Jan.1820) <b>Teacher</b> (Jun.1825) <b>Elder</b> (1825)	E
John Wilson	*	*	*		(Elder)	

**Table III-2 Office Bearers of the Glasgow Infant School Society—1827-30 (Continued)**

	1827	1829	1830	Occupation	Other Information	1832 Votes
H. Langlands	*	*	*	Merchant		
James Deakin	*	*	*	Merchant		O, C
Alex. M'Gregor	*	*	*	Merchant	<b>Deacon</b> (Jan.1820) <b>Elder</b> (Jun.1821) <b>Teacher</b> (Sep.1821)	Dix, E
George Burns	*	*	*	Merchant	<b>Teacher</b> (Dec.1816)	
Allan Fullarton	*	*	*	Merchant		
William Collins	*	*	*	Bookseller	<b>Elder</b> (Jun.1819) <b>Teacher</b> (Dec.1816)	E
William Wardlaw	*	*	*	Merchant	<b>Teacher</b> (Jan.1818)	E
Andrew Bannatyne		*	*	Merchant Writer		O, C
John M'Vey		*	*	Merchant	<b>Deacon</b> (Jan.1820)	E, O
Allan Buchanan		*	*	Merchant (Calenderer)	<b>Teacher</b> (Jan.1817) <b>Elder</b> (Jan.1820)	E, O
<b>Secretary</b>						
David Welsh	*	*	*		Establishment (St David)	



**Table III-2 Office Bearers of the Glasgow Infant School Society—1827-30 (Continued)**

	1827	1829	1830	Occupation	Other Information	1832 Votes
David Stow	*	*	*	Merchant	<b>Teacher</b> (Jan.1817) <b>Deacon</b> (Jan.1820) <b>Elder</b> (Nov.1821)	E
<b>Treasurer</b>						
Andrew Bannatyne	*					
H. Langlands	*					
Peter Mirrlees		*	*	Saddler	Town Council (1827-30) <b>Elder</b> (Nov.1821)	E, O

Sources: *Infant Schools*, Eph J/6, Glasgow University Special Collection. *The First Annual Report of the Glasgow Infant School Society* (Glasgow, 1829), p.2. *The Second Annual Report of the Glasgow Infant School Society* (Glasgow, 1830), p.3. Scottish Record Society, *The Burgesses & Guild Brethren of Glasgow, 1751-1846* (Edinburgh, 1935); *Members of the Merchant House Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1833); *A List of the Matriculated Members of the Merchants' House of Glasgow from 3d October, 1768, to 5<sup>th</sup> October, 1857* (Glasgow, 1858); J. Cleland, *Statistical Tables Relative to the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1828); *Fasti: Ecclesiae Scoticae*, iii (Edinburgh, 1920); *Post Office Directory, 1828-29, 1831-32*; *The Glasgow Directory, 1827, 1828-29, 1829-30, 1830-31*; St John's Kirk Session Minutes, CH2/176/1, GCA, St John's Sabbath School Society Minute Book, CH2/176/9, GCA; *Glasgow Electors: List of the Names and Designations of the Persons Who Voted in the First Election of Two Members to Serve in Parliament for the City of Glasgow under the Scotch Reform Bill* (Glasgow, 1832); 'John Campbell Colquhoun (1803-1870)', *ODNB*, [article/5991].

Notes: Bold letters show connections with St John's experiment. Teacher means Sabbath School Teacher. As for the column of the votes of 1832, E. stands for James Ewing, O. for James Oswald, S. for D. K. Sanford, C. for John Crawford, Dg. for John Douglas and Dix. for Joseph Dixon.

**Table III-3 Office Bearers of the Edinburgh Infant School Society in 1832 and 1835**

	1832	1835	Occupations	Miscellaneous
<b>Patron</b>				
The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry	*	*		Tory
<b>President</b>				
The Lord Provost (ex officio)	*	*		
<b>Vice-Presidents</b>				
Rt Honorable John Sinclair	*	*	Politician	Whig
The Lord Justice Clerk	*	*		
Principal Baird	*	*	Principal of Edinburgh University	Minister(High Church)
<b>Extraordinary Directors</b>				
The Eldest Baillie	*	*		
The Convenor of the Trades	*	*		
Francis Jeffrey, Lord Advocate(1830-33)	*	*	M. P.(Perth 1831, Edinburgh 1832-4)	Whig
J. A. Murray, Lord Advocate(1834-37)	*	*	M. P. (Leith 1832-38)	Whig
Adam Duff	*		Sheriff of Midlothian (1819-40)	
James Gibson Craig	*	*	Politician	Whig
Rev. Dr Inglis	*		Minister (Old Greyfriars)	Leader of Moderate party
Lord Medwyn				
Henry Cockburn, Solicitor General(1830-)	*	*		Whig
Rev. Dr Jameson	*	*	Minister (Edinburgh)	Secession
Professor James Pillans	*	*	Edinburgh University	
John Wood	*	*	Sheriff of Peebles	
Dr Abercromby	*	*	Physician	
John Wigham sen	*	*		
John Campbell jun.	*	*	W.S.	
George Combe	*	*	W.S.	Phrenology
George Lyon	*	*	W.S.	Phrenology
James L' Amy	*	*	Sheriff of Forfar (1819-54)	

**Table III-3 Office Bearers of the Edinburgh Infant School Society in 1832 and 1835 (Continued)**

	1832	1835	Occupations	Miscellaneous
R. Wardlaw Ramsay	*	*		
Rev. John Paul	*	*	Minister (St Cuthbert's)	
Dr Maclagan	*	*	Merchant	Master of the Merchant Company
Robert Johnston	*	*		
Rev. Dr David Welsh	*	*	Edinburgh University (1831-)	Phrenology
David Milne	*	*	Advocate	
<b>Ordinary Directors</b>				
Rev. Edward Craig	*	*		
John Barclay	*		R.N.	
James Simpson	*	*	Advocate	
Dr Gillies	*	*		
John Gibson jun.	*	*	W.S.	
Charles Spence	*	*	Solicitor	
Rev. John Cleghorn	*	*	Minister (Edinburgh)	Independent
Rev. Dr Muir	*		Minister (St Stephen's)	
Rev. David Wilkie	*			
Rev. Dr Brunton	*	*	Minister (The Tron)	Moderate Party
Rev. James Marshall	*		Minister (The Tolbooth)	
William Scott	*	*	W.S.	Phrenology
Rev. Daniel Wilkie		*	Minister (New Greyfriars)	
Dr David Chalmers		*		
Dr Robert Spittal		*		
William White		*		
Alexander Henderson		*		
<b>Treasurer</b>				
John Anderson			Bookseller	Phrenology
<b>Secretary</b>				
Patrick Dalmahoy	*		W.S.	
Robert Ainslie jun.		*	W.S.	

Sources: *First Report of the Edinburgh Infant School Society* (Edinburgh, 1832), p.15; *Second Report of the Edinburgh Infant School Society* (Edinburgh, 1835), p.11; *The Scotsman*, 7 January 1829; 'List of Members of the Phrenological Society', in *The PJM*, III-XI (1826), pp.476-479; *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticana, The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, i, new edition (Edinburgh, 1915); *DNB*, i, iv, x, xv, xviii (London, 1908-9); Scottish Record Society, *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, 1532-1943* (Edinburgh, 1944); *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, vols.1-3 (London, 1875); *The Book of Eminent Scotsman* (Paisley, 1881); PP 1837 XXI, *Appendix to First Report by the Commissioners of religious instruction, Scotland*; I. G. C. Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland 1832-1924* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp.8, 43; Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1982), p.234.

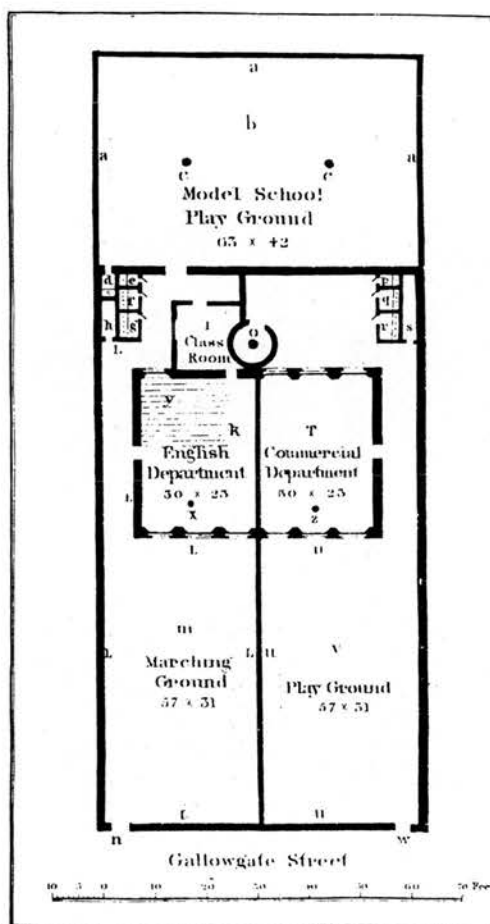
**Table III-4 Numbers of articles in different categories in *The Glasgow Infant School Magazine* in 1832, 1834 and 1835**

1832	1834	1835
Natural History 17	Natural History 18	Natural History 18
Scripture Biography 5	Bible Biography 7	Bible Biography 7
Miscellaneous Poetry 50	Miscellaneous Poetry 51	Miscellaneous Poetry 62
Hymns 28	Hymns 35	Hymns 85
Scripture Lessons 9	Bible Lessons 15	Bible Lessons 27
Anecdotes 38	Anecdotes 48	Anecdotes 50
Miscellaneous Lessons 30	Miscellaneous Lessons 27	Miscellaneous Lessons 33
General Observations 5	General Observations 4	General Observations 4

Sources: *The Glasgow Infant School Magazine* (Glasgow, 1832), *The Glasgow Infant School Magazine* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1834) and *The Glasgow Infant School Magazine* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1835)



**Plate III-1 Annfield Juvenile Parochial School in St John's**



**Description of the plan**

a a Flower-borders.

b Play-Ground.

c c Gymnastic Poles.

d Teacher's Water-closet.

e Retiring place for Boys.

f Boys' Water-closet.

g Girl's Water-closet.

h Ash-pit.

i Class-room for Model School, 13 feet square.

k School-room.

l l l Flower-borders, fronting airing-ground.

m Marching-ground for English scholars.

n Engtance-gate to Model School.

x Bible Stand.

y Gallery.

The Picture lessons and Maps are hung in double rows round the walls.

o Stair to Dwelling-house.

p For Boys.

q Boy's Water-closet.

r Girl's Water-closet.

s Ash-pit.

T School for Commercial department.

u u u Flower-borders.

v Play-ground for Commercial department.

w Entrance to Commercial department.

z Bible Stand.

Source: David Stow, *Moral Training* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1834), p.250.

**Table III-5 The incomes of St John's parish between 1819 and 1835**

1819-20	1820-21	1821-22	1822-23	1823-24	1824-25	1825-26	1826-27	1827-28	1828-29	1829-30	1830-31	1831-32	1832-33	1834	1835
<b>Receipts (£)</b>															
<b>Collections at Church and Chapel Doors</b>															
538	466	475	436	459	415	391	362	365	371	407	388	420	496	407	382
<b>Collections from Evening Congregation</b>															
103	102	108	87												
<b>Seat Rents from Evening Congregation</b>															
165	189	77	36												
<b>Legacies and Donations</b>															
77	15	5	6				14	5	1				11		103
<b>Collections fro religious and charitable purposes, not parochial</b>															
168	268	298	134	116	135	19	123	35	32	21	30	84	68	28	160
<b>Interest on bank account, and from City of Glasgow</b>															
5	7	12	6	30	30	30	31	27	26	25	25	25	25	25	25
<b>Rent of Mortcloth</b>															
2	1	0	0		2	0		7	3	10	12	8		4	1
<b>General Session Fund for Education</b>															
		21	24	24	24	24	24	27	35	33	27	27	34	27	27
<b>Collections for St John's Chapel Funds</b>															
				93			30	14	60		26		125	19	12
<b>Collections for St John's Parochial Schools</b>															
				165		55		61	35	42	47	57	21	26	20
<b>Stirling Session on Account of a Lunatic Pauper</b>															
					50	30	31	24		15	15	14	14	14	14
<b>Lockhart's Mortification for Sabbath Schools</b>															
								27		3	3	1	1	1	1
<b>Collection for forming New Road through college ground</b>															
									10						
<b>Share of Dr Bell's Legacy</b>															
													29		10
<b>Collections for Sabbath Evening Schools</b>															
														20	23
<b>Pensioners, Allowance to their families</b>															
						6	24	22	35	37	43	55	17	36	8
<b>Total</b>															
1058	1048	996	731	887	656	555	639	612	608	593	616	691	841	607	786

Notes and Source: see the bottom of the Table III-6.

**Table III-6 The expenditures of the funds of St John's between 1819 and 1835**

1819-20	1820-21	1821-22	1822-23	1823-24	1824-25	1825-26	1826-27	1827-28	1828-29	1829-30	1830-31	1831-32	1832-33	1834	1835
Disbursements (£)															
Paupers, Lunatics, Orphans, Foundlings, Coffins, &c.															
322	274	331	377	364	304	275	355	369	395	356	328	395	523	408	463
Religious and Charitable Purposes, not Parochial															
168	268	298	134	116	135	19	123	95	32	21	30	84	68	28	160
Cost of Mortcloth															
75									1	1	1	1			1
Precentor and Beadle for Evening Cong. Door-keepers, Lighting, &c.															
35	41	44	43	66	23	26	19	22	14	18	22	23	27	28	26
Soup kitchen and coals for poor															
44															
Prices for parochial schools, stationery, &c.															
14	9	3			16	36	9	11	13	12	16	9	9	9	9
Salary to Rev. Mr Irving as Assistant															
150	150	100													
Sacramental Elements for St John's Chapel and Evening Congregation															
5	6	5	1	10	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	25	12	12
Teachers' Salaries, Education of Poor, Insurance, and Repairs on Schools															
	50	109	83	271	112	164	111	97	110	120	142	97	108	115	106
Lent to City of Glasgow for Endowment of one Parochial School															
			500												
St John's Chapel Funds															
				95			50	14	60		26		125	19	12
Support of a Stirling Lunatic Pauper															
					50	42	29	14	15	14	15	13	18	14	14
Sabbath Evening Schools from Lockhart's Mortification															
									27	3					10
Making New Road through College Ground															
									10						
Interest															
				2								5			3
Alterations on School for Dr Bell's System															
													3		65
St John's Sabbath Evening Schools															
														20	23
Families of pensioners from allowance															
						5	14	33	34	34	52	46	17	36	8
Total															
813	798	881	113	924	658	585	728	673	729	597	645	691	923	690	911

Notes: For the periods depicted as 1819-20, it means basically from October in the year to September in the following year. The accountancy year was from October to the following September, apart from 1832-33 which ran on to December. All amounts have been rounded down to the nearest pound (£), therefore the totals are slightly different from the original.

Source for Tables III-5&6: Abstract of the Treasurer's Accounts of Receipts and Disbursements of the Funds of St John's Parish, Glasgow, as Applicable to the Maintenance of the Poor, Educational Purposes, &c., from 26<sup>th</sup> September, 1818, till 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1835, TD121/4, GCA.

**Table III-7 The state of income and expenditure of St John's between 1820 and 1833**

Year	Collections (£)	General Session	Total Income	Regular Session Poor	Occasional poor	Foundlings, deserted children &c.	Lunatic Paupers	Coffins, Funeral expenses	Parochial schools	Religious, charitable institutions	Church officers, sundries	Total expenditure	Balance
1820	713	22	735	222				95	154	168	44	683	52
1821	734	24	758	193			4	10	51	268	16	542	216
1822	739	54	793	149			8	13	107	298	26	601	192
1823	570	39	609	264		1	4	10	581	134	28	1022	-413
1824	535	171	706	201	8	25	6	11	207	113	38	609	97
1825	422	28	450	169	11	19	8	7	80	161	45	500	-50
1826	465	46	511	227	9	53	29	6	72	74	79	549	-38
1827	535	60	595	279	13	54	17	22	72	173	65	695	-100
1828	523	80	603	287	8	88	20	11	72	109	41	636	-33
1829	499	43	542	176	26	127	41	23	85	102	72	652	-110
1830	468	43	511	186	21	86	41	13	103	21	49	520	-9
1831	491	43	534	182	25	69	29	21	123	56	62	567	-33
1832	561	45	606	187	28	107	30	24	78	84	69	607	-1
1833	542	41	583	205	32	117	20	10	95	106	53	638	-55

Notes: Each year is counted as a year from 1<sup>st</sup> October of the previous year to 1<sup>st</sup> October the year. Therefore for the year 1820, it corresponds from 1<sup>st</sup> October 1819 to 1<sup>st</sup> October 1820. In 1823 the Chapel was opened and also £500 was put into Glasgow Town's Council funds, by which the salary of one of the four parochial schools' teachers was to be endowed. As for General Session Fund £142 donations during 13 years was excluded from the columns. For all the items, costs under pounds are cut down from the original of the source.

Source: 'Abstract from Treasurer's Accounts', in *The Church of Scotland Magazine*, 1-1 (March 1834), p.34.



## **Chapter IV**

### **The training system and the Glasgow Normal Seminary**

Based on the experience in the Saltmarket model infant school and Annfield juvenile school, Stow's educational methods were to become a basis for a new movement of national education led by the newly organised Glasgow Educational Society in 1834. This chapter analyses Stow's educational methods in detail, particularly in connection with Chalmers's theology and explores how Stow's methods were adopted into the new educational movement led by Scottish evangelicals and at what it aimed. These analyses are important since they will show how the programmes of the St John's experiment were transferred to a new movement. Chalmers was by then a leading theologian of the Scottish evangelicals and their focus was by 1832 on promoting religious education to protect the nation and the established church.

Firstly, Stow's educational methods are analysed in close connection with Chalmers's theology. Discussions are focused on their evangelical features based on human nature. Secondly, the process of establishing the Glasgow Educational Society (GES) and its aims are explored along with its adoption of Stow's methods. Finally, the foundation of the Glasgow Normal Seminary (GNS) which obtained the first government grant for teacher training is studied.

### **1. Stow's training system in connection with Chalmers's theology**

It is well known that Stow's educational methods became influential not only in Scotland but also throughout Britain as well as in the British colonies through his influential book, *Training System*. Even in the late nineteenth century, this book was still used in a university as a course book for teacher training.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless there has been little exploration of the theoretical backbone of his educational methods. Although Stow himself hardly expressed it himself, engaging in more practical aspects of education, his educational methods shared the same framework that Chalmers had developed. Before moving to St Andrews in 1823, through parish ministry, Chalmers had already developed his basic ideas on human nature: natural theology which argued for God based on rational thinking derived from innate or natural reason,<sup>2</sup> and Christian theology, and began leading Scottish evangelical opinion. Stow, as an elder

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<sup>1</sup> Wood, *David Stow*, pp.18, 57-61. White, 'David Stow', p.1.

<sup>2</sup> Brooke, *New Interactions*, p.8.

of Tron parish and later as an elder and Sabbath school teacher of St John's, followed Chalmers and would have absorbed his theology through his publications and sermons as well as their direct conversations. Chalmers also learned from Stow's practical attainments, as was the case of the local Sabbath school system.<sup>3</sup>

Stow, along with other Scottish evangelicals at that period, also saw themselves as inheritors of Enlightenment thought.<sup>4</sup> Stow called his method the 'training system', which meant a new method to educate children not only intellectually but also morally. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it was popular to call a set of systematised methods or ideas on education a system. Stow himself, referring to several different types of systems of education prior to his own, as a whole termed them 'the old system'.<sup>5</sup> David Hamilton suggests that the ideas of systematization were originally derived from the seventeenth century philosophers such as Francis Bacon, Isaac Newton and John Locke, who explained mechanistically the natural or social world. In the eighteenth century, according to Hamilton, philosophers such as Adam Smith developed 'power-laden ideas about reason, nature and law-like behaviour' in the areas of human relationship, economic activities and educational methods.<sup>6</sup> Stow's usage of the term 'system' was also in this tradition, displaying his training system by the analogy of a machine. He explained the essence of the training system, or its simplicity, using a mechanical metaphor:

Simple though it was when found out, like the steam from the tea-kettle, it may be destined to be as powerful in the moral world, as the steam engine is now in the commercial.<sup>7</sup>

Stow's mechanical and systematic thinking was in the same line as the British Enlightenment.

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<sup>3</sup> See chapter II-2-(3).

<sup>4</sup> Topham, 'Science, Natural Theology, and Evangelicalism', pp.149, 154. Paul Baxter, 'Deism and Development: Disruptive Forces in Scottish Natural Theology', in Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp.99. Crosbie Smith, "'Mechanical Philosophy' and the Emergence of Physics in Britain: 1800-1850", *Annals of Science*, 33 (1976), pp.3-7.

<sup>5</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.1. For example, Dr Bell's system, the Scottish parochial system or the French system.

<sup>6</sup> David Hamilton, 'Adam Smith and the Moral Economy of the Classroom System', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 12-4 (1980), pp.283, 290-292.

<sup>7</sup> Stow, *Training System*, pp.15-16.

Previous studies, however, fail to appreciate the close connection between Stow's evangelical belief and his mechanical and systematic thinking. Marjorie Cruickshank views Stow's educational ideas as a progressive and child-centred, emphasising teachers' personal qualities to make the children's 'joyous activity' as a centre,<sup>8</sup> but she does not relate these with the above two elements in Stow's ideas. Thomas A. Markus insists that Stow's ideas were in the direct line of philosophical thought of the 'Locke- Hartley- Priestley- Rousseau- Owen- Bentham environmental rationalism', which supposed 'a concept of mental development based on the mechanical analogy of the clock—which, once constructed, adjusted and wound up, proceeds to work without deviation'. Markus sees Stow's emphasis on human nature as a variation of 'environmental rationalism' based on rational organisation of educational environment.<sup>9</sup> As Hamilton does, to locate Stow in the line of rational educationists of the British Enlightenment is important. However, it is also imperative to distinguish those rationalists' favourite system, the monitorial system, from Stow's educational ideas, as Hamilton and Dave Jones have done in characterising the change as being from individual teaching to collective teaching, or from a mechanical instructor to a moral exemplar in the role of teachers.<sup>10</sup>

Hamilton and Jones, nevertheless, as well as Markus, fail to see Stow's evangelical background which located the Bible as his moral basis. Brian Simon and Harold Silver identify Hartley, Priestley, Bentham, Owen and Smith as radical and rational educational thinkers originating from Rousseau and Locke and distinguished them from evangelical educational thinkers such as William Wilberforce and Hannah More. Evangelicals, according to them, based themselves more on an aristocratic

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<sup>8</sup> Marjorie Cruickshank, 'David Stow, Scottish Pioneer of Teacher Training in Britain', in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 14-2 (May, 1966), pp.205-214. See also Marjorie Cruickshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland* (London, 1970), p.37. Later educational studies also follow Cruickshank's image on Stow. Wood, *David Stow*, p.73. White, 'David Stow', p.10.

<sup>9</sup> Markus, 'The School as Machine', pp.206-217, 243.

<sup>10</sup> David Hamilton, 'On Simultaneous Instruction and the Emergence of Class Teaching', in Hamilton (ed.), *Towards a Theory of Schooling* (London, 1921), pp.103-105, 113. Hamilton, 'Adam Smith and the Moral Economy', pp.281-289, 294-298. Dave Jones, 'The genealogy of the Urban Schoolteacher', in Stephen J. Ball (ed.), *Foucault and Education—Disciplines and Knowledge* (London, 1990), p.60.

tradition and emphasised original sin, seeing the role of education as restricting it.<sup>11</sup> Silver and Simon, however, fail to recognise the rational, 'scientific' and middle class character of the late eighteenth- and the early nineteenth-century evangelicals, which related themselves to the Enlightenment.<sup>12</sup>

This section, therefore, exploring the relationship between Chalmers's theology and Stow's method of education, attempts to display their rational and 'scientific' character, whilst being based on the Bible.<sup>13</sup> The first two parts investigate Stow's moral training and the following two his intellectual training, but both in connection with Chalmers's theology.

#### (1) Chalmers's theology of conscience and Stow's moral training

To prove the truth of Christianity scientifically, Chalmers, in his article on Christianity in 1813, accepted solely its historical and external evidence, or the Bible as a human testimony of the first Christians. He argued that reason can judge only the external evidences as did scientists based on observation and experience of the external nature, whilst reason cannot judge internal evidences such as the reasonableness of Christian doctrines as normally accepted by 'natural religion' or natural theology.

Now, let it be observed, that the great strength of the Christian argument lies in the historical evidence for the truth of the gospel narrative. In discussing the light of this evidence, we walk by the light of experience. We assign the degree of weight that is due to the testimony of the first Christians upon the observed principles of human nature. We do not step beyond the cautious procedure of Lord Bacon's philosophy. We keep within the safe and certain limits of experimental truth.<sup>14</sup>

Chalmers, based on this Baconian philosophy, considered the Bible as 'the only authentic source of information' for the 'moral economy' or moral principles that God instituted for mankind. He also argued that the Bible needed to be 'felt, and, in act and

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<sup>11</sup> Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education*, pp.35-40, 52-55, 65, 93, 98. Simon, *Studies in the History of Education*, pp.44-50, 69, 80-84, 144.

<sup>12</sup> The following scholars have already argued that evangelicalism in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries was essentially rational and keen on a link with science, having also a middle-class character. Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, pp. ix, 3, 7. Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture*, pp.49-53. Topham, 'Science, Natural Theology and Evangelicalism', p.151. Paul Baxter, 'Deism and Development', p.101.

<sup>13</sup> The middle class character of evangelicals will be discussed in the following section.

<sup>14</sup> Chalmers, 'Christianity', p.387.



obedience, submitted to'.<sup>15</sup> To attain this he emphasised disseminating the Bible along with the ability of reading it as the chief method to bring Christianity to people.<sup>16</sup> Chalmers did not publicly change this idea until his publication of his *Bridgewater Treatise* in 1833.

Chalmers in this came to admit the necessity of infant moral education.

The practice of early, nay even of infantine religious education, may... be fully and philosophically vindicated. For the effect of this anticipative process is, that, though it do [sic] not at once enlighten the mind on the question of a God, it at least awakens to the question. It does not consummate the process; but in as far as the moral precedes the intellectual, it makes good the preliminary steps of the process.<sup>17</sup>

Chalmers also expressed 'our most cheering anticipations' on the side of good when moral education was carried out universally, mentioning the experience having been locally carried out by 'a few zealous individuals',<sup>18</sup> clearly referring to Stow's exertions on moral education. In fact in 1834 quite openly Stow criticised the lack of moral training in Chalmers's St John's experiment.

We see in all this, however, no public provision for children under six; and when they attain that age, it is all a teaching of the head, not a training at once of the head, heart, and life: the whole superstructure, therefore, is without the best and only sound foundation, namely, Early Moral Training in Infant and Juvenile Schools.<sup>19</sup>

Although there were already two infant schools in the parish, Stow probably meant that they had not been recognised as an important part of the experiment before 1834. Stow also criticised the parish schools for not training children but just teaching them. Chalmers, however, now located early moral training in his philosophical analysis of human mind.

This change came gradually in the process of developing his theology, originating in his failure to give any positive value on internal evidences as was criticised from within the Scottish evangelical circle. In this process, he came to

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<sup>15</sup> Chalmers, 'Christianity', p.396.

<sup>16</sup> Chalmers, *Considerations*, p.17.

<sup>17</sup> Chalmers, *On the Power*, pp.416-417.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.141-142.

<sup>19</sup> Stow, *Moral Training*, pp.283-284.

employ natural theology positively.<sup>20</sup> In his astronomical sermons, presented in 1815 and 1816 in Tron parish, Chalmers already argued his theology based on human nature, which was to be fully developed in his *Bridgewater Treatise* in 1833. Distinguishing two faculties of the human mind, Chalmers corresponded one with theology of nature, based on the science of external nature, and the other with Christianity.

The mere majesty of God's power and greatness, when offered to your notice, lays hold of one of the faculties within you. The holiness of God, with His righteous claim of legislation, lays hold of another of these faculties. ...If the latter be not arrested and put on its proper exercise, you are making no approximation whatever to the right habit and character of religion.<sup>21</sup>

The God of nature would be appreciated through study of science, but Chalmers was pressing further than this point. 'The right habit and character of religion' was attained only by wakening the faculty of conscience or moral sense.

Could the sense of what is due to God be effectually stirred up within the human bosom, it would lead to a practical carrying of all the lessons of Christianity. Now, to awaken this moral sense, there are certain simple relations between the creature and the Creator, which must be clearly apprehended, and manifested with power unto the conscience.<sup>22</sup>

Chalmers repeatedly expressed that he was appealing to experience or the audiences' consciences: 'We make our appeal to experience; and we put it to you all'.<sup>23</sup> Conscience was considered to bring even an 'atheist' into the external or historical evidence of the Bible.<sup>24</sup> Later, in his *Bridgewater Treatise*, Chalmers argued that the theology of conscience had 'far more practical influence than the theology of academic demonstration'.<sup>25</sup> These sermons were successful,<sup>26</sup> and Stow was one of those who

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<sup>20</sup> Topham, 'Science, Natural Theology, and Evangelicalism', pp.159-161, 165.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *Discourses on the Christian Revelation, Viewed in Connection with the Modern Astronomy: The Works of Thomas Chalmers*, vii (Glasgow, 1836-42), p.165.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p.173.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p.159.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.160, 178. David Cairns, 'Thomas Chalmers' Astronomical Discourses: A study in Natural Theology?', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 9 (1956), p.420. Topham, 'Science, Natural Theology, and Evangelicalism', p.166. Chalmers used the word 'atheist' meaning agnostic.

<sup>25</sup> Chalmers, *On the Power*, p.8.

<sup>26</sup> Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p.108.

were impressed by them.<sup>27</sup> Well before Stow commenced his infant school movement, Chalmers's theology of conscience had already been presented in its basic outline.

Stow's training system, like Chalmers's theology, was based on an appeal to human nature.

In education, as hitherto conducted, the ends proposed and the means employed for attaining them, have proceeded upon a melancholy ignorance of the principles of human nature.<sup>28</sup>

Stow rejected the past method of education as focusing only on the intellectual aspect of human nature. Instead, he insisted that 'the whole of our nature' should be cultivated and also that training should start early, before 'evil habits' were formed. Stow emphasised that 'our different powers and faculties mutually influence each other as they are exercised'.<sup>29</sup> In his 1815 and 1816 sermons Chalmers saw the human mind as consisting of faculties and distinguished three aspects of mankind as 'the moral, and the rational, and the active man'.<sup>30</sup> Stow, also seeing mankind as a moral, intellectual (rational), physical being, stated the aim of the training system:

The Training system in infant and juvenile education, aims at the cultivation of the understanding, affections, and physical habits, not separately but combined, at one and the same time.<sup>31</sup>

Stow also explained this as forming in man habits of thinking and of thinking correctly, of feeling rightly, and of acting correctly.<sup>32</sup>

As methods to attain this, Stow rejected 'the infusion of principle' as merely teaching and stressed the necessity of training as 'the formation of habits'.<sup>33</sup> Stow argued that both the intellectual and physical training might be carried out independently, but moral training could not be carried out alone.

A child may know that it is right to give a piece of bread which he has in his possession to a poor man, but it is not a moral act until the corresponding feelings and external act of relief follow. Neither is the action itself moral without the understanding and feeling of duty.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Stow, *Moral Training*, p.285.

<sup>28</sup> *The First Annual Report of the GISS*, p.10.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.12-13.

<sup>30</sup> Chalmers, *Discourses*, p.152.

<sup>31</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.16.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.19-20.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p.19.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.17, 19.

Stow insisted that training of children was essentially moral training, but always requiring at the same time intellectual and physical training. He argued that habits can be formed on the street where boys and girls met and played without parents' supervision and create their '*second nature*' under 'a contaminating influence'. Against this possibility, Stow's training system was set. At the centre of moral training Stow placed Christianity. He emphasised that the education of the working classes ought to be infusing Christian principles and cultivating Christian habits.<sup>35</sup> Only through this, he believed, habits of thinking, feeling and acting would be correctly and rightly formulated.

To understand the relationship between moral and religious habits in Stow's ideas, the concept of conscience is important and on this point Chalmers's influence on Stow's ideas is obvious:

If the understanding alone guided our actions in life, intellectual culture would then be sufficient, whether in family or school education; but right feeling will be found to be quite as necessary as extensive knowledge; and although unquestionably it is God alone who can change the corrupt springs of the heart, still the conscience, which he himself has implanted, may, by proper training, be kept alive and even strengthened—the strong propensity to self-will may be subdued—a love of the amiable and the praiseworthy may be imparted—many bad tendencies may be checked in the very bud—and many, very many good habits formed, which will exercise their influence on the character in after-life.<sup>36</sup>

Stow considered that actions were guided not only by the understanding, but also by feelings, supposing physical education subjected to the other two. Of these two, however, Stow primarily associated feelings with the conscience. In his *Bridgewater Treatise*, Chalmers explained the conscience as 'the felt supremacy of conscience', and stated that it was experienced as feeling: not every man obeyed her dictates, but 'every man feels he ought to obey them'.<sup>37</sup> Therefore moral training of feeling which should keep alive and strengthen the conscience was at the core of Stow's training system. Stow argued that 'training applied to a mere animal—a horse or dog, for example—is physical only'.<sup>38</sup> But, training of human beings in whose human nature God implanted

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.18, 23.

<sup>36</sup> *GISM*, 5 (May, 1832), p.110.

<sup>37</sup> Chalmers, *On the Power*, p.45.

<sup>38</sup> Stow, *Training System*, p.17.

conscience, was moral training essentially. Stow's training system, or moral training was made possible only because of the existence of the conscience. Stow, however, never examined or explained this concept of conscience in detail by himself.

As Hilton and Topham suggest, the conscience was the core concept of Chalmers's theology, learned chiefly from Joseph Butler (1692-1752), a leading Anglican theologian and moral philosopher.<sup>39</sup> In Chalmers's *Bridgewater Treatise*, conscience was defined as a faculty which surveyed and superintended 'the whole man' and had the entire control of 'his inward desires and outward doings'.

The place which it [conscience] occupies, or rather which it is felt that it should occupy, and which naturally belongs to it, is that of a governor, claiming the superiority, and taking to itself the direction, over all the other powers and passions of humanity. If this superiority be denied to it, there is a felt violence done to the whole economy of man.<sup>40</sup>

The proof of the existence of conscience was, according to Chalmers, only in 'the experience of all men'.<sup>41</sup> Chalmers presented an example that if God formed the eye, he should see. In the same way, if God formed the conscience, it should also reflect his character. Chalmers argued this as the matter of 'instant conviction', or of admitting 'the authority of intuition' (common sense).<sup>42</sup> Conscience itself, however, was not considered as intuition.

The felt presence of a judge within the breast, powerfully and immediately suggests the notion of a Supreme Judge and Sovereign, who placed it there. ...It is the very rapidity of this inference which makes it appear like intuition; and which has given birth to the mystic theology of innate ideas. Yet the theology of conscience disclaims such mysticism, built, as it is, on a foundation of sure and sound reasoning.<sup>43</sup>

Chalmers argued that all mankind possessed the faculty of conscience. However, since the faculty of conscience was not a constitutionally implanted intuition, it needed to be, as Stow stated, kept alive or strengthened against 'the wildest anarchy of man's

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<sup>39</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, pp.183-185. Topham, 'Science, Natural Theology and Evangelicalism', pp.165-168.

<sup>40</sup> Chalmers, *On the Power*, p.48.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p.49.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.22-23.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.59-60.



insurgent appetites and sins'.<sup>44</sup> Chalmers's natural theology, centring on the concept of conscience, located moral education as an indispensable element fully to make it work. Stow also shared this view.

## (2) The method of moral training

The methods of Stow's moral training also employed the same framework as Chalmers's theology. Stow set two different stages in moral training. The first stage was named 'development'. Stow stated that there should be 'an *actual development* of all the faculties and principles of human nature'.<sup>45</sup> With this term, Stow meant 'unfolding' or examining every different aspect of children's characters and tendencies.<sup>46</sup> Stow insisted that teaching can be carried out regardless of children's capacity, but training was different. 'Development of character and disposition' was necessary previous to training.

How much better would it be, first to draw out and DEVELOP the extent and quality of those powers which the Divine Being has implanted, and afterwards exercise them upon those subjects which they show a capability of acquiring, and which may render them in after-life good and useful members of society!<sup>47</sup>

The role of development was to find out the tendencies and abilities of individual children. To do so Stow emphasised that teachers must gain the confidence of the children: 'they must themselves, as it were, become children'. Otherwise they would not acquire a real knowledge of the character and dispositions of the children. Stow identified three areas in development—corporeal, intellectual and moral corresponding with three aspects of human nature. For corporeal development, Stow listed movements such as sitting and standing, postures such as holding of a book or slate, and also articulation and the modulation of the voice in reading and speaking. Intellectual development included intellectual abilities such as calculation, reasoning, illustration and imagination. Moral development was very various including regularity, speaking truth, doing justice, submission to parents and teachers, personal cleanliness and neatness. Stow insisted that all of these elements must be developed

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p.57.

<sup>45</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.23.

<sup>46</sup> Stow, *Bible Training*, p.14.

<sup>47</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.20.

before they could be trained and every deficiency of them needed to be corrected through training.<sup>48</sup>

Probably, in practice, development and training would have always overlapped because individual children could expose their tendencies and abilities on different occasions. The distinct feature of the second stage or training, however, was to use the principle of 'sympathy and example'. Sympathy was another concept Chalmers had already used in his sermons in 1815 and 1816, although at this point the concept was neither used as having an interactive power among people nor positively linked to the conscience.<sup>49</sup> In 1817, however, as has been shown in chapter II, Chalmers argued for the power of 'dignified and honourable example' of individuals among people.<sup>50</sup> Stow's ideas on 'sympathy and example' corresponded with Chalmers's.

The palpable exhibition of any of these [moral character and habits] can be turned, by the shrewd superintendent or parent, into a powerful incentive in the way of EXAMPLE; and the accumulation of such instances of moral rectitude, on the part of the children, will just produce that SYMPATHY, and fine moral atmosphere.<sup>51</sup>

Stow emphasised the role of teachers to superintend and control children since the principle of sympathy and example was considered capable of forming evil as well as good.<sup>52</sup>

Stow stated that sympathy was 'the grand moving spring of the Infant system' and emphasised that children could learn more when they were taught collectively than when taught individually by parents.<sup>53</sup> He pointed out two positive elements of collective teaching. Firstly since teachers' concerns were divided among many children, they were less tempted than parents to become overexcited in seeking effectively to control children's faults. Secondly, probably more importantly, when children were collected together, sympathy worked powerfully under the teacher's superintendence. Stow presented an example that a teacher saw a boy stealing his

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., pp.19-22.

<sup>49</sup> Chalmers, *Discourses*, pp.113, 120-121.

<sup>50</sup> Chalmers, 'Causes and Cure', p.21.

<sup>51</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.21.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p.23.

<sup>53</sup> *GISM*, 1 (1832), p.6.

fellow's toy while playing freely in the playground. This was considered the place where children's real life was exhibited: 'it is in the play-ground that the growth of evil dispositions is most apparent'.<sup>54</sup> In the case where faults were found, the teacher was expected to awaken 'the conscience to a sense of the evil, and to impress the understanding and heart', by stating children's duty to God and to one another.<sup>55</sup> On entering the school the teacher would start an examination by giving a story about a boy who stole something from his neighbour.

In a moment *the culprit's head hang* [sic] *down*—it is unnecessary to mark him out—he is visible to all. Ninety-nine out of the hundred, (if we except the injured party,) sit in *cool* judgment upon the case...<sup>56</sup>

The teacher then requested the children who were now compared to '*the panel at the bar*', to give the punishment due to such an offence, while reminding them that 'although *he* [the panel] had not observed him, God assuredly had'. Answering the question, the more furious boys might request to bawl him out, beat him, cuff him or thump him. Instead of allowing them, Stow continued, the teacher would probably ask further whether stealing was his habit or the first offence and then would ask that 'Ought a child to be punished as severely for a first, as a second or third offence?' Instantly the girls would cry out 'forgive him—forgive him'.

Mark the natural effect upon all parties: the guilty is condemned by his fellows—the milder feelings are brought into play—and all have been exercised in the principles of truth and justice.<sup>57</sup>

Stow assured that such an examination would be 'most salutary upon all others', even if not for the guilty, because it would naturally induce not imitation but abhorrence.<sup>58</sup> In this process, the reactions of the girls were drawn out as a good moral 'example' of forgiveness and all the children's consciences (if not of the guilty) were awakened to condemn stealing. The method of 'example and sympathy', or 'sympathy of numbers', was thus that of awakening children's collective consciences. A number of children were needed to be collected together for this method to work.

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<sup>54</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.76.

<sup>55</sup> Stow, *Moral Training*, p.70.

<sup>56</sup> *GISM*, 1, p.6.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

The principle behind this method was later fully explored in Chalmers's *Bridgewater Treatise*. Supposing the interacting moral judgments of human companionships working among people, Chalmers argued that 'every individual conscience receives an impulse and a direction from sympathy with the consciences around it'.<sup>59</sup> Sympathy was understood as fellow-feeling based on collective conscience, which would effectively influence an individual's conscience. Chalmers in this way, developing his theology of conscience philosophically, supported Stow's method of moral training.

### (3) Bible and secular intellectual training and its curriculum

Stow's intellectual training also corresponded with Chalmers's theology. The improved intellectual training consisted of two parts: Bible intellectual training and secular intellectual training.

As Chalmers did,<sup>60</sup> Stow saw the Bible as 'the only authentic source of information' for Christianity and stated that it was 'the only sure basis of a right, moral, and religious education'. Further he stated that

the mere amount of instruction...is not so much the object, as its nature and quality, and the habit of considering, reflecting, and reducing to practice, what is read and taught.<sup>61</sup>

This was also to bring to fruition Chalmers's emphasis on feeling the Bible and acting on it. Chalmers emphasised that it was important to receive the Bible 'by obedient reading', taking the words as they stand, and submitting to its plain English.<sup>62</sup> Stow's invention based on Wood's explanatory method<sup>63</sup> was the method by which this could be achieved, named 'picturing out', which will be explained in detail shortly. It was thought of as 'a fundamental principle of the training system' and applied also to secular intellectual training.<sup>64</sup>

Stow's secular intellectual training also fully corresponded with Chalmers's theology. In his astronomical sermons in 1815 and 1816, Chalmers had already

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<sup>59</sup> Chalmers, *On the Power*, p.131.

<sup>60</sup> See chapter IV-1-(1).

<sup>61</sup> Stow, *Training System*, p.178.

<sup>62</sup> Chalmers, 'Christianity', p.392.

<sup>63</sup> See chapter III-2-(2).

<sup>64</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.9. David Stow, *National Education* (Glasgow, 1839), p.13.

admitted the usefulness of the study of nature because it would suggest the God of nature to people and prepare the way for leading them to the Bible. In his *Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns* published between 1819 and 1826,<sup>65</sup> Chalmers also approved of disseminating science in general, 'whether it be loaded with the puritanic theology of our forefathers, or with the popular science of the present day'.

They [a taste for science, and a taste for sacredness] make man a more reflective and a less sensual being, than before; and, altogether, impress a higher cast of respectability on all his habits, and on all his ways.<sup>66</sup>

Positively recommending the study of science, Chalmers had paved the way for Stow's challenge to develop intellectual training in science.

The most important aspect of Stow's secular intellectual training was to widen the road towards the belief in God by every child, and to sustain this belief throughout their adult lives.<sup>67</sup>

The more we explore nature, the more does God appear in it, and the more clearly does his revealed will appear to be the gift of the same allwise and benignant Being.<sup>68</sup>

Stow further highlighted that knowledge of science would help children to understand the Bible, since spiritual things were only expressed through natural things, such as a rock and a star.<sup>69</sup> He, however, also admitted more practical uses of studying science. He stated that even 'the poor man, if he chooses, may advance beyond the limited period of his elementary school education',<sup>70</sup> and emphasised that science was practically useful not only for the man of business but also for mechanics to improve the wealth and comfort of society.<sup>71</sup>

By 1837, one lesson at least was given by the master each day 'from the book of Nature, and one from the book of Revelation'.<sup>72</sup> As a curriculum of Bible training

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<sup>65</sup> Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p.144.

<sup>66</sup> Chalmers, *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, iii, p.378-379.

<sup>67</sup> Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.47. Stow stated that 'education ought only to close with life'.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p.244.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.135-136, 240, 243.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p.46.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.294, 298.

<sup>72</sup> *Fourth Report of the Glasgow Educational Society's Normal Seminary* (Glasgow, 1837), pp.10, 12.



lessons, by 1838, three stages were prepared according to 'a natural process' of understanding. The first stage was to go through 'some of the most particular narratives', each followed by a precept or promise as a lesson, and the second stage used a wider range of subjects. Then the third stage was carried out by using a book progressively from either the Old Testament or some of the New Testament.<sup>73</sup>

A detailed curriculum on secular intellectual training was presented in 1841 and two stages were prepared for two to four years. The first stage was intended for both infant and juvenile schools and mainly focused on 'a number of the more obvious things in nature and in art', such as every day foods, clothing, common animals, trade and air and water.<sup>74</sup> The second stage for juvenile schools only included much broader subjects related to pure science: the human frame, the natural history of animals, manufactures, minerals and botany. Additionally, it also included a subject entitled 'elements of science'. Stow stated that the great outlines of 'elements of science' can only start at the second stage, making them 'be a broad and sure base on which to rest and from which the scholar may ascend'.<sup>75</sup> Stow emphasised that 'scientific terms expressive of scientific principles, such as are used by lectures on Natural Philosophy' can be understood by children of only a few years old, if technical terms such as 'latent heat' and 'radii of a circle' were simplified.<sup>76</sup>

To see the range of topics in the secular curriculum, these subjects may be compared with those which the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) employed from 1836. The BAAS was established in 1831 as a national body to disseminate science by connecting professional scientists.<sup>77</sup> The subjects listed above, apart from 'elements of science', corresponded with anatomy (medical science), zoology, mechanical science, mineralogy and botany in the BAAS scheme. Mechanical science was understood as 'the application of knowledge to the uses of life', in other words the practical aspects of science, differing from its theory.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.142-144. Stow, *Bible Training*, pp.12-13.

<sup>74</sup> Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.262, 271-273, 322, 339.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.290-298.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.46-47.

<sup>77</sup> Cannon, *Science in Culture*, p.169. The subject divisions of the BAAS were based on seven sections employed in the 1836 meeting. Jack Morrell & Arnold Thackray, *Gentlemen of Science* (Oxford, 1981), pp.133, 455.

<sup>78</sup> Morrell & Thackray, *Gentlemen of Science*, p.259.

Subjects in ‘elements of science’ were, as Table IV-1 shows, those such as the earth, astronomy, light, heat, magnetism, electricity, chemistry, fluids and air. These also responded with geology, mathematical and physical science and chemistry in the BAAS’s subjects. Among two missing subjects in the curriculum from those of the BAAS, geography and statistics, geography was, along with history, taught three times a week in a juvenile school separately from secular intellectual training, originally as a part of reading lessons.<sup>79</sup> Statistics, which was in general considered deeply related to political economy, was therefore the only missing subject.<sup>80</sup> In the 1820s, when Chalmers discussed the usefulness of introducing political economy into mechanics’ institutes, he assumed that in elementary education practical moral habits were formed through spiritual and ‘scholastic’ (physical science) studies.<sup>81</sup> Political economy was not considered necessary to be taught in parochial schools by Chalmers and Stow also agreed with this.

This full adaptation of contemporary science except statistics, however, might not have been just a coincidence. The BAAS aimed to consider ‘the one great system of nature’ as a whole, sharing the idea that the more study of science progressed the more the book of nature became accordant with the book of God.<sup>82</sup> Stow also stated that:

The right exercise of all our powers, intellectual as well as moral, is a duty we owe to Him who created us, and we are not at liberty to leave dormant powers, by which, the more they are exercised agreeably to His will, in regard to the works of nature, the more we may discover proofs of his wisdom and goodness in the adaptation of every flower of the field, and animal and mineral substance, to the circumstances in which they are placed, and the purposes for which they were designed.<sup>83</sup>

To adopt the whole range of science available at the time was considered to follow man’s duty to God. At the same time, the BAAS and Stow both believed that the book of nature and the book of God were in total accord, even though there might be

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<sup>79</sup> Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.97, 358-360.

<sup>80</sup> Morrell & Thackray, *Gentlemen of Science*, pp.291-296.

<sup>81</sup> Chalmers, *The Christian and Civic Economy*, iii, pp.380-408.

<sup>82</sup> Cannon, *Science in Culture*, pp.93, 201. Morrell & Thackray, *Gentlemen of Science*, pp.224-227.

<sup>83</sup> Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.243-244.

temporary disagreements due to man's intellectual limitations.<sup>84</sup> Stow would have been well aware of the current controversial issue concerning geology and the Bible,<sup>85</sup> and urged the total consistency between geology and the Bible.

The geologist may discover proofs of extreme old age in this terrestrial globe, but he will find nothing inconsistent with the creation, as contained in the first chapter of Genesis....Every figure of scripture is true to nature, and only requires to be unfolded to the mind's eye, to show its appropriateness, beauty, and consistency.<sup>86</sup>

For Stow the authority of the Bible was absolute and science was supposed to accord with it and should not harm it.

#### (4) 'Picturing out' and Bible intellectual training

For Stow's training system, intellectual training was indispensable to open children's minds to God and to bring them finally into Christianity. The educational method to attain this was 'picturing out'. Stow even identified the training system with the 'picturing out' system. In fact, as will be shown below in detail, the actual process of 'picturing out' also included moral and physical training. Its principles were, however, explained by its own logic based on intellectual understanding.

The training or picturing out system...makes the idea present *at the moment* to the mind's eye of the child, along with the words which convey it. He feels a relish, therefore, in committing words representing something which he already understands; and thus there is the united cord of the memory of words, and the memory of ideas.<sup>87</sup>

'Picturing out' aimed to present a new idea through words which children had already understood as if children were looking at a picture in their minds. This method supposed teachers' high attainment in languages, as well as the ability to judge children's understanding.

Although Stow valued the types of lessons by Johann H. Pestalozzi (1746-1827), the Swiss educational reformer, introduced to Britain by the evangelical

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<sup>84</sup> Morrell & Thackray, *Gentlemen of Science*, pp.224-227.

<sup>85</sup> Michael Ruse, 'The Relationship between Science and Religion in Britain, 1830-1870', *Church History*, 44-4 (1975), pp.505, 507. Nicolaas A. Rupke, *The Great Chain of History: William Buckland and the English School of Geology (1814-1849)* (Oxford, 1983), pp.vii, 204, 206.

<sup>86</sup> Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.132.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p.142.

educational reformer Charles Mayo (1792-1846),<sup>88</sup> which employed real objects or pictures of objects, for children to observe things directly,<sup>89</sup> he also pointed out a limitation of using them.

Objects and pictures are highly useful, but they have a limit, as they exhibit only one condition or point of the history they represent; whereas, *picturing out in words* may be carried *ad infinitum*.<sup>90</sup>

This conviction that words could be employed infinitely to present ideas was grounded on Stow's view that every word represented either an object or a combination of objects, and therefore may be 'pictured out in words representing objects'.<sup>91</sup> He also argued that since all words were figurative and that all phrases and collocations of words were figures coming originally through our senses, even the most complex words could be reduced to simple elements and pictured out. In arguing this, Stow based himself on mankind's experiences in everyday life where our senses collected much information. To reduce complex ideas into simple elements examples which were experienced by children in every day life were used. Stow, for example, took the word 'abstract' which meant 'something having a previous existence in one condition, and being drawn out of that condition into another and distinct condition'. He used simple examples, stating that he may abstract a stone from a quarry, or an apple from a basket.<sup>92</sup>

Stow, however, accepted the usefulness of using objects and pictures of objects, for what he named 'abstract terms' which were those that until the objects themselves were presented to our senses we cannot make an idea, such as a stone or an egg.<sup>93</sup> The division between abstract terms and figurative words corresponds well to Locke's division of ideas into 'simple ideas' which could not be further simplified and were thought not definable, and 'complex ideas' which were largely acquired through the

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<sup>88</sup> M. C. Curthoys, 'Charles Mayo', *ODNB*, [article/18451]

<sup>89</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, pp.3-4. See also, Lucille M. Schulz, 'Pestalozzi's Mark on Nineteenth-Century Composition Instruction: Ideas Not in Words, but in Things', *Rhetoric Review*, 14-1 (1995), p.28.

<sup>90</sup> Stow, *National Education*, p.9.

<sup>91</sup> David Stow, *The Training System of Education* (6<sup>th</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1845), p.71.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.71-76.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.71-72.



senses.<sup>94</sup> Stow, perhaps borrowing Locke's idea on this issue, adopted this into his method of 'picturing out'.

The process of a single intellectual secular or Bible training lesson followed a particular process: after a short paragraph was read, first every word or term in the particular passage was pictured out; secondly the leading points were analysed; finally the moral lesson of the passage was drawn out from children.<sup>95</sup> The principle was explained as this: 'facts must be told the pupils, but not the lesson or lessons to be drawn'.<sup>96</sup> For example for infants at the first stage of Bible training lessons, the lessons were held in the gallery which was a sort of lecture theatre (see Figure IV-1). After checking that all were sitting up straight, their heels drawn in, their toes angled outwards, and their hands folded on their knees, the teacher told the children slowly and distinctly which section of the Bible would be read.<sup>97</sup> In the following case, the passage was from Mark III, verses 1 to 5. Italics highlight the answer of the children and the mark ... shows the places using the method of 'ellipsis' where the teacher expected the children to complete the sentences by filling words.<sup>98</sup>

Children, we shall now read a short passage out of the ... *Bible*, or ... *Word of God*, and I have to request perfect ... *silence*. It is about a man who had a withered hand. The lesson is from one of the miracles of our Saviour. You know our Saviour lived on this earth about ... How long ago? *About 1800 years ago*. You will find the passage in the Gospel according to Mark, iii. 1.<sup>99</sup>

The use of the ellipsis was central to Stow's method, but it was combined with questions. Stow argued that the use of mere questions alone made the minds of children too defensive to be efficiently and pleasurably led, and the use of ellipses alone would make them too unexcited to be exercised. Stow strongly recommended the mixture of them: 'the question sets the mind astir, and the ellipsis draws out what has been put in motion'.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Elizabeth Hedrick, 'Locke's Theory of Language and Johnson's Dictionary', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 20-4 (1987), pp.426-428.

<sup>95</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.179. Stow, *Bible Training*, p.15.

<sup>96</sup> Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.242.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.136, 144 & 153.

<sup>98</sup> Stow, *Bible Training*, p.25.

<sup>99</sup> Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.155-156.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p.146. *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.10.



Stow did not expect every child to answer simultaneously, but insisted that even though only one-half or one-third of the children might answer at one time, the silent children were still learning. The important thing was, according to Stow, 'to keep the eyes of the children fixed upon himself [the teacher], and the attention fully awake'. If the attention thus was kept, Stow emphasised that the silent children, hearing the answer, joining in it, and sympathising with their fellow children, in particular, by repeating the correct answer simultaneously, would also learn.<sup>101</sup> For this purpose the gallery was indispensable.<sup>102</sup> Keeping children's attention to bring certain objects to their thoughts inducing sympathy was a mixture of the method of 'picturing out' and the method of moral training, 'sympathy'.

Along with the combined use of ellipses and questions, 'picturing out' formed the core part of intellectual lessons. For the first verse ('he [Jesus] entered again into the synagogue, and there was a man there which had a withered hand'), Stow picked up five points to be pictured out: 1. the synagogue; 2. difference between a synagogue, and a church or a mosque, &c.; 3. Jesus entered; 4. those in the synagogue; 5. A man who had a withered hand.<sup>103</sup>

He entered. Who entered? ... *Jesus*. Jesus entered into the ... *synagogue*, and in the synagogue there was a man which had a ... *withered hand*.

Do you know what a synagogue is? (Children are silent.) What do you call the place where Christian people go to worship on Sabbath? *A church*. Very well. Christians worship in ... *a church*. The Jews also went to a place of worship. What do you call the place that the Jews worshipped in? (No answer.) Look at your books, children. *Synagogue, sir*. The place where the Jews worshiped is called a ... *synagogue*. Don't forget the name ... *synagogue*. The Jews worship in a ... *synagogue*, and the Christians in ... *a church*. Churches and Synagogues, therefore, are places of ... *worship*.<sup>104</sup>

Actually the process of picturing out was also that of analysing.<sup>105</sup> Analogy is here used to draw out the meaning of synagogue. Moving on to the fifth point to be pictured out (the man with the withered hand), analogy and illustration were fully employed.

Do you know, children, what a withered hand means? *A withered hand*.

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<sup>101</sup> Stow, *Bible Training*, p.17.

<sup>102</sup> Stow, *Moral Training*, p.208.

<sup>103</sup> Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.154.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.156-157.

<sup>105</sup> Stow, *Bible Training*, p.32.

No doubt, a withered hand is *a withered hand*; but can you inform me what it is? Can you give me some illustration of what you mean? Is it a fat or a lean hand, or is it neither? What is it? *It's lean, Sir.*

Did you ever see an old person with a lean and withered arm? *Yes.* Well, then, do you call such an arm withered, or merely withering? *Withering.* You call it withering, because it is not quite ... *withered.* But the man's hand was actually ... *withered.* Of what use could his hand be? *None, sir.*

Why? *Because it was withered.* Without any ... *power.* Not withering, but actually ... *withered*; quite *useless*, like a dried ... *leaf.* The man's withered ... hand was as lifeless as a dried ... *leaf.* Well, such was the condition of this man's ... *hand.*<sup>106</sup>

Finishing the first verse, occasionally introducing physical exercises such as reading a verse, and rising up, simultaneously,<sup>107</sup> the teacher continued through to the fifth verse.

The fifth verse was this: 'And when he had looked round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts, he saith unto the man, Stretch forth thine hand. And he stretched it out; and his hand was restored whole as the other'. The following is from lessons on the fifth verse.

Now, then, answer me the question, How did the man stretch out his withered hand? *By the power of Jesus.* Christ gave him power to ... *stretch out his hand.* If I told you to rise up from your seats just now, and walk to me, would you be able? *Yes.* But were you quite lame, would you be able? *No, sir.* I would be asking you to do a thing you could not ... *do.* You could not ... *walk to ... me.* Could I or any other man enable you to walk to me by yourselves, if you were so lame? *No, sir.* Who alone could do that? *Jesus.* But was not Jesus Christ a man? *Yes, sir, He was both God and man.* As God, therefore, He gave power to the man with the ... *withered hand.* What did he give the man power to do? *Power to stretch it out.* Jesus commanded him to do what he could not ... *do,* that is, to stretch out ... *his hand,* but at the same ... *moment* he gave the ... *power to do it.*

After some more questions and ellipses, the teacher asks.

Suppose, when Jesus asked the man to stretch forth his hand, that he had stood still, and said, 'I cannot do that,' what would have happened? *His hand would not have been cured.* And it would have proved that he did not believe in Christ's ... *power and willingness to ... cure him.*<sup>108</sup>

From the beginning to the end of the lesson children's attentions were always kept to the teacher, questioning with ellipses and picturing out. Through this prolonged

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<sup>106</sup> Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.158-159.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.162-164.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.164-166.

attention on the side of the children, strengthened by sympathy (fellow-feeling), though interrupted by some physical exercises, it was expected that they acquired the passage fully. The moral oriented the intellectual. At the final stage of this lesson, however, the teacher drew a lesson from children on the faith or belief in Christ or God.<sup>109</sup> The intellectual now decided the moral.

Stow's training system consisted of two main areas, the moral training and the intellectual training. In both areas, Stow shared the same framework with Chalmers and some key ideas were reflected in the concepts such as conscience, example, sympathy, Bible and science. Through Stow's practices, these concepts and ideas were enriched with their practical implications. Chalmers's *Bridgewater Treatise* published in 1833 can be partly seen as his philosophical and theoretical responses to Stow's efforts, as has been shown earlier. Chalmers claimed that moral and religious education of infants was 'fully and philosophically' vindicated, praising recent efforts carried out by some individuals in this area.<sup>110</sup> Although Stow learned from other educationists' practices such as Pestalozzi, Mayo and Wood, his religious basis and social vision were shaped under Chalmers's influence. Through their mutual influence, Stow's new educational methods emerged as an indispensable means for Scottish evangelicals to attain their programme fully.

## **2. The establishment of the Glasgow Educational Society**

While the Glasgow Infant School Society (GISS) almost slumbered for some years, a new society, the Glasgow Educational Society (GES) was founded in 1834, with a new interest in Stow's 'training system' as practised in the infant and juvenile model schools.<sup>111</sup> Previous studies on the emergence of the GES have paid little attention to the new interest in Stow's 'training system', where intellectual training was on the whole tied closely to moral training and which was also adapted to juvenile schools. Rusk characterises the GES as a private education society separated from the Church of Scotland, which focused on teacher training rather than infant education. This

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p.167.

<sup>110</sup> See 1-(1) above.

<sup>111</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.13.

character was, Rusk considers, reflected in the change of Stow's book's title from *Moral Training* to *Training System* in 1834 and in its normal seminary which accepted the Britain's first government grant to teacher training.<sup>112</sup> Rusk saw that Stow came to be a central figure of the GES after becoming its secretary and influenced its policy to adhere to the Church of Scotland.<sup>113</sup> On this last point, Withrington has emphasised the strong support of the GES to the Church of Scotland, which faced attacks on the established church from the dissenters.<sup>114</sup>

However, first of all, neither Rusk nor Withrington investigates why the GES adopted Stow's newly developed 'training system', although Withrington has briefly suggested their connection.<sup>115</sup> The term 'training system' did not refer to training teachers, as Rusk thinks, but to a new system of educating children. Secondly, Rusk and Withrington both fail to recognise the reason why the GES remained independent financially and as an organisation from the Church of Scotland, while closely connected to it. This also relates to the question of how far the GES inherited the features of the GISS, which was an interdenominational evangelical body. These two points are studied through the following four parts: the first two parts studying the GES's origin and its character, and the other two parts analysing its early activities. These are important to show that the organisation of the GES marked a new stage of Chalmers's or now the Scottish evangelicals' programme following the experience of the St John's experiment.

#### (1) The background to the Glasgow Educational Society

In 1834, with a new impulse brought about by George Lewis (1803-1879), the committee of the GES was organised, consisting partly of former members of the GISS and partly of new members.<sup>116</sup> Lewis was the first editor (1832-35) of *The Scottish Guardian*, founded in 1832 to defend the interests of the established church,<sup>117</sup> and had

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<sup>112</sup> Conventionally 'normal school' meant a seminary or college for teaching and training school teachers. Stow, *Training System*, p.61. Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> end), p.90. One of the first schools so named was the *École Normale Supérieure*, established in Paris in 1794.

<sup>113</sup> Rusk, *The Training of Teachers in Scotland*, pp.61-94. Wood also followed this. Wood, *David Stow*, p.2.

<sup>114</sup> Donald J. Withrington, "'Scotland a Half-Educated Nation" in 1834?', pp.55-56.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p.69.

<sup>116</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.13. See also *ibid.*, p.2.

<sup>117</sup> Withrington, "'Scotland a Half-Educated Nation" in 1834?', p.55.



a wide range of teaching experience. In 1822, whilst a student, he had become a Sabbath school teacher in the St John's parish and later in the mid-1820s gained experience in teaching economics at mechanics' institutes in central Scotland.<sup>118</sup> Chalmers was still at St John's when Lewis was there,<sup>119</sup> and after Chalmers moved to St Andrews in 1823, he attended Chalmers's classes at the university.<sup>120</sup>

From the outset, the newspaper campaigned for the parliamentary reform bill and for the establishment of a system of national education as an inseparable combination. Comparing the present parliamentary reform with the Glorious Revolution which, according to the editor, secured the Reformation, it urged that:

As in former days, purity in Church prepared the way for purity in the State; so we believe Political, is now the harbinger of Ecclesiastical Reform, and that our national establishments, purified from every abuse, will be left only the more powerful to serve the cause of Christianity at home and abroad. We no less confidently anticipate from a Reformed Parliament, the establishment of a great system of national education.<sup>121</sup>

Seeing 'the ignorant, the vicious, and the depraved' become 'enemies to society', another article also argued the necessity of religious education as 'the cheap defence of nations' and the true preventive policy.<sup>122</sup> Lewis, being the editor of the newspaper, presented a clear idea that Christian education remained to be delivered to 'the most abandoned'.

Lewis also believed that without prevalence of moral and religious habits, a secure and permanent improvement of the economic situation of the labouring population would not be attained. In this he echoed Chalmers's denial, published in his *On Political Economy* in January 1832, that extending the franchise would of itself have a powerful effect on improving people's economic condition.<sup>123</sup> Basing himself on Malthus, Chalmers argued that:

There is no other way of achieving for them [the common people] a better economical condition, than by means of a more advantageous proportion between the food of the country and the number of its inhabitants; and no other

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<sup>118</sup> Kenneth J. Cameron, 'George Lewis (1803-1879)', *ODNB*, [article/38772].

<sup>119</sup> St John's Sabbath School Society Minutes Book, 2 July and 6 August 1822.

<sup>120</sup> Hanna, *Memoirs*, ii, pp.50-56.

<sup>121</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 17 January 1832, 'Address'.

<sup>122</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 21 February 1832, 'Moral Reform'.

<sup>123</sup> Hanna, *Memoirs*, ii, pp.234-235.



way of securing this proportion, than by the growth of prudence and principle among themselves. It will be the aggregate effect of a higher taste, a higher intelligence, and, above all, a wide-spread Christianity, throughout the mass of the population.<sup>124</sup>

Chalmers also stated that ‘the highway to this is education’.<sup>125</sup> For Chalmers, however, not just Christian education, but evangelical Christian education which accepted ‘the doctrine of the New Testament in all its depth and all its peculiarity’, was the only way to moralise the population. For he thought this was the ‘truly divine adaptation to the actual workings of the human mind, and the felt necessities of human nature’ (conscience),<sup>126</sup> as discussed above. Indeed, Christian instruction, Lewis argued, also required the Bible to be ‘openly and faithfully taught’ as in the parochial school.<sup>127</sup>

With this concern, closely associated with Chalmers’s ideas, Lewis also paid attention to the situation of education in Scotland. He had first-hand knowledge, in particular, of Glasgow, including Stow’s efforts on infant and Sabbath school education, and these were reported in *the Scottish Guardian*.<sup>128</sup> Through the newspaper, Lewis had actually begun a campaign for promoting education.

A further step towards the GES was taken in early 1833 when he organised a series of lectures on ‘Moral and Economic Science’ in the Mechanics’ Institution in Glasgow. The speakers stressed the importance of teaching ‘useful and correct information’ on moral and economic science to mechanics. The lectures were delivered free of charge and the group also presented some books to the library. Although all the names of members of the group were not reported, it included Lewis himself who was the secretary, and J. C. Colquhoun, a vice president of the GISS and since 1832, MP from Dunbartonshire,<sup>129</sup> who delivered the introductory lecture.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *On Political Economy, in connexion with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society* (Glasgow, 1832), p.457.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p.455.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.439-440.

<sup>127</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 20 January 1832, ‘Scottish Guardian’.

<sup>128</sup> For example, *The Scottish Guardian*, 24 January 1832, ‘Infant School Magazine’; 3 February 1832, ‘Infant School Exhibition’; 26 June 1832, ‘Annual Meeting of Glasgow Sabbath School Teachers’.

<sup>129</sup> John Wolffe, ‘John Campbell Colquhoun’, *ODNB*, [article/5991].

<sup>130</sup> ‘Extracts from the Tenth Annual Report of the Committee of the Glasgow Mechanics’ Institution, 10<sup>th</sup> May 1833’ in *Tenth Annual Report of the Glasgow Mechanics’ Institution* (Glasgow, 1832-3), p.1.

Both men were to become core members of the future GES. Rusk goes as far as to suggest that the GES was the direct outcome of a series of queries on the state of education, sent by Colquhoun in October 1833 to the clergy and schoolmasters in Scotland.<sup>131</sup> However, this cannot be isolated as the only cause for the GES, since Lewis's campaign commenced early in January 1832 in *the Scottish Guardian* and his lecture group had also established links with likeminded men with the aim of promoting popular education.

The direct move towards forming the GES occurred in early 1834. At the beginning of February, Lewis gave lectures on the 'educational wants of Scotland' at the 'Andersonian Soirée', which would have been part of the evening lectures series at Anderson's University directed towards relatively well-off audiences.<sup>132</sup> Lewis's emphasis was twofold: first to show the necessity of national endowments for elementary schools and second to show the necessity of institutions for popular science. On the advertisement for the lectures on 4th and 5th February, it was stated that the admission price of sixpence, after covering expenses, would be applied to the funds for forming a society for spreading information about the educational needs of Scotland.<sup>133</sup> Of the two concerns which Lewis presented, in 1833, the diffusion of popular science was more keenly promoted through the series of lectures held at the Mechanics' Institution. By February 1834, however, there was a greater focus on elementary education and the society proposed came to be the GES.

## (2) The establishment of the Glasgow Educational Society

The first meeting of the GES, then known as the Glasgow Educational Association, was held on 24 February 1834.<sup>134</sup> The stated aim of the society was to establish a national system of education based on 'Scriptural principles' especially in order to solve the deficiency of effective education in cities. They emphasised education as essential for national prosperity, sharing the same sentiment which Chalmers expressed in his *On Political Economy*.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Rusk, *The Training of Teachers in Scotland*, p.62.

<sup>132</sup> See Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.159.

<sup>133</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 4 February 1834.

<sup>134</sup> 'Glasgow Educational Society', *CSM*, 1-2 (April 1834), p.50.

<sup>135</sup> See 2-(1) above.

Our freedom, our loyalty, our peace and plenty, our social comfort, and our national renown, arise from the Intellectual, the moral, and above all, from the religious character, of our countrymen; and... a system of national education, based on Scriptural principles, in connexion with the religious institutions of Scotland, and commensurate with the wants of the population, is essential to the perpetuity of our national prosperity.<sup>136</sup>

In practice, the GES aimed to extend parochial schools, based on the Bible, in connection with the established church.<sup>137</sup> Without entering into details, the GES urged that the parochial schools should be extended 'with such additional institutions and improvements as the present state of society in our cities, and recent advances in the art of instruction, may suggest or require' although Lewis would have supposed by this the implementation of Stow's training system.

The GES also petitioned to the government for a parliamentary inquiry and parliamentary aid to extend the parochial schools in Scotland. This was a response to a recent suggestion by Brougham, now Lord Chancellor that the government could not do anything until the public showed by their own efforts that they took the matter seriously. The GES emphasised that Scotland was behind other European nations both in the quantity and quality of its educational institutions. It intended to lead the nation in favour of the established church, spreading information on popular schools to the public and rousing attention to the deficiency of education in Scotland.<sup>138</sup>

The type of men selected as office bearers for the GES also highlights its interests. In politics the office bearers were mostly Liberal Tory and supporters of parliamentary reform and their religious sentiment was chiefly evangelical. As Table IV-2 shows, between 1834 and 1839, the president was J. C. Colquhoun, an Episcopalian and evangelical Tory MP.<sup>139</sup> James Ewing was a vice president. He too was an evangelical Tory MP from Glasgow. Both Colquhoun and Ewing supported

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<sup>136</sup> 'Glasgow Educational Society', p.50.

<sup>137</sup> According to the 'constitution and regulations' of the GES in 1836 the society consisted of persons who admitted the connection between the parochial schools and the national church. See *Third Report of the GES*, p.2.

<sup>138</sup> 'Glasgow Educational Society', p.50.

<sup>139</sup> Wolffe, 'J. C. Colquhoun', p.244. Colquhoun was named in the 'Acting Sub-Committee' in the General Assembly's Education Committee of the Church of Scotland in 1836. *Statement by the General Assembly's Education Committee, of Deficiencies in the Means of Education for the Poor in Certain of the Large Towns of Scotland, &c* (Edinburgh, 1836) As himself an



parliamentary reform. In their political and religious leanings, these two men were representative of the GES's office bearers as a whole. At the 1832 general election, Ewing and James Oswald, both of whom supported parliamentary reform, were favoured candidates for them.<sup>140</sup> Again, D. K. Sandford, a vice president, who stood as a Glasgow candidate in 1832 was a firm supporter of the reform as well as of Robert Peel, the leader of the Liberal Tories.<sup>141</sup> James Smith, another vice president, stood unsuccessfully for parliament in 1837, and was a conservative with liberal views.<sup>142</sup> In terms of their religious sentiments, among ten vice presidents including Ewing, at least five are known to have shared evangelical sentiment.<sup>143</sup> Of the 9 ministers amongst the GES's office bearers, including one vice-president, eight are known to have joined Chalmers in founding the Free Church at the Disruption in 1843.<sup>144</sup> This evangelical outlook was a feature it shared with the GISS.

Indeed, there was a close relationship between the GES and the GISS, shown in the office bearers' social status. They included influential figures in commercial, financial and political circles in Glasgow. Amongst the total of 56 office bearers not including the president, there were 10 ministers, 24 merchants, 5 manufacturers, 2 bankers and 1 accountant, while 15 were Town Councillors, Magistrates or Lord Provosts at some point, representing urban upper-middle class opinion, as did the GISS. The GES and the GISS also shared personnel. Ewing and Colquhoun held offices in both societies as did five others. Another indication of their continuity was their connections with the St John's experiment. Like the GISS, the GES's office bearers included St John's parish's deacons, elders and Sabbath school teachers. Of the nine of those, eight were Sabbath school teachers, including Lewis and Stow. Additionally, Ewing was a staunch supporter and promoter of the St John's

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Episcopalian, he was chairman of the Church of England Education Society. See *DNB*, iv (London, 1908), p.859.

<sup>140</sup> See chapter III-1-(3).

<sup>141</sup> George Stronach, 'Daniel Sandford', rev. M. C. Curthoys, *ODNB*, [article/24632].

<sup>142</sup> George Fairfull Smith, 'James Smith', *ODNB*, [article/25823].

<sup>143</sup> These were, beside Ewing, Henry Dunlop, who went out with Chalmers at the Disruption of 1843, William Campbell, Robert Buchanan and William Brown. For the other five members, however, I have found no information that they were against evangelicals.

<sup>144</sup> James M'Cosh, *The Wheat and the Chaff Gathered into Bundles* (Dundee, 1843), p.51.

experiment.<sup>145</sup> The continuity of the GISS and the GES, especially their connection with the St John's experiment, suggests their sustained concern with Chalmers's social programme.

However, there were two aspects of the office bearers of the GES, which almost completely separated them from the GISS: their connection with the established church and the university link. First, the connections of the GES with churches were almost entirely limited to the established church.<sup>146</sup> All the 9 ministers amongst the office bearers belonged to the Church of Scotland, all located in Glasgow and its suburbs. They included influential figures in the Church of Scotland. James Gibson was the first editor of *the Church of Scotland Magazine*, which ran from 1834 to 1837<sup>147</sup> and presented several articles directly related to the GES.<sup>148</sup> Norman M'Leod was the moderator of the General Assembly in 1836.<sup>149</sup> Along with Lewis's *Scottish Guardian*, the GES's office bearers were in a position to lead the established church's opinion. In fact, by 1835, Chalmers emerged to leadership of the evangelical-dominated established church, forming the church extension committee of the General Assembly with his convenership.<sup>150</sup> The GES's strong affiliation to the Church of Scotland was a new feature as compared to the GISS which was an interdenominational evangelical society. It, however, also showed that the GES was established as a leading body for promoting the Scottish evangelical programme of education backed by the new position of the evangelical group within the established church.

Behind this lay the situation that the evangelical group of the established church became particularly interested in education as a way of demonstrating the value of the established church. Following the repeal of the English Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 and then Catholic Emancipation in 1829, there was an increase in criticism of the

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<sup>145</sup> See chapter I-3.

<sup>146</sup> Stow stated that there were two Episcopalian directors in 1843. Letter from David Stow to J.P.Kay, 21 September 1843 (copy), STO/2/32, Jordanhill Archive. One of them was J. C. Colquhoun and the other was, at least by 1838, D. K. Sandford, a vice president. See Stronach, 'Daniel Sandford'.

<sup>147</sup> *James Lachlan MacLeod*, 'James Gibson', ODNB, [article/10619].

<sup>148</sup> For example, one of the most detailed reports on the first meeting of the GES was given on the magazine. *The CSM*, 2-1 (April, 1834), pp.50-51.

<sup>149</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.23.

<sup>150</sup> Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp.249-250.



privileges of established churches. In Glasgow dissenters were opposed to providing public funds either from the government or Glasgow Town Council to create additional established churches. The Glasgow Voluntary Church Society, founded in 1832, opposed the Church of Scotland applying for a government grant to erect and endow chapels of ease, ignoring the accommodation provided by Dissenters who also contributed to the funds for such a grant.<sup>151</sup> Chalmers's and Lewis's focus on the necessity of diffusing religious education was revealed when the threat to the church was further heightened by the atmosphere of political reform. The argument to diffuse Christian education was closely linked with that of demonstrating the value of the established church. The following remarks by Stow can be read in this context.

From the fluctuation of private societies, and their almost uniform decline, they cannot be depended upon as permanent means of Christian instruction.

I might instance amongst the many; the Youth's Union of Glasgow, which existed and flourished for a considerable period about 20 years ago, and is now extinct, also a Christian instruction society, in St John's Parish, established in 1821, and died in 1826. I was an agent during the whole period of its existence, and can speak of its fluctuations and inefficiency.

Private societies are indeed excellent as supplementary to, but not as a substitute for, permanent pastoral superintendence.<sup>152</sup>

Stow implied that only a permanent institution, such as the established church could provide the necessary stable structure. The close connection of the GES with the established church was a response of the evangelical group in the church to the environment of the late 1820s and early 1830s.

There was also another new feature reflected in the characteristics of the office bearers of the GES. This was a strong link with Glasgow's two universities, the University of Glasgow and Anderson's University, as well as with the Mechanics' Institution. As Table IV-2 shows, three of the GES's vice presidents were professors of

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<sup>151</sup> Withrington, "'Scotland a Half-Educated Nation' in 1834?", p.55. *The Scottish Guardian*, 'The True Conservative Principle', 14 February 1832. The friendly society of Dissenters in Glasgow, *Statement on Church Accommodation* (Glasgow, 1833), pp.9-15. The society was founded to protect the civil rights of Dissenters 'many years ago' (ibid., p.3). The Glasgow Voluntary Church Society, *First Report of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society with the Speeches* (Glasgow, 1834), p.3. *Third Report of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society* (Glasgow, 1836), pp.7-8.

<sup>152</sup> PP 1837-8 XXXII, *Second Report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland*, 'Statement by Mr Stow' (10 May 1836), p.733.

the University of Glasgow in humanities; D. K. Sandford (Greek), Prof. William Ramsay (Humanity) and Dr James M'Gill (Divinity). The GES's office bearers also included men deeply involved in the management of Anderson's University which focused rather on the sciences. Two of the three first vice-presidents of the GES in 1834 were among them. One of the two, James Smith (1782-1867), was a notable geologist, biblical historian, and merchant and was the president of Anderson's University between 1830 and 1838.<sup>153</sup> The other, J. A. Anderson, manager of the Union Bank of Scotland and a leading banking spokesman, was president in 1824, 1829, 1839 and 1843.<sup>154</sup> The link with the Anderson's University is further revealed by the fact that 8 directors, including professors, ministers and merchants, were trustee members of the university. The medical school was the strongest area of study in the university in the 1830s and onwards, and two office bearers of the GES, John Forbes and Alexander Hannay, were respectively professors of Medical Latin, and Theory & Practice of Medicine in the university. John Butt has stated that this strong commitment of Anderson's University to the GES shows its expectation that the GES might underpin its own work.<sup>155</sup>

Although Butt does not explore this point further, the university's new concern to teach science to mechanics in the early 1830s may have lay behind its involvement in the GES. Anderson's University laid down the arrangements for mechanics' classes in 1831 and classes included those for natural philosophy, mathematics and chemistry, attracting many students.<sup>156</sup> Lewis's lectures which led to the foundation of the GES were, as has been shown above, held as 'Andersonian Soirées' and the GES in fact aimed to extend 'popular schools' or 'popular instruction',<sup>157</sup> although their focus was not much given to this area. Stow later commented on science teaching to adults:

The reason why so many adults stop short in their progress, and cannot educate themselves (for education ought only to close with life), is, that they have committed to memory technical terms which, not having been pictured out and

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<sup>153</sup> Smith, 'James Smith'.

<sup>154</sup> John Butt, *John Anderson's Legacy: The University of Strathclyde and its Antecedents 1796-1996* (Phantassie, 1996), p.41.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, p.47.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.52, 54.

<sup>157</sup> 'Glasgow Educational Society', p.50.

illustrated, are not understood; and also the minute points of science have been given, before the great outlines were drawn.<sup>158</sup>

The method of Stow's intellectual training could have been adopted by teachers of adult education, and help create a firm basis for adult education in the future. The connection of the GES with the Mechanics' Institution would have had a similar concern on the side of the Mechanics's Institution. One of the treasurers of the GES, John Leadbetter, a merchant and a town councillor, was president of the Mechanics' Institution in 1833 and 1834. Five other members were also related to the Mechanics' Institution as councillors or members of the committee of management. Anderson's University and the Mechanics' Institution thus shared a purpose with the GES to extend popular education.

The close association of the GES with the two universities and the Mechanics' Institution in Glasgow also suggests its concern to implement a new development of educational method in improving parochial schools. This pointed to the adoption of Stow's training system in which intellectual training required teachers to be acquainted deeply with both the Bible and natural science. On this point the association with the universities and institution became important. When the GES founded the Glasgow Normal Seminary for the training of teachers it required students to have attended classes in classical and scientific subjects 'more strictly of a professional character' in the two universities.<sup>159</sup> The Mechanics' Institution also offered some classes for the Normal Seminary's students.<sup>160</sup> It also suggested the GES's intention to keep the traditional link between universities and parochial schoolmasters.<sup>161</sup> Stow later stated that students in these universities were possible future teachers and should be recruited as students in the seminary.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn), p.46.

<sup>159</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, pp.12-13.

<sup>160</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.63.

<sup>161</sup> Minutes of Evidence of J. P. Kay, Esq., M. D., before Select Committee of the House of Commons, on Education of the Poorer Classes, 5<sup>th</sup> March 1838, reprinted in *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.22.

<sup>162</sup> Letter from David Stow to James Kay, 30 March 1841, STO/2/26, Jordanhill Archives.

Supported by Glasgow's evangelical and influential individuals in politics, commerce, classical and scientific education, and in the established church, the GES was founded as a leading national body in promoting education.

### (3) The approach to government aid for parochial schools

One of the GES's early tasks was to secure newly created government grants for Scottish parochial schools. In this, the GES's strong adherence to the established church and its emphasis on its value became evident, whilst the evangelical GES's formal independence from the Church of Scotland gave it flexibility to link with other evangelical denominations, especially in meeting the government's demands for grants. The GES was not financially connected with the established church, and also not bound by the decisions of any level of the church's hierarchy of courts. Actually the General Assembly had already commenced a scheme to extend educational provision for the Highlands and islands in 1826, and teachers for this scheme were trained at the Sessional School in Edinburgh.<sup>163</sup> Stow, as has been shown above,<sup>164</sup> learned his method of 'picturing out' chiefly from John Wood, the teacher of this school, and praised his explanatory method as 'unrivalled'. However, Stow was not wholly satisfied with Wood's system, especially with its lack of moral training.<sup>165</sup> The GES also argued that Wood's system did not locate the Bible at the centre of the school's education.<sup>166</sup> This indicates that the GES needed to be independent to promote Stow's strictly evangelical training system, yet maintaining a close connection with the established church.

An article on the foundation of the GES appeared in *The Church of Scotland Magazine* in April 1834:

This Association is intended to promote, in its own department, the same great moral and religious objects contemplated by the Glasgow Church Society; and we would earnestly recommend to the Church Societies in provincial towns and in the country to keep this object in view, not perhaps as a body, but that the individuals of whom they are composed would consider how they can best aid a

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<sup>163</sup> *Report of the Committee of the General Assembly for increasing the means of education and religious instruction in Scotland, particularly in the Highlands and islands* (Edinburgh, 1835), p.9.

<sup>164</sup> See chapter III-2-(2).

<sup>165</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.7.

<sup>166</sup> George Lewis, *Scotland a Half-Educated Nation* (Glasgow, 1834), pp.63, 70.



cause so very essential and important as the education of their countrymen on religious principles.<sup>167</sup>

The author, most likely the editor, James Gibson, was here appealing to individuals composing church societies in different towns and in the country. Church societies meant local church-building societies connected with the Church of Scotland, following the example in Glasgow.<sup>168</sup> The 'Glasgow Church Society' (The Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs) founded in January 1834, aimed to make 'a more extensive provision for the religious instruction of the poor and working classes'.<sup>169</sup> Voluntary efforts to extend schools on an individual basis were stressed. Individual office bearers of the GES also acted in their respective localities as school promoters. Actually this was the method Chalmers used to build parochial schools in St John's parish based on the subscription of his wealthy congregation, not on a rate on landed property as was the case in the country parishes.<sup>170</sup> The GES promoted the creation of schools mainly in town parishes, modelling itself on the St John's experiment.

In 1833 the government decided to institute a grant to schools for extending education of the children of the poorer classes. It was, however, not awarded to Scotland on the ground that Scotland already enjoyed a considerable educational provision in comparison with England.<sup>171</sup> But the establishment of the GES, which emphasised the deficiency of education in particular in cities in Scotland, seems to have given an incentive to the government to extend its grants to Scotland. When the government presented the renewal of the grant for the following year to parliament in April 1834, the provision was still limited to England. However, facing a demand to extend the provision to Scotland from Scottish members of parliament, the plan in May allowed grants for erecting schoolhouses in the great towns in Scotland, along with

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<sup>167</sup> 'Glasgow Educational Society', p.50

<sup>168</sup> Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp.236-238.

<sup>169</sup> William Collins, *Statistics of the Church Accommodation of Glasgow, Barony, and Gorbals* (Glasgow, 1836), p.3. The society's name was elsewhere shortened as 'the Church Accommodation Society'. See *CSM*, 1-1 (Mar., 1834), p.35.

<sup>170</sup> See chapter II-2-(3).

<sup>171</sup> *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, third series, 22, 15 April 1834, pp.761-762.



those for model schools in England.<sup>172</sup> In June, Colquhoun, the president of the GES submitted a bill to the House of Commons ‘to regulate and enlarge the provision for parochial Education in Scotland’. He suggested that the government support not only the establishment of new schools but also the endowing of a reasonable salary for teachers and proposed an annual grant of £60,000 for extending education in Scotland. Although this was refused, it publicised that Scotland also needed to solve its educational deficiency. In August, the government plan passed through the parliament.<sup>173</sup>

Colquhoun’s proposal reveals a practical reason for the GES’s strong relationship to the established church. He emphasised the necessity of schools to be based on the established church. Explaining the promotion of a national system of education, Colquhoun highlighted the importance of ‘superintendence and moral agency’ that would be carried out at a parochial level.<sup>174</sup>

Without the agency of the parish minister, visiting the people, and urging them to send their children to school, they might have little inclination to send them or to resist the many temptations to keep them away, or prematurely withdraw them.<sup>175</sup>

This view underpinned the connection between extending churches and disseminating Christian education, as did Chalmers and the GES’s pamphlet published later in 1834.<sup>176</sup> Colquhoun here emphasised parish ministers’ role as ‘moral agency’. There were, however, three more agencies which were recognised by the GES. These are elders, deacons and Sabbath school teachers, as well as parish ministers.<sup>177</sup> These three types of agents had been utilised in St John’s parish as ‘moral force’ for Christian influence over people, although deacons were not used in many parishes.<sup>178</sup> At the first significant event held by the GES, a meeting in October 1834, it was remarked that ‘we were delighted to observe Elders from all the Sessions of the Established Churches of

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<sup>172</sup> J. Alexander and D. G. Paz, ‘The Treasury Grants, 1833-1839’, in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 22 (1974), pp.82-84.

<sup>173</sup> Alexander and Paz, ‘The Treasury Grants’, p.84.

<sup>174</sup> *Hansard*, third series, 24, 17 June 1834, pp.514-518.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, p.517.

<sup>176</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *Church and Chapels; or, The Necessity and Proper Object of an Endowment* (Glasgow, 1834), p.3. Lewis, *Scotland a Half-Educated Nation*, pp.80-81.

<sup>177</sup> Lewis, *Scotland a Half-Educated Nation*, pp.54, 81.

<sup>178</sup> See chapter II-3-(1).

the city and neighbourhood'.<sup>179</sup> Stow stressed the permanent nature of the moral influence of parochial elders in parishes, but also recognised the local Sabbath school teacher as another 'moral force' for visiting the poor family.<sup>180</sup> They could also promote Bible intellectual training in Sabbath schools.<sup>181</sup> The GES's education programme at its foundation supposed working with those moral forces in community. Church extension and organising Sabbath schools needed to be part of this new movement, inheriting from the St John's experiment.

It was reported in the *Scottish Guardian* on 10 October 1834 that a government grant for Scotland was still refused to the Church of Scotland, because there was no educational society acting for dissenters in Scotland.<sup>182</sup> It was suggestive that the GES decided to send a petition to parliament at its public meeting held on 2 October 1834, emphasising the basic theological agreement between the Scottish established church and its dissenters:

Your Petitioners further conceive, that the very great unanimity prevailing in Scotland, both amongst Dissenters and members of the Established Church, in all matters of Christian doctrine, having one and the same Confession of Faith, leaves no practical difficulties in the extension of her parochial schools, in connection with, and under the religious control, as in times past, of the Established Church, and which have hitherto been attended by the children of parents of Dissenting denominations, in common with those of the Established Church. And by extending and improving education in Scotland, according to its existing and long-tried system, your Honourable House would find itself supported, not only by the numerous adherents of the Established Church, but by great numbers of the pious of the leading Dissenting denominations;<sup>183</sup>

The government probably accepted this argument. When a government grant was promised to two schools in Dundee and Glasgow in late October 1834 for the first time in Scotland, the school promoters individually approached the Treasury, although both

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<sup>179</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 7 October 1834.

<sup>180</sup> See chapter III-3-(1)&(2).

<sup>181</sup> Specifically for this purpose Stow published *Bible Training* probably first in 1838 and up to at least the 9<sup>th</sup> edition in 1859 and *Bible Emblems* at least three different years in the 1850s. See also chapter VI-4.

<sup>182</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 10 October 1834, quoted in Withrington, "'Scotland a Half-Educated Nation" in 1834?', pp.59-60.

<sup>183</sup> Lewis, *Scotland a Half-Educated Nation*, pp.92, 94. The petition itself was sent to the House of Commons for early in the following session.

the schools belonged to the established church.<sup>184</sup> This accepted the way the GES adopted from Chalmers to establish new schools in cities and came to be the rule governing government aid to Scotland, unlike England where it was channelled through the National, and the British and Foreign Societies.<sup>185</sup> While the GES retained its principle of managing their schools in connection with the established church, its independent promotion of schools and its openness to other denominations shaped the basis on which the government provided its grants to schools.

#### (4) Establishing a normal seminary of the Glasgow Educational Society

Another important task that the GES carried out was promoting teacher training, based on the Bible, along with intellectual and moral education. The October meeting of the GES agreed three resolutions. The first was to focus on towns and the second was to educate the young not only intellectually but also in 'right principles, dispositions, and habits', employing the scriptures as the basis of all juvenile education. The third was that for proper scriptural education, not only the scriptures should be introduced as a whole, but also that teachers ought to be persons 'sound in the faith' and be able to use 'right principles to the understandings and hearts of the young'. This last resolution pointed to the necessity of teacher training.

In August 1834, an article in *The Scottish Guardian*, probably written by Lewis, remarked the report of Victor Cousin, the French Minister of Public Instruction for 1834. Learning from the Prussian system of teacher training, the French law of 1833 (*loi Guizot*) required a school in every *commune* (the smallest administrative division), and set up a system of training colleges for teachers, which were run by the departments.<sup>186</sup> Lewis stressed the growth of teacher training since the introduction of the law, reporting that 73 of the departments of France cooperated supporting 62 model schools, attended by nearly 2,000 future teachers. More than a half of them were

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<sup>184</sup> The first promise of a grant came by correspondence on 23 October 1834 to the Sessional school in Dundee and a school at St Enoch in Glasgow. No religious affiliation was mentioned in the parliamentary record, although these were attached respectively to the established church. St Enoch's school consisted of infant and juvenile departments and adopted the training system and the minister was J. Henderson, one of the office bearers of the GES. PP1839XLI (282), An Account of the Expenditure of several Sums of £10,000, granted by Parliament in the Years 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837 and 1838, for the Erection of School-Houses or Model Schools in Scotland, pp.9, 15. *Third Report of the GES*, pp.18-19.

<sup>185</sup> Alexander and Paz, 'The Treasury Grants', p.84.

<sup>186</sup> R. D. Anderson, *Education in France: 1848-1870* (Oxford, 1975), pp.7-8.

supported in their education by the departments. Showing rivalry against France,<sup>187</sup> he emphasised that ‘the first great improvement called for in Scotland, as in England’ was model schools: the success of all other schools depended on them, and suggested the necessity to set up model schools.<sup>188</sup>

However, the strategy of the GES on this issue was not finally resolved upon until the beginning of 1835 in the middle of the winter lectures held from 1834 to 1835. There were two elements to be decided: what was to be taught in a model school for teacher training; and how to start teacher training in the given condition where no legislation was in place and no government grant was available in advance. On the first point, the GES dismissed both the French and the Prussian national education systems, on the basis that there existed no, or if any, no efficient, Scripture education.<sup>189</sup> Stow criticised Prussian schools’ religious education as follows:

Religion is to be taught in the schools of Prussia, it is true, but the law enacts that the instruction shall always ‘be adapted to the spirit and the dogmas of the particular church to which the school belongs.’ ...the consequence is, that the religion of the Bible is well nigh excluded from the Prussian schools.

He also stressed that although the variety of secular knowledge introduced to the Prussian schools should be imitated in Scotland, this ought to be subjected to the religious and moral: ‘The highest standard of all morals is the Bible’.<sup>190</sup> To Stow, as has been already shown, secular knowledge always needed to be consistent with or to strengthen moral and religious (Bible) education. Lewis also stated that

there is no good ground to imagine, that Prussia possesses any schools superior in intellectual training to Wood’s schools, or in moral training, to the parochial in St. John’s parish, Glasgow.<sup>191</sup>

In both intellectual and moral training, Prussian schools were not seen as the model for Scottish schools.

This final assessment of the GES on the Prussian schools, however, came just before the final lecture in the six lectures held in that winter. The first lecture was given

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<sup>187</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 5 August 1834, also, 17 January 1832.

<sup>188</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 5 August 1834.

<sup>189</sup> Lewis, *Scotland a Half-Educated Nation*, p.82.

<sup>190</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 7 October 1834.

<sup>191</sup> Lewis, *Scotland a Half-Educated Nation*, p.72.



by David Welsh, Professor of Edinburgh University on 'Prussian Seminaries for Schoolmasters'.<sup>192</sup> Highlighting the importance of training teachers, Welsh stated that the inadequacy of parochial schools was mainly caused by 'the want of professional training on the part of those who are employed as teachers'.<sup>193</sup> Based on his visit to Prussia, Welsh emphasised that there normal seminaries were supported mainly by grants from the government and schoolmasters were never appointed without professional education.<sup>194</sup> The GES agreed with the principle of the Prussian system of teacher training and acknowledged the necessity to establish a normal seminary for professional teacher training.

The teacher must receive an education as truly professional as the lawyer, the divine, or the physician; and the candidate for our parochial schools should present his license, or diploma, for teaching, as well as the lawyer for practising at the bar, the physician amongst his patients, and the divine for ministering in the pulpit. From the moment this takes place, the profession of a teacher will rise into the rank of a profession.<sup>195</sup>

Supporting the idea of founding a normal seminary in Scotland in the future, Welsh put forward the suggestion from the director of the Prussian seminary he had visited that 'a young man of energy and zeal' should be sent to one of the German seminaries to undertake instruction almost free of charge.<sup>196</sup> In response to this, on the occasion of the second lecture, the GES decided to send two young men to Prussia.<sup>197</sup> However, by the time that the final lecture was delivered,<sup>198</sup> the GES had changed its mind.

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<sup>192</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 3 November 1834.

<sup>193</sup> David Welsh, 'Extracts from a lecture delivered before the Educational Society of Glasgow, November 1834', in *Sermons by the Late Rev. David Welsh* (Edinburgh, 1846), p.359.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.362, 369.

<sup>195</sup> Lewis, *Scotland a Half-Educated nation*, p.73.

<sup>196</sup> Welsh, 'Extracts from a lecture', p.370.

<sup>197</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 24 November 1834. This was also mentioned in John G. Lorimer's lecture on 15 December. *CSM*, 3-31 (July 1836), p.235.

<sup>198</sup> The second lecture was delivered by Robert Buchanan. See 'Speech of the Rev. Robert Buchanan, of the Tron church, Glasgow, delivered at a meeting of the Glasgow Educational Society', in *CSM*, 10-1 (December 1834), pp.375-381. The third was delivered by Brown of Anderston on 'Religious Securities Necessary in a National System of Education' on 1 December 1834 (*Glasgow Courier*, 29 November 1834). The fourth was by J. G. Lorimer on 'The Services which the Church of Scotland has Rendered to the Cause of Education in Every Period of her History' (*Glasgow Herald*, 15 December 1834). See *CSM*, 3-30 (June 1836), pp.212-220, also 3-31 (July 1836), pp.227-239. The fifth lecture was given by Henry Dunlop on 'the Advantages of Moral Training in our Schools, and the importance of having



Believing it possible to be 'able to obtain the most highly qualified masters, without sending young men to be trained in Prussia',<sup>199</sup> it decided to dispatch a man to visit the model schools in Dublin and London, and the best educational institutions in European countries including Germany and France. On his return to Glasgow, he would become 'Director' of a new normal seminary for training teachers to be established by the GES.<sup>200</sup>

The first advertisement for the post actually appeared on 23 January 1835, before the final lecture.<sup>201</sup> The change was, as has been shown above, caused by the GES's final confirmation of the value of Stow's training system and also by its suspicion of the Prussian schools' religious education. Doubts on the Prussian system did not dampen the GES's determination to create a normal seminary.

To establish, upon a liberal and sufficient scale, seminaries for the professional education of teachers, can only be done by the aid of Government. Meanwhile a movement ought to be made by the friends of the Church, who... should move forward, and anticipate the legislature.<sup>202</sup>

As an immediate method to initiate the project, the GES took up the suggestion of Cousin that the best conducted primary school in the department be chosen and to this a class called 'Normal' be annexed for training young men as future teachers for the department.<sup>203</sup>

In March 1835, the GES appointed a sub-committee to visit the parochial schools in Glasgow and suburbs in order to select a juvenile model school and an infant model school which would form its normal seminary. The sub-committee chose as a model juvenile school Annfield parochial school in St John's, which had been the model juvenile school of the GISS. The Committee stated that in this school young teachers would be instructed not only 'in the best system of intellectual training' but

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playgrounds attached to them for that purpose' (*Glasgow Herald*, 29 December 1834). The last lecture was by William Collins under the title of 'the Inefficiency of Scientific and Merely Literary Education to Improve the Moral Condition of the Community, and that Divine Truth, or Scriptural Instruction Alone, can Accomplish that Important Object.' (*Glasgow Herald*, 26 January 1835).

<sup>199</sup> *Hints towards the Formation of a Normal Seminary in Glasgow, for the Professional Training of Schoolmasters* (Glasgow, 1835), p.11.

<sup>200</sup> *Hints*, pp.11-12.

<sup>201</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 23 January 1835. *Hints*, p.10.

<sup>202</sup> Lewis, *Scotland a Half-Educated Nation*, p.74.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, p.74. *Hints*, pp.8-9.

also in a system of moral training using its 'superior accommodation' and other advantages.<sup>204</sup> The GES's adherence to Stow's training system was now explicit. This decision was communicated to the St John's session and it was agreed that the GES would supply an assistant for the teacher of the school with annual salary of £20, and add £15 to the salary of the present teacher paid by the session.<sup>205</sup> The GES came now directly to be involved in the St John's experiment, through the achievement of the GISS. At the same time, the sub-committee also selected as a model infant school the Saltmarket infant school in St Andrew's, which had been the model infant school of the GISS.<sup>206</sup> The school was, by this arrangement, to be supported jointly by the GES and the GISS. Although Stow in 1833 reported that St Andrew's and Tron parishes had offered future financial support for the school and the debts of the GISS,<sup>207</sup> the arrangement between the GES and the GISS indicates that the school had still been financially supported by the GISS, most possibly by Stow himself. It was agreed that, in the future, half of the expenditure of each school would be paid by the GES.<sup>208</sup> Without special explanations, the GES accepted an infant school as part of a parochial school. After this arrangement, the GES announced that it was ready to receive students for teacher training at the normal seminary, although a director for 'a Normal class' had not yet been appointed.<sup>209</sup>

George Lewis's concern for education to protect the nation based on the established church, inspired by Stow's 'training system', resulted in the creation of the GES. It aimed to extend parochial schools, now including infant schools, connected with the established church but strictly following Stow's evangelical programme of education, and relying on its 'moral force'. The GES was largely based on the new developments outreached the original programmes of the St John's experiment: the infant school, the 'training system' and the local Sabbath teachers as visiting agents. Integrating these elements, with the establishment of its normal seminary, the GES

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<sup>204</sup> 'Report Relative to Moral Schools', quoted in *Hints*, pp.9-10.

<sup>205</sup> The GES was also supposed to purchase necessary things for the school. Session's Minutes of St John's Church, 6 April & 14 April 1835, CH2.176.1, GML.

<sup>206</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 15 May 1835.

<sup>207</sup> Stow, *Moral Training*, p.273.

<sup>208</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.15.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, p.14.

clearly stepped into a new educational movement supported by the Scottish evangelical group, transferring the experiment, though still keeping the principles.

### **3. The foundation of the Glasgow Normal Seminary**

At first the GES focused on obtaining government grants for parochial schools, diffusing information on the state of education in Scotland. With the adoption of the model schools, however, the GES's focus moved to teacher training. Anticipating future government grants for a normal seminary, the GES took a further step to erect a new building for the purpose of teacher training. Although the GES managed to obtain the first government grant for a normal seminary, its relationship with the government was not simple. While the GES's normal seminary was also closely connected with the established church, the government was concerned in its fairness towards both the established church and the dissenters. This section, investigating this process in detail, will attempt to show how the GES's programme managed to secure the first government grant for teacher training.

#### (1) Interdenominational and independent character of the normal seminary

The normal seminary began to take students from 1 May 1835. While a director (rector) still had not been appointed, Lewis and Stow, joint secretaries from 1835 to the spring of 1836 when Lewis removed from Glasgow, carried out superintending the schools and training the students in 'a Normal class'. From 1 May 1835 to the end of the year, 56 teachers including six females were trained.<sup>210</sup> There were also 50 to 60 parochial and other teachers who were accepted for vacation courses free of charge during this year.<sup>211</sup>

In comparison with teacher training carried out under the General Assembly scheme,<sup>212</sup> three distinct points of the GES's normal seminary can be discerned from its early practices. Firstly the GES's normal seminary accepted Stow's 'training

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<sup>210</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, pp.15-16. Although in the report it was stated that 'from that period, 1<sup>st</sup> May, to 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1836, fifty-six teachers were regularly admitted,...and during last year, ending 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1836, ninety-six teachers have been trained' the year for the former seems to be wrong from the context. The first 1836 should read 1835.

<sup>211</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 9 October 1835.

<sup>212</sup> See 2-(3) above.

system', accepting the model infant school as essential and indispensable for teacher training. Secondly, while the Assembly scheme suggested several weeks as the length of training, the GES strictly required three months regular attendance. Lastly, the GES's seminary accepted students who belonged to any denomination, while the Assembly scheme was restricted to those who were to work in schools under the scheme, that is, those that belonged to the established church.<sup>213</sup> The GES in 1835 stated that:

All persons, of whatever religious denomination, desirous of being professionally trained as Schoolmasters, shall be admissible to the benefits of the Society's Normal Seminary.<sup>214</sup>

The emphasis on 'professional training' underlined the fact that the normal seminary aimed to present a specialised and systematised theoretical and practical knowledge, which would elevate the position of teachers. At the same time the GES anticipated the possible attendance from any religious denomination even beyond Scotland. In 1837 the GES stated that the standard of 'Christian superintendence' conducted under its normal seminary concurred with that of nine-tenths of all the Protestants.<sup>215</sup>

The decision of parliament in August 1834, which included grants for model schools in England,<sup>216</sup> would have given the GES a further incentive to initiate a normal seminary on 'a liberal and sufficient scale'. In September 1835, when another advertisement for a rector (director) appeared, the GES decided to erect a new building for the normal seminary, in order to solve some problems such as the inconvenience of the two model schools being a mile apart and 'the want of the necessary class-rooms, as miniature school-rooms' for students to be trained as teachers. For the new building, four model schools were planned, namely infant, juvenile, and commercial schools, and a school of industry. Although Stow had already been promoting plans for erecting

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<sup>213</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.14. *Report of the Committee of the General Assembly*, pp.11-14, 33-37, 57. The Assembly scheme supported parishes to erect and manage schools by providing teachers' salaries and maintenance costs during teachers' training. In the plan presented in 1835 for a more proper model school, students for the model school were supposed to be recommended by each presbytery.

<sup>214</sup> *Hints*, p.3.

<sup>215</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, pp.10-11.

<sup>216</sup> Alexander and Paz, 'The Treasury Grants', p.84.



an infant school and a juvenile school together in one building as a parochial school since 1832, this was also adopted as a plan of the GES (see Figure IV-2).<sup>217</sup> The GES now targeted the two other types of school, which would also adopt the training system. In rural districts and small manufacturing towns, English and commercial departments of juvenile schools were normally under one master.<sup>218</sup> Female schools of industry, which taught reading, needlework and stocking-knitting, were also found widely in Scotland at that time.<sup>219</sup> These additions indicate the GES's intention to spread the training system into all these already existing school types.

During this period, Colquhoun, Lewis and Stow also visited towns around Glasgow, informing the citizens of the aims of the normal seminary, and, formed auxiliary associations in Greenock, Paisley, Kilmarnock and Hamilton. They also raised money for a future rector and the new building of the normal seminary. The GES anticipated in 1835 that these costs had to be paid by the GES for the first two or three years, 'until it can interest the Government in support of the Institution which it has originated'.<sup>220</sup> The GES at this stage expected a government grant for supporting the building costs and also an endowment for a rector's salary. As the centre of its operation lay in the west Scotland, the new normal seminary was expected to be 'a Seminary for Schoolmasters in the Metropolis of the West of Scotland'.<sup>221</sup> It was probably supposed that the east of Scotland would be covered by the Edinburgh Sessional School which was employed by the Assembly scheme.

Actually the GES had to wait until 1838 for the government grant to the normal seminary. The first petition by the GES to the government for a grant was made in February 1836 and in March Colquhoun informed Thomas Spring Rice, Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the GES was 'ready to give whatever security Govt may

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<sup>217</sup> Stow, *Moral Training*, a plan between pages of 286 and 287. A commercial department was included in the juvenile school in this plan. Among three plans for schools which Stow depicted in 1836, two of them proposed to have an infant school and a juvenile school together in one building. Stow, *The Training System*, pp.231-235.

<sup>218</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.172.

<sup>219</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.83.

<sup>220</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.15. *Hints*, pp.12-13.

<sup>221</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 11 September 1835. *Hints*, p.12.



propose'.<sup>222</sup> Then in April, Colquhoun and the treasurer of the GES, John Leadbetter, had interviews with the government. At that time the GES had received no direct answer to their petition.<sup>223</sup> These interviews, however, as will be shown shortly, would have raised a hope for the GES to receive a grant from the government if it satisfied the government's requirements for the grant.

The education committee of the General Assembly also applied for grants from the government for normal seminaries, in particular for 'a Model School more completely organised' in Edinburgh, as well as for extending schools in the Highlands and large towns.<sup>224</sup> John James Hope-Johnstone, the leading lay Moderate<sup>225</sup> informed Chalmers in May 1836 about the result of the meeting between a deputation of the Assembly committee and Spring Rice. According to Hope-Johnstone, Spring Rice expressed his intention to give a grant for the Highland schools 'as forming a part of the Parochial System in Scotland'. However, he explained Spring Rice's reaction to supporting normal seminaries and his own concern.

Govt are prepared to propose a vote for this purpose, but Mr Rice declined to give any pledge as to the nature of the Control under which They intend that such Estabts shall be placed and indeed He expressly said, that considering such School's [sic] a novelty, and not forming part of an existing System, they felt that the question of management was quite open for their consideration.

Now I greatly fear that they are pressed on this subject by the Radical Party, that this is The prelude to a proposal, to place these schools under a mixed Board of Church men and Dissenters and I do think, should This prove to be the case, that it is a Matter for serious Considerations, whether the Genl Assembly ought to accept of Aid on such terms...Schools of Normal Training would be most valuable as an extension of and so giving greater efficiency to our System, but I am persuaded that the admission of any interference with Education in Scotland such as I have alluded to, would just introduce the edge of the wedge, and be a preparation for taking it altogether from under the Control of the Church.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> J. C. Colquhoun, Register, 21 March 1836, MS.555, f.86, Monteagle Papers. National Library of Ireland.

<sup>223</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, pp.21-23. The record of the Parliamentary Paper of 1839 (PP1839XLI) includes only one application from the society by 13 April 1837.

<sup>224</sup> *Report of the Committee of the General*, pp.10-14, 59.

<sup>225</sup> Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland*, p.17.

<sup>226</sup> John James Hope-Johnstone to Thomas Chalmers, 16 May 1836, CHA4.251.70, Chalmers Papers, NCL.

Hope-Johnstone feared that the government's initiative in this area might lead to the undermining of the control of the established church over education. In comparison to Hope-Johnstone's concern, the GES was ready to go along with all of the government's requests. The report of the Assembly's education committee in 1836 commented on the normal seminary in Glasgow, managed by 'the friends of the Church in Glasgow'.

There is every probability, indeed, that this is one of the normal seminaries which it is the intention of Government to support.<sup>227</sup>

The GES's independency and its policy of accepting students of any denomination would surely have been the basis of this probability of acquiring a government grant.

#### (2) The first government grant to a normal seminary in Britain

The advertisement of the GES for a rector of the normal seminary was put, from the beginning (January 1835), not only into the main Scottish newspapers but also into several of the London papers, as Thomas Carlyle applied from Chelsea.<sup>228</sup>

A person about thirty years of age would be preferred—of matured and cultivated mind—acquainted with the recent improvements in the theory and arts of Education—and of such capacity and energy of character as readily to apprehend, and warmly to enter into, the design of improving the popular Schools of Scotland, by engrafting whatever is excellent in the modes of tuition in England and Germany on the Scriptural and Protestant principles of the venerable Parochial Schools of our native land.<sup>229</sup>

Since Stow, who held experienced knowledge on 'the recent improvements in the theory and arts of Education', was in his early 40s at that time and Colquhoun and Lewis were both in their early 30s, they wanted somebody who had a similar energy and capacity as themselves. On this occasion the GES did not find anybody suitable. In September 1835, unlike the former advertisement, a new advertisement showed a guaranteed annual salary of £300 for three years.<sup>230</sup> This was the same amount as Chalmers had been offered for the chair of moral philosophy at St Andrew's, almost

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<sup>227</sup> *Report of the Committee of the General Assembly for Increasing the Means of Education in Scotland, Particularly in the Highlands and Islands* (Edinburgh, 1836) p.14.

<sup>228</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.15. Letter from Thomas Carlyle to his brother, John Carlyle, February 1835. MS523-28, NLS, GNS/4/2, Jordanhill Archives.

<sup>229</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 23 January 1835.

<sup>230</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 11 September 1835.

ten years earlier, in his early 40s.<sup>231</sup> A high status was given to the post of rector and in these two advertisements the GES explicitly stated their intention to select a rector from members of the Church of Scotland.<sup>232</sup>

The final decision came only in May 1836. It is possible that some time after September 1835 the GES was informed by the government of its possible request on the selection of rector. As has been above shown, the GES petitioned for a government grant in February 1836 and in March Colquhoun expressed to the treasury the GES's readiness to fulfil any government proposal. In October 1836, Spring Rice, writing to Francis Jeffrey, expressed his desire to build two normal schools, one in Glasgow and one in Edinburgh and, in order to avoid religious and political difficulties, suggested the naming of 'Masters & Managers at both cities to whom the management of the schools may be intrusted & if possible may deserve if they do not obtain the confidence of both parties' (that is, the Church of Scotland and the dissenters) and also requested that the schools should be open to students from any denomination.<sup>233</sup> Actually, by that time, all of these requirements had already been fulfilled in Glasgow. The schoolmaster of the model infant school of the GES was Caughie who belonged to the Secession and the normal seminary was open to any denominational students from the beginning. The final hurdle to fulfil these was to select a rector to satisfy both the established church and the dissenters. In May 1836, the GES finally chose as rector John M'Crie,<sup>234</sup> who was a son of Thomas M'Crie, Original Secession minister and ecclesiastical historian.<sup>235</sup> The GES considered him as 'a young gentleman whose manners, philosophic mind, educational habits, and, above all sound Christian principles' qualified him to be rector,<sup>236</sup> despite belonging to the Secession.<sup>237</sup> Although he died in the following year aged 28,<sup>238</sup> it is very likely that the GES's

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<sup>231</sup> Hanna, *Memoirs*, i, p.633.

<sup>232</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 23 January 1835. *Glasgow Herald*, 11 September 1835.

<sup>233</sup> Thomas Spring Rice to Francis Jeffrey, 21 October 1836, Monteagle Papers, National Library of Ireland, MS. 542, pp.147-8.

<sup>234</sup> *The Scotsman*, 11 May 1836. *Third Report of the GES*, p.26. Stow, *The Training System*, p.62.

<sup>235</sup> James Kirk, 'Thomas McCrie', *ODNB*, [article/17406].

<sup>236</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, pp.25-26.

<sup>237</sup> Letter from David Stow to J.P. Kay, 21 September 1843, STO/2/32, Jordanhill Archives.

<sup>238</sup> Kirk, 'Thomas McCrie'.

decision was greatly influenced by the government's proposal. The GES by now well qualified for a government grant for a normal seminary and was willing to accept it.

The GES applied for a government grant to erect the new building of the normal seminary on 14 October 1836,<sup>239</sup> before the foundation-stone of the new buildings was laid in November.<sup>240</sup> The names of the applicants were 'J. Buchanan, W. Brown and D. Stow, Sub-committee of Subscribers' with the recommendation of 'the Rev. Messrs. Black and Napier', the ministers of the parishes in which the new normal seminary and model schools were situated.<sup>241</sup> The new Glasgow Normal Seminary was to be put under 'the Christian superintendence of the Presbytery of Glasgow'.<sup>242</sup> Robert Buchanan, a vice president of the GES in October 1837, writing to Chalmers just before the opening of the new buildings, explained to Chalmers the two aims of the GES in setting up the normal seminary. One of them was to improve the style of teaching and the other was 'to keep Govt out of a department they were most anxious to occupy'.<sup>243</sup> The way in which the GES became involved with government grants permitted the teacher training course to be clearly allied to the established church though not in a narrow sectarian fashion and to 'preserving our Bible education'. Buchanan requested Chalmers to give a short speech, highlighting the connection between the school and the church, at a public dinner to celebrate the opening of the new buildings, which '250 or 300 of our richest Merchants & best people' were expected to attend. This was seen as an important occasion to impress upon the public the object of the normal seminary and also to raise money to cover the debts the GES had incurred over the new buildings.<sup>244</sup> The GES, drawing support from the affluent merchants in Glasgow, attempted to lead in the new area of teacher training with their

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<sup>239</sup> PP 1839 XLI (282), 'An Account of the Expenditure of the Several Sums of £10,000, Granted by Parliament in the Years 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837 and 1838, for the Erection of School-Houses or Model Schools in Scotland', p.16.

<sup>240</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.22.

<sup>241</sup> PP 1839 XLI (282), 'An Account of the Expenditure', p.16. The new buildings were in Dundas Vale, west end of Cowcaddens, which belonged to two parishes of St George and Barony. *Third Report of the GES*, p.22.

<sup>242</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.17.

<sup>243</sup> Robert Buchanan to Thomas Chalmers, 18 October 1837, CHA4.260.28, NCL.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*

theoretical ground based on the evangelical programme of education, or 'training system'.

After some procedures in 1837, in January 1838 £1,000 was promised and the grant was paid in May.<sup>245</sup> On 14 June 1838, in the House of Commons, Spring Rice commented on the model school grant.

For the two years last past, the Government had made offers for extending improved model schools for the instruction of masters, and neither society, the British nor the National, had come forward to accept those offers.<sup>246</sup>

In other words, at this stage only the GES was ready to accept the offer from the government. Their decision was based on their conviction that the established church, based on the Bible, had to take the initiative in teacher training. This was underpinned by the establishment of the 'training system' closely related to Chalmers's theology which could lead other evangelical denominations.

### (3) Teacher training courses of the Glasgow Normal Seminary

Stow used the book title of *Training System* first in 1836 and this edition reflected the attainments of his experiments in the Saltmarket infant school and Annfield juvenile school. However, it included hardly any descriptions of courses for teacher training. In June 1836, before the new normal seminary was built, there were 17 regular students. While they were expected to attend classes in the two universities and the Mechanics' Institution, they learned 'sacred and general history' in the seminary and were examined on the practical methods of the model schools three times a week by two of the directors.<sup>247</sup> In 1837, however, as the basic parts of the new buildings were finished, the essential courses of the normal seminary were established. Full descriptions of the courses also became available in 1837 in the *Fourth Report of the GES*. As Table IV-3 shows, in addition to the above courses, several branches of elementary education were taught by a teacher, and music and elocution were also added to the curriculum. These courses were still held in 1845 in Stow's seminary.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> PP 1839 XLI (282), for Scottish grants between 1834 and 1838, pp.28-29.

<sup>246</sup> *Hansard*, third series, xliii, 14 June 1838, pp.734-735.

<sup>247</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.63.

<sup>248</sup> Stow, *The Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.106-107. Also Stow, *The Training System* (6<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.357.



Stow also fully explained the curriculum in his 1840 *Training System*.<sup>249</sup> He emphasised the normal seminary's novel approach to training teachers how to use his 'training system', and claimed that it was 'of necessity original, both as to apparatus, arrangement, and system'.<sup>250</sup> The first was 'apparatus'. By apparatus, he referred to the buildings for the normal seminary. In April 1837 four model schools, with 17 classrooms of various sizes, and 2 teachers' houses in two wings, which consisted of two-thirds of the original plan, were finished. These cost about £6,500 and when the plan was completed, including the ground, the rector's hall, library, museum and several other rooms, it was estimated to cost £9,000. The GES petitioned to recover these costs from the government, as has been seen, but only a small part of the cost was granted in 1838. Then in December 1839 another £1,000 was granted and a further £2,500 in February 1840.<sup>251</sup> In the end the GES spent £15,000 on the buildings and playgrounds.<sup>252</sup> As Figure IV-3 shows, there was one playground (training-ground) for each of the four model schools and one for 'normal' students who were students of the normal seminary. In the case of 'normal' students, this was new and presumably it was an area for outdoor recreation for students. The 17 classrooms comprised one classroom for each of the model schools, and 13 classrooms or miniature schools of various sizes for training students at the seminary. These classrooms were considered to represent different sizes of parish or private schools. These accommodated 100 students and over 1,000 children. Each of the four model schools, including the infant school and the juvenile school, as Figure IV-3 shows, had a set of classrooms attached to it for the use of the normal students.<sup>253</sup> The layout of the buildings, again confirms that the training of teachers was the central feature of the normal seminary. Although the rector's hall had not yet been constructed, the normal seminary with the infant and juvenile model schools formally opened in the new buildings and new children enrolled in November 1837.<sup>254</sup> By the end of 1837, the new premises were completed

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<sup>249</sup> David Stow, *The Training System* (a new edn., Glasgow, 1840), p.90.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, p.92.

<sup>251</sup> PP1842 XXXIII (442), pp.4-24.

<sup>252</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (a new edn.), p.95.

<sup>253</sup> Appeal (1836), Eph/J/30, John Smith Collection, Special Collection, the University of Glasgow.

<sup>254</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, pp.22-23. *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.20. *The Scottish Guardian*, 2 November 1837.

and in addition to the infant and the juvenile departments, the management of the advanced or senior departments, which was originally described as the commercial department and the female school of industry started.<sup>255</sup>

The second original point was the arrangement of teachers. First of all, as Table IV-3 shows, each of four model departments had assistants. In 1840, it was said that without two additional masters for teaching and training, and a rector to superintend the whole establishment, no school, consisting of Infant and Juvenile departments, and with only one or two masters to each, can become a Normal Seminary.<sup>256</sup>

In fact in 1841, one 'Assistant Trainer' was added into each of two divisions in the juvenile school, in order to take the place of the headmaster of each department while the latter was occupied in conducting normal students.<sup>257</sup>

Although the rector was considered to be indispensable for a normal seminary, in practice, the complete Glasgow Normal Seminary started without rector, following M'Crie's death in October 1837.<sup>258</sup> After that, Stow reverted to the position of interim-rector for around two years, until a new rector, Robert Cunningham, a founder and superintendent of the Edinburgh Institution, was appointed in November 1839.<sup>259</sup> However, he resigned in 1841 and for a while Stow probably again worked as rector. In 1843, Stow recommended Robert Hislop as rector and he would have continued at least until 1845.<sup>260</sup> Although Stow was the secretary of the GES, he worked as rector for almost half of the period between 1837 and 1845. In this sense, Stow continued to be the most influential person in the practice of training teachers in the GES for more than fifteen years, as the seven 'training books of the Society' introduced in the *Fourth and Fifth Reports of the GES* were all written by Stow.<sup>261</sup>

The third original point Stow referred was the system of teacher training courses. The courses were divided into three sections. First, there was the instruction in

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<sup>255</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.20. Stow, *The Training System* (a new edn.), p.15.

<sup>256</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (a new edn.), p.116.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, p.107.

<sup>258</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.27.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, p.10.

<sup>260</sup> Letter from Stow to Kay, early 1843, STO/2/31, and 21, September 1843, STO/2/32, Jordanhill Archives. Fraser, *Memoir of David Stow*, pp.177-180.

<sup>261</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.31, and *Fifth Report of the GES's Normal Seminary* (Glasgow, 1839), p.36.

elementary branches from the masters. One type was a preparatory class for perfecting knowledge of English grammar, etymology, geography and writing, which was held by J. M. Auld in 1837 and 1839. This class was for students whose knowledge in their entrance examinations was not perfect but still allowed admission.<sup>262</sup> Another two classes were for acquiring knowledge of music and elocution. For each of these, specialist teachers were employed. Stow considered music as necessary in both infant and juvenile schools because it would 'refine and humanize the pupils', stimulating the 'natural power'.<sup>263</sup> In particular, the female voice was thought 'more touching and better calculated to lead the young'.<sup>264</sup> For elocution, since under the training system three-quarters of the information given to children was provided directly from the master rather than through books, the following two elements were emphasised: the master should be thoroughly acquainted with the subjects; the importance of employing 'the warmth and natural effect of the human voice'. Without 'a clear and distinct enunciation' the effect of communicating to children was thought to lose half its power.<sup>265</sup> The students were required to cultivate such skills.

The second part of the course for normal students was to observe the procedures and listen to the lessons of the masters of the model schools and their scholars. The normal students were usually expected to be present at each of the gallery lessons in both the infant and juvenile departments. The final and third part was practical lessons with a class of children in the miniature schools, in turn under the superintendence of each of the head masters of the different departments, starting and ending in all cases with the infant department.<sup>266</sup> For these lessons, the public and private criticisms were conducted weekly by the secretary. According to Stow, these criticisms were established around 1833 or 1834:

Novel and trying as these criticisms are, the student could not, by any other means, or to the same extent, acquire the system of training the child as a whole, within the limited attendance of six or eight months.<sup>267</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.9. Stow, *The Moral Training* (5th edn.), pp.103, 106-107.

<sup>263</sup> Stow, *The Training System*, p.95.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, p.151.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.148-149.

<sup>266</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.12.

<sup>267</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (a new edn.), p.112.

Stow urged that these could remove ‘many incrustations’ which no teaching or mere observation could have done,<sup>268</sup> and were considered ‘the highest polish of the system’.<sup>269</sup> In public criticisms, four students were each required to give one Bible lesson and three secular and elementary lessons to the children seated in the gallery, in front of all the students, alternately in the infant and juvenile departments. After finishing the four students’ lessons in about one hour, they moved to an adjoining room and each student was asked by the secretary to give his opinion of the others’ performances. After that, the secretary gave the result of his observations. Critical comments were expected, either on the matter or the manner of the lesson. The private criticisms were conducted without the children but before the rest of the students.<sup>270</sup> In addition to these it should be recalled that classes in the two universities and the Mechanics’ Institution in Glasgow were available for the students allowing the seminary to concentrate on branches ‘more strictly of a professional character’.<sup>271</sup>

Along with the ‘training system’, the novelty of the established courses for training teachers gave the normal seminary an incontestable position in this area in Britain, as will be seen in the following chapter.

Stow’s ‘training system’ was developed in close connection with Chalmers’s theology and it provided the basis of the new national movement of education. Organising leading Scottish evangelicals in the established church, and supported by Glasgow’s influential individuals, the GES promoted the movement to extend parochial schools, including infant schools and introducing the training system into them. The core institution was its normal seminary and it trained teachers for the use of the training system. Whilst the new educational methods and the introduction of infant schools were developed from the St John’s experiment, the movement also required the activity of the moral agents revitalised in the experiment for encouraging school attendance. Church extension which could add new elders and organising the local Sabbath school teachers as visiting agents were inseparable from the movement. However, the GES, by obtaining the first government grant for a normal seminary, also

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<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.18.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., pp.17-19.

<sup>271</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, pp.12-13.

stepped into a British movement of promoting the evangelical programme of education.



## Appendix

### Table IV-1 'Elements of Science' in secular training lessons—Tuesday and Friday weekly course of stage II

#### Tuesday (Elements of Science)

Matter, atoms, attraction, repulsion.

Gravitation.

Properties of matter, crystallization, density, hardness.

Motion, rapid, slow, uniform, accelerated, retarded.

Motion proportioned to the force and in the direction of the force, velocity, momentum.

Form of the earth.

Its size and position in the solar system.

The Sun as the centre of that system.

Relative sizes, distances, orbits, and periods of revolution of the other planets.

Light passing from a rarer to a denser medium, or the converse, is refracted; laws of refraction.

Telescope.

Microscope.

Camera obscura and magic lantern.

Prismatic colours.

Rainbow.

Heat, its sources.

Modes of transmission by conduction and radiation.

The moon—her varying appearances.

Eclipses.

Diurnal and annual motions of the earth.

Causes of the seasons.

Modes of determining latitude.

Modes of determining longitude.

Solid defined, centre of gravity.

Lever.

Wheel and axle.

Pulley.

Inclined plane.

Wedge.

Light, its sources and rate of progression.

Light falling on smooth or polished surfaces is reflected, laws of reflection.

Effects of heat.

Expansion and vaporization.

Thermometer.

Cloud, rain, hail, snow.

Dew.

Latent heat.

Electricity, laws of attraction, repulsion, distribution, &c.

Atmospheric electricity.

Electrifying machine.

Magnet.

Mariners' compass.

**Table IV-1 'Elements of Science' in secular training lessons—Tuesday and Friday weekly course of stage II (Continued)**

**Friday (Elements of Science)**

Cohesion, capillary and chemical attraction.  
Properties of matter, divisibility, porousness.  
Elasticity, brittleness, malleability, ductility, tenacity.  
Force required equally to impart motion and to take it away.  
Direction of motion when a body is acted on by two or more forces—centrifugal and centripetal forces.  
Fluid defined, liquids.  
In fluids pressure equal and in all directions.  
Pressure as depth.  
Bramah press.  
The open surface of a fluid is level, and if different pipes communicate, a fluid will rise to the same level in all.  
Mode of supplying cities with water.  
A body immersed in a fluid is held up with a force equal to the weight of the quantity of fluid displaced.  
Specific gravities.  
Air a fluid, presses equally on all sides.  
Rise of a balloon.  
Air has weight.  
Barometer.  
Lifting pump.  
Syringe, sucker, cupping, infant on breast.  
Effect of pressure of atmosphere on boiling of liquids.  
Mensuration of heights by barometer.  
Air is elastic.  
Air gun.  
Condensing syringe.  
Air pump.  
Air is a compound body.  
The air we breathe, respiration.  
Air supports combustion.  
How beet increase the heat of a fire by stirring it.  
Trade winds—monsoons.  
Sound—how produced.  
Mode of its propagation—rate at which it travels through different mediums.

Source: David Stow, *Moral Training, and the Training System* (5<sup>th</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1841), pp.292-293, 297-298.

**Table IV-2      The office bearers of the Glasgow Educational Society 1834-39**

	34	35	37-4	37	39	Occupations	Miscellaneous	1832 Votes *
<b>President</b>								
<i>J. C. Colquhoun</i>	*	*	*	*	*	M. P.		
<b>Vice Presidents</b>								
H. Dunlop	*	*	*	*	*	manufacturer	Lord Provost (37-40)	O.C.
James Smith	*					merchant and rentier	President of AU (1830-38)	
J. A. Anderson	*	*	*	*	*	merchant and banker	President of AU (1824-29, 1839-43) councillor (1826) magistrate (1827)	Dix. E.
<i>James Ewing</i>		*	*	*	*	merchant	Lord Provost (32-34) HC of MI (1833-34)	Can.
D. K. Sandford		*				professor of GU (Greek)	M.P. (Paisley 1834) Liberal	Can.
Prof. Ramsay			*	*	*	professor of GU (Humanity)		
W. Campbell			*	*	*	merchant		
R. Buchanan			*	*	*	minister (Tron)		
William Brown			*	*	*	merchant	magistrate (37-40) deacon (1820)	
Dr M'Gill					*	professor of GU (Divinity)		
<b>Treasurers</b>								
J. Leadbetter	*	*	*	*	*	merchant	President of MI (1833-34) councillor (37-40) magistrate (38-39)	E.O.

**Table IV-2 The office bearers of the Glasgow Educational Society 1834-39 (Continued)**

	34	35	37-4	37	39	Occupations	Miscellaneous	1832 Votes *
J. Buchanan				*	*	merchant	SST(1825)	
<b>Secretary</b>								
<i>David Stow</i>		*				merchant		E.
George Lewis	*	*					SST(1822)	
<b>Honorary Secretary</b>								
<i>David Stow</i>			*	*	*	merchant	SST(1817) deacon (1820) elder(1821)	E.
<b>Directors</b>								
D. Cuthbertson	*	*	*			accountant	councillor (1828-34) magistrate (1828-33) SST (1819) Deacon (1828) elder (1833)	E.O.
Prof. Ramsay		*						
R. Buchanan	*	*				minister (Tron)		
Dr. J. Watson	*	*	*	*	*		CM of MI (1833-34)	
William Brown		*				merchant	magistrate (1837-40)	
<i>A. Tennent</i>		*	*	*	*	merchant		E.O.
J. Gibson	*	*	*	*	*	minister (Kingston)	Trustee of AU (1831, 37)	E.
<i>J. Playfair</i>	*		*			merchant	deacon (1820) SST(1825) elder(1825)	E.
J. Turner	*	*	*	*	*	merchant	councillor (1834-38) magistrate (1836-38)	
<i>W. Collins</i>		*	*	*	*	bookler	elder(1819) SST(1816)	E.

**Table IV-2 The office bearers of the Glasgow Educational Society 1834-39 (Continued)**

	34	35	37 -4	37	39	Occupations	Miscellaneous	1832 Votes *
Dr. Forbes		*	*	*	*	professor of AU (Medical Latin) minister (St. Paul's)	Trustee of AU (1837)	
W. Buchanan	*		*	*	*	merchant	Deacon (1820) SST (1819)	O.C.
W. Graham	*					agriculturist	Trustee of AU (1831, 37) councillor (1829-30)	
R. Knox	*					manufacturer		E.C.
H. Paul	*					banker	magistrate (1837-38) councillor (1833-38) SST (1819) Elder (1821)	E.
C. Hutcheson	*					merchant	Trustee of AU (1831)	E.O.
<i>A. Tennent</i>	*	*	*	*	*	merchant		E.O.
Dr. Hannay	*					professor of AU (Theory and Practice of Medicine)		
W. Park	*					merchant		Dix. E.
R. Freeland		*	*	*	*	manufacturer		Dix. E.
R. G. M'George	*					merchant		O.C.
A. MacGeorge			*	*	*	writer lawyer	Trustee of AU (1831, 37) councillor (1834-35)	O.C.
J. G. Lorimer			*	*	*	Minister (St. David's)		
John Bain			*	*	*		councillor (1837-38) magistrate (1837-38)	



**Table IV-2 The office bearers of the Glasgow Educational Society 1834-39 (Continued)**

	34	35	37-4	37	39	Occupations	Miscellaneous	1832 Votes*
A. Wardrop			*	*	*	merchant		
J. Buchanan		*				merchant	SST(1825)	
A. Turner	*					minister (Gorbals)		
J. Caw	*							
L. Wilson	*					manufacturer		S. E.
R. S. Cunliffe	*						CM of MI (1833-34)	
A. Cross	*					writer		O.C.
H. Knox, Jun.	*					manufacturer		E.O.
T. Alston	*					merchant		
N. Paterson			*	*	*	minister (St. Andrew's)	Trustee of AU (1837)	
J. Wright		*	*	*	*	merchant	councillor (1838-40)	
W. Wilson		*	*	*	*	merchant	Trustee of AU (1837) councillor (1832-33, 37-40) magistrate (1833-34)	
A. King			*	*	*	minister (St. Stephan's)	SST (1820)	
<i>W. Crichton</i>		*	*	*	*	merchant		E.
R. Kidston		*	*	*	*	merchant	councillor (1837-40) magistrate (1838-40)	Dix. E.
J. Henderson		*	*	*	*	minister (St. Enoch's)		
R. Moody			*	*	*			
W. Balfour		*	*	*	*	merchant	Trustee of AU (1831, 37)	E.
W. Gilmour				*	*	merchant		
H. Cogan				*	*	merchant	HC&CM of MI (1833-34) councillor (1831-33) magistrate (1833-34)	E. O.

**Table IV-2      The office bearers of the Glasgow Educational Society 1834-39 (Continued)**

	34	35	37-4	37	39	Occupations	Miscellaneous	1832 Votes*
C. R. Baird				*	*	writer		O. C.
<b>Honorary Member</b>								
N. M'Leod			*	*	*	minister (St Columba)		
Rev. G. Lewis			*	*	*			
<i>J. Cleland</i>			*	*	*	writer	President of AU (1811) HM of MI (1833-34) magistrate (1815-34)	S. E.

Note 1: All the names are based on 'Glasgow Educational Society', *The Church of Scotland Magazine*, 2-1, April 1834, p.51, *Hints towards the Formation of a Normal Seminary in Glasgow* (1835), p.4, *Third Report of the GES of 1836*, *Fourth Report of the GES of 1837* and *Fifth Report of the GES of 1839*.

Note 2: Names in italics are office bearers of the Glasgow Infant School Society. Names in bold are on the list of 1835 and those in bold and italics occupied the office bearers' position from 1835 to 1839. As the list of the third report of 1837 was formed in April 1837, the year of the list was shown as 37-4. 'SST', deacon and elder mean agents in St John's experiment.

Sources: *A List of the Matriculated Members of the Merchants' House of Glasgow from 3d October, 1768, to 5th October, 1857* (Glasgow, 1858); *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotican, Synod of Glasgow and Ayr*, iii (new edn., Edinburgh, 1920); and *The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow, 1751-1846* (Edinburgh, 1935); PP 1839, XLI, 'An Account of the Expenditure of the Several Sums of £10,000, granted by Parliament in the Years 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837 and 1838, for the Erection of School-Houses or Model Schools in Scotland', p.15; 'List of the Names of the Members of the Town Council during the Three Years Provostship of Mr. William Mills' (*The Lord Provosts of Glasgow from 1833 to 1902*, Glasgow, 1902, p.35); 'List of the Names of the Members of the Town Council during the Time of Mr. Henry Dunlop's Provostship, 1837-40' (*The Lord Provosts of Glasgow from 1833 to 1902*, Glasgow, 1902, p.57); *The Glasgow Directory, 1826-1838*. As for St John's connection, St John's Kirk Session Minutes, CH2/176/1; St John's Sabbath School Society Minute Book, CH2/176/9. As for connection with Anderson's University *Account of the Andersonian Museum, Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1831), pp.9-10; *Extracts from the Latter Will and Codicil of Professor John Anderson* (Glasgow, 1837),

pp.26-27; John Butt, *John Anderson's Legacy: the University of Strathclyde and its Antecedents 1796-1996* (East Linton, 1996), pp.249-253. As for Glasgow University *Inaugural Addresses by Lords Rectors of the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1839), pp.175-177; *Extracts from the Tenth Annual Report of the Committee of the Glasgow Mechanics' Institution, 10<sup>th</sup> May 1833*, p.3; Charles R. Dod, *Electoral Facts from 1832 to 1853* (Brighton, 1972, originally published in London in 1853), pp.242-243.

\* This is based on *Glasgow Electors: List of the Names and Designations of the Persons who Voted in the First Election of Two Members to Serve in Parliament for the City of Glasgow under the Scotch Reform Bill, 18 & 19th December 1832* (Glasgow, 1832). James Ewing and James Oswald were elected.

<Abbreviations> AU= Anderson's University; GU= Glasgow University; HC= Honorary Councillors; CM= Committee of Management; MI= Mechanics' Institution; Can. = Candidate; Dix.= Joseph Dixon; C.= John Crauford; E.= James Ewing; O.= James Oswald; S.= Sir D.K.Sandford; SST= Sabbath school teacher (St John's); Dg.= John Douglas.

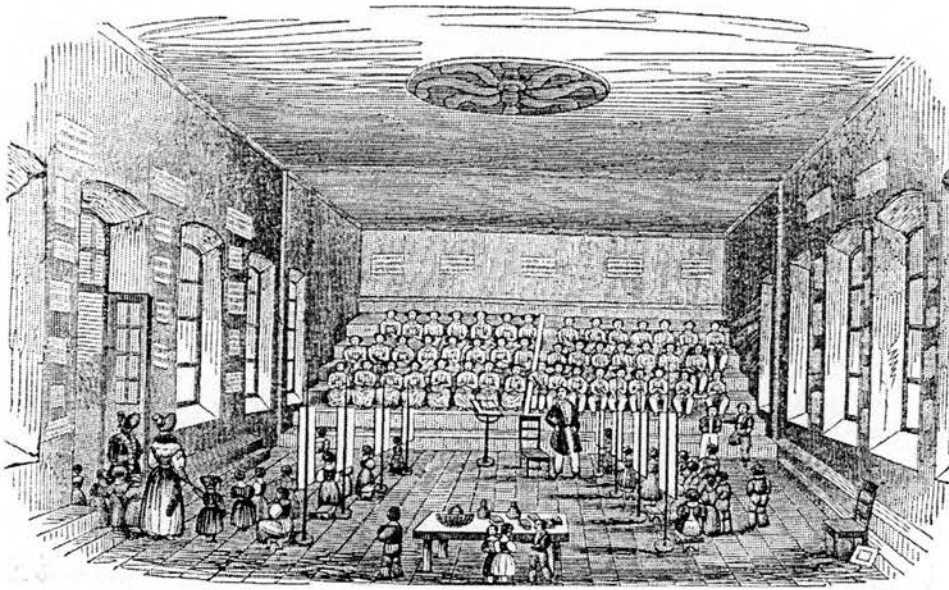
**Table IV-3 The teachers of the Normal Seminary— 1837, 1839, 1841**

1837	1839	1841
<b>Infant Department</b>	<b>Infant Department</b>	<b>Infant School</b>
David Caughie (HM) Mrs Caughie Junior Assistant	Caughie (HM) Mrs Caughie (Assistant)	Master Mistress
<b>Juvenile Department</b>	<b>Juvenile Department</b>	<b>Juvenile School</b>
Robert Hislop (HM) two Assistants	Hislop (HM) Mr Forbes (SM) Assistant	<b>Junior Division</b> Second Master Assistant Trainer
<b>Advanced or Senior Department</b>		<b>Advanced English and Commercial division</b>
J. M. Auld (HM) Assistant		First Master Assistant Trainer
<b>Instruction of several elementary branches</b>	<b>Preparatory Students' Class in several elementary branches</b>	<b>Preparatory Classes</b>
J. M. Auld	J. M. Auld (HM) Assistant	Master
<b>Female School of Industry</b>	<b>School of Industry</b>	<b>School for Females</b>
Chamberlain (Superintendent) Assistant	Mrs Chamberlain Assistant	Mistress Assistant
<b>Music Master for students</b>	<b>Students' Music Master</b>	<b>Music Master</b>
Mr Gibson	Mr Gibson	
<b>Elocution Master for Students</b>	<b>Students' Elocution Master</b>	<b>Elocution Master</b>
Mr Hartley	Mr Hartley	

Note: The list of 1837 is based on *The Fourth Report of the Glasgow Educational Society's Normal Seminary, 1837* (Glasgow, 1837), pp.19-20, 27-28. The list of 1839 is based on *The Fifth Report of the Society, 1839* (Glasgow, 1839), pp.7-8, 23-24. As for 1841, David Stow, *Moral Training, and the Training System* (Glasgow, 1841), pp.95-6, 105-106. In this book the names of teachers are not given.

Abbreviations: HM= Head Master; SM= Second Master.

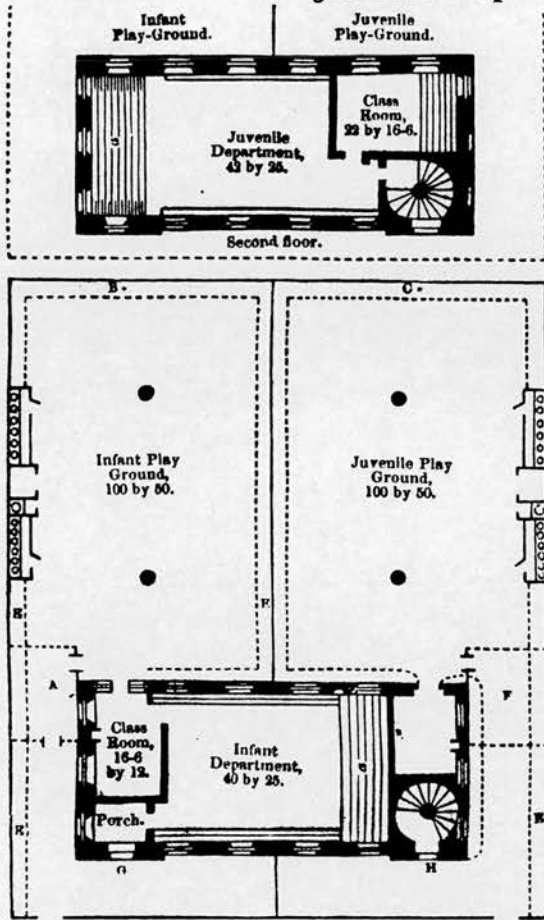
**Figure IV-1**      **Gallery in an infant school**



Source: David Stow, *The Training System* (Glasgow, 1836), p.66.

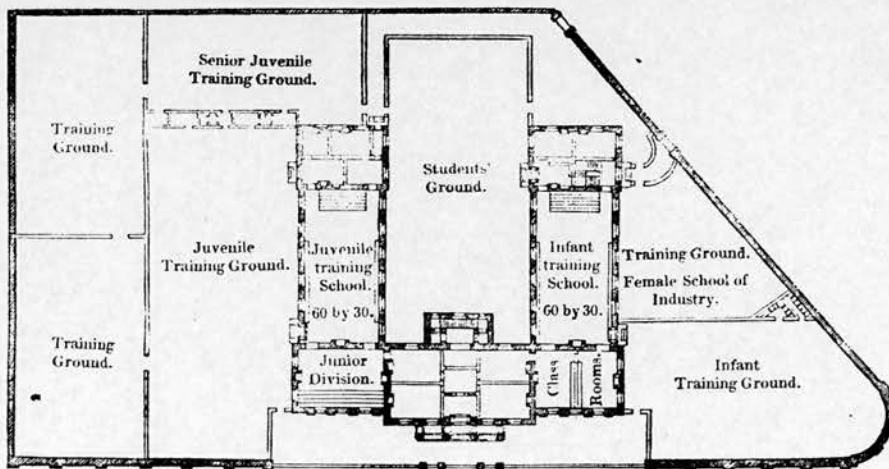


**Figure IV-2 Training schools—the infant department and the juvenile department**



a Gallery, see plate No. 7. b Gallery, Junior Division, 5 or 6 steps.  
 This is the only convenient mode of having two Training Schools for 120 or 150 children each, when the width of the ground does not permit the erection of the building as in plate No. 2 and 3. Nos. 2 and 4 are decidedly the preferable plans for two Schools, with play-ground on either side.

**Figure IV-3 Ground floor plan of the Glasgow Normal Seminary shown in 1841**



Sources for Figures IV-2 & 3: David Stow, *Moral Training, and the Training System, Established in the Glasgow Normal System, Established in the Glasgow Normal Seminary, and its Model Schools* (5<sup>th</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1841), pp. xv, 406.

## **Chapter V**

### **Impact of the training system in Britain and beyond**

The establishment of the new buildings for the GNS marked a significant improvement in facilities and courses of the first seminary which received a government grant for teacher training. This achievement of the GNS, as well as the training system which it employed, came to be officially approved upon the establishment of the Committee of Privy Council on Education (CCE) in 1839, and promoted as an example to be copied. As a result, the GNS became influential not only in Britain but also in the colonies. This chapter analyses this process.

Historians agree that a national system of education in Scotland under state control was realised only in 1872, when religious zeal had moderated.<sup>1</sup> However, as Anderson has suggested, it is also important to acknowledge the progress made in developing a government-led school system after the 1830s. He argues that effective education for the urban population in Scotland was established between the 1840s and 1872.<sup>2</sup> Paz also claims that the educational development in the 1830s which, before the establishment of the CCE, was fostered by parliamentary grants, dictated the ways in which the government intervened in education in later decades.<sup>3</sup> However, previous studies fail to explain why the government continuously and strongly approved of the Scottish evangelicals' educational programme, in connection with the increasing government initiative over the church in the area of education. This point, however, is important in discussing the programme's survival under the Disruption which will be considered in the following chapter.

Two main issues will be investigated in this chapter: the government's approval of Scottish evangelicals' education programme and its influence in Scotland and beyond. In the first section, the impact of the GNS on the policy of the newly founded CCE is investigated, focusing on the efforts of James Phillips Kay (later Kay-Shuttleworth), an assistant poor law commissioner in England and later the CCE's secretary.<sup>4</sup> The second section explores the extent of the influence of the GNS within Scotland, and finally, the success and failure in introducing the training

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<sup>1</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, pp.66-69. Donald J. Withrington, 'Towards a National System, 1862-72', *Scottish Educational Studies*, 4-1 (1972), pp.121-122.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, pp.49, 69, 103.

<sup>3</sup> D. G. Paz, *The Politics of Working-Class Education in Britain, 1830-50* (Manchester, 1980), p.11.

<sup>4</sup> R. J. W. Selleck, 'Sir James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth', ODNB, [article/15199].

system into the rest of Britain and some colonies are considered. These discussions are important to elucidate further the characteristics of the Scottish evangelicals' programme of education.

### **1. The impact of the training system on government policy**

The decision of the government to award the GNS the first grant for a normal seminary gave it new publicity. Historians agree that Kay was a key figure in making government education policy after the establishment of the CCE, through his position as its secretary,<sup>5</sup> deeply influenced by Stow and the GNS's achievements. Wood has suggested a strong connection between the GNS and Stow, and Kay, which resulted in some government grants to the GNS.<sup>6</sup> Focusing on plans of schoolhouses in the minutes of the CCE from 1839-40, Markus claims that the CCE had strongly promoted the 'simultaneous' system, or Stow's collective teaching in a gallery. The similar point is also pointed out by Hamilton.<sup>7</sup> Selleck, the most recent biographer of Kay, further argues that through inspection, letters, regulations, sets of instructions, architectural plans and manuals of methods, Kay created a machinery to influence the whole of school management. He discerns the basic development of this machinery from as early as 1840.<sup>8</sup> However, despite their proper judgement on Kay's adherence to Stow's and the GNS's educational methods, they have paid little attention to the influence of the evangelical nature of Stow and the GNS on Kay's programme of education. Although Kay's close connection with Chalmers has been pointed out,<sup>9</sup> Chalmers's influence on Kay in his evangelical thinking has been largely ignored.

This section investigates how deeply Kay was influenced by the Scottish evangelical programme of education and the attraction it held for him. In the first part, Kay's earlier efforts, as an assistant poor law commissioner, to bring the GNS's achievements into England is studied. The following two parts discuss the way in

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<sup>5</sup> For example, see Paz, *The Politics*, pp.90, 106-107.

<sup>6</sup> Wood, *David Stow*, pp.32-33, 41-43, 64.

<sup>7</sup> Markus, 'The School as Machine', p.250. Hamilton, 'On Simultaneous Instruction', pp.103-105.

<sup>8</sup> R. J. W. Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth* (Ilford, 1994), pp.134, 136, 148, 175-176.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.37, 134, 157, 395. Richard Johnson, 'Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England', *Past and Present*, 49 (1970), p.103.

which the programme of Stow and the GNS was reflected in the government's policy on extending schools under the CCE. Finally, the extension of normal seminaries led by the CCE and modelled on the GNS is considered.

(1) The influence of the training system on Kay's promotion of education

Kay was appointed to the post of assistant poor law commissioner in July 1835 in charge of 14 'unions' in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cambridge, and remained in this post until his appointment as the secretary of the CCE in May 1839.<sup>10</sup> Even before 1835, Kay had held a deep concern for improving the condition of the poor, in particular, through their moral and religious education. In his publication of 1832, influenced by Chalmers,<sup>11</sup> Kay stated that:

The absence of religious feeling, the neglect of all religious ordinances, affords substantive evidence of so great a moral degradation of the community, as to ensure a concomitant civic debasement.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to religious education, Kay also emphasised the need to teach the poor political economy or 'correct political information', for, according to Kay, they should learn that the real reason for their distress was their own idleness.

The low price of the labour of such people depends, however, on the paucity of their wants, and their savage habits.<sup>13</sup>

He also thought that their domestic and social relations should be taught: 'imprudent marriages' affected not only those who involved in them and their children, but also society.<sup>14</sup> Kay here accepted Chalmers's arguments based on Malthus that only people's prudence could attain a balanced population corresponding with the available amount of food, and would guarantee their better economic condition.<sup>15</sup> He also believed that 'alarming disturbances of social order' were caused by the

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<sup>10</sup> MH32 and MH33 Finding Aid, PRO.

<sup>11</sup> J. P. Kay Shuttleworth, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1832: repr. London, 1970), p.3. Kay revised his first edition of the pamphlet based on Chalmers's comments and its second edition also inserted an introduction which was addressed to Chalmers. Letter from Kay to Chalmers, 21 November 1832, CHA4.183.4. Chalmers Papers. NCL.

<sup>12</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth, *The Moral and Physical Condition*, p.63.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p.82.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94-98.

<sup>15</sup> For Chalmers's arguments based on Malthus see chapter IV-2-(1).



condition of people who were 'only partially instructed'.

Unacquainted with the real sources of their own distress, misled by the artful misrepresentations of men whose element is disorder, and whose food faction can alone supply, the people have too frequently neglected the constitutional expedients by which redress ought only to have been sought, and have brought obloquy on their just cause, by the blind ferocity of those insurrectionary movements, in which they have assaulted the institutions of society.<sup>16</sup>

Attitudes which were to lead to Chartism were developing in the earlier 1830s<sup>17</sup> and Kay set his arguments on education against such a politically radical movement. As an assistant poor law commissioner, Kay considered education of pauper children in union workhouses 'as one of the most important means' to get rid of pauperism from the coming generation and to protect society in the future.<sup>18</sup>

Guided by such a concern, Kay visited the Edinburgh Sessional School and the GNS in September 1837.<sup>19</sup> Since by April 1837 the government had indicated their intention to provide a grant to the GES,<sup>20</sup> Kay's visit soon after the opening of the new buildings could not have just been a coincidence.

The extreme superiority of these schools over every system of moral and intellectual training which we have witnessed in England cannot be briefly described or explained. The brutish ignorance of our rural & city population... demands immediate interference, and... many most valuable hints may be obtained from the schools in Glasgow & Edinburgh.<sup>21</sup>

The visit strongly influenced Kay to improve the situation of education in England. Although he was equally interested in Wood's method in the Edinburgh Sessional School, on which Stow's intellectual Bible training was originally based, the GNS made a lasting impact on him. Kay was especially concerned with the lack of carefully trained teachers who could rear children of workhouse schools to 'independent industry' and make them 'intelligent and useful members' of society,

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<sup>16</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth, *The Moral and Physical Condition*, p. 95.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Brown, *Chartism* (Cambridge, 1998), p.12-13.

<sup>18</sup> PP 1837-38, XXVIII, J. Phillips Kay, Report on the Training of Pauper Children, Fourth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales, p.140.

<sup>19</sup> Letter from J.P Kay to the Poor Law Commissioners, 7 September 1837, MH32/49, PRO.

<sup>20</sup> See chapter IV-3-(2). In April 1837 the Treasury sent to the provost of Glasgow the minute of regulations for the grant, suggesting the government's intention to grant aid to the GES. PP 1839, XLI (282), 'An Account of the Expenditure', p.16.

<sup>21</sup> Letter from Kay to the Poor Law Commissioners, 7 September 1837.

and soon after the visit, suggested the creation of a model establishment to which teachers could be sent from the poor law unions.<sup>22</sup> Kay's visit also opened up the route by which teachers were recruited from the GNS for union workhouses. The GES admitted this connection with Kay as a turning point in the GNS's publicity.

A most important point in the progress of the Training System has been attained by its introduction into the Poor Law Unions of England... particularly by Dr. Kay at Norwood, who has stood foremost in this philanthropic work.<sup>23</sup>

Kay requested teachers from the GNS for various unions in Norfolk and in the neighbourhood of London.<sup>24</sup> In 1839, Kay reported the success of some of the teachers introduced from the GNS into those workhouse schools.<sup>25</sup>

Although Kay added some new elements learned from a visit to Holland and Belgium, his 1838 general plan for the education of children in workhouses was based on the training system of the GNS. He suggested forming a district school (residential), for which children were collected from different union workhouses enabling them to form 'habits of industry' and to support themselves by their own labour.<sup>26</sup> Following the GNS's arrangement, Kay suggested that every district orphan school should consist of an infant school, and a juvenile school which comprised separate industrial schools for boys and girls. Boys and girls were expected to be taught together following Scottish examples on secular and religious subjects, except in the industrial schools.<sup>27</sup>

Kay, quoting words of Charles Blomfield (1786-1857), the bishop of London,<sup>28</sup> in 1834, suggested that religion ought to be 'made the groundwork of all education' including secular subjects:

The youthful mind will recur, with increased curiosity and intelligence, to the

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> *Fifth Report of the GES*, p.11.

<sup>24</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.21.

<sup>25</sup> PP 1839, XX (239), James Phillips Kay, *The Training of Pauper Children*, May 1839, *Fifth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, p.92.

<sup>26</sup> PP1837-38, XXVIII, Kay, *Report on the Training of Pauper Children*, p.146.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp.150-151.

<sup>28</sup> Arthur Burns, 'Charles James Blomfield', *ODNB*, [article/2668]. Blomfield sympathised with Chalmers's theology based on human nature. He was as the bishop of London entrusted to choose authors of *Bridgewater Treatises*, including Chalmers. See W. H. Brock, 'The Selection of the Authors of the Bridgewater Treatises', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 21-2 (1966), p.170.

great facts, and truths, and precepts of holy writ, if it be enlarged and enlivened by an acquaintance with other branches of knowledge.<sup>29</sup>

This echoed Stow's and Chalmers's remarks upon the study of natural science as a stimulus to Bible study. Although Kay did not emphasise the authority of the Bible as Stow did or even its physical presence, he located the Bible at the centre of education. Kay suggested that the Bible should be read daily in the school by the master and the catechism should be taught in a certain part of a week by the chaplain. For both of these, the parents were allowed to use the ministers of their own religion.<sup>30</sup>

Kay insisted that the daily Bible lesson should be conducted using Wood's method of 'interrogative and explanatory instruction' which would teach children the habits or methods of acquiring knowledge, and be applied to any subject.<sup>31</sup> Although the method of 'ellipsis' combining with questions was not accepted by Kay, Stow's basic methods of intellectual training were approved by him through Wood's method. He also followed Stow in the area of moral training. Kay approved of the two fundamental structures to Stow's system of moral training: the playground and the gallery. In particular, the gallery which was the core element necessary for moral training was explained as follows:

The gallery is employed in the infant school as a means of arranging the children in a body under the eye of their teacher, and thus enabling him more readily to inspect and control them by arousing their attention, and bringing the sympathies of the body to act upon individuals. ...In the Glasgow model schools considerable advantages are said to have arisen from the retention of this mode of assembling and instructing the scholars in a body....<sup>32</sup>

He defined this as 'the simultaneous system', since teaching was carried out 'as an undivided class' simultaneously, but included in this system other elements such as simultaneous oral answers and simultaneous answers in writing.<sup>33</sup> With some reservations, however, Kay essentially accepted Stow's and the GNS's intellectual and moral training.

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<sup>29</sup> PP1837-38, XXVIII, Kay, Report on the Training of Pauper Children, p.154.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp.154-155.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p.154.

<sup>32</sup> PP1837-38, XXVIII, Kay, Report on the Training of Pauper Children, p.152.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.



Kay's plan was tried out in Aubin's Children's Establishment at Norwood, which opened by late 1838 as a model school,<sup>34</sup> established by the Board of Guardians of the City of London Union.<sup>35</sup> In January 1839, the method adopted in the school was described by Kay:

The School has been filled up on a plan combining the chief advantages of the Dutch & Glasgow methods, with some improvements suggested by my own experience.<sup>36</sup>

As five teachers were introduced into the Norwood school from the GNS as heads of the several departments by 1839,<sup>37</sup> Stow's training system was set as its basis, but some modifications were made. Learning from the Dutch school, Kay emphasised the necessity of classifying children into classes based on their proficiency and suggested the average size of 50 children in one class for one master using 'the simultaneous system'.<sup>38</sup> Secular subjects at Norwood were limited to applied science useful to industry, manufactures and domestic services.<sup>39</sup> Simultaneous spelling and writing lessons, and pupil teachers who were, as future teachers, recruited from children in workhouses, were introduced.<sup>40</sup>

Some of these were later adopted by the GNS. For example, Stow presented the use of the class room gallery in 1839 for a group of around 50 children and in 1840 recommended 'the rule of 40' as the appropriate number for a gallery lesson.<sup>41</sup> By then, the Norwood school had become the Norwood District School of Industry with an annual government grant of £500 from the Home Secretary, Lord John Russell.<sup>42</sup> This grant was provided outside the Treasury's ordinary building grants. Since the

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<sup>34</sup> Letter from J. P. Kay to the Poor Law Commissioners, 7 September 1837, MH32/49, PRO, and also Quarterly Report to the Poor Law Commissioners from J. P. Kay, 12 January 1839, M32/50, PRO.

<sup>35</sup> James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832-1839-1846-1862* (London, 1862), p.288.

<sup>36</sup> Quarterly Report from J. P. Kay, 12 January 1839.

<sup>37</sup> *Fifth Report of the GES*, p.11.

<sup>38</sup> PP1837-38, XXVIII, Kay, Report on the Training of Pauper Children, p.152.

<sup>39</sup> PP 1839, XX (239), Kay, 'The Training of Pauper Children: Second Report', p.95.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p.92

<sup>41</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (5<sup>th</sup> end.), p.331. *Fifth Report of the GES*, pp.17-18. Stow, *The Training System* (new edn.), p.117.

<sup>42</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods*, pp.288-289. Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p.139.

Treasury had never provided annual grants to any schools, this annual grant for the Norwood school was a distinct measure taken by the government. Although this school aimed at training teachers for workhouse schools, in this way the government created an experimental sphere for teacher training. In 1841 Stow claimed that it introduced the training system under Kay's direction and called it 'the Government school at Norwood'. The Norwood school came to be a rival training college from which the GNS could also learn, whilst the GNS still contributed to workhouse schools by sending more than 20 teachers between 1839 and 1841.<sup>43</sup>

## (2) Proposal for a government normal school based on the training system

Kay's efforts at Norwood were put forward in a government plan for education. On 12 February 1839, Russell presented a plan for education to the House of Commons. He suggested that although popular education had been increased by the great efforts of the National School Society (NSS) and the British and Foreign School Society (BFSS) there still remained problems to be solved. Russell indicated five problems including insufficient number of qualified schoolmasters, imperfect mode of teaching and lack of model schools. Whilst proposing the formation of 'a Board or Committee' on education, he suggested that the new board found a normal or model school which covered four areas: religious instruction; general instruction; moral training; and the formation of habits of industry.<sup>44</sup> All of these were already practised by Kay at Norwood and Russell had been informed of these.<sup>45</sup> Although Paz questions the extent to which Kay initiated Russell's February plan, he does admit Kay's influence on Russell's plan to form a normal school and that Kay probably drafted the education minutes on 13 April, which detailed the plan of February,<sup>46</sup> which was confirmed by Kay himself in 1873.<sup>47</sup>

Russell's February plan insisted that education of pauper children did not damage the interests of any party, and limited the target of the proposed normal or

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<sup>43</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.28 note, 94.

<sup>44</sup> PP 1839, XLI (16), Letter from J. Russell to the Lord President of the Council, 4 February 1839, *Papers on Education*, pp.1-2.

<sup>45</sup> Kay applied for a grant to Russell, in October 1838. Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods*, pp.288-289. Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p.139.

<sup>46</sup> Paz, *The Politics*, pp. 89-94.

<sup>47</sup> See Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p.147.



model school to pauper children.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, Kay had argued that the state was *in loco parentis* to the pauper children in workhouses, who had no natural guardians, and therefore the government was responsible for providing education which could enable them to attain independence.<sup>49</sup> Kay's Norwood school lay behind Russell's plan:

The Poor Law Commissioners have very properly undertaken to amend the vicious system which has hitherto prevailed, and in the neighbourhood of the metropolis much has been already done under their auspices.<sup>50</sup>

'The vicious system' would have meant, as Kay suggested, the mixture between the children and the adults in workhouses, the lack of proper teachers, and insufficient industrial, moral and religious training, normally conducted by the monitorial system.<sup>51</sup>

After the CCE was appointed along the lines of the Russell's February plan, its minutes from 13 April 1839 presented guidelines for superintending the application of government grants promoting public education. One of the most important suggestions made on this occasion was a detailed plan for a government sponsored normal school, based on Kay's experience at Norwood and therefore adopting the training system as its basis. The normal school was expected to train teachers in order to extend schools for the poorer classes. It was to include model schools for children from three to fourteen: an infant school up to six; and schools for those above seven. All the children were supposed to reside in the school, collecting children from workhouses. In this school, religion was considered to regulate 'the entire system of discipline'. A portion of every day was put aside for the reading of the Scriptures, Catholic children being allowed to use their own version. Secular instruction was also highlighted 'as to keep it [the matter of instruction] in close relation with the condition of workmen and servants'. The 'simultaneous method' with classes of 40 or 50 children of a similar level and the use of a gallery to instruct a greater number of children for 'subjects not so technical' were proposed. 'Candidate teachers' were

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<sup>48</sup> PP 1839, XLI (16), Letter from J. Russell to the Lord President of the Council, 4 February 1839, *Papers on Education*, p.1.

<sup>49</sup> PP1837-38, XXVIII, Kay, Report on the Training of Pauper Children, pp.140-141.

<sup>50</sup> PP 1839, XLI (16), Letter from J. Russell, 4 February 1839, p.1.

<sup>51</sup> PP 1839, XX (239), Kay, 'The Training of Pauper Children: Second Report', pp.91-92.

also employed who were also expected to reside in the school.<sup>52</sup> These provisions were closely copied from Kay's experience at Norwood and the training system formed the basis for these schools.<sup>53</sup>

Kay's desire to educate the poor, particularly in religion, along the lines of Stow's training system was prompted by his concern with the growing movement of Chartism. After the publication of the 'People's Charter' in May 1838 which demanded further parliamentary reform, Chartism became a national movement, organising some middle class radicals and the workers together.<sup>54</sup> Referring to Chartism as 'an armed political monster', Kay stated in 1839 that the agitation had become 'more systematic and better organised' to attract 'the masses'. He stated that:

The Chartists think that it is in the power of Government to raise the rate of wages by interfering between the employer and the workman.

One of Kay's responses to this argument was, as he stated in his Manchester pamphlet in 1832, to provide the working people with a secular education, enabling them to 'understand the true causes' of their physical condition and the system of distributing wealth in society.<sup>55</sup> Kay was also alerted by the fact that some Chartists used the Bible in the support of their own arguments.<sup>56</sup>

Even the arming of the Chartist association is derived from our Saviour's injunction, 'he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one.' To such purposes may the Scriptures be wrested by unscrupulous men who have practised on the ignorance, discontent, and suffering of the mass.... We loathe a merely speculative religion, which does not purify the motives, and which robs piety alike of humility and charity; but when the teachers of the great mass of the people unite the imposture of religious and political fanatics, preaching anti-social doctrines as though they were a gospel of truth, the knowledge of the people must be increased, and their intellectual powers strengthened, so as

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<sup>52</sup> PP 1839, XLI, Minute of Proceedings of Committee of Privy Council on Education of the 11<sup>th</sup> April 1839, pp.1-2.

<sup>53</sup> PP 1839, XX (239), James Phillips Kay, Assistant Commissioner, 'The Training of Pauper Children: Second Report', 1 May 1839, *Fifth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, pp.91-99. Paz, *The Politics*, p.90. Also Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p.147; F. Smith, *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth* (London, 1923), p.83.

<sup>54</sup> Simon, *Studies in the History of Education*, pp.41-42.

<sup>55</sup> James Kay-Shuttleworth, 'An Explanation of the Intentions of her Majesty's Government Entitled Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England, Published in 1839', in *Four Periods*, pp.229-230.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p.232.

to enable them to grapple with the error and to overcome it.<sup>57</sup>

Chalmers's and Stow's emphasis on Bible education was also Kay's. His adherence to their programme of moral and religious education is further confirmed by his letter to Chalmers in August 1839. Kay, now the secretary of the CCE, sought to persuade Chalmers to remove his 'distrust' of the CCE's educational plan.

I am one of your own disciples on the great question of the moral & religious elevation of the character of the people of our great Towns & Cities, and knowing how fully I coincide in the greater part of your enlightened and comprehensive views, I hope you will receive from me with some Confidence the assurance that the proceedings of the Government are regarded with an unjust & improper distrust.<sup>58</sup>

Kay was assuring Chalmers the government plan of education would not offend his views. Kay's plan of a normal school in depth agreed with Chalmers, Stow and therefore the GNS's evangelical programme of education.

However, the plan for a government normal school aroused great objections mainly from the Church of England since its catechism was not included as a textbook. Recognising 'so much difficulty in reconciling conflicting views' on religious education, the CCE postponed taking any steps on the plan to form a government normal school and limited the work of the CCE to distributing building grants and inspecting state-supported schools.<sup>59</sup> Further, although the April minutes proposed a grant not exceeding £2,500 to establish normal schools for the NSS and the BFSS,<sup>60</sup> the CCE, in June, decided that even though no application came from either of the societies, the sum of £10,000 granted in 1835 for model schools would be divided equally between them. The CCE, however, made clear that any government grant for establishing a normal school should be 'under the direction of the State' and that the CCE reserved 'the right of inspection' as a condition of

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p.233.

<sup>58</sup> A Letter from Kay to Chalmers, 19 August 1839. CHA4.283.40. Chalmers Papers. NCL.

<sup>59</sup> Paz, *The Politics*, pp.84-87. PP 1839, XLI (284), *A Copy of the Report of the Committee of Council Appointed to Superintend the Application of Any Sums Voted by Parliament for the Purpose of Promoting Public Education, of 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1839.*

<sup>60</sup> PP 1839, XLI (177), *Minutes of Proceedings of Committee of Privy Council on Education of the 11<sup>th</sup> April 1839*, pp.1-3.



making grants for either normal schools or other schools.<sup>61</sup> Although the government plan for a normal school was not realised, the government, through grant giving and inspections, wished to influence the NSS and the BFSS replacing the monitorial system with the training system.

### (3) The training system in government policy

As Paz has pointed out, the CCE used its annual reports in the *Parliamentary Papers* to promote Kay's ideas on pedagogy and school management and to show the expected standard of school buildings.<sup>62</sup> Kay's ideas were also spread through numerous questions to applicants for grants and also through the inspectors' work.<sup>63</sup> Selleck sees this process as the creation of a machinery.<sup>64</sup> As Kay himself was so heavily influenced by Stow, Stow's training system was, through this machinery, also disseminated.

The first attempt of the CCE to set a certain standard of education is found in the minutes of December 1839. The CCE stated that they would limit their aid to two different cases. Firstly they would help those cases where a great deficiency of education for the poorer classes was proved and vigorous efforts had been made for fund raising, but assistance was still needed. This type of restriction had already been imposed by the Treasury, when they limited grant awards to certain areas. However, the second case brought in an entirely new element which took into account the quality of education. The second case to which the CCE awarded their aid was to those where 'competent provision' was made for the instruction of the children in the school, and where a portion of the Scriptures was read daily. The questions that the applicants for the grants were required to answer were laid out in the minutes, and indicate what the CCE meant by 'competent provision'. The questions asked were: whether teachers received teacher training in what model or training school, and for what period of time; the number of classes into which the children were classified; the books used in different level of classes in proficiency; the detailed daily curriculum over a week; the number of monitors; whether they were paid, and, if so,

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<sup>61</sup> PP 1839, XLI (284), *A Copy of the Report of the CCE of 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1839*.

<sup>62</sup> Paz, *The Politics*, p.107.

<sup>63</sup> Smith, *The Life and Work*, pp.96-98.

<sup>64</sup> Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, pp.175-176.

how much per week; the method of education. The question on the method of education was which method was adopted in schools from amongst three different systems: -the system of mutual instruction; the mixed method of instruction; the simultaneous method.<sup>65</sup> Although no further explanations were given in the above minutes, Kay had a clear preference on these points: teachers should be trained in a model school for a certain period; children should be classified based on proficiency; the Bible should be read daily; the use of paid monitors as future teachers; the use of the simultaneous method.<sup>66</sup> In fact, these preferences were made clear in the minutes of February 1840 by the CCE, as will be seen shortly. Setting the conditions within which the CCE would grant aid, the granting process itself promoted the use of the simultaneous method and the daily reading of the Scriptures at schools, in effect guiding the attendance of future teachers to teacher training schools which approved of the method. The training system of the GNS was in this way sanctioned and disseminated.

In the minutes of February 1840 the three different methods of education were explained clearly. The system of mutual instruction, including Bell's system adopted in the NSS and the Lancasterian system in the BFSS, selected monitors from pupils, and children were taught by them individually and in succession. On the other hand, in the simultaneous method, children received instruction simultaneously, not individually and successively, under 'the personal care of the superior master'. The minutes suggested that to conduct this form of instruction in a school of 160 pupils, the children should be divided into four classes, thus needing 4 trained teachers. On the other hand, in the case of a small school consisting of 30 to 60 children, the minutes stated that:

In such a school the classes will be small; but the adoption of the pure system of mutual instruction is by no means on that account necessary: on the contrary, the master can have no reason for not *personally* conducting all the details of instruction in a small school.

The minutes recommended that these small schools should adopt the simultaneous

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<sup>65</sup> PP 1840, XL (18), Extract from Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 3 December 1839, p.7.

<sup>66</sup> PP 1839, XX (239), Kay, 'The Training of Pauper Children: Second Report', pp.92-95.



method, rather than using the mutual method. But when the number of children exceeded that, the minutes stated that the mixed method could be introduced for economical reasons to avoid employing a further trained teacher. In which case, assistants were selected from among the children and employed on a low salary to take charge of those classes which the teacher could not always supervise. These assistants were also expected in future to complete the teacher training course.<sup>67</sup> Although the minutes did not reject the mutual method, their preference was on the side of the simultaneous method and attempted to promote it in two versions according to the financial situation of each school. The Norwood school adopted the mixed method and the minutes of April 1839 also recommended it.

The method of education was closely linked with the floor plan and appliances of schools. The CCE stated by 1841:

Their Lordships have also been desirous that the arrangement of the desks, benches, and school apparatus should be consistent with the progress made in method of teaching in the most approved schools; and they therefore determined to avail themselves of opportunities of advising the promoters of the erection of school-houses concerning such of the defective arrangements which they observed as were capable of alteration without much cost, and as might otherwise prove an obstacle to the improvement of the school.<sup>68</sup>

The CCE rather arbitrarily promoted school plans which corresponded to the simultaneous method to ensure its future adoption. For example, the CCE promised to give the privilege of providing a grant for the master's house to those schools which adopted 'the amended plans of the Committee'.<sup>69</sup>

In the minutes of February 1840, four sets of school plans were made available for school promoters. All the plans included a playground. Plans were also provided for different sizes of schools, including those schools which had adopted the

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<sup>67</sup> PP 1840, XL (254), Extract from the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, February 20<sup>th</sup>, 1840, Relative to the Plans of School-Houses, pp.6-7. Assistants were two types, pupil teachers and assistant teachers. Pupil teachers were selected from pupils and with a low rate of remuneration assisted the teacher from 14 years of age to 17, learning the school management and receiving instruction in elementary subjects from the teacher. Then, pupil teachers became assistant teachers by attending a normal school and improving proficiency by themselves.

<sup>68</sup> PP 1841, XX [317], *Minutes of the Committee of Council of Education, with Appendices. 1840-41*, p.9.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p.13.

‘simultaneous method’ or ‘the mixed method’. For example, for small schools, the class room was equipped with desks set on rising steps (Kay’s adaptation of the gallery). When an infant school was included, a gallery was also attached for infants. The plan of the Norwood school and the plan which the GNS recommended were also shown. For the latter, the CCE noted that the GES chiefly used the school-hall for teaching children in classes by making semicircles, and suggested that this arrangement should be gradually changed to using class rooms with galleries attached for teaching children in classes with the simultaneous method.<sup>70</sup> In fact the GNS soon adopted this suggestion, as has been shown. The CCE’s plans of using the simultaneous method in class rooms were a clear development of Stow’s and the GNS’s use of the gallery in a school hall, adhered to the same principle.

The CCE, however, was gradually taking over from the churches the leading role in the extension of schools.

#### (4) Extending normal schools (seminaries) under the CCE

The expansion of normal schools (seminaries) shows more clearly the extension of the power of the state over education at the expense of the churches. In June 1839, as has been seen, a grant of £10,000 for normal and model schools was divided between the NSS and the BFSS. The former declined the grant because it refused to accept government inspection, while the latter accepted it. After the issue of inspections was settled by having denominational inspectors, however, the NSS also applied for a grant for normal and model schools.<sup>71</sup> Since the CCE promoted the simultaneous method and intellectual Bible training, these two societies were also given incentives in the form of building grants to accept elements of the CCE’s plans. In 1839 a deputation from the NSS visited the GNS and subsequently introduced some elements of the training system into their own normal schools,<sup>72</sup> the Diocesan Training Schools. They did not, however, adopt the system wholesale as Stow later claimed that the system they used was not the training system.<sup>73</sup> By 1839, as far as was consistent with their principles, the BFSS had also introduced the training

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p.17.

<sup>71</sup> PP 1840, XL (124), Return relating to the Sum of £10,000 Voted in 1835 for Normal and Model Schools, p.16. Paz, *The Politics*, pp.99-100, 111.

<sup>72</sup> *Fifth Report of the GES*, p.11.

<sup>73</sup> David Stow, *The Training System* (10<sup>th</sup> edn., London, 1854), p.499.

system, and had erected a normal seminary with galleries and playgrounds.<sup>74</sup> There was also one training college which adopted, in full, the plan of the CCE. This was the training college at Battersea opened in 1840 and managed privately by Kay and E. C. Tufnell, an assistant poor law commissioner. As in the Norwood school, some of the teachers, its headmaster and three or four school masters (trainers) were brought from the GNS.<sup>75</sup> This school obtained a government grant of £1,000 in 1842 and another £2,200 in 1843 for improving the premises.<sup>76</sup> These normal seminaries were founded under the CCE's strong initiative to promote the training system, through the awarding of grants and the application process.

However, this process brought a result that through the award of grants the government rather than the churches came to lead the management of normal seminaries. In 1841 the CCE suggested that, considering the GNS's financial difficulties caused by the erection of the new buildings and annual expenses of the schools, the management of the GNS should be transferred to the education committee of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland.<sup>77</sup> Both parties agreed to the suggestion. In December 1841 the CCE informed the education committee that it would provide a £10,000 grant to the education committee to found two model and normal schools, one in Edinburgh and the other in Glasgow, and also pay £1,000 annually for their maintenance. In the course of providing the grant, the CCE expressed their intention to control the Edinburgh Sessional School of the education committee. The CCE claimed that the plans of the proposed buildings should be prepared by its architect, although they had to be in accordance with the instructions of the education committee. The plans then had to be submitted to the CCE and approved before commencement of the building. Building the new normal school in Edinburgh was expected to be completely under the control of the CCE. In contrast, the buildings of the GNS were highly approved by the CCE. John Gibson, an Inspector of the CCE commented:

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<sup>74</sup> *Fifth report of the GES*, p.11.

<sup>75</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (9<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.481.

<sup>76</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods*, pp.310, 387.

<sup>77</sup> PP 1842, XXXIII (442), Letter from J. P. Kay to John Gibson, p.21. *Church of Scotland Education Committee Report to General Assembly, 1842*, p.22.

At the same Time, should it appear to their Lordships, that, in consideration of the Efforts of the Glasgow Educational Society to promote and improve elementary Education, of the Degree of Success which has already attended their Efforts, and especially of the Existence of a Building in all respects suitable to the efficient conducting of a Normal Seminary, the public Money would be best expended in extending the Machinery and increasing the Efficiency of that Establishment.<sup>78</sup>

In fact, no request was made regarding the buildings of the GNS by the CCE.

Apart from the plans of the buildings, the CCE also made clear that if the model schools and normal seminaries were not satisfactorily maintained and run by the education committee, the annual payments of £500 to each might be discontinued. The CCE also demanded that when a rector for each seminary and headmasters of each model school were appointed, the agreement of the CCE would be necessary. Any of these officers would cease their work should the CCE withdrew their agreement in the appointment. Further, the education committee needed to submit a report on the regulations, management, discipline, and financial condition of each establishment on the request of the CCE. The CCE tried to control establishments in both finance and management.<sup>79</sup> In responding to this, the education committee objected only to one point and wrote to Kay in January 1842. It was that of the requirement for concurrence in the appointment of a rector or headmaster by the CCE,<sup>80</sup> which was withdrawn responding to the request. Overall, however, the CCE took a lead.

Witnessing the growing national movement of Chartism, Kay saw moral and intellectual education as the main antidote to overcome this. Scottish evangelicals' programme of education which placed the Bible at its centre was adopted by Kay and the CCE as their basis for promoting education. The government came to take a strong lead over churches in extending the programme of education.

## **2. The influence of the GNS within Scotland**

Through the approval of the training system by the CCE, the GNS became widely

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., Letter from John Gibson to J. P. Kay, December 1841, p.34.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., Letter from J. P. Kay to John Gordon, 31 December 1841, pp.34-36.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., Letter from John Gordon to J. P. Kay, 13 January 1842, p.38.



influential not only in Scotland but also outside Scotland, including in the colonies. This section examines the influence of the training system in Scotland and considers its backgrounds. Wood argues that the training system failed and declined in Scotland,<sup>81</sup> basing himself on Roberts's article. Roberts argues that in Scotland, in contrast to England, the idea of educating infants faded away especially between the late 1830s and the end of the century, and attributes this to the Scottish tradition which preferred a later start to formal schooling.<sup>82</sup> But Wood and Roberts have both failed to link the influence of the GNS with the government's role in extending the training system. They also ignore that the Scottish evangelicals' programme of education was inseparable from the activity of moral agency for family visitation. Further, in Scotland where parish schools had been already spread in the countryside, the GES itself, as has been shown in chapter IV, aimed to extend the training system in cities, rather than throughout the country.<sup>83</sup> This being so, an investigation of the influence of the training system in Scotland needs to be focused on the urban areas, rather than the country as a whole.

In order to analyse these points, this section first investigates the background of the students of the GNS, and looks at the influence of the training system in Scotland. Finally a decline of the influence after 1843 is also discussed.

#### (1) The students of the GNS

The GNS used not only the Bible but also the Shorter Catechism as did the ordinary parochial schools in Scotland.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, even Episcopalians sent students to the GNS. The Wesleyan Methodists in particular sent a large number of students from England.<sup>85</sup> In 1837 the GES reported:

Students belonging to nearly every one of the principal denominations of professing Christians have been introduced by their respective ministers. Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Independent, Methodists, &c.<sup>86</sup>

From the first year of the new GNS, the interdenominational character of its students

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<sup>81</sup> Wood, *David Stow*, pp.57-61.

<sup>82</sup> A. F. B. Roberts, 'Scotland and Infant Education in the Nineteenth Century', in *Scottish Educational Studies*, 4-1 (1972), pp.39-45.

<sup>83</sup> See chapter IV-2-(2).

<sup>84</sup> Stow, *Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.97-8, 102, 346.

<sup>85</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (6<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.390-391.

<sup>86</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.25.



was obvious. Two reasons can be discerned for this popularity. Firstly, the evangelical character of the GNS's education, highlighting the Bible, attracted students from other evangelical denominations, including those based in England. Secondly, the GNS obtained a distinctive status in that it received the first government grant for a normal seminary. The GNS set the minimum level of attainment for its entrance examination as 'a pretty accurate knowledge' of the Bible, grammar, geography and arithmetic. In the entrance examination of 1840, 17 out of 72 applicants were unsuccessful. Some of these were advised further study for another examination while others were persuaded to give up becoming teachers.<sup>87</sup> In this way, the GNS kept a high standard of students. The GNS awarded a diploma or certificate to students who finished the requisite period and passed examinations on the theory and practice of training.<sup>88</sup> The certificates of the GNS were seen to guarantee the professional quality of the teacher, and the GES reported that some students entered the GNS 'as the surest pathway to promotion and a good salary'. It was observed that a person who previously received £60 or £70 annually would receive £90 or £100 on obtaining the GNS's certificate.<sup>89</sup> The demand for teachers trained at the GNS was also quite high. The GES's 1839 report stated that:

The supply from the Normal Seminary is greatly under the demand, there being at least three or four places open for every male student.<sup>90</sup>

Within a few years after the new GNS's foundation, it established a reputation as a leading normal seminary. Since, as has been shown,<sup>91</sup> the government requested the acceptance of students from any denomination, the GNS's interdenominational character was the mark not only of an evangelical normal seminary but also of a government-aided normal seminary.

The numbers of students including female who attended the GNS increased rapidly. From the commencement of the model schools of the GES in May 1835 to 31 December 1835, 56 (6 female) teachers were admitted and trained. During 1836,

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<sup>87</sup> PP 1842, XXXIII, 'Report by John Gibson Esquire on the Glasgow Normal Seminary, 3 July 1841', Copy of Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education (1841-42)', p.12.

<sup>88</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.18.

<sup>89</sup> *Fifth Report of the GES*, p.12.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> See chapter IV-3-(2).

96 (10 female) teachers were trained and during 1837, 156 students were enrolled. In December 1837, 58 were in attendance although 40 was considered the optimum number to be in training at any one time. The number of the students increased greatly following the creation of the new seminary. Although female teachers were trained at the GNS, conducting more than 30 or 40 children alone was considered beyond their physical energies, despite their high intellectual and moral power. In both infant and juvenile schools, the unit of man and wife, or brother and sister was preferred 'for the nearer we can copy family training in the public school the better'.<sup>92</sup>

The students who entered the GNS normally had to support themselves during their time there. In 1841, each student was requested to pay £3 3s. in fees.<sup>93</sup> In 1838 and 1839 only three persons were paid for wholly, or in part, by the directors but the majority of students had to support themselves during their six months' course. The GNS called for bursaries or funds to support students,<sup>94</sup> but the GES needed to depend on the students' own resources and their hopes of obtaining places with high salaries.

The attractiveness of the GNS can be seen from the background of its students. John Gibson,<sup>95</sup> the school inspector in Scotland, reported to the CCE that in 1840, there were 41 males and 14 females enrolled. Apart from 21 students, including the 14 females, he listed the remaining 34 students' occupations before entering the GNS. The largest group was 21 teachers from 'small adventure country schools' (private schools) who probably hoped to improve their teaching ability and to obtain better salaries. This tendency was same in 1836, some students being already parochial and private teachers.<sup>96</sup> The next largest group consisted of 5 college students. This was a traditional recruitment area for teachers. The third largest was three shop workers and the others were a preacher of the Church of Scotland, a carpenter, a dancing teacher, a portrait painter and a baker.<sup>97</sup> Some input was from the working class and the

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<sup>92</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, pp.15-16. *Fourth Report of the GES*, pp.20-21.

<sup>93</sup> Stow, *Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.103-104.

<sup>94</sup> *Fifth Report of the GES*, p.12.

<sup>95</sup> John Gibson was the minister of Kingston parish, a neighbouring parish of Glasgow and an office bearer of the GES from its commencement to at least 1839. See Table IV-2.

<sup>96</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, pp.16-17.

<sup>97</sup> PP 1842, XXXIII, 'Report by John Gibson Esquire on the Glasgow Normal Seminary, 3

students found becoming a teacher worth attempting even if it meant a complete change of their career.

The GNS's students were drawn from and appointed to a wide range of places. In the GES's report in April 1837, 54 places were listed as sending teachers to the GNS or appointing them after the course. These numbers show the influence of the GNS even before its new buildings were erected. Although the places where students were drawn from and those where students were appointed were not individually identified, at least 48 came from various areas of Scotland as Map V-1 shows.<sup>98</sup> Most of them were from the Lowlands, mainly the west Scotland. Students from Scotland probably included many older students who spent their summer vacation at the GNS or returned to upgrade their skills for a month or two.<sup>99</sup> For students from distant areas lodgings were arranged.<sup>100</sup> The 1837 report also listed areas outside Scotland: Manchester, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Liverpool, Jamaica, Upper Canada and Cape Breton. To Jamaica four teachers were appointed.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless up to 1837, the trainees' connection was still largely to Scotland. However, after 1837, when connections with England and the colonies developed, increasing numbers were drawn from England and the colonies.<sup>102</sup>

This can be contrasted with the state of the Edinburgh Sessional School where generally young men from the Highlands were received as students. Since they were commonly without funds for maintaining themselves they were not only exempted from the entrance fees but also were allowed a small weekly sum for their maintenance costs from the funds of the education committee of the General Assembly.<sup>103</sup>

## (2) The influence of the training system in Scotland

Although the GNS sent many students outside Scotland, their original aim was to

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July 1841', Copy of Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education (1841-42)', p.12.

<sup>98</sup> Two places in (Northern) Ireland, Coleraine and Port-Stewart were also listed.

<sup>99</sup> *Fifth Report of the GES*, p.10.

<sup>100</sup> Stow, *Moral Training* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.113.

<sup>101</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.16.

<sup>102</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (10<sup>th</sup> edn), pp.499, 504-505.

<sup>103</sup> PP1842, XXXIII (442), Memorial in regard to the General Assembly's Normal School, Enclosure of the Letter from John Gordon, the Inspector of Schools in Scotland, to J. P. Kay, p.29.

extend parochial schools using the training system, mainly in Scottish towns. The GES assisted in establishing new schools recommending the adoption of the training system when the government started to support half of the building costs of each school obtaining a grant. A committee of the GES sketched out all the plans of the new schools, following the guideline of the training system and attended meetings of kirk sessions and of directors of schools to persuade them of the advantages and necessity of 'a new organisation of schools and their apparatus, and whole arrangements', succeeding in most cases.<sup>104</sup> After 1840, the CCE's detailed guidance also promoted the training system in Scotland.

A report of the GES in 1837 listed the schools influenced by the training system (Table V-1). All the listed schools were in Glasgow apart from two examples in Paisley and Greenock. Seventeen infant schools and 24 juvenile schools, including those in prospect of immediate establishment, were created. Up to 1834, only 7 schools, 6 infant and 1 juvenile, had been established with small sums, all of them being under the influence of the Glasgow Infant School Society (GISS). The rapid increase of schools using the training system occurred after 1834. One of the driving forces was the start of the government grant. Seven schools across 10 areas founded after 1834, obtained a government grant and at least one infant school founded by 1834 was also provided with a government grant. The main difficulty in establishing schools in large towns was the necessity for large amounts of money for purchasing sites for playgrounds. While in the Partick school, in the suburbs of Glasgow, the cost of the playground was only £130, in St Enoch's schools located in the city centre, the playground, although less than half of the size of the Partick ground, was £900 5s. The GES insisted that:

This fact proves, beyond a doubt, that the system of Moral Training cannot be adopted in Schools generally, in large cities (where the system is most imperiously called for) otherwise than by a very large grant of money from His Majesty's Treasury, expressly for the purpose of purchasing good sized school play-grounds, in connection with school-rooms.<sup>105</sup>

In fact the first government grant for Scotland in 1834 was specifically directed

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<sup>104</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (10<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.20-21.

<sup>105</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.20.



towards great towns in Scotland. Although later grants removed this restriction, Scottish towns received a large amount of the grant up to May 1839.<sup>106</sup> The GES's efforts to promote the training system in towns were greatly supported by the government grant.

Roberts argues for the spread of infant schools in the 1820s and the 1830s based on the *New Statistical Account* published in 1845.<sup>107</sup> However, most of these schools found in it were probably established after 1834 with the government grants. As has been previously shown, infant schools connected with the GISS which were supported by only private subscriptions experienced severe financial difficulties and most of them needed to be transferred to the established churches where each school was located.<sup>108</sup> Roberts identifies the year 1834 when the GISS ceased its activities as an early sign of the decline of the infant school. However, 1834 was the point at which infant schools began to increase as part of Scottish evangelicals' programme of education led by the GES applying the government grant.

According to the information on infant schools supported by the government grant between 1834 and 1842 (Table V-2) and the GES's records (Table V-1), a total of at least 28 infant schools were established in connection with government grants between 1834 and 1842. These included not only schools in large towns (Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen) but also in small villages. In particular, there was a noticeable increase of infant schools in 1841 in smaller towns and villages. Unfortunately the parliamentary papers, showing the schools that obtained government grants in Scotland (Table V-2), do not identify all infant schools. Therefore some schools which had the facility for infants and appeared in the GES's records (Table V-1) do not necessarily appear in the parliamentary record. Infant schools had in reality spread further than the parliamentary papers show. At the same time, the widespread nature of infant schools indicates that the training system was also widely adopted, since the infant school after 1834, with or without the juvenile school, was most likely influenced by the GES.

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<sup>106</sup> Paz, *The Politics*, pp.27, 34. Of the £19,000 used by May 1839, £16,000 was expended in large towns, such as Glasgow, Edinburgh, Paisley, Dundee and Aberdeen.

<sup>107</sup> Roberts, 'Scotland and Infant Education', p.40.

<sup>108</sup> For the situation of the schools connected with the GISS see chapter III-2-(3).



There is also another indication of the spread of the training system. It was the adoption of playgrounds. The CCE's strong promotion of building a certain type of school prompted the use of playgrounds. Among 27 schools in Scotland which applied for the government grant between 1841 and 1842, nearly half (13) adopted playgrounds in their schools. Of the 13, five were infant schools. The similar tendency is found in England and Wales, where among a total of 217 schools which applied between 1841 and 1842, nearly half (107) of the schools had playgrounds attached. Attaching a playground was no more uncommon in Scotland than in England and Wales by that time.<sup>109</sup>

It was, however, not easy to introduce the training system into existing parochial schools in Scotland:

In Scotland, a large number [of teachers] have been appointed in towns and in the country for private, and a few for parochial schools, — to the former more frequently, however, from the difficulty of inducing the heritors to be at the expense of altering the construction of the parish schools, and providing play-grounds and other apparatus.<sup>110</sup>

The extension of schools using the training system was largely limited to towns, which the GES's originally targeted, covering the areas where the traditional parochial schools did not exist or were scarce.

### (3) Decline of the schools using the training system

However, after the early 1840s, the training system suffered from financial difficulties. In 1853, Stow reported the failure of moral training in 30 schools (including 18 infant schools) in Glasgow and its neighbourhood which used the training system and had appointed teachers between 1829 and 1834-5. Two reasons were listed. Firstly, the salaries the school directors provided were too low and teachers moved to other places which paid more. Secondly, since the GNS was in Glasgow, many visitors and directors of other schools could easily visit these schools to offer higher salaries to the teachers. As a result, according to Stow, moral training schools in Glasgow and its neighbourhoods disappeared for nearly ten years, from

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<sup>109</sup> PP 1844, XLII (309), Return of the Number and Locality of Schools in Scotland to which Aid has been Granted by the Educational Committee of the Privy Council, pp.2-21.

<sup>110</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (9<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.482.

1843 to 1853.<sup>111</sup> The Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843 was probably the main reason affecting the management of those schools, since teachers who chose to follow the Free Church of Scotland were forced to leave parochial schools and other endowed schools whose trustees represented the interests of the established church.<sup>112</sup> As was reported in 1839, students with first rate certification who finished the minimum six months' course tended to go to England, where higher salaries were offered, especially in infant departments.<sup>113</sup> However, the Disruption created immediate financial difficulties for the established church, including its schools, since it lost many members. This situation would have made it financially difficult to keep those teachers in place, even if they chose to stay in the established church.

Schools using the training system faced decline after 1843, in particular in towns, but had flourished between especially 1834 and 1843 helped by the government grant. As the GES originally intended, this expansion of schools with the training system went with the church extension movement, which added 222 new churches between 1834 and 1841,<sup>114</sup> and the interdenominational organisation of local Sabbath schools, increasing the number of Sabbath school teachers, for example, in Glasgow, from 629 in 1838 to 1378 in 1842 (see Table V-3).<sup>115</sup> Both of them worked to strengthen the moral forces for visiting the working-class families. Unlike Roberts and Wood's arguments, schools using the training system were most firmly extended within Scotland.

### **3. Influence of the training system outside Scotland**

Outside Scotland, the influence of the training system reached beyond Britain. This section investigates the impact of the system in England and two areas of the Empire (Australia and the West Indies) and considers the reasons for the success and failure of the system in these different contexts. Although Wood has argued that the training

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., pp.452-455.

<sup>112</sup> Donald Withrington, 'The Free Church Educational Scheme, 1843-50', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, vol.15 (1966), p.105.

<sup>113</sup> *Fifth Report of the GES*, p.28.

<sup>114</sup> Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, pp. 236, 276, 278.

<sup>115</sup> See chapter VI-4 and also, *Fourth Annual Report of the GSSU*, pp.9-10, 28.

system worked in the colonies and in England,<sup>116</sup> he has not looked at each case in connection with the role of government and the condition of communities where the system was introduced. Since the GES's programme itself supposed working with government grant and the existence of moral agents in a school set up in a community, it is important to investigate the condition in which each case was carried out.

The first part looks at the case of introducing the training system into England and Wales, and the second and third parts investigate its influence into the two colonial areas, Australia and the West Indies. These analyses are important to clarify further the feature of the Scottish evangelicals' programme of education.

#### (1) The adoption of the training system in England & Wales

Until 1840, when Kay and Tufnell opened a normal seminary at Battersea, the GNS was the only institution where ordinary students could learn the training system since the Norwood school took students only from the workhouses. In fact the government requested many teachers from the GNS to be sent to different schools in England.

The largest demand for teachers from the GNS came from the workhouse schools under the poor law commission. This situation continued even after the GNS's main staff moved to create the Glasgow Free Church Normal Seminary (GFNS) in 1845. In 1853, it was reported that since 1837 around 200 teachers had been sent to the poor law unions of England.<sup>117</sup> However, Stow in 1854 complained of the ignorance of the workhouse school guardians of the role of school teachers. Four-fifths of the teachers sent to the workhouse schools from the GNS and the GFNS moved to teach in neighbouring parishes, or other schools where they were not required to give 'the overwhelming and unprofessional labour' normally expected by the poor law guardians.

The Poor Law guardians in general so little understand the proper position and office of a schoolmaster, that it is not surprising that paupers have sometimes been employed as teachers; hence they have been required not merely to teach and train the children, but to superintend even dormitory matters, which are duties only suitable for female servants.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Wood, *David Stow*, pp.57-61.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p.488.

<sup>118</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (10<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.505.

Despite this criticism, the fact that a large number of newly trained teachers from the GNS were sent to workhouse schools in the first place, indicates a dilemma which the GNS faced as the first government-funded normal seminary, since the GNS originally expected to expand parochial schools using the training system. The grants for extending schools and normal seminaries by the government were, from the beginning and under the authority of the CCE, limited to improving education for the children of the poor.<sup>119</sup> The GNS therefore could not have rejected the requests from the poor law unions. Stow, however, stated that 'we believe nine out of ten [teachers] have been picked up by neighbouring clergymen at much higher salaries'.<sup>120</sup> These trained teachers were to discover the value of their training at a later stage in their career after their initial work in the workhouse schools. The relationship between the teacher training at the GNS and the poor law unions was problematic in other ways too. The training system was originally developed to form part of the parochial system, and was supposed to include various social classes in a single school, as was the case in the parochial school. However, the workhouse schools lacked the social mixture, and also lacked family lives, which the original programme had assumed. From the beginning, the implementation of the training system into the workhouse schools had a problematic element.

Similar problems can be discerned in the introduction of the training system to a reformatory school. The government requested trained teachers from the GNS for the first government reformatory founded in 1838. Stow stated that around 1838, one student was appointed to Parkhurst reformatory prison, Isle of Wight, which was under the patronage of the government, although the use of the training system was stopped within a few years by his death.<sup>121</sup> Russell, the Home Secretary aimed to

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<sup>119</sup> The first government grant provided to England in 1833 aimed to extend schools for 'the children of the poorer classes'. This policy was followed in the grant for Scotland in 1834. The CCE also accepted only applications for building grants from 'very poor and populous districts' and those for grants for training teachers of 'the Children of the Poor'. PP 1835, XL (236), Copy of Treasury Minute, Dated 21<sup>st</sup> October 1834, p.687. PP 1839, XL (282), 'An Account of the Expenditure', p.2. PP 1839, XLI (284), 'A Copy of the Report of the CCE (3 June 1839)'. PP 1842, XXXIII (442), Letter from J. P. Kay to Horace Powys, 29 December 1841, Copy of Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education (1841-42), p.49.

<sup>120</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (10<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.505-506.

<sup>121</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (9<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.491-492. Stow, *The Training System* (6<sup>th</sup> edn.),



provide education for juvenile offenders in the reformatory, but considered it important to remove them from their parents' or relatives' bad influence. He, therefore, argued that after being educated for some occupation they might be sent out to the colonies and thus an 'effectual reformation might take place'. He recognised that the colonies would not receive convicts because it would give them 'a penal character'.<sup>122</sup> By this time, Australian colonists had been taking free immigrants, but demanded 'vigorous and efficient labour' rather than emigrants from amongst the poor sent by the parochial funds, as had occurred between 1831 and 1834.<sup>123</sup> John Dunmore Lang (1799-1878), Presbyterian minister and politician in Australia, also insisted to the government that Australia would only benefit if an increased immigration of free settlers came from amongst those who kept the moral and religious discipline as expected at home.<sup>124</sup> The reformatory expected 320 boys in two divisions to be brought from other local prisons and intended to send them to 'a distant colony' at the end of their imprisonment. Those who were not sufficiently rehabilitated to satisfy the Home Secretary were sent to Australia as ordinary convicts.<sup>125</sup> In reality after remaining at the school for two or three years, the children were usually sent to Australia.<sup>126</sup> The training system was expected to transfer formerly convicted children into useful labourers with moral and religious discipline.

After some additions were made to the prison in 1843, two students were again sent from the GNS to the Parkhurst reformatory by order of the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, and they worked there until military training was introduced. Stow in 1845 expected that this would be 'one of the most interesting experiments yet made

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pp.391-392.

<sup>122</sup> *Hansard*, third series, 42, 26 April 1838, p.612.

<sup>123</sup> Eric Richards, 'How Did Poor People Emigrate from the British Isles to Australia in the Nineteenth Century?', *The Journal of British Studies*, 32-3 (Jul., 1993), pp.259-261.

<sup>124</sup> D. W. A. Baker, *Days of Wrath: A Life of John Dunmore Lang* (Carlton, 1985), pp.75-76.

<sup>125</sup> S. Redgrave, 'Abstract of Criminal Tables for England and Wales, 1837; with Remarks Thereupon, Chiefly by the Compiler, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 1-4 (Aug., 1838), pp.242, 244-245. Kay's report on Holland's prison for juvenile delinquents is attached to this article.

<sup>126</sup> The other destination was New Zealand. John A. Stack, 'Deterrence and Reformation in Early Victorian Social Policy: The Case of Parkhurst Prison, 1838-1864', *Historical Reflections*, 6-2 (Winter, 1979), p.391. 'Parkhurst Boys 1842-1862', Dead Persons' Society (Perth, Western Australia) website.



in prison discipline' and stated that the prison was now equipped with galleries and playgrounds for the training system. In 1854, however, Stow came to believe that only one of the two establishments in Parkhurst Prison had been conducted along the lines of the training system,<sup>127</sup> and by then the training system had been already abandoned by the reformatory school. In fact, the gallery of one of the reformatory schools (in the probationary ward) had stalls to prevent children seeing each other (see Figure V-1), which would have disturbed the effect of sympathy of numbers. Stow stated that twenty one of the most improved prisoners received free pardon and were now employed as mechanics or labourers at home. In addition, more than forty, who had not found suitable jobs at home, were sent to Australia, receiving a free pardon.<sup>128</sup> Those boys Stow mentioned were part of many boys who were sent to Australia and were probably among the most improved children. Between 1842 and 1852, 1,498 boys were sent to New Zealand and Australia not only as free emigrants (only 30) but also as apprentices to local settlers and even as convicts.<sup>129</sup>

However, this scheme met great hostility, first from New Zealand, and the government soon stopped sending boys there. In Australia, because of the shortage of labour, they were initially welcomed or accepted with tolerance, but those boys' rebelliousness and notorious activities gained a bad reputation. Complaints were repeatedly made, leading Port Phillip to stop accepting them in the late 1840s and Western Australia later.<sup>130</sup> While the training system, which aimed to cultivate Christian principles and habits, contributed to reform juvenile offenders, the effect was really limited. The condition of the reformatory was worse than workhouse schools in terms of the lack of family lives and also social mixture. Although a part

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[<http://members.iinet.net.au/~perthdps/convicts/park.html>]

<sup>127</sup> One of the two teachers was working in the junior ward. (Stow, *Training System*, 10<sup>th</sup> edn., p.507.) There was a probationary ward to which all new inmates were sent for four months, confined to cells except for spending time in the chapel, the schoolroom or exercise area, and afterwards they were divided into the junior ward for the younger inmates and the general ward for the older inmates. Probably Stow saw two divisions between the probationary ward and the other two wards. Stack, 'Deterrence and Reformation', p.394.

<sup>128</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (9<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.491-492. Stow, *The Training System* (6<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.391-392. Stow, *The Training System* (10<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.506-508. 'Parkhurst Prison', *The Illustrated London News*, 254-10 (13 March 1847), pp.165-166.

<sup>129</sup> Stack, 'Deterrence and Reformation', p.404. Richards, 'How Did Poor People Emigrate', p.271. 'Parkhurst Boys 1842-1862'.

<sup>130</sup> Stack, 'Deterrence and Reformation', pp.399-401.

of the reason for the limited success of the training system at the reformatory can be attributed to the government's priority of sending those boys to Australia as labourers, the main problem was derived from the condition in which the training system was put into operation, as was the case in the workhouse schools.

The GNS sent many teachers to England, responding to the government's call. The training system was seen as a panacea for reforming paupers and the young offenders into secure labours for the society. To use the training system as a panacea also meant to use it as an independent means disconnected from the parochial system with which was originally intended to be associated. The weakness of this independent use of the training system was probably the main cause of the failure of using the training system in the workhouse schools and Parkhurst reformatory.

## (2) The introduction of the training system in Australia

The GNS, with the promotion of the government, also sent teachers beyond England and Wales. Although by early 1837 the GNS had already sent some teachers to Jamaica and also received requests from Upper Canada,<sup>131</sup> by the end of 1837, the GNS started to support a government scheme to send teachers to other British colonies. The two main destinations were Australia and the West Indies.

During 1837, 17 teachers were sent to Australia, requested by John Danmore Lang, each teacher with £60 of government grant for outfit and travel costs.<sup>132</sup> After the failure of introducing the Irish national system of education into New South Wales in 1835, the colonial government agreed in 1836 to grant 'each communion' separate sums for education based on their own principles.<sup>133</sup> Lang welcomed this since he hoped that British colonies such as New South Wales would be allowed scriptural and Protestant education.<sup>134</sup> In 1836, Governor Arthur George in Van Diemen's Land, where the same system as in New South Wales was applied,<sup>135</sup> insisted that 'to increase and establish the Spiritual Church of Christ' was the main

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<sup>131</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.16.

<sup>132</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.21. Volumes & Proceedings of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, 1844, Vol. 11, Peter Steel, Examined by the Lowe Committee on Education (9 July 1844), p.524. GNS/6/1/7. Jordanhill Archives.

<sup>133</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.30.

<sup>134</sup> Baker, *Days of Wrath*, pp.105-106.

<sup>135</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, p.30.

point of the new policy in addition to removing 'that Convict taint' from 'the rising generation'.<sup>136</sup> Lang hoped to establish a few schools in each colony, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and a normal school in Sydney to train native teachers. In total he requested 12 juvenile and 4 infant school teachers, guaranteeing them annual salaries between £75 and £100.<sup>137</sup>

The GES trained 17 selected persons from sixty applicants to be trained in the GNS for a few months prior to sailing for Australia. They reached Australia in December 1837 and all of them probably worked in New South Wales.<sup>138</sup> In 1844 one of these teachers, Peter Steel, described the differences of conditions between Scotland and the colony as 'a school of well disciplined scholars and one composed of rude and awkward children'. Some who had teaching experiences returned to use 'their old plan', others were 'compelled to carry on their school as they best could'.<sup>139</sup> Actually, the well disciplined model schools in the GNS were backed by moral agencies in the community. Not only the lack of practical experience by the teachers, but also, rather chiefly, the lack of parochial agencies in the communities caused the failure in implementing the training system in the colony. In New South Wales, after the teachers arrived at Sydney, a schism occurred in the Presbyterian church and this posed difficulties to missionary activities.<sup>140</sup> As the GES supposed, without such agencies, any schools even in Scotland would not have been successful.<sup>141</sup>

The government's support was also not sufficient to extend schools on the lines of the training system. Up until 1848, the government grant largely went to the Protestant Orphan Schools (boarding), conducted by Anglican principles and other Anglican schools. The government grant was made an equal sum to the money raised for the school either by private subscriptions or by school fees of parents. Whilst the above Anglican schools obtained in total £8,950 out of £14,700 in New South Wales

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<sup>136</sup> Arthur to Glenelg, 26 January 1836, enclosed in Glenelg to Richard Bourke, 13 August 1836. Historical Records of Australia, I, xviii, 486-90, quoted in A. G. Austin (ed.), *Select Documents in Australian Education, 1788-1900* (Melbourne, 1963), p.44.

<sup>137</sup> *Third Report of the GES*, pp.30-31.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p.31. Steel, Examination by the Lowe Committee on Education, p.524.

<sup>139</sup> Steel, Examination by the Lowe Committee on Education, p.524.

<sup>140</sup> Baker, *Days of Wrath*, pp.140-158.

<sup>141</sup> See chapter IV-2-(3).



in 1840, denominational schools received only £3,150.<sup>142</sup> Not only Lang's plan to establish a normal seminary using the training system failed, but also the government support to the teachers' salaries was insufficient leading many of them to work in private schools.<sup>143</sup> The introduction of the training system to Australia was very limited and did not succeed.

### (3) The introduction of the training system in the West Indies

The case of the West Indies tells a different story. The passing of the Act of Emancipation in 1833 gave a new incentive to promote education for children of the emancipated slaves in the West Indies. In 1835 the government decided to grant different Protestant missionaries £20,000 for building schools and £5,000 for their normal schools, and similar grants continued up to 1845.<sup>144</sup> The Mico Charity established in 1835 was one of the missionary societies involved.<sup>145</sup> It had a special relationship with the government, as Stow called it the Government Mico Charity,<sup>146</sup> agreeing with it to undertake teacher training in normal schools as well as promoting elementary schools for native children in certain areas in the West Indies.<sup>147</sup> It held non-denominational principles,<sup>148</sup> and also shared evangelical sentiments with the GES. J. M. Trew, secretary to the charity,<sup>149</sup> considered 'the Word of God to be the

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<sup>142</sup> A. G. Austin, *Australian Education 1788-1900* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., Carlton, 1972), p.49. 'Governor Gipps Abandons his Proposals, and Reflects on the Educational Needs of New South Wales (Gipps to Normanby, 9 Dec. 1839. Historical Records of Australia, I, xx, 428-30), in Austin (ed.), *Select Documents*, p.78. For the Protestant Orphan Schools, see John Ramsland, *Children of the Back Lanes* (Kensington, Australia, 1986), pp.25-48, 54-55. Jan Kociumbas, *Australian Childhood* (St Leonards, Australia, 1997), p.43.

<sup>143</sup> Steel, Examination by the Lowe Committee on Education, pp.519, 524.

<sup>144</sup> Charles H. Wesley, 'The Rise of Negro Education in the British Empire—II', *The Journal of Negro Education*, 2-1 (Jan., 1933), p.69. Carl Campbell, 'Denominationalism and the Mico Charity Schools in Jamaica, 1835-1842', *Caribbean Studies*, 10-4 (1971), p.152.

<sup>145</sup> The origin of the charity was the death in 1710 of Lady Mico who left a sum to liberate white Christian slaves in Barbary. In 1834 when the slaves were emancipated T. F. Buxton, who became one of its trustees, suggested that the interest of the money be applied to the Christian education of the emancipated slaves in the West Indies. Stow, *The Training System, Moral Training School, and Normal Seminary* (10<sup>th</sup> edn., London, 1854), pp.509-510 notes.

<sup>146</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.22.

<sup>147</sup> Wesley, 'The Rise of Negro Education—II', pp.71-72. Campbell, 'Denominationalism and the Mico Charity Schools', p.154.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p.153.

<sup>149</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, p.22.

only right basis upon which a Christian education can rest'.<sup>150</sup>

When the government grant of 1837 increased to £30,000, the Mico Charity received about £14,000, the largest grant among missionaries.<sup>151</sup> In the same year, 16 teachers, with their wives (including teachers), trained in the GNS were, on the request of the Mico Charity, sent to Antigua, St Lucia, Tobago, Grenada, St Vincent, Trinidad, Jamaica in the West Indies (and also Mauritius), mostly the areas the government had requested the Mico Charity to build schools. The sum of £150 was, with the government grant, guaranteed to each person annually and half of the sum for the course at the GNS was paid. In comparison with teachers sent to Australia, one and a half or twice the salary was promised.<sup>152</sup> One of the students, John Miller, became rector of a normal seminary established in Antigua to train native teachers from 'the negro population' and it was reported that in 1839 'ten good Christian blacks' were ready to be sent to schools. In 1854 Stow estimated this normal seminary as 'a most successful enterprise' and he was proud of the fact that a large number of native students were trained at the seminary. Miller was also in charge of superintending all the Mico Charity schools in the different islands and was later succeeded by Sydney Stead, also a former student of the GNS. By 1845, there were between 20 and 30 teachers sent to the West Indies for both private schools and for the Mico Charity.<sup>153</sup>

Campbell argues that the Mico Charity schools were successful and lasted long in those areas where the Mico teachers were supported by the missionary who had a dominant influence on parents in the area and with whom the teachers had the same religious affiliations. The Presbyterians, the Moravians and the Methodists were among those who worked with the Mico teachers.<sup>154</sup> When the schools were supported by such moral agencies, as was assumed in the GES's original plan they succeeded.<sup>155</sup> The Mico Charity's associations with these three denominations also

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<sup>150</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (10<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.510.

<sup>151</sup> Wesley, 'The Rise of Negro Education—II', p.78.

<sup>152</sup> *Fourth Report of the GES*, pp.22-24. Campbell, 'Denominationalism and the Mico Charity Schools', p.154.

<sup>153</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (10<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.509-511. Stow, *Training System* (6<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.390.

<sup>154</sup> Campbell, 'Denominationalism and the Mico Charity Schools', pp.164-165.

<sup>155</sup> For the discussion of the GES of the importance of parochial agencies, see chapter



suggest that evangelicals co-operated with each other in extending the training system. In fact a member of the German missionaries of the Moravian Brethren translated Stow's *Training System* into German.<sup>156</sup>

This chapter has shown that the government, in particular after the CCE's formation in 1839, approved of the core elements of the training system which Scottish evangelicals promoted: moral training and Bible intellectual training. In confronting the growing Chartist movement, the educational methods promoted by secretary to the CCE, Kay, were largely influenced by the Scottish evangelicals' programme of education. This reliance on their methods, however, had a negative aspect when the training system was promoted separately from the parochial system on which it was based. By the government's requests, the GNS sent many teachers to England and Wales and the colonies. In the case of schools in Britain, where the government-aided normal seminaries existed, the success of the training system was chiefly dependent on whether it was promoted on the basis of the parochial system. In Scotland, the GES's efforts extending parochial schools with the training system went with the church extension movement and organising local Sabbath schools. However, introducing the training system into schools, such as workhouse schools and reformatories, isolated from society and parochial agencies failed. In the case of introducing the training system into colonies, the same principle also applied, while adequate government aid was also crucial. Australia lacked moral agencies to support the training system and also failed to establish government-aided normal seminaries. The case of the West Indies was the reverse, and successful, even supported by an evangelical tide in Europe.

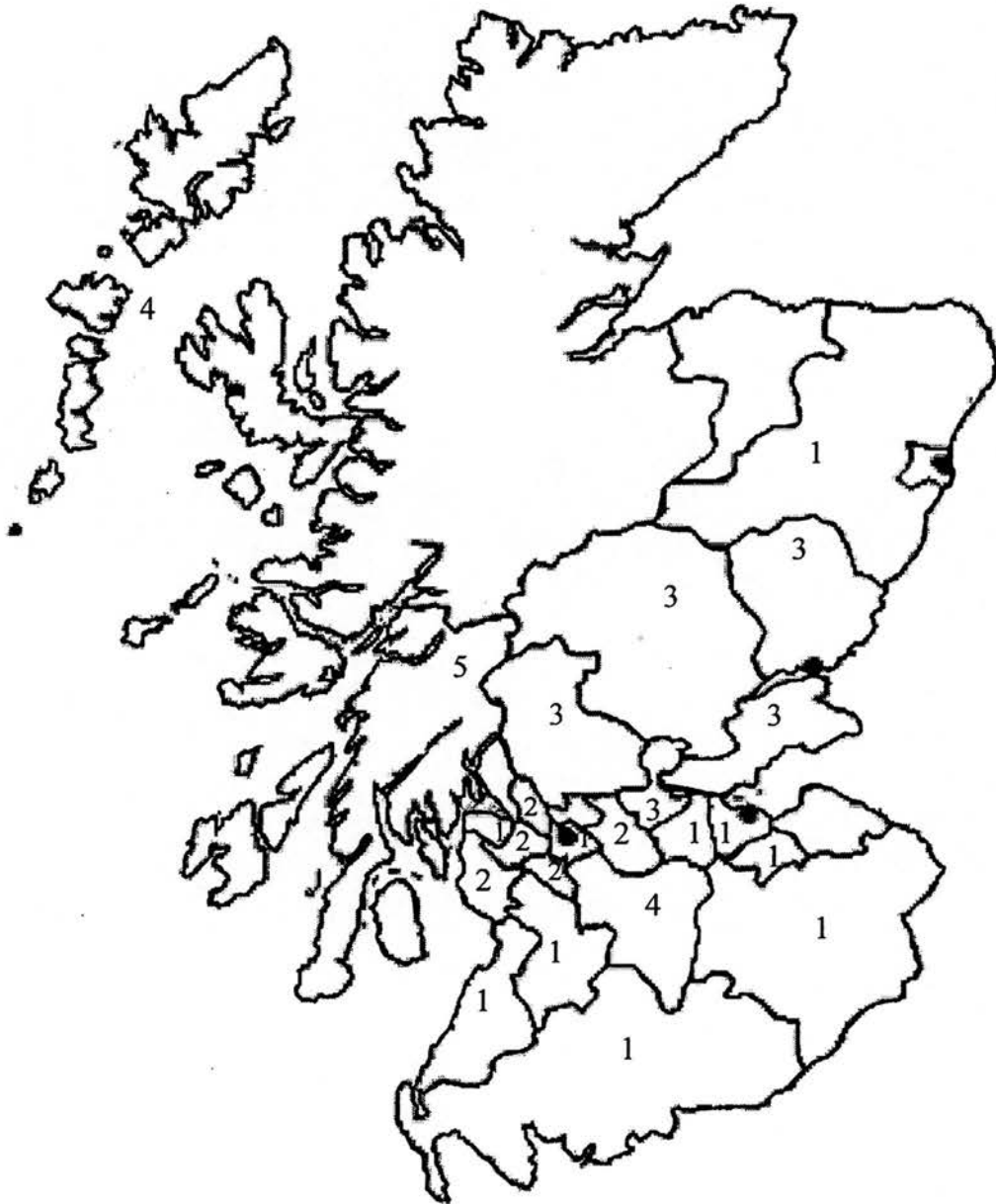
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IV-2-(3).

<sup>156</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (10<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.509-511. Stow, *Training System* (6<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.390.

Appendix

Map V-1 Locations and schools from which teachers went to the Normal Seminary and to which teachers were appointed by April 1837



See the following page for the names of locations and schools

**Map V-1      Locations and schools from which teachers went to the Normal Seminary and to which teachers were appointed by April 1837 (Continued)**

<b>Modern terminology</b>	<b>Numbers</b>	<b>Places and schools connected with the Seminary</b>
North Ayrshire	2	Ayrshire/ Kilwinning
East Ayrshire	1	Dunlop
South Ayrshire	1	Girvan
Edinburgh	1	Leith
Falkirk	3	Grangemouth/ Polmont/ Falkirk
Borders	1	Duns
Renfrewshire	2	Johnston/ Paisley
East Renfrewshire	2	Neilston/ Clarkston
Inverclyde	1	Greenock
Perth&Kinross	3	Kenmore/ Muthill/ Perthshire
Dumfries&Galloway	1	Moffat
North Lanarkshire	2	Bellshill/ / Shotts
South Lanarkshire	4	Carluke/ Glassford/ Hamilton/ Newton
Glasgow	1	Glasgow&Suburbs
Argyll&Bute	5	Helensburgh/ Inverary/ Kilfinnan/ Lochlomond-side/ Buteshire
Stirling	3	Killin/ Doune/ Stirlingshire
Angus	3	Brechin/ Glamis/ Montrose
Fife	3	Markinch/ Comrie/ Dunfermline
West Dunbartonshire	2	Bonhill/ Milngavie
Mid Lothian	1	Mid-Lothian
West Lothian	1	Mid-Calder
Aberdeenshire	1	Banffshire
Western Isles	4	Stornoway/ Iona/Islay/ Skye

Source: *Third Report of the GES* (Glasgow, 1837), p.16.

Note: In the original text, places from which teachers were received to the Normal Seminary and schools to which teachers were appointed were not distinguished. The names of the places given in the original text are in the third columns. The numbers given in the map, which also correspond with those in the table under the map, show those of places or schools which connected with the Seminary in either of the above explained ways. The place recorded just as 'Ayrshire' is included in 'North Ayrshire'.

**Table V-1 The schools in Glasgow and its surrounding areas influenced by the training system by April 1837**

Place	Remarks	Infant School Juvenile School	Cost	Government Grant
<b>Marlborough St., St John's</b>		Infant	£650	
<b>Chalmers' St. St John's</b>	with Female School of Industry	Infant	£1130	
<b>Drygate St. Inner High</b>		Infant	£150	
<i>Saltmarket St. St Andrew's</i>		Infant	£150	
<b>Cowcaddens Barony</b>		Infant	£403	£150 (1835)
<i>Annfield St John's</i>		Juvenile	£240	
<b>St David</b>		Infant/Juvenile	£2080	£125(1838-promised)
St Enoch's		Infant/Juvenile	£1877	£750 (1835)
Anderston and St Mark's		Infant Juvenile (2)	£2050	£850 (1836)
St Luke's		Juvenile	£750	£395 (1838)
St Peter's		Infant/Juvenile	£900	
Gorbals		Infant/Juvenile	£1340	£600 (1836)
Partick		Infant/Juvenile	£1020	
Glasgow	Parochial Training schools-prospective	Infant (3) Juvenile (6)	£5957	
Glasgow	Normal Seminary & 4 model schools	Infant Juvenile (3)	£6500	£1,000 (1838)
Paisley	Sessional Training School	Infant Juvenile (4)	£2430	£700 (1836)
Greenock	Highlander's Training Academy	Infant Juvenile (2)	£2400	£600 (1837)

Notes: All items except the government grant are taken from *the Third Report of the Glasgow Educational Society's Normal Seminary, 1836* (Glasgow, 1837), pp.18-19. PP1839 XLI (282), Government grant figures are from 'An account of the expenditure of the several sums of £10,000, granted by Parliament in the years 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837 and 1838, for the erection of school-houses or model schools in Scotland', pp.2-25. Bold type in 'Place' shows schools that had already been established by 1834. Italic type shows schools that were Model Schools of the Glasgow Infant School Society in 1834. See Stow, *Moral Training*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Glasgow, 1834), p.294. St. David had only an Infant school in 1834.

**Table V-2 Infant schools in Scotland with government grants—1834-1842**

<b>Places</b>	<b>Year of grants</b>	<b>Grants</b>	<b>Type of schools</b>
<b>Glasgow (Cowcaddens)</b>	<b>1835</b>	<b>£150</b>	<b>Infant School</b>
Banff	1836	£100	Infant School
Brechin	1837	£220	Infant School
Dundee	1837	£240	Infant School
Elgin	1837	£150	Infant School
Glasgow (Anderston)		£300	Infant School
Thornliebank, Renfrewshire	1837 (promised)	£160	Infant School
<b>Glasgow (St David's)</b>	<b>1838 (promised)</b>	<b>£125</b>	<b>Juvenile/Infant</b>
Glasgow (St George's)	1839	£700	Juvenile/Infant
Perth (Middle Church)	1839	£600	Juvenile/Infant
Dumfries	1839		Infant School
Dundee (North East)	1839		Infant/Juvenile/ School of Industry
Dysart	1839		Infant/Female Industrial School
Alva, Stirling	1841	£116 10s	Infant School
Dunfermline	1841	£280	Infant School
Innes, Auldearn	1841		Infant School
Montrose, Montrose	1841		Infant School
St John's, Montrose	1841		Infant School
Stirling	1841	£133	Infant School
Portsoy	1841	£180	Infant School
Brydekirk	1841	£45	Infant School
Ayr	1842		Infant/Juvenile

Sources: PP 1837 XXXIX (304), Return of applications from Scotland for participation in the grants for schools', pp.2-9. PP 1839 XLI (282), An account of the expenditure of the several sums of £10,000, granted by Parliament in the years 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837 and 1838, for the erection of school-houses or model schools in Scotland, pp.2-25. PP 1844 XLII (309), Return of the Number and Locality of Schools in Scotland to which Aid has been granted by the Educational Committee of the Privy Council; distinguishing the Schools required by the Constitution or Title deeds of the National School Society or the British and Foreign School Society; and those not required to be in connexion with either of these Societies, or with the Established Church of Scotland, pp.2-21. PP 1842 XXXIII, Statistics of Applications for Aid from the Parliamentary Grant, which have been considered and determined by the Committee of Council on Education, in the Year 1841-42, pp.286-303.

Note: Bold letters show those items also appeared in Table V-1.

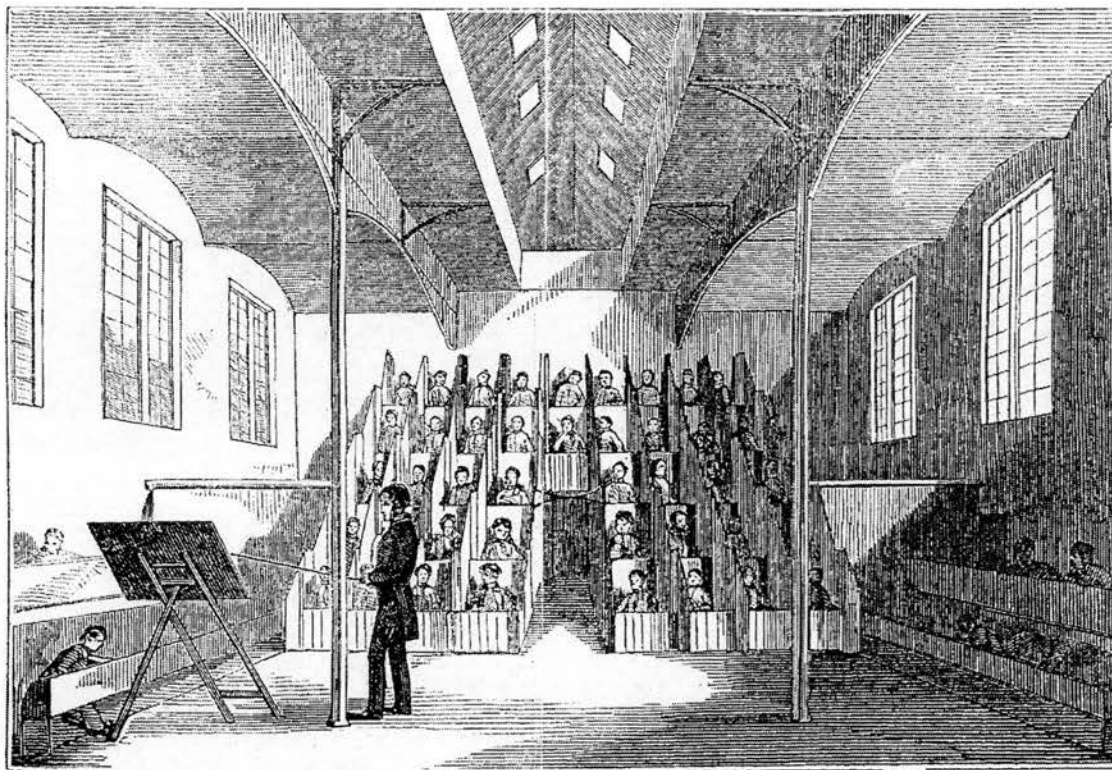


**Table V-3 Dissenters and the development of their Sabbath schools in Glasgow and its suburbs**

	<b>All schools</b>	<b>Dissenters' schools</b>	<b>All teachers</b>	<b>Dissenters' teachers (%)</b>	<b>All children</b>	<b>Dissenters' children (%)</b>
1838	342	17	629	106 (16.9)	12852	1238 (9.6)
1839	401	19	905	262 (29.0)	17273	3186 (18.4)
1840	437	40	1103	321 (29.1)	20063	3808 (19.0)
1841	484	68	1325	465 (35.1)	21922	5951 (27.1)
1842	531	89	1378	556 (40.3)	23830	6921 (29.0)
1843	525	78	1397	593 (42.4)	25073	7777 (31.0)
1844	476	235	1447	771 (53.3)	23459	11124 (47.4)
1845	468	274	1747	1027 (58.8)	26836	13957 (52.0)
1846	463	270	1815	1120 (61.7)	26010	17959 (69.0)

Sources: For the years from 1838 to 1840, annual reports of the meetings of the Teachers and Friends of Sabbath Schools. As to the years from 1841 to 1846 annual reports of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union.

**Figure V-1** School of the probationary ward in Parkhurst Prison



Source: *The Illustrated London News*, 254-10 (13 March 1847), p.165.

## **Chapter VI**

### **A new framework of working-class education in Scotland**

If, as has been shown in the previous chapter, the Disruption cut off Scottish evangelicals from the parochial system and the parochial school, both of which were based on the established church, did the Free Church cut itself off from pursuing an evangelical programme of education? Actually it survived the Disruption and in this process the government played a significant role. This chapter investigates how the Scottish evangelicals were able to continue their programme of education, in a situation in which things did not work in the way they did before.

To investigate this point, it is important to look at especially how they reconstructed the element of moral forces on which the GES was based. There was also another major event which had a positive effect on the fate of Scottish evangelicals' programme. This was the 1841-42 distress in manufacturing towns represented by Paisley. Paisley was special among those towns affected by the distress at that period in that the government intervened in the local management of poor relief by sending a government official. After this event, the government set up a commission to scrutinise the poor law, and, based on its report of 1844, the Poor Law Amendment Act was enacted in 1845. Since the act mostly followed the report, it is important to see whether the report supported Scottish evangelicals' ideas.

Historians have been divided on this point. Cage and Mitchison both agree that the report accepted the same philosophy as expressed by Chalmers, but Mitchison also finds some practical and modernising innovations such as the creation of the new central board and the provision of medical aid, which would have revised the act's philosophy.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, other historians see the report (or the Act of 1845) as a victory for the idea that a compulsory rate for poor relief was necessary,<sup>2</sup> although some of them admit that it was not a total victory and Chalmers's ideas had long influence even under the 1845 Act.<sup>3</sup> Although many historians find lasting influence of Chalmers's ideas under the 1845 Act, they all fail to acknowledge that Chalmers's experiment itself was closely scrutinised by the commission and its core methods were approved by the 1844 report, as applicable to large towns, together with the

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<sup>1</sup> Cage, *The Scottish Poor Law*, pp.142, 150-157. Mitchison, 'Scotland', pp.205-206. Mitchison, *The Old Poor Law*, pp.210, 215.

<sup>2</sup> Ian Levitt and Christopher Smout, *The State of the Scottish Working-Class in 1845* (Edinburgh, 1979), p.184. M. A. Crowther, 'Poverty, Health and Welfare', in Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland, Vol.II. 1830-1914* (Edinburgh, 1995), pp.266-268. Paterson, 'The Poor Law in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', p.174. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p.350.

<sup>3</sup> Levitt and Smout, and Crowther take this view.

Scottish evangelicals' programme of education.

Keeping these points in mind, this chapter investigates the process of how the Scottish evangelicals' programme survived the Disruption in the following four parts. The first section studies how the Scottish evangelicals secured a normal seminary using the training system after the Disruption. The second and third sections discuss how the Paisley affair influenced the fate of the programme of Scottish evangelicals and analyses the 1844 poor law report's approval of the programme. Finally, Scottish evangelicals' efforts to form a new framework in extending the training system are discussed.

## **1. The transfer of the GNS after the Disruption**

As has been shown, in 1841, considering the GES's huge debts mainly caused by the erection of new buildings, the CCE proposed the GNS's transfer to the education committee of the General Assembly and this suggestion was accepted by both parties.<sup>4</sup> However the Disruption took place in May 1843 and around 38 % of the clergymen of the Church of Scotland left to found the Free Church.<sup>5</sup> Predicting the possible secession, just before the Disruption, the condition on which the GNS was transferred to the education committee of the General Assembly was changed.

In 1841 it had been agreed between the CCE and the education committee that the transfer of the GNS to the education committee was to be carried out on the condition that the CCE granted £5,000 for defraying a part of the debt of the GNS (£10,677) after which the education committee would become responsible for the remainder.<sup>6</sup> To meet this condition the education committee started in 1842 to raise the £10,000 needed: £5,000 for erecting a new building for a normal seminary in Edinburgh and £5,000 to clear the remaining debt of the GES. However, church collections were not used for this purpose and most of the subscription was made on the condition that if the Disruption took place, the money would not be paid. Only about £1,400 was subscribed within the year.<sup>7</sup> The uncertain situation would have

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<sup>4</sup> See chapter V-1-(4).

<sup>5</sup> Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, p.335.

<sup>6</sup> *Church of Scotland Education Committee Report to General Assembly* (Edinburgh, 1842), pp.24-33.

<sup>7</sup> *Church of Scotland Education Committee Report to General Assembly* (Edinburgh, 1843), pp.18-19. *Statement by the General Assembly's Education Committee in regard to the Glasgow Normal Seminary* (Edinburgh, 1848?), pp.2-3.



affected the subscription on the both sides of the possible secession. The evangelical GES might not transfer the GNS if the secession took place while the future Edinburgh normal seminary would be conducted by the moderate party. In fact, out of eight persons who had guaranteed the debt of the GES, seven, including Stow, joined the Free Church.<sup>8</sup> This would have been easily predicted by members of the Church of Scotland before the Disruption. In November 1842, considering this situation, the GES proposed to the education committee that they would immediately apply to the government for the payment of the grant of £5,000 and transfer the GNS to the authority of the education committee on the condition that it would pay from their subscriptions to the GES until the remaining debt of the GNS was paid off. This offer meant that the GES, without waiting for the subscription to reach the amount to clear the debt, was going to transfer the GNS's ground and buildings to the education committee, while the GES remained responsible for the debt. Although the suggestion was accepted by the education committee,<sup>9</sup> the new appeal to the public to defray the debt did not really start until 1848.<sup>10</sup>

Stow stated that after the Disruption, the Church of Scotland made it clear that they would discharge every member of the GNS who was not connected with the established church when the deed for conveying the GNS to the education committee was to be signed.<sup>11</sup> In September 1843, when Stow wrote to Kay requesting to remain in the GNS for a certain period, the draft of the deed had already been submitted to the CCE but had not as yet been finally signed.<sup>12</sup> Referring to the grant of £5,000, and £500 a year endowment which had already started to be paid to the GNS and the Edinburgh Normal School in 1842, Stow wrote:

This being a larger grant when added to our former than had been given to any of the other large Institutions I presume it was intended to compensate us for the extra expense as well as services given to the public as the first attempt of a regular Normal Semy [sic] in this country. We also accepted it as an acknowledgement of the approbation of Government of the particular system pursued in our Institution.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Letter from David Stow to J. P. Kay Shuttleworth, 21 September 1843, STO/2/32, Jordanhill Archives.

<sup>9</sup> *Church of Scotland Education Committee Report* (1843), pp.19-20.

<sup>10</sup> *Statement by the General Assembly's Education Committee*, pp.2-6. Repaying the debt of the GES by the education committee was completed in 1853. Rusk, *The Teaching of the Teachers in Scotland*, p.107.

<sup>11</sup> Letter from David Stow to J.P.Kay, 21 September 1843, STO/2/32, Jordanhill Archive.

<sup>12</sup> *Church of Scotland Education Committee Report to General Assembly* (1844), pp.22, 32.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from David Stow to J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth, 21 September 1843.

Because the GNS accepted the government grant, Stow considered that the education committee was morally bound to fulfil the 'wishes of Government' which were that 'the Training System moral and Intellectual' should be continued at least 'for such a limited period as may give it fair play with all the advantages that £1,000 a year of endowment may give it'. Stow probably intended to introduce the training system into the existing Church of Scotland Edinburgh Normal School in order to keep the basis for training teachers using the training system. He suggested that three years from that date was the shortest period necessary to strengthen the training system and to present it to public scrutiny.<sup>14</sup> Since the letter was written in September 1843, the period up to September 1846 was originally considered. Stow asked the CCE to persuade the education committee to adopt his suggestion. He wrote twice to Kay, on 16 and 26 December 1843, on the same subject.<sup>15</sup> In the end, the original staff remained in the GNS for a total of two years after the Disruption, 'even when they were offered much more lucrative situations'.<sup>16</sup> Stow, writing to Kay, probably in early 1844, expressed his judgement that 'we are in equal favour at present with both sides of the Church contending parties [sic] and this is favourable'. Stow, at the same time, warned Kay, if in Edinburgh an 'untrained Rector' was appointed the training system would fail.<sup>17</sup>

Although it was much shorter than Stow expected, within less than two years after his suggestion, the deed was signed and the Free Church members finally left the GNS together on 8 May 1845. On that day, most of directors, all the 11 teachers, 53 out of 55 students and 700, except five or six, pupils left the GNS for a new seminary which was to be managed by the Free Church.<sup>18</sup> Although the new Glasgow Free Church Normal Seminary (GFNS) used temporary school buildings, all the system for training teachers using the training system was readily transferred to the new seminary.

But the removal of almost the whole body of the GNS was a heavy blow for the new Church of Scotland education committee's GNS. In fact, the CCE withdrew the

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Letter from Stow to Kay-Shuttleworth, 16 & 26 December 1843, STO/2/33 & 34, Jordanhill Archives.

<sup>16</sup> Fraser, *Memoir of David Stow*, p.180.

<sup>17</sup> Letter from David Stow to J. P. Kay Shuttleworth, early 1844 (?). STO/2/31. Jordanhill Archives.

<sup>18</sup> Fraser, *Memoir of David Stow*, pp.177-183. Rusk, *The Teaching of the Teachers in Scotland*, pp.110-111.

annual grant of £500 from the GNS in 1846, on the grounds that no rector had been appointed and conditions regarding the expenditure were not fulfilled.<sup>19</sup> The new rector, G. S. Davidson, formerly assistant to the professor of Greek, Aberdeen, was appointed in 1845 and continued up to 1853.<sup>20</sup> The fact that the Edinburgh Normal School received the grant of £4,000 in 1846, completing the erection of its buildings and received the annual grant of £500 in 1847 suggests that the CCE satisfied the new conditions,<sup>21</sup> probably with, even partly, its adoption of the training system. The GFNS also built new buildings by August 1845 and applied for a government grant in 1847, receiving £3,000 in 1848.<sup>22</sup> In 1846, the CCE started a new grant system for building schools, which was now extended to denominational churches.<sup>23</sup> Also a new grant system for the apprenticeship of pupil teachers started in 1846.<sup>24</sup> Despite the Disruption and the necessity to raise money to establish a new normal seminary for the Free Church, the GES secured a new establishment, the GFNS. Now two teacher training bodies were operating in Glasgow with the government grants.

## **2. The government's attitude towards the distress of Paisley**

The government's initiative was also important for Scottish evangelicals' programme after the Disruption to reorganise some elements of the parochial system in the new situation.<sup>25</sup> The government's reaction to the Paisley distress in 1842-3 and the subsequent creation of the royal commission on the poor law in 1843 created a chance to reconstruct the system which promoted the evangelical programme of education with moral agencies as a necessary part of dealing with the growth of poverty, even though the commission was not set up directly because of the Disruption.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Rusk, *The Teaching of the Teachers in Scotland*, pp.106-107. Cruickshank, *A History*, p.52.

<sup>20</sup> Cruickshank, *A History*, p.222.

<sup>21</sup> PP 1847-8, L (197), Return of Sums Granted under Authority of the Committee of Privy Council for Educational Purposes in Scotland, p.2.

<sup>22</sup> Rusk, *The Teaching of the Teachers in Scotland*, p.113. Hillis, 'The Church College Period, 1843-1904', p.18.

<sup>23</sup> Donald J. Withrington, 'Adrift among the Reefs of Conflicting Ideals?: Education and the Free Church, 1843-55', in S. J. Brown & M. Fry (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1993), p.86.

<sup>24</sup> Paz, *The Politics*, pp.129-132.

<sup>25</sup> Stewart J. Brown, 'The Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption of 1843', in Brown and Fry (ed.), *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1993), p.21.

<sup>26</sup> T. C. Smout, 'The Strange Intervention of Edward Twistleton: Paisley in Depression, 1841-3', in Smout (ed.), *The Search for Wealth and Stability* (London, 1979), pp.225-226. Smout points out that the Disruption took place several months after the establishment of the commission.

Paisley was one of the most severely affected towns in the 1842 acute distress in manufacturing areas. It had a radical tradition based on the handloom weavers, who were the core labourers in the textile dominated town and was also a strong Chartist centre. Paisley also had a radical middle-class amongst politicians, clergy and small manufacturers.<sup>27</sup> By February 1842, it was reported that there were 15,000 people in Paisley and 2,500 more in the neighbouring towns on receipt of daily relief. A committee of a local charity allocated jobs to 1,000 hand-loom weavers and another 1,000 labourers.<sup>28</sup> However, the government rejected a request to inquire into the situation. James Graham, the Home Secretary, stated in the House of Commons that creating such a commission of inquiry would just give rise to wrong expectations 'which there could be no reasonable probability of their being ever able to realise'.<sup>29</sup> Robert Peel, the Prime Minister, also emphasised that only local voluntary efforts should support the poor.<sup>30</sup>

Instead, the government, in March 1842, by sending Edward Twistleton, an English poor law commissioner, intervened in Paisley's local poor relief, along with money subscribed by the Queen, and members of the government, including Peel, Graham, and Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary. Twistleton brought a policy to give all relief in kind through stores, and to require of able-bodied males ten hours work a day under supervision. Although the local committee was deeply divided and the measure was extremely unpopular,<sup>31</sup> the relief was further tightened from May and after six weeks, Twistleton left the town, removing radical thinkers from the committee.<sup>32</sup>

Around the same period, an attempt to remove the radical influence in the town was also taken by the Church of Scotland. Its target was the Chartist minister of the Abbey parish, Patrick Brewster. His sermons in Glasgow and Paisley were censured not only by the both presbyteries but also by a committee of the General Assembly. One of the main reasons was his claim on the rights of the poor,<sup>33</sup> which was radically

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<sup>27</sup> Smout, 'The Strange Intervention', pp.218-224, 240. Tony Dickson and Tony Clarke, 'Social Concern and Social Control in Nineteenth Century Scotland: Paisley 1841-1843', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 65, I-179 (Apr., 1986), pp.55-58.

<sup>28</sup> *Hansard*, third series, 60, 8 February 1842, pp.177-178.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p.182.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.187-188.

<sup>31</sup> Smout, 'The Strange Intervention', pp.232-233.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.233-237.

<sup>33</sup> *The Scotsman*, 8 May 1841, 27 April 1842, 4 June 1842.

opposed to the views held by Chalmers and most Scottish evangelicals. Brewster denied that sufficient poor relief would undermine the independence of labourers and create pauperism, and strongly attacked the ideas on more limited relief, criticising not just their views but their motives:

The Patrons of this system believe they have made a discovery, that to deal their bread to the hungry, as God commands them, would be injurious to human happiness and human virtue, and so devotedly self-denying are they, for the good of others, — so superhumanly kind to their neighbour, — that rather than hazard the increase of human suffering by feeding the hungry, they will peril their own immortality, by a wilful act of disobedience to God. They believe that God will so sanctify their gifts to the poor, and so enhance their value to themselves, as to convert them into treasures, for their enjoyment in Heaven; and yet they are prohibited by their own more enlightened love of man and their profounder knowledge of political science, from indulging the kindness of their hearts by the relief of present suffering, and from entertaining the magnificent and inspiring hope of receiving their reward, --not in this brief and transitory existence, but in an endless world, a boundless Eternity.<sup>34</sup>

Brewster argued for generosity by biblical references: ‘Open thy hand wide’; ‘Cast thy bread upon the waters’.<sup>35</sup> He claimed legal provision as ‘the PROPERTY of the poor man’ and considered that along with their own labour, it was the guarantee which should prevent the poor from sinking into absolute want.<sup>36</sup> Brewster thought the legal provision should largely be derived from the profits of the owners of the land and capital.<sup>37</sup> In reality, the attempts to inhibit Brewster from his ministerial duties were not successful because of the support of a majority of his parishioners and even the presbytery of Paisley, helped by the situation leading to the Disruption.<sup>38</sup> A question on the practicability of promoting education in such a distress was also presented by another Paisley minister, Robert Burns.<sup>39</sup> Comparing the present situation with the 1837 distress where the education of unemployed youth was successful, Burns lamented that

now there was an uneducated population growing up, whose wants prevented their education, and prevented their mental and moral improvement.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Patrick Brewster, *The Seven Chartist and Military Discourses Libelled by the Marquis of Aberdeen, and other Heritors of the Abbey Parish* (Paisley, 1843), pp.100-101.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p.99.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p.102.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.103, 202.

<sup>38</sup> *The Scotsman*, 8 June, 14 September, 21 September 1842, 22 February 1843, 27 May 1843.

<sup>39</sup> Burns was the author of *Christian Patriotism in Times of Public Distress : a Lecture Delivered in the Middle Parish Church of Greenock* (Paisley, 1842)

<sup>40</sup> *The Times*, 25 October 1841.



Burns clearly shared a common ground with Brewster's argument.

The attitude of the government to dealing with the distress, however, changed within a year. In December 1842, a county meeting of Renfrew was held consisting of 'the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Commissioners of Supply, and Justices'. In it even two petitions were presented by the unemployed labourers, and the unemployed handloom weavers which largely reflected Brewster's arguments on the rights of the poor.<sup>41</sup> This meeting was later publicly criticised in the House of Commons by Graham. He criticised the 'opinion expressed by a high authority' that the inhabitants of Paisley in long-lasting distress had 'a claim for relief from the public funds', and stressed that:

No doctrine could...be more dangerous than that, and he was anxious to guard himself and the Government against being considered as acquiescing for one moment in a principle which he conceived to be so pernicious.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the government's intervention in the local poor relief and the corresponding actions in the established church to restrain Brewster's influence, the demand for responsible action from the government toward the poor and the unemployed was a strong trend which was expressed even by influential local politicians. Graham sensed the danger that if nothing were done, the social order and the rights of property might ultimately be severely damaged. In a letter asking the second Viscount Melville (1771-1851) to act as convenor of the forthcoming commission Graham wrote:

The unmitigated distress, which has existed for so long a time in certain manufacturing Districts of Scotland and which, I fear, still continues to exist, renders an Enquiry of this nature indispensable; and the refusal of all relief to the able-bodied with Settlement, tho' willing to work and unable to find Employment...has raised a doubt, whether the Law, which may be well adapted to the circumstances of a rural Population, is equally suitable to the condition of Multitudes congregated in Large Towns and populous Villages for the purposes of Manufacture.

The Government is well aware of the dangers and of the difficulties of such an Enquiry: but they are convinced, that it is safer to direct it, than to run the risk of postponement and of the attendant Evil of hasty Legislation on imperfect Data.<sup>43</sup>

Graham later told Melville that he and Peel thought that to reject this enquiry would have been 'an inflammatory topic of Complaint'.<sup>44</sup> The government's position with

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<sup>41</sup> *The Scotsman*, 24 December, 1842.

<sup>42</sup> *Hansard*, third series, 66, 7 February 1843, p.225.

<sup>43</sup> Letter from James Graham to Viscount Melville, 7 January 1843, MSS642, f.279, Melville Papers, NLS.

<sup>44</sup> Letter from James Graham to Melville, 8 February 1843, MSS642, f.286, Melville Papers.

regard to distress was now forced to change.

### **3. The approval of Scottish evangelicals' programme on pauperism in the poor law report of 1844**

Not surprisingly, the 1844 commissioners' report on the administration and practical operation of Scottish poor laws expressed their strong intention not to provide any relief to the able-bodied poor from the public funds, while admitting the relief given to the impotent poor was insufficient. As an alternative approach to dealing with the able-bodied poor, the report approved of the method of the St John's experiment, and adhered to the Scottish evangelicals' programme of education along with it. The poor relief provision was now expected to be carried out through individual parochial boards set up in each parish, rather than through parishes run by the established church. The report also proposed to set up a board of supervision in Edinburgh obliged to report annually to the secretary of state regarding the management of poor relief in Scotland based on reports from individual parochial boards.<sup>45</sup> As in the area of education, the government was to be given a supervisory position, while leaving matters such as adopting legal assessments to the relevant parties.<sup>46</sup> The report allowed each parish's decision as to whether to have recourse to assessments.

The report divided the poor into two categories: the impotent and the able-bodied. The impotent were<sup>47</sup> the 'aged and helpless persons, incurables, orphans, and deserted children',<sup>48</sup> while the able-bodied were persons who were able to work but were unemployed.<sup>49</sup> The report admitted 'an absolute and unconditional right' of the impotent to the relief necessary for their subsistence, and recommended for this purpose the full use of the workhouse which was funded and managed by the public funds.<sup>50</sup> However, it refused the able-bodied any right to demand relief.<sup>51</sup> The only exception was the case of the able-bodied poor who intentionally refused to work. For them, the report considered it useful to employ the workhouse to force them to work.<sup>52</sup> Apart from this type, it recommended that the relief to the able-bodied, in the case of

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<sup>45</sup> PP 1844, XX [557], *Report of the Poor Law Inquiry Commission for Scotland*, p.xix.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p.lxii.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p.iii.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p.xxv.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p.iii.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p.xxv.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.iv, xlv.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.xxv, lv.

ordinary distress, be dealt with through church collections in each individual parish, and in the case of extraordinary distress such as that experienced in Paisley, through charitable or voluntary contributions.<sup>53</sup>

The method employed in the St John's experiment was approved to relieve ordinary periods of distress. The report suggested that:

In every assessed parish the administration of the whole amount of the church door collections shall be regulated in future at the sole discretion of the Minister and Kirk-session.<sup>54</sup>

Although the experiment provided relief not only to the able-bodied but also to the impotent from the church collections,<sup>55</sup> the proposed management of poor relief by a parish based on its own resources was a measure that it promoted. As his evidence before the commissioners showed and shown earlier, Chalmers also agreed with the idea that the expenses for disabled persons, people affected by fever and general education should be paid from the public funds, although he did not include the aged and the orphans in a category to be supported by the public funds.<sup>56</sup> The commissioners interviewed many witnesses questioning them in detail on their opinions on the experiment, and, if they were agents of the experiment, its practical working in detail.<sup>57</sup> After looking into the method used by the experiment in detail, the commissioners found it most useful to deal with the able-bodied poor in ordinary periods of distress.

The report, however, also included an element that Chalmers would oppose. Chalmers, in *The North British Review*, expressed his feeling of victory, but relative not entire victory:

The truth is, that there is not a single champion in this warfare, whatever the side may be which he has espoused, who will not feel himself richer in materials than ever, amid the testimonies which do favour him, and the facts which at least seem to favour him. It is just because there are so many conflicting opinions here brought together, that the conflict, we apprehend, will henceforth become all the more strenuous.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp.lii, lx-lxi.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p.liii.

<sup>55</sup> Chalmers, *Statement*, p.10.

<sup>56</sup> PP 1844, XX [563], *Minutes of Evidence Taken at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, Ayr, and Kilmarnock*, Evidence of Thomas Chalmers (25 March 1843), pp.274-275.

<sup>57</sup> Among the total 79 witnesses from Glasgow (included re-examined witnesses), at least 15 witnesses (including 7 St John's experiment's agents) were questioned about St John's experiment. All apart from two approved of the experiment. Chalmers's evidence (from Edinburgh) reached 15 pages. PP 1844, XX [563], *Minutes of Evidence*, pp.266-280, 303-655.

<sup>58</sup> Thomas Chalmers, 'Report on the Poor Laws of Scotland', *The North British Review*, 2-4

According to Chalmers, the report included a clause which could be supported by one of his opponents on poor relief, W. P. Alison (1790-1859), professor of medicine at the University of Edinburgh.<sup>59</sup> It was the report's argument on the general inadequacy of the relief to the indigent, including the able-bodied poor.<sup>60</sup> Chalmers considered this idea dangerous because it could easily lead the claim of a right on the side of the poor to their comfortable subsistence and urged that a coming law should not give the poor 'a larger expectation' on allowance than before.<sup>61</sup> He thought that the idea of a right to relief undermined the ability of individuals to be prudent and the affection of relatives and others in society as implanted in the human constitution by 'Nature' and invigorated by Christianity.<sup>62</sup>

Chalmers, however, approved of the report's suggestion to establish a board of supervision in Edinburgh for surveillance over the state of each parish and expected that this board would become 'the most instructive' to spread the examples of the trial parishes which adopted the system as practised in the St John's parish.<sup>63</sup> Chalmers saw that the report offered an opportunity whereby the experiment could be widely adopted, without depending on assessments, and expected the new poor law to include a permissive clause which would allow any parochial board to attempt his system.<sup>64</sup>

The report also approved of the Scottish evangelicals' programme of education. It insisted that the treatment of the able-bodied poor should depend on 'the industrious and profitable application of their own capabilities',<sup>65</sup> basing themselves on religious and economic principles. In religious terms, the report stated that 'if a man will not work, neither should he eat', and that people who disregarded this maxim would end up with 'injurious results'.<sup>66</sup> In economic terms, the report adhered to the idea of a free market, and rejected the workhouse system which was used in England to give work to the able-bodied poor under strict restriction. Workhouses were considered to weaken individual industry and productive power, and therefore did not benefit the community in general.

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(February, 1845), p.472.

<sup>59</sup> L. S. Jacyna, 'William Pulteney Alison', *ODNB*, [article/350].

<sup>60</sup> See also W. P. Alison, *Remarks on the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Poor-Laws of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1844), p.216.

<sup>61</sup> Chalmers, 'Report on the Poor Laws of Scotland', p.487-489.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p.491.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p.473.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.474-475, 493.

<sup>65</sup> PP 1844, XX [557], *Report of the Poor Law Inquiry Commission for Scotland*, p. xlv.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p.xlv.



Such a discipline is of a character purely mechanical,—it is conversant only with the very lowest principles of our nature, —it neither promotes the development of intellectual energy, nor cherishes the feeling of manly independence.<sup>67</sup>

Instead, the report recommended that:

The more that it [any system of relief] calls forth in him the intellectual, moral, religious, and therefore, under God, self-dependent man, by so much the nearer will it approach to perfection.<sup>68</sup>

The best system of relief should cultivate ‘the whole man’, intellectually, morally and religiously. The report saw its effect on the community and emphasised its harmonious operation with ‘the indestructible sympathies of our common nature’.<sup>69</sup>

Without entering into further detail on this, it supposed that sympathies were closely associated with man’s intellectual, moral and religious improvement, echoing Stow’s and Chalmers’s views.<sup>70</sup> Stow, as a witness before the commissioners, commented:

It is the sympathy of numbers which brings Glasgow to be a terrific object to the state. Train Glasgow morally, and Glasgow by the sympathy of numbers will rise higher in a moral point of view than is possible in a country village; so you can carry morality to a higher point in a school, or at least by its assistance, than in any one family.<sup>71</sup>

Stow supposed the sympathy created in a school would influence the community at large.

The report actually paid serious attention to the education of the next generation.

In reference to them [neglected children], and therefore to the future condition of society, an appropriate and efficient remedy is evidently to be found in preventing them by a suitable educational and industrial training, from contracting irregular and desultory habits. We have kept in view this remedy in as far as the scope of our Commission seemed to warrant, by recommending that a fuller and more regular provision should be made from the poor funds for the education of the children of actual paupers; but it is our conviction..., that educational measures on a far larger scale will be necessary, before society can be purged of able-bodied idlers.<sup>72</sup>

The commissioners interviewed Stow on the practical working of the GNS, inquiring closely into its effect on children of the poor and the working classes and their parents,

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp.xlvi-xlvii.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p.xlvi.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> See chapter IV-1-(1)&(2).

<sup>71</sup> PP 1844, XX [563], *Minutes of Evidence*, David Stow (17 April 1843), p.420.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p.lv.



and its curriculum, in particular, the relationship between science and religious education. Stow was also questioned about his work as an elder and a deacon in St John's parish along with his activities as a Sabbath school teacher.<sup>73</sup> Through Stow, they would have learned the recent improvement of the methods and system of education and the government's positive promotion of the training system.

In February 1843, when Graham, the Home Secretary, proposed a factory bill in the House of Commons, he highlighted 'the Simultaneous System', which was 'first tried on any scale worthy of notice' in the GNS, as 'one of the greatest improvements of modern times, in reference to education'. Referring to the government grant for normal seminaries to the education committee of the General Assembly in Glasgow (the GNS) and in Edinburgh, Graham asserted that:

My conviction is, that under this arrangement, the education of Scotland will be placed on a complete and most satisfactory foundation.<sup>74</sup>

Graham expected that the 'simultaneous system' and two normal seminaries in Scotland would create a firm foundation for education in Scotland. The commissioners' report would have recognised such a foundation Graham had approved of, and valued education as the matter of 'the highest importance'.

We wish to express our firm persuasion, that all means for suppressing pauperism will prove insufficient, unless accompanied by some measures for promoting education.<sup>75</sup>

The commissioners' report of 1844 approved of Chalmers's method carried out in St John's parish as useful dealing with the able-bodied poor in ordinary periods of distress and approved of Scottish evangelicals' programme of education. Chalmers saw in them even a possibility to spread his system without legal assessments.

#### **4. Forming a new framework educating the working-class children**

Since the matter of poor relief was essentially to be dealt by each parochial board, the Free Church as itself would not have been able to play any significant roles in this area. One of the important areas the Free Church poured its energy into in Glasgow was extending Sabbath schools using the local system for disseminating religious education and as the basis of extending week-day schools, connecting different

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<sup>73</sup> PP 1844, XX, David Stow, pp.419-424.

<sup>74</sup> *Hansard*, third series, 67, 28 February 1843, James Graham, Condition and Education of the Poor, p.80.

<sup>75</sup> PP 1844, XX [557], *Report of the Poor Law Inquiry Commission for Scotland*, p.lxiv.

denominations of evangelical churches. It was led by the Glasgow Sabbath School Union (GSSU).<sup>76</sup>

In 1842, amongst the total of 64 Sabbath school societies in the GSSU, there were 19 denominational Sabbath school societies: 6 Sabbath school societies of the Relief Church, 1 Baptist Congregation, 7 Secession Church, 2 Reformed Presbyterian Church, 1 Original Secession Church, 1 Methodist (Congregational), and 1 Methodist (Wesleyan). The rest belonged to the Church of Scotland.<sup>77</sup> As Table V-3 shows, the numbers of the schools, teachers and children who belonged to both English and Scottish dissenters' societies increased annually between 1838 and 1846, except for the number of teachers in 1843. The sharpest growth, however, occurred from 1843 to 1844. The proportion of teachers and children of the dissenters developed from 42.4 % and 31.0 % in 1843 respectively to 53.3 % and 47.4 % in 1844. The increase from 1843 to 1844 was obviously caused by the emergence of the Free Church following the Disruption.

In this new situation, at the annual meeting of the GSSU in January 1844 it was decided that churches of all denominations should co-operate to extend Sabbath schools and it was suggested that 'the City of Glasgow and Suburbs should be divided into suitable sections, and each placed under the supervision of a Christian Church'.<sup>78</sup> To put this into practice, a committee named the 'Co-operation Committee' was appointed from all the different bodies of evangelical Christians. This matter was considered as a matter over which the churches ought to have collective responsibility,<sup>79</sup> and the measures were believed to 'affect not only our city, but the Church, and the world at large'.<sup>80</sup>

The committee attempted to adopt the local system as much as possible throughout the city of Glasgow and its suburbs.

That Churches—Societies already in existence—and Societies that may be formed—shall each undertake the responsibility of frequently and systematically visiting the families residing in a certain well-defined district of the city or suburbs... it is especially desired, that by examination into the localities that are already thoroughly surveyed, and those that are partially or wholly neglected—by mutual consultation and arrangement—and by the

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<sup>76</sup> This GSSU is a different organisation from the one established in 1816 shown in chapter II.

<sup>77</sup> *Fifth Annual Report of the State of Sabbath School Instruction in Glasgow and Suburbs, Read at the Annual Meeting of the GSSU* (Glasgow, 1842), pp.26-27.

<sup>78</sup> *Seventh Annual Report of the GSSU* (Glasgow, 1844), p.4.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p.17.

<sup>80</sup> *Eighth Annual Report of the GSSU* (Glasgow, 1845), p.15.

cultivation of brotherly affection, and the exercise of an energetic and untiring co-operation—the entire necessitous children of our immense population may be speedily brought to our Sabbath Schools in order that they may ‘hear of heaven, and learn the way’.<sup>81</sup>

Following this initial organisation, in September 1845 five district unions were established,<sup>82</sup> most likely corresponding to five districts which the city parish of Glasgow was divided into in 1846 under the new parochial board.<sup>83</sup> Each union had its own office bearers while the central union was to be continued under the name of the general union.<sup>84</sup> As Table V-3 shows, from 1844 to 1846, the numbers of teachers and children of dissenters’ societies which now included the Free Church increased dramatically by 349 and by 6835 respectively, while those of all societies by 368 and by 2551. These figures suggest that the established church hardly added any new teachers and even lost a large number of children. In contrast, dissenters added many teachers and organised numerous children in a very short period. The annual report started recording the numbers of superintendents and visitors in 1844, although no explanations were given of these. The numbers increased from 70 and 104 respectively in 1844, to 91 and 180 in 1846. Some churches appointed either superintendents or visitors and others had both.<sup>85</sup> They would have been a visiting agent to encourage and promote children’s attendance at Sabbath schools in each area where a church or a society was located. In this way, Glasgow and its suburbs established an important foundation for the frequent and systematic visitation of the families of the poor and the core of religious education.

Along with these new organisations, the GSSU also introduced a system of teacher training for Sabbath school teachers. The idea was already introduced in 1832 by Stow in the annual meeting of the Glasgow Sabbath School Teachers and Lewis stated that in St John’s parish adult classes were used for training teachers.<sup>86</sup> In 1834, there were four adult classes in St John’s.<sup>87</sup> After this date adult classes spread to

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p.9

<sup>82</sup> *Ninth Annual Report of the GSSU* (Glasgow, 1846), p.9

<sup>83</sup> 29 December 1846, City Parochial Board Minutes, p.26. D-HEW 1/1/1, GCA. See also, Alex Maxwell Adams, *Observations on the Mode of Administering the Poor Laws at the Town’s Hospital, Glasgow 1847-8* (Glasgow, 1848), pp.5-6.

<sup>84</sup> *Ninth Annual Report of the GSSU*, p.10.

<sup>85</sup> *Seventh Annual Reports of the GSSU*, p.24; *Ninth Annual Report of the GSSU*, p.27.

<sup>86</sup> *The Scottish Guardian*, 26 June 1832, ‘Annual Meeting of Glasgow Sabbath School Teachers’.

<sup>87</sup> ‘Abstract of the Survey of the Parish of St John’s, Glasgow; with a Statement of its Moral Machinery.—1833’, in *CSM*, 1-1 (March 1834), p.33. A class described as ‘partly juvenile,

other areas in Glasgow and its suburbs. As Table VI-1 shows, after 1839 the number of adult schools increased and these were well used over a long period of time. In 1838 Stow suggested that every Sabbath school society should establish a model school to which each teacher was sent for a few weeks before being engaged at his/her school. He also suggested that all the teachers in a society meet once a week and one of them exhibit his/her way of teaching with a few children taken from his/her school. After dismissing the children, the teachers criticised the exhibited method of teaching one by one. Stow also expected Sabbath school teachers to adopt the training system.<sup>88</sup> The GSSU's model class held in 1841 from February to December in fact provided a chance for Sabbath school teachers to be trained using the training system. The class was taught successively by the rector and a teacher of the GNS and this was successful. The GSSU also suggested forming a weekly meeting to improve teaching methods.<sup>89</sup>

In 1846 the GSSU reported that the two methods employed for training teachers were adult classes and the weekly meeting of teachers where they discussed teaching method. It was also reported that these meetings were very numerous and almost every society had one or more.<sup>90</sup> A system of teacher training for Sabbath schools was firmly established. In 1846 the GSSU also encouraged the formation of similar classes in connection with each of the district unions.<sup>91</sup> A class for teachers who could not attend weekly meetings was also held by two members of the GSSU in 1842 and this maintained a full and regular attendance,<sup>92</sup> and in 1846 it was still reported that the class held by one of the members was regularly continued and generally well attended. Stow exhibited the result of one of his Sabbath schools:

Out of 30 scholars, 23 became Sabbath school teachers, 5 elders of the church, 4 Day-school teachers, 1 head of a Normal training seminary in the Colonies, 2 are ministers of the gospel,...and 5 are now, I believe, in glory. Of course some of those pupils held different offices in succession—the correct 'statistical' number being 23 in all.<sup>93</sup>

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partly adult classes' is included in the four adult classes.

<sup>88</sup> Stow, *Bible Training*, pp.20-21.

<sup>89</sup> *Fifth Annual Report of the GSSU*, p.7.

<sup>90</sup> *Ninth Annual Report of the GSSU*, p.13.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p.10.

<sup>92</sup> *Sixth Annual Report of the GSSU* (Glasgow, 1843), p.7. The teachers were John Millen and William Munsie. Munsie was a Director of the Glasgow City Mission at least in 1833. See *Seventh Annual Report of the GCM*, p.3.

<sup>93</sup> David Stow, *Bible Training* (Edinburgh, 1859), pp.218-9.

The Sabbath school was even a basis for future day school teachers. The systematic organisation of interdenominational Sabbath schools after 1844 created a new foundation of visiting agencies and of religious education.

As has been shown, after the Disruption, there was a considerable decrease in the numbers of schools using the training system. But, after 1847, when the Free Church decided to apply for the CCE's grants for building schools, which had been positively opened to denominational schools after December 1846,<sup>94</sup> schools using the training system would gradually have again expanded. Robert Buchanan, who was a vice president of the GES and now the minister of the Free Church Tron parish in Glasgow, presented a model of establishing new schools with no links to the established church. Buchanan established the week-day school (Old Wynd school), which had a playground, adopted the training system,<sup>95</sup> and was aided by a government grant. It opened at the end of 1848. He stressed the importance of 'the local or aggressive system' for week-day schools to reach families in the poorer parts of the city.<sup>96</sup> Buchanan probably learned from Chalmers's attempt in Edinburgh from 1844 to establish 'a system of education' using what he called the 'territorial system' which assigned a small territory to a single agency and promoted aggressive visitation to the inhabitants. It was based on interdenominational efforts and at least its infant school adopted the training system.<sup>97</sup>

Buchanan formed an educational association consisting of the Sabbath school teachers of his congregation and some other members from within and without the congregation. The scheme covered not only Old Wynd school but also the other week-day school in the parish, Bridgegate school. The scheme set up a body for visiting poor families, and one or more visitors were assigned to each of the Sabbath school districts. They were expected to support and cooperate with the Sabbath school teachers of the district, acquainting them with the state of education 'within the bounds of their several districts' and endeavouring to secure the education of every

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<sup>94</sup> Withrington, 'The Free Church Educational Scheme', p.109.

<sup>95</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (9<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.455.

<sup>96</sup> Robert Buchanan, *The Schoolmaster in the Wynds; or, How to Educate the Masses* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., Glasgow, 1850), p.19.

<sup>97</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *Churches and Schools for the Working Classes* (Edinburgh, 1846), pp.3-9, 14. S. J. Brown, 'The Disruption and Urban Poverty: Thomas Chalmers and the West Port Operation in Edinburgh, 1844-47', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 20 (1980), pp.72, 77-79.



child.<sup>98</sup> Twenty-six visitors were soon recruited along with 47 Sabbath school teachers. As Chalmers did, this scheme, corresponding with the method adopted by the GSSU, would probably have been organised on an interdenominational basis. According to Buchanan, as a result of this promotion, the attendance at the two schools increased within less than a year from 114 to 150 by December 1849 in Bridgeway school and from 35 to 135 in Old Wynd School.<sup>99</sup> Visitors and Sabbath school teachers came to be the fundamental ground to reach families of the poor for week-day schools.

In 1853, Stow stated that in Scotland, after nearly ten years of decline in schools based on the training system, the tide was turning. He gave Buchanan's efforts in the Tron Free Church parish as an example.<sup>100</sup> This coincided with invigorated territorial activities during the 1850s and 1860s both in the Free Church and the established church, the former adding 20 churches between 1854 and 1867.<sup>101</sup> Even in 1872, when the Education Act was enacted for Scotland, it was stated in the GSSU that 'the territorial, or aggressive system' was indispensable 'if the Sabbath school agency is to reach and benefit the lower strata of society in a fluctuating community like that of Glasgow'.<sup>102</sup> The number of Sabbath school children connected with the GSSU continuously expanded even faster than the population growth up to the 1890s, although the 1860s saw a relative decrease.<sup>103</sup> When the first School Board of Glasgow was elected, 5 out of 15 members, including Robert Buchanan, were connected to the GSSU.<sup>104</sup> Organising Sabbath schools was now a recognised basis for further development of weekday schools in large towns. In this way Scottish evangelicals regained their ground to extend schools using the training system based on interdenominational Sabbath school organisations and this was a new model to extend schools for the children of the working class in large towns.

Although in Scotland the Disruption destroyed the basis on which the Scottish evangelicals extended the training system, the Paisley affair brought a new opportunity for them: along with their educational programme, the poor law

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<sup>98</sup> Buchanan, *The Schoolmaster in the Wynds*, p.22.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.22-24. The Old Wynd School opened towards the end of 1848 and after that the aggressive system started, probably in early 1849.

<sup>100</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (9<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.455.

<sup>101</sup> Brown, 'Thomas Chalmers and the Communal Ideal', pp.68-77.

<sup>102</sup> 'The Glasgow Sabbath School Union--the Annual Report', in *The Sabbath School Magazine*, Vol. XXIV (Glasgow, 1872), p.75.

<sup>103</sup> Brown, 'The Sunday-school Movement in Scotland', p.24.

<sup>104</sup> James M Roxburgh, *The School Board of Glasgow: 1873-1919* (London, 1971), p.21.

management practised in the St John's experiment were approved as a useful system to suppress the right of the unemployed (the able-bodied) to poor relief and to force them to rely on their own abilities. Although the poor relief system was now to be managed by each parochial board, the Free Church vigorously organised interdenominational local Sabbath schools as a basis of religious education and for promoting weekday working class education in large towns in Scotland.

## Appendix

**Table VI-1 Numbers of adult classes in Glasgow—1838-1843**

Years	Schools	Attendance		
		Male	Female	Total
1838	7			205
1839	34			999
1840	73	396	904	1300
1841	60	389	1028	1417
1842	58	487	1033	1520
1843	53	516	818	1334

Sources: Regarding the years from 1838 to 1840 each year's report of the annual meetings of the Teachers and Friends of Sabbath Schools. As to the years from 1841 to 1843 each year's report of the Glasgow Sabbath School Union.

## **Chapter VII**

**The influence of the Chalmers-Stow programme in Japan:**

**1878-1918**

The Scottish evangelicals centred in Glasgow gradually developed their own social programme to protect society, the nation and the church, through the St John's experiment and the GES's national education movement. This chapter investigates the influence of these experiences on Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Japan's position is unique as displaying the influence of the Scottish evangelicals' programme, since Japan was neither a Christian country, nor an active British missionary area. In Japan's case, two elements were important as the basis of the programme's influence. Firstly, the Japanese government, after the Meiji revolution [Meiji Ishin] in 1868, robustly aimed to become politically and commercially an equal competitor with the western countries, as was symbolised in her continuous efforts to change her unequal treaties with them.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the Meiji revolution marked the starting point gradually to create the state Shinto,<sup>2</sup> although the prohibition of Christianity was ended in 1873 and Christian missionaries were legally allowed to promote their religion in Japan.<sup>3</sup> These conditions decided the circumstances in which Meiji Japan encountered the Scottish evangelicals' programme. The way Japan encountered their programme was also limited by contemporary western and British responses to it as Britain came to be more secular.

In considering the influence of Britain and Scotland on Japanese industrial and economic growth,<sup>4</sup> Olive Checkland gives two broad explanations for Japan's success. The first stresses the actions of the government and the second emphasises elements such as the increase in the population growth rate which had occurred before the Meiji revolution. In addition to these, Checkland presents a third perspective; that growth was stimulated from outside, 'by the adoption of best

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<sup>1</sup> Shinya Murase, 'The Most-Favored-Nation Treatment in Japan's Treaty Practice During the Period 1854-1905', *The American Journal of International Law*, 70-2 (Apr., 1976), pp.281, 284-285, 288-293.

<sup>2</sup> Helen Hardacre, 'Creating State Shinto: The Great Promulgation Campaign and the New Religions', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 12-1 (1986), pp.30, 41-42, 52. Joseph M. Kitagawa, 'Introduction to "The Shinto World of the 1880s"', *History of Religions*, 27-3 (1988), p.325.

<sup>3</sup> William L. Sachs, "'Self-Support': The Episcopal Mission and Nationalism in Japan", *Church History*, 58-4 (1989), p.490.

<sup>4</sup> For example, see Masami Kita, *Pioneers of Making Japan International: Linkage between Japan and Scotland* (Tokyo, 1984); Olive Checkland, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1912* (London, 1989)



practice from the West and by borrowing from the Western foreigner'.<sup>5</sup> As far as education is concerned, its history, especially in the early Meiji era, cannot be described without discussing foreign influences.<sup>6</sup> However, these approaches tend to miss two important points. First, since the growth has been seen as inevitably connected with western influence, non-western ideas, such as Confucianism and Emperor worship, tend to be treated as backward or anti-enlightenment. This was chiefly based on the assumption that western individualism contrasted with Japanese traditional values and strong state control.<sup>7</sup> However as Kinmonth has commented,

especially at the level of popular morality, the cross-cultural comparison yields not the black and white contrast of an individualistic tradition versus a collectivistic tradition but, rather, many shades of gray.<sup>8</sup>

Additionally, by identifying the western view as only individualistic, that view itself sometimes has been misunderstood. In the area of education and social welfare, British ideas tend to be idealised as having been based on concepts of individualism in contrast with Japanese communal, collectivistic ideas.

This chapter attempts to overcome these two tendencies by employing a 'cross-cultural comparison' in the areas of education and poor relief. The focus centres on the influence of Scottish evangelicals' programme in two different periods. The first period to be dealt with is between 1878 and 1890. Unlike the limited poor relief system, as will be seen, laws on national education in Japan were repeatedly revised after the first act in 1872. Although the 1880s have been seen by previous studies as having rapidly increasing emphasis on moral education displaying a Confucian influence, this period also saw a rapid rise in the influence of British school theory. How these two were related is investigated in the first two sections. The second period, between 1900 and 1918, which is discussed in the final section,

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<sup>5</sup> Checkland, *Britain's Encounter*, p.xiii.

<sup>6</sup> For example, see Herbert Passin, *Society and Education in Japan* (1965: repr. New York, 1966); Yasuhiro Ogata, *A Way of Introducing Western Education* (Tokyo, 1961); Nobuhiro Miyoshi, *Opening of Japanese Education: Foreign Teachers and Modern Japan* (Tokyo, 1986).

<sup>7</sup> Checkland, *Britain's Encounter*, p. xiii.

<sup>8</sup> E. H. Kinmonth, 'Nakamura Keiu and Samuel Smiles: A Victorian Confucian and a Confucian Victorian', (first appeared in *American Historical Review*, 84 (1980)), in Peter Kornicki (ed.), *Meiji Japan: Political, Economic and Social History 1868-1912* (London,

was one in which social problems connected with industrialisation and urbanisation became clearer and governmental action to deal with them became unavoidable. Without changing the first poor law of 1874 which allowed provision only for indigent and disabled persons, Chalmers's ideas on de-pauperisation were introduced into Japan in the 1900s and the 1910s. These points are important to see how the Scottish evangelicals' programme could still be influential on Japan which essentially rejected Christianity, and in spite of a large time gap.

## 1. Sending a Japanese government official to the GFNS

In the early Meiji era, educational policies greatly depended on foreign influences. As Ogata points out,<sup>9</sup> up until around 1879 the influence of the United States was strong, especially through administrative officials such as Mori Arinori, the first minister to the United States (1870-1874), Tanaka Fujimaro, the Director of Education in the Iwakura Mission<sup>10</sup> and three Americans who worked for the Japanese government in relation to education, namely Guido Verbeck, M. M. Scot and David Murray.<sup>11</sup> After this period, although Inagaki still argues dominant American influence even up to 1890, brought by two officials sent to the United States in 1875 to investigate teacher training,<sup>12</sup> dominant British influence has also been recognised in the area of school management theories in the 1880s.<sup>13</sup> Fujii states that:

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1998), p.291. I thank Teruyuki Hirota for drawing my attention to Kinmonth's work.

<sup>9</sup> In the text of this chapter historical Japanese names are written in the normal order in Japan, which is family name first and given name second. To avoid confusions, only surnames are used for current Japanese authors in the text.

<sup>10</sup> The Iwakura Mission was a special mission to the United States and Europe, composed of some important leaders of the government and promising specialists, with a total of 46 members and around 60 students who were going to study in foreign countries (Ryugakusei), and spent 20 months there between 1872-1873. The findings of this mission provided a great influence in the development of the state. See Ian Nish (ed.), *The Iwakura Mission in America and Europe: A New Assessment* (Richmond, 1998), p. ix, and pp.1-2. Akira Tanaka, 'Explanation', in Tanaka (ed.), *Materials of the Iwakura Mission in National Archives of Japan: Supplement* (Tokyo, 1994), p.5.

<sup>11</sup> Ogata, *A Way*, pp.161-168.

<sup>12</sup> Tadahiko Inagaki, *Study on History of Teaching Theories in the Meiji Era* (Tokyo, 1966), pp.52-53, and 149.

<sup>13</sup> For example, Takeo Miyata, 'Transition of "Discipline" as Theory of Management into "Zucht" as Theory of Method', in *Bulletin of Educational Studies*, 28-4 (1961), pp.13-19. Masashi Fujita, 'Formation of the Concept of Discipline (Training) in the Twentieth of

In the mid-1880s, along with forming Japanese 'educational theories', a theory of 'school management' emerged as one of its fields through an acceptance of British theory of discipline, which aimed at moral training to control pupils.<sup>14</sup>

However, the impact of British school management theories in Japan has not properly been studied in connection with Stow's educational methods which were deeply rooted in Christianity and still influential in Britain.

In particular, little work has been done on their chief promoter, Nishimura Tei (1854-1904), who was the only person sent to Britain by the Japanese government to investigate the situation of teachers' training courses and, after returning to Japan, worked in the Department of Education in the 1880s and 1890s,<sup>15</sup> although Komikawa has briefly pointed out that Stow influenced the formation of Japanese educational thought through Nishimura's works.<sup>16</sup> To overcome these problems is the chief aim of this and the following sections.

#### (1) The promotion of the western educational system and patriotism

The educational reform started with the first education act, the School Act (Gakusei), of 1872, just one year after the establishment of the Department of Education.<sup>17</sup> This act would have guided Nishimura's thinking when he was sent to Britain in 1878. It was enacted under the influence of European and American school systems and every parent who had children of school age, regardless of social rank, was expected to send them to school. Children were to study practical knowledge useful for their lives which would advance individuals' lives and produce industry.<sup>18</sup> It created a national system of education dividing the whole country into seven main school districts,

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Meiji Era', in Hosoya, T. (ed.), *Basic Problems of School Educational Theories* (Tokyo, 1973), pp.243-244, 249.

<sup>14</sup> Mari Fujii, "'School Management' Theory as a Method of Moral Education in the Period of Founding Modern Japanese School Order", in *The Bulletin of Japanese Educational History*, 1 (1993), p.12.

<sup>15</sup> There are only two brief bibliographies on Nishimura. Tomitaro Karasawa, 'Nishimura Tei', in Karasawa (ed.), *Illustrated Dictionary of Persons in Education*, ii (Tokyo, 1984), pp.519-522. Munefumi Hirata, *Studies of Officials Sent for the United States and Europe for Investigating of Teachers Training Courses* (Tokyo, 1999), pp. 198-204, 258-268.

<sup>16</sup> Kayoko Komikawa, 'Reformatory and Educational Thoughts in the "Training System" of David Stow', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Education: The University of Tokyo*, 34 (1994), p.47.

<sup>17</sup> Yasuhiro Ogata, *A Study of the Process in Effecting Gakusei* (Tokyo, 1963), p.15.

<sup>18</sup> The Department of Education, *A Hundred Years of History of School System* (Tokyo, 1981), 1-1-1-2.

establishing universities, secondary schools and primary schools.<sup>19</sup> The expenses of founding and managing schools were to be collected from several sources such as subscriptions, local taxes, fees, and aid from the government, as were salaries for teachers. In 1872 a normal school was also established in Tokyo to supply teachers and within two years, six other governmental normal schools followed in each of the other main school districts.<sup>20</sup>

Relying too much on people's voluntary actions along with limited governmental aid, but chiefly the growth of a democratic rights movement prompted a change of the act.<sup>21</sup> In January 1877, a move to form a new education act began in the Department of Education and in May 1878 a proposal for a 'Japanese Educational Law' was prepared by Tanaka Fujimaro, the Director of Education.<sup>22</sup> Its emphasis on moral education, and nationalism was the significant feature of the proposed law. However, an article which regulated teachers' moral conduct was removed in the middle of its discussion because of its ambiguity as to who decided a standard of morality or what was considered immoral and in 1879 the new Education Law was enacted with this omission.<sup>23</sup> At this point, the issue of teachers' moral conduct was still pending.

It was in such a situation that the sending of three officials to Britain, France and Germany, to investigate the state of teacher training, was ordered by the Department of Education on 25 January 1878.<sup>24</sup> The idea had been already proposed on 18 October 1877, and it was approved based on the decision made in March 1875 to send three officials to the United States with the same purpose.<sup>25</sup> Tanaka

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<sup>19</sup> M. Nishimura, 'Education in Japan', in *The Educational News*, 20 December 1879, p.651.

<sup>20</sup> Ogata, *A Study*, pp.144-146, 157-158.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.228, 235-236. Toshio Funaki, 'Change of the Policy for Teachers in the First Half of the 1880s and Japanised Transformation of the Ideas of Primary School Teachers', in *The Bulletin of Japanese Educational History*, 5 (1986), p.2.

<sup>22</sup> Setsuo Mizuno, 'Establishment of "Education Act" and Tanaka Fujimaro', in *Chukyo University Bulletin of the Faculty of Liberal Arts*, 38-1 (1997), pp.65, 76.

<sup>23</sup> Funaki, 'Change of the Policy', pp.4-7.

<sup>24</sup> 2A-10-Ko2340, Kobunroku, Department of Education, the 11<sup>th</sup> year of Meiji era, National Archives of Japan.

<sup>25</sup> 2A-10-Ko2110, Kobunroku, Department of Education, the 10<sup>th</sup> year of Meiji era, 10, National Archives of Japan.



explained the 1875 proposal as follows:

When the [Tokyo Normal] school was prepared no Japanese who studied normal schools and was acquainted with their methods was available. ...a school manual was issued based on the rules of his [Mr Scot's] country...However,...if...their rules were over-emphasised and their suitability with our climates and people's feelings was ignored, it cannot be predicted how far they will result in unexpected errors in general education in the future.<sup>26</sup>

The proposal had suggested that a few persons who had some knowledge of teacher training should be sent to obtain real experience of normal schools overseas and study 'school manuals and rules for classes' there, and on their return, management of normal schools would be entrusted to them.<sup>27</sup> This was also applied to the three officials sent in 1878 to three different countries, including Nishimura, who as an official in the Department of Education ranked highest among the three.<sup>28</sup>

During Nishimura's stay in Britain, however, a further step was taken on moral education. An educational debate occurred in August and September 1879 between Motoda Nagazane, the Emperor's tutor (Jiko), who emphasised the necessity of promoting education based on Confucian ideas, opposing the western style of ethics, and Ito Hirobumi, Home Minister (practically, Inoue Kowashi, the intellectual power behind Ito), who stressed the need to keep scientific and technical education, while accepting Confucian values. An outcome was creating regulations on teachers' moral conduct in elementary schools.<sup>29</sup> In September the Regulations for Teachers' Moral Conduct (Kyoin seigen kunjo ho) were drafted, mostly based on several sources from the United States, Belgium, France and Germany, which were placed in *The Education Journal* (Kyoiku zasshi), edited and published by the Department of Education.<sup>30</sup> As Funaki suggests, the regulations were probably drawn up in favour of Inoue and Ito's line,<sup>31</sup> adopting the western way of conducting teachers. However,

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<sup>26</sup> 2A-9-Ko1440, Kobunroku, Ministry of Education, the 8<sup>th</sup> year of the Meiji era, 12, National Archives of Japan.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> 2A-10-ko2340, Kobunroku, Ministry of Education, the 11<sup>th</sup> year of the Meiji era, 6, National Archives of Japan.

<sup>29</sup> Joseph Pittau, 'Inoue Kowashi, 1843-1895, And the Formation of Modern Japan', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 20-3/4 (1965), pp.270-271.

<sup>30</sup> Funaki, 'Change of the Policy', pp.20-21.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p.25.



the following passage in the preamble also indicates their departure from the western model:

[Teachers] should make children of the nation respect the Emperor [Tenno heika] based on loyalty, and obey political laws, esteem senior persons, cultivate morality, imprint patriotism, develop general knowledge and protect their bodies.<sup>32</sup>

There are chiefly two elements as the basis of patriotism here: respect to the emperor; and the obedience to political laws. While the former corresponded with Confucian ideas, the latter was an element which was added in opposition to the cases of the western countries. Inoue later argued that Christians tended to obey divine laws rather than human laws, and respect the judgment of the next world rather than that of the present political authorities.<sup>33</sup> This judgement was probably behind the suggestion of emphasising obedience to political laws. Although the regulations were not made public, the Department of Education began to consider the control of teachers' moral conduct, from newly defined Japanese patriotic morality, which centred on respect to the emperor and the obedience to the laws.

## (2) Nishimura Tei's interests before visiting Britain

Nishimura would have shared as a government official the sentiment that teachers should instruct children in Japanese patriotic morality. But his concerns were more on how to disseminate the western studies, in particular science, in Japan.

Nishimura was born in Edo in 1854 a son of a vassal of the Ashikaga clan (han). After entering Ashikaga gakko, a school of the Ashikaga clan, in 1870 he was chosen as a scholar (Koshinsei) from the clan to study at the Daigaku Nanko in Tokyo, a governmental school for western studies, and studied science. Nishimura later explained that he experienced what he called a 'great revolution' started in 1868, which destroyed the feudal system and promoted western culture. He stated that the people who had first objected to foreign intercourse and condemned the Shogunate government's policy were those who most rapidly absorbed the ideas of western civilization and 'European refinements'.

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<sup>32</sup> A4254 in Okuma paper, quoted in Funaki, 'Change of the Policy', p.14.

<sup>33</sup> Pittau, 'Inoue Kowashi', pp.275, 279-280. Yoshimitsu Khan, 'Inoue Kowashi and the Dual Images of the Emperor of Japan', *Pacific Affairs*, 71-2 (1998), p.224.

These men thought at first that if they were ever to compete with European nations, they must find out the secrets of Western civilization. With this object they started, and soon became attached to the idea and principle of European refinements.<sup>34</sup>

Holding this sentiment, he in 1875 became a teacher in the Tokyo English School and became the principal of the Osaka Governmental Normal School in November 1876.<sup>35</sup>

In October 1877, after one year's experience at Osaka Normal School, he reported on the school to the Department of Education, and highlighted the importance of normal schools which, through common education, would underpin 'the basis of development of the nation and the foundation of people's welfare'. Nishimura considered 'western studies' highly developed and saw them as the basis of Japan's development. However, he commented that:

Since our country from the beginning has not got anything like 'western studies' and our language does not correspond well with meanings of words in the western languages, our language is not convenient for studying western studies. Therefore there is a deficiency of teachers who can teach some sciences.<sup>36</sup>

Nishimura himself, to supplement this, taught natural history using only original books by prominent British and American authors. As Hashimoto points out, the Osaka Normal School was distinctive in employing 'oral education (Kuju)' in a wide range of subjects throughout all the grades in its attached elementary school essentially using translations from western textbooks, in comparison with the Tokyo Normal School where oral education was adopted only for two subjects, morality and health, in certain grades.<sup>37</sup> Nishimura emphasised the importance of obtaining good teachers who could teach 'western studies' and translate them into Japanese, not only in science, but also in geography and history.

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<sup>34</sup> M. Nishimura, 'Education in Japan part I', *The Educational News* 4-207 (13 December 1879), p.639.

<sup>35</sup> Nishimura Tei, 'Preface for a Book of Physics', in *Education Report*, 3 (15 June 1885), p.2. Nishimura, 'Remarks on Education', in *The Sun*, 1-8 (5 August 1895), p.158.

<sup>36</sup> Nishimura Tei, 'Annual Report of the Osaka Normal School', in *The Fifth Annual Report of the Ministry of Education, the 10<sup>th</sup> Year of the Meiji Era, vol.1* (1877: repr. Tokyo, 1965), pp.398-399.

<sup>37</sup> Miho Hashimoto, *A Study of Accepting American Educational Information in the Early Years of Meiji Era* (Tokyo, 1998), pp.265-274.

It is also noteworthy that Nishimura suggested that infant schools should be established since they would lay a foundation for children before entering elementary schools.<sup>38</sup> This suggestion very likely came from his reading of *Encyclopaedia: theories of instruction [Hyakkazensho Kyodosetsu]*, the only popular textbook from Britain at that time, translated from a part of Chambers' *Information for the People*, and it claimed the usefulness of infant schools before children entering schools.<sup>39</sup> It was reprinted by the school in 1875.<sup>40</sup> Thus Nishimura had done some serious thinking on the development of normal schools to spread western studies and had also some information on the development of British education by the time he was sent to Glasgow in 1878.

### (3) Nishimura's studies in Britain

Although the reason why Nishimura chose to study at the Glasgow Free Church Normal Seminary (GFNS) is not known, a most likely source is through Hugh M. Matheson in London, an evangelical merchant who supported future prominent Japanese figures to study in Britain in the 1860s, including Ito Hirobumi, the first prime minister under the cabinet system (Naikaku seido) established in 1885, introducing them to Alexander W. Williamson, professor of chemistry in University College. Matheson created a network which Japanese government officials and students could consult. It is noteworthy that one of the important connections, William Thomson, professor of natural philosophy at Glasgow between 1844 and 1899, who played a significant role in educating Japanese science students, held sentiments close to evangelicals. Matheson was still influential even in the late 1870s. Through the network, Mori Arinori, the future first Education Minister under the cabinet system, studied as a student of Williamson in the 1860s and contacted Thomson as ambassador to London while Nishimura was in Britain. Williamson, Thomson, and Matheson all shared an interest in improving science and technical

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<sup>38</sup> Nishimura, 'Annual Report of the Osaka Normal School', pp.399-400.

<sup>39</sup> Mitsukuri Rinsho translation, *Encyclopaedia: Theories of Instruction* (Tokyo, 1873), reprinted in Arata Naka, Tadahiko Inagaki and Hideo Sato (eds.), *Compilations of Materials for Schools Textbooks of Teaching Methods in Modern Japan*, i (Tokyo, 1982), pp.286, 314, 761. Fujii, "'School Management' Theory", pp.4, 13.

<sup>40</sup> Mitsukuri Rinsho translation, *Encyclopaedia: Theories of Instruction* (Osaka, 1875), The Textbook Library.



education as the basis of industrial development. Additionally, Matheson, as a great admirer of Chalmers and a Sabbath school teacher in St Enoch Sabbath School Society between 1840 and 1843, would have been well acquainted with the work of the GNS and Stow. During his stay in Glasgow he worked in the company of James Ewing who was vice-president to the GES.<sup>41</sup> Matheson's experiences and network would also have helped Nishimura's study in Britain which focused on the role of teacher training for promoting science.

Nishimura left Japan on 12 February 1878<sup>42</sup> and was certainly studying in the GFNS in 1879, since his name, appearing as 'Nishimura', was at the bottom of two of the second year male class lists in 1879.<sup>43</sup> It is, however, not exactly clear when he entered there.<sup>44</sup> It is also not clear what subjects he studied. Class lists indicate that he took arithmetic and other mathematical studies and perhaps attended others.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Checkland, *Britain's Encounter*, pp.42-56, 83, 174, 179-182, 257, 264-265, 293. Ann Matheson (ed.), *Memorials of Hugh M Matheson* (London, 1899), pp.9-17, 30-31, 101, 121-122, 195-196, 203-207. I thank Takeshi Komagome for drawing my attention to this book. 'Obituary Notices of Fellows Deceased (Alexander W. Williamson)', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London*, series A. 78-526 (1907), p.xxxix. J. Harris and W. H. Brock, 'From Giessen to Gower Street: towards a Biography of Alexander William Williamson', *Annals of Science*, 31-2 (1974), pp.118-122. *The Scotsman*, 18 September 1873. Olive Checkland and Sydney Checkland, 'British and Japanese Economic Interactions under the Early Meiji: Takashima Coal Mine 1868-88', *Business History*, 84-26, issue 2 (1984), pp.141, 145, 151. Crosbie Smith and M. Norton Wise, *Energy and Empire* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.13-14, 754-755. 'Norman MacLeod', *ODNB*, [article/17679]. Matheson worked in the London office related to the Jardine Matheson trading business, which had offices in Japan. Thomson, whose father was a friend of Chalmers, was a friend of Norman Macleod, an evangelical minister at the Barony parish influenced by Chalmers and the editor of *Good Words*, a popular religious magazine and contributed science papers to the magazine.

<sup>42</sup> Nishimura was on the ship called 'Tanais' with two other officials sent to Europe for investigating teachers' training courses, which left Japan on 12 February 1878 (Koichi Nakagawa, 'An Officer of the Ministry of Education, Nakagawa Gen', in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Education Ibaraki University: Humanities, Social Sciences and Arts*, 39 (March 1990), p.13).

<sup>43</sup> FCTC/2/4 Glasgow Free Church Training College: Class Lists and Marks, 1879 to 1897-8, Jordanhill Archives, Strathclyde University.

<sup>44</sup> FCTC/2/1 Free Church Register of Students, 1845-81, Jordanhill Archives. Since Nakagawa Gen, who left Japan on the same ship with Nishimura arrived at Paris on 28 March 1878, Nishimura's arrival would also have been similar to this. See Nakagawa, 'An Officer', p.16.

<sup>45</sup> Glasgow Free Church Training College: Class Lists and Marks, 'Class List of Students in Training Colleges in Scotland Examined for Certificates: Christmas 1879', in *The Educational News*, 5-219(6 March 1880), p.150. 'Dr Wilson's Report for 1879', in *Report of the Committee on Education in Scotland 1879-80* (London, 1880), p.242.

Even after the students he studied with had graduated, he probably still remained in Glasgow until some time before July 1880.<sup>46</sup> Since Nishimura returned to Japan on 5 October 1880,<sup>47</sup> he could have visited various places to investigate teacher training courses in Britain. He at least visited London on some occasions in 1878 and 1879 and met Sugiura Juko, who was a science student sent from the government at that time.<sup>48</sup>

During this period, Nishimura himself did not seem to send any reports to *The Education Journal* in Japan. However there are some indications that information might have been sent from Nishimura through Masaki Taizo, the first supervisor between 1876 and 1881 for students sent to Britain.<sup>49</sup> According to Sato, between 1874 and 1883 a total of 425 articles were published introducing foreign education systems in journals published by the Department of Education, including *The Education Journal*. Although between 1874 and 1883, the interest in Britain did not equal some other countries (America 39%, Germany 22%, France 19% and Britain 10%), interest grew in the period between 1879 and 1881.<sup>50</sup> This increase would have been partly due to Nishimura's study in Britain. From 1878 to 5 October 1880 when he went back to Japan, eleven articles appeared in *The Education Journal*. Of these, seven were sent by Masaki and the other four included works by Herbert Spencer and Matthew Arnold.<sup>51</sup>

The interest in Britain during that period was mostly confined to science education. In addition to those related to elementary school education, information on practical science or technical education was also introduced to Japan. These included

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<sup>46</sup> A letter of Takamine Jokichi in July 1880 indicates that Nishimura had already left Glasgow by that time. Kazumasa Inuma and Tomio Sugano, *Life of Takamine Jokichi* (Tokyo, 2000), pp.41, 47.

<sup>47</sup> *The Eight Annual Report of the Education Department, the 13<sup>th</sup> Year of the Meiji Era* (1880: repr. Tokyo, 1966), p.18.

<sup>48</sup> Sugiura Juko, 'Preface', in Nishimura Tei, *Remarks of Education* (Tokyo, 1893), p.1. Kenshi Numakura and Mitsuho Numakura, 'The Life and Achievement of Taizo Masaki, the First President of Tokyo Shokko Gakko', in *Research in History of English Studies*, 19 (1986), p.95.

<sup>49</sup> Numakura and Numakura, 'The Life and Achievement of Taizo Masaki', pp.95-96.

<sup>50</sup> Hideo Sato, 'Explanation', in Sato, *Collections of Journals Published by the Department of Education in the Early Meiji Era: Supplement* (Tokyo, 1981), pp.282-283.

<sup>51</sup> From Spencer, 'On Examination, *The Education Journal*, 87 (17 Jan. 1879), pp.35-44.



works by J. Scott Russell (1808-1882), an engineer and naval architect,<sup>52</sup> and Charles Graham (1836-1909), a chemistry professor at the University of London.<sup>53</sup> Russell's book was that from which Henry Dyer (1848-1918) who was invited to Japan in 1873 to be principal of the new Imperial College of Engineering in Tokyo had obtained information on technical education in Germany and Switzerland.<sup>54</sup> Graham also supported many chemistry students sent from Japan to study at University College London.<sup>55</sup>

Some articles on science education in the elementary school sent by Masaki were very likely originally sent by Nishimura to Masaki.<sup>56</sup> One article was taken from part of a book written by Thomas Morrison, the principal of the GFNS, where Nishimura was studying. This article entitled 'oral education' stated that:

The main aim of oral instruction is to convey information appropriate to practical use of every day lives and to make children acquainted with good knowledge of common things and with principles of their practical use.<sup>57</sup>

Science of 'common things' was expected to be taught by oral instruction. Nishimura would also have introduced an article<sup>58</sup> on the annual report written by Matthew

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<sup>52</sup> David K. Brown, 'John Scott Russell', *ODNB*, [article/24328]. J. S. Russell, 'Necessity of technical education', *The Education Journal*, 128 (24 Aug. 1880), pp.1-39, 129 (4 Sep. 1880), pp.1-27.

<sup>53</sup> Michael Sanderson, 'The University of London and Industrial Progress 1880-1914', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 7-3/4 (1972), P.250. Charles Graham's lecture in October 1879 was introduced in three subsequent numbers of *The Educational Journal*, from 161 to 163 in 1881 and 1882.

<sup>54</sup> Graeme J. N. Gooday and Morris F. Low, 'Technology Transfer and Cultural Exchange: Western Scientists and Engineers Encounter Late Tokugawa and Meiji Japan', *Osiris*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, 13 (1998), pp.108-109. Olive Checkland, 'Henry Dyer', *ODNB*, [article/40808].

<sup>55</sup> A report of the paper by Yoshiyuki Kikuchi on 'The Impact of Chemical Education at University College London on Japanese Chemistry, Education and Industry', which was presented on 10 December 2004 at a joint meeting of the Society for the History of Alchemy and Chemistry and the Chemistry Department at University College, London. [<http://www.open.ac.uk/ambix/chem-ucl.htm>].

<sup>56</sup> Masaki himself was concerned with diffusing science education and had contact with Scotland. Masaki visited Edinburgh in 1878 to invite J. Alfred Ewing to work in the University of Tokyo. Numakura and Numakura, 'The Life and Achievement of Taizo Masaki', pp.99-100.

<sup>57</sup> 'Oral Instruction', *The Education Journal*, 91 (28 Feb. 1879), p.2.

<sup>58</sup> PP 1877, XXIX, General Report, for the Year 1876, by Her Majesty's Inspector, Matthew Arnold, Report of the Committee of Council on Education, p.405.

Arnold (1822-1888), one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools,<sup>59</sup> which recommended introducing natural science as a class subject into the elementary school.<sup>60</sup> Two different articles were also on promoting science education in elementary schools, both related to T. H. Huxley.<sup>61</sup> These articles discussed the decision of the London School Board to introduce science into all their schools, one of the first boards to do so in Britain.<sup>62</sup> Another article reported that Scotland was ahead in comparison with England in terms of education in foreign languages and science.<sup>63</sup> These positive promotions on science education in the elementary school well reflected Nishimura's interests.

Nishimura also collected detailed information concerning the management of the Glasgow School Board through Thomas Morrison. The information was given or sent to Nishimura probably late February in 1880.<sup>64</sup> In total 72 items were given to Nishimura. Over one third of the total items were on teachers. These consisted of a range of information on school keeping, organisation of schools and school discipline in day schools, including annual inspection, candidates for teachers, religious instruction, school books, school staff and corporal punishment. Some information of science education was also given: 'Specific subjects' beyond the standard curriculum which were taught to older children in ordinary elementary schools, including elementary sciences such as physical geography, mechanics, chemistry, animal physiology, magnetism and electricity.<sup>65</sup> There was also information on evening classes which offered elementary subjects including science such as machine

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<sup>59</sup> Stefan Collini, 'Arnold, Matthew (1822-1888)', *ODNB*, [article/679].

<sup>60</sup> PP 1877, XXIX, Matthew Arnold, Report, p.405.

<sup>61</sup> 'Science Teaching in Elementary Schools', *The Education Journal*, 95 (19 April 1879), pp.1-25. 'Models for Object Teaching', *The Education Journal*, 113 (24 Dec. 1879), pp.1-13.

<sup>62</sup> PP 1872, XXV [c.536] *Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science, vol. I. First, Supplementary, and Second Reports, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices* (London, 1872), p. xvii.

<sup>63</sup> 'Educational Statistics of British Government', *The Education Journal*, 101 (30 Jun. 1879), pp.6-7.

<sup>64</sup> A note which listed Nishimura's requests to the Glasgow School Board survives. The list is located between a letter dated 27 February 1880 (p.538) and another letter dated 1 March 1880 (p.543). D-ED1.1.7.15 The School Board, General Letter books, June 1879-Nov. 1880, GCA.

<sup>65</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, pp.206-207.

construction, mathematics, magnetism, electricity, chemistry and physiology to working-class adolescents.<sup>66</sup> Information on methods of dealing with parents and guardians who failed to send their children to schools, pupil teachers and monitors, and education acts and the general working of the School Board was also included.

Besides, Nishimura published two articles in 1879 on the Japanese educational situation in *The Educational News*, a weekly magazine of the Educational Institute of Scotland started in 1876 for promoting the interests of education in Scotland,<sup>67</sup> as the main forum for wider educational issues in Scotland.<sup>68</sup> Nishimura drew a picture of the Japanese education system under Chinese cultural influences from the introduction of the Chinese characters to the Meiji revolution which he himself experienced and had promoted to learn from western civilization.<sup>69</sup> He also explained developments in the educational system based on the Education Act of 1872,<sup>70</sup> and showed that Japan was catching up with 'European refinements'.

## **2. Stow's influence on Japanese normal schools**

Nishimura's return to Japan and his publications created a new trend to promote the method of British school management in some normal schools in Japan. This section investigates how much Nishimura was influenced by Stow's ideas through his introduction of British normal school textbooks into Japan and its fate. Firstly, in the first two parts, Nishimura's specific interests and Stow's influence on the British normal school textbooks which Nishimura introduced into Japan are investigated. Then, what Nishimura learned from those textbooks is studied focusing on Stow's influence and finally, a wider influence of British school theory beyond Nishimura's work and its fate are discussed. These processes were important in order to see whether Stow's religiously backed school theory could really be influential in Japan

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., pp.158, 165, 267-268. *The Evening Schools of the School Board of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1898), pp.9-10.

<sup>67</sup> *The Educational News*, 4-208 (December 1879), p.664.

<sup>68</sup> Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, pp.175-6.

<sup>69</sup> M. Nisshimoor, 'Education in Japan part I', *The Educational News*, 4-207 (13 December 1879), p.639. See quote 34 above.

<sup>70</sup> M. Nisshimoor, 'Education in Japan part II', *The Educational News*, 4-208 (20 December 1879), p.651.



where Christianity was avoided in official educational policies.

(1) Introducing British school management theories

Nishimura returned to Japan on 5 October 1880.<sup>71</sup> The time up to his appointment in December 1881 as a government officer (Goyo-gakari) of the Department of Education,<sup>72</sup> was probably employed to write his first book entitled *A New Theory of Elementary Education*, which was published in December 1881.<sup>73</sup> This book was virtually a report on his studies in Britain. It was composed of five volumes; the first two on school education, the third and fourth on school management and the fifth on teaching methods.<sup>74</sup> In the preface to the first volume, Nishimura explained that, returning to Japan, he had studied theories of educationists in Britain and contemplated the common education (Futsu kyoiku) in Japan.<sup>75</sup> He considered that its foundation was based on the quality of elementary school teachers and thus his work was confined to refining the regulations of normal schools.

In December 1880 the reformed Education Law (Kaisei Kyoikurei) was enacted, now including an article on teachers' morality, and, further, a guideline for elementary school teachers was proclaimed in June 1881.<sup>76</sup> The latter was entitled 'Regulations for Elementary School Teachers' (Shogakko kyoin kokoroe) and Egi Kazuyuki, the person who drafted them, stated that they were written based mainly on the educational theories of J. P. Wickersham.<sup>77</sup> Wickersham was the principal of

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<sup>71</sup> *The Eighth Annual Report of the Ministry of Education*, p.18.

<sup>72</sup> Report of employing Nishimura Tei, in 2A-10-ko4076, Kobunroku, the 18<sup>th</sup> Year of the Meiji Era, Kanrishintai, National Archives of Japan.

<sup>73</sup> The Department of Common Education, *Table of Inspected School Textbooks for Middle Schools and Normal Schools*, ii (Tokyo, 1883), reprinted in Nakamura, K. (ed.), *Materials for Studies of School Textbooks*, ii (Tokyo, 1985), p.14.

<sup>74</sup> Nishimura Tei, *A New Theory of Elementary Education*, i (new edn., Tokyo, 1884), the National Diet Library. In this chapter this is used as a text.

<sup>75</sup> For example when James Currie's *Principles and Practice of Common School Education* was translated, as will be seen, the phrase 'common school education' was translated as 'futsu shogaku kyoiku' in Japanese. 'Shogaku kyoiku' means elementary education. See *The Education Journal*, 130 (1880), p.14. The phrase 'futsu kyoiku' was for example used in 1878 in the following way: 'elementary schools are for infants' common education and all the people have to study there.' See 'Tei 155 go' (2 April 1878), in Tokyo metropolitan research institute of education (ed.), *Tokyo Metropolitan History of Education: Collections of Materials*, ii (Tokyo, 1992), p.266.

<sup>76</sup> Funaki, 'Change of the Policy', pp.4-5, 7-23.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.24-25.

the Philadelphia Normal School and later the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. His book, *School Economy*, was translated in 1874-6 and published by the Department of Education.<sup>78</sup> Inagaki considers that all of the regulations were fundamentally based on Wickersham's *School Economy* (*Gakko tsuron*), but concludes that the regulations changed some of his arguments especially by emphasising moral education over intellectual and physical education.<sup>79</sup> Funaki and Mizuhara, following this argument, argue that the emphasis on moral education and teachers' moral conduct was undertaken to combat the liberal rights movement (*Jiyu minken undo*) which demanded the opening of a parliament with people's representatives.<sup>80</sup>

However, Wickersham's view itself also had an emphasis on morals. The italicised parts of the following extract from Wickersham's book were used in the first article of the regulations.

*It is much more important that men should be good than that they should be learned. ...they must be guided by moral principles to be a blessing. ...his [the teacher's] example, if he is a Christian man, imbued with a true Christian spirit, will be a constant illustration of religious duties well performed, and must have a marked influence upon the susceptible minds of his pupils who love him [My italics].*<sup>81</sup>

The references to Christianity were cut and replaced with a patriotic and Confucian passage.<sup>82</sup> The Department of Education accepted Wickersham's emphasis on the importance of good moral conduct. Unlike other textbooks used in normal schools at that time, according to Fujii, Wickersham's book included discussions on school

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<sup>78</sup> Ogata, *A Way*, p.184. 'General Remarks', in Naka, Inagaki and Sato (eds.), *Compilations of Materials for Schools Textbooks*, i, pp.733-734.

<sup>79</sup> Inagaki, *Study on History of Teaching Theories*, pp.44-47. See also Tadao Tsuchiya, *Studies of History of Educational Policies in the First Half of the Meiji Era* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Tokyo, 1968), pp.256, 259.

<sup>80</sup> Funaki, 'Change of the Policy', p.24, and Katsutoshi Mizuhara, *A Study of History in Teachers' Training in Modern Japan* (Tokyo, 1990), p.277.

<sup>81</sup> J. P. Wickersham, *School Economy: A Treatise on the Preparation, Organization, Employments, Government, and Authorities of Schools* (Philadelphia, 1871), pp.329-330.

<sup>82</sup> *History of Development of Educational System after the Meiji Era*, ii (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., Tokyo, 1941), p.261. A similar patriotic Confucian passage was found in the preamble to the Regulations for Teachers' Moral Conduct, see quote 32 in this chapter.



management and discipline through moral education.<sup>83</sup> The emphasis on moral education did not simply mean a Confucian conservatism, as is normally argued.<sup>84</sup> It was an attempt to adopt a new approach to moral education, combining it with patriotic and Confucian morality.

Nishimura's book corresponded with the growing emphasis on morals, presenting practical information on western approach to moral education. While he was writing it, the 'Outline of Normal School Regulations' (Shihan Gakko Kyosoku Taiko) was also enacted in August 1881.<sup>85</sup> Nishimura pointed out that pedagogy and school management were two of the new main principles of the above outline, and argued that

on looking through school regulations of normal schools in Europe and the United States, there is no case in which school management is not one of the main compulsory subjects. However in our normal schools apart from governmental normal schools, most normal schools have lacked the subject.<sup>86</sup>

Although detailed contents of each subject were not shown in the outline, according to the 1879 regulations of the Tokyo Normal School which introduced the subjects of pedagogy and school management for the first time, school management included 'aims of school management, organisation of school furniture, classification, timetable, school regulation, matters concerning apparatus, school buildings, playgrounds etc., and discipline of pupils etc.'. Pedagogy included 'principles of mental, intellectual and physical education, methods of teaching' for different subjects.<sup>87</sup> Nishimura's book corresponded with both areas and attempted to make it practicable in the Japanese educational situation, unlike the existing translations.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Fujii, "'School Management' Theory', pp.4-5., 11, 14.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p.25. Mizuhara, *A Study of History*, for example pp.271, 273. The second part of Mizuno's book was entitled Development of Confucian teacher training, discussing the period starting around 1881 while the first part concerning the period prior to that was entitled Searching for modern teacher training. This kind of distinction is quite common between these periods.

<sup>85</sup> Fujii, "'School Management' Theory', p.3.

<sup>86</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, i, p.2.

<sup>87</sup> 'Regulations of the Tokyo Normal School, Revised in February 1879, in *Annual Report of the Seventh Year of the Tokyo Normal School* (Tokyo, 1879), the Textbook Library.

<sup>88</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, i, pp.2-3.

## (2) Stow's influence in British school management theories

Nishimura's book was essentially based on John Gill's *School Management*, which was a textbook in the GFNS, but he also used two other books as references, namely Thomas Morrison's *Manual of School-Management* and James Currie's *Principles and Practice of Common School Education* and occasionally added his own ideas and experiences as appropriate to the situation in Japan.<sup>89</sup> John Gill, a Methodist, was Master of Method in the Church of England Training College at Cheltenham from 1851 to 1888. He studied in the GFNS for seven months in 1846 and, after working in a new school in Staffordshire, was appointed to the Cheltenham Training College in 1851.<sup>90</sup> The college was, from its beginning, interested in the training system of David Stow. One of the original founders, Francis Close, an evangelical clergyman wrote in 1848:

There is nothing in the Glasgow system inapplicable to institutions conducted on the principles of the Church of England—and the sooner the spirit of that system is imbibed in our southern training institutions the more rapidly will they grow to perfection.<sup>91</sup>

In fact, besides Gill, three other teachers in the early years of the college were trained at the GFNS.<sup>92</sup> Stow stated in 1853 that 'Cheltenham Normal College' was established on the training system and three teachers, two male and one female, were sent from the GFNS as heads of departments.<sup>93</sup>

Inheriting Stow's training system, Gill's main work, *Introductory Text-book to School Education, Method and School Management*, which was the basis of Nishimura's book, was 'the most widely read during the second half of the nineteenth

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<sup>89</sup> According to Nishimura, these books were *Introductory Text-Book to Method and School Management* (London, 1877) by Gill, *Manual of School-Management* (1879) by Morrison, and *Principles and Practice of Common-School Education* (London, 1872) by Currie (Nishimura, *A New Theory*, i, p.1).

<sup>90</sup> Charles More, *The Training of Teachers, 1847-1947: A History of the Church Colleges at Cheltenham* (London, 1992), p.70.

<sup>91</sup> Cited in More, *The Training of Teachers*, p.15 (More cited from A. F. Munden, *The Church of England in Cheltenham 1826-56*, Birmingham, M. Litt, 1980, p.158). Regarding Close see p.7.

<sup>92</sup> More, *The Training of Teachers*, p.15.

<sup>93</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (9<sup>th</sup> edn.), p.495.

century' amongst manuals for teachers in Britain,<sup>94</sup> and after Stow's death, played the most important role in extending the influence of the educational theories of the GFNS. In 1882 Gill indicated the impact he felt his work had made:

My thanks are tendered to professors of education in this country, the United States, the Dominion, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, and India for its use as a text-book in colleges; and to School Boards for its adoption for their pupil teachers.<sup>95</sup>

Gill's works were adopted widely by the London and other Board Schools and were in use in 'all the Training Colleges of Great Britain and the Colonies'.<sup>96</sup>

Gill followed Stow's training system and stated that Stow's influence was omnipresent:

In the schools that exist—on his system—he has revolutionized the ordinary system of teaching and school-keeping, and has affected, for good or evil, more or less, every other system, though founded on principles the opposite of his own.<sup>97</sup>

Gill, in the chapter on elementary schools in his *Systems of Education*, portrayed the training system as the latest innovation in education and devoted 3 times as much space to it as to any other system. The training system was considered by Gill to be the most important system for elementary schools created by an educationist. Although he criticised some elements of Stow's method, he basically followed and developed the training system.

Another author, Thomas Morrison, who Nishimura used for his book, was a former colleague of Stow. Morrison was the principal of the GFNS between 1852 and 1898.<sup>98</sup> Stow was still actively working in the GFNS for about the first ten years of Morrison's time as principal,<sup>99</sup> although he left the GFNS a few years before his

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<sup>94</sup> John William Adamson, *English Education: 1789-1902* (Cambridge, 1930), p.476.

<sup>95</sup> John Gill, *Introductory Text-Book to School Education, Method and School Management* (London, 1882), p. v.

<sup>96</sup> *Locke's Thoughts on Education: The Principles of Education as Set forth by John Locke, with Introductory Essay by John Gill* (London, 1880), advertisement before the contents' pages.

<sup>97</sup> John Gill, *Systems of Education* (London, 1876), p.210.

<sup>98</sup> Cruickshank, *A History*, p.221.

<sup>99</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (9th edn.), p.487.

death in 1864.<sup>100</sup> Morrison's main work, *Manual of School Management* which had at least seven editions (up to 1879) was also largely influenced by Stow.<sup>101</sup>

The third author Nishimura used for his book was James Currie, the principal of the Edinburgh Church of Scotland Normal School between 1852 and 1886,<sup>102</sup> and mathematical tutor of the normal school for six years prior to 1852.<sup>103</sup> Although Currie published some textbooks on arithmetic as well as on music and English,<sup>104</sup> his main book was *Principles and Practice of Common-school Education*, which was published up until 1883 and also influenced by Stow's ideas, as will be seen.

The three textbooks Nishimura used were written by authors who had long experience in training colleges, and still displayed the influence of David Stow.

### (3) Stow's influence on Nishimura's book

Nishimura indeed had a direct interest in Stow. During 1893 and 1894, a series of thirteen translations from Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* were published in *The Magazine of the Japanese Society of Education (Dai Nihon Kyoikukai Zasshi)* at Nishimura's suggestion, probably learning from one of Gill's books.<sup>105</sup> Discussing this in 1894, Nishimura introduced David Stow as a most important person in British elementary school education, referring to his own study in the GFNS which Stow created, and highlighted his 'training system' along with the novelty of 'picturing out'. He hinted at a similar translation of Stow in the future,

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<sup>100</sup> Fraser, *Memoir of David Stow*, p.276. He died on 6 November 1864 (ibid., p.285). Fraser stated that during the last few years before his death he was shut out from the work of the GFNS.

<sup>101</sup> He also published textbooks on Bible teaching, object lessons, English grammar and history such as *English Grammar for the Use of Schools* (1872), *Bible Illustrations* (1873), *Object Lessons and how to Conduct them* (1887) and *First Historical Reader for Standard II* (1881).

<sup>102</sup> *The Scotsman*, 27 September 1886.

<sup>103</sup> Alexander Morgan, *Two Famous old Edinburgh Colleges* (Edinburgh, 1935), p.16.

<sup>104</sup> Currie published for example *A First Musical Grammar* (1885); *First Steps in Arithmetic* (1864); *The Practical School Grammar* (1871).

<sup>105</sup> Gill provided an introductory essay for a book entitled *Locke's Thoughts on Education*, which included the philosopher's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* and this became a standard textbook on moral discipline for normal schools in Britain from 1880. 'Memorandum', in *Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland 1879-80* (London, 1880), pp.83-84.



although it was not realised.<sup>106</sup> Nishimura also probably read Gill's *Systems of Education*, since the Educational Museum, which was the successor of the Tokyo Library, founded by the Department of Education in 1872,<sup>107</sup> held its 1876 edition in 1881.<sup>108</sup> Stow's *Training System* published in 1859 was also held in the Educational Museum along with William Fraser's biography of Stow.<sup>109</sup> Nishimura probably suggested the purchase of Stow's book or he sent or brought it from Britain.

Influenced by those British authors' works, Nishimura's book accepted many elements which Stow had improved. However there was an important missing element. This was Stow's and his British followers' core belief, Christianity, based on the Bible. Nishimura did not introduce any element which directly related to Christianity and the Bible in his book. In this sense Nishimura's book lacked the backbone of the training system without which other elements might not be claimed as the training system any more. Nevertheless, Nishimura introduced many ideas Stow developed and some elements were favourably accepted. Of the two main areas Nishimura dealt with in his book, namely pedagogy and school management, pedagogy included Stow's views on human nature and his educational methods, while the area of school management connected with his whole framework of school education.

Before the publication of Nishimura's book, the Department of Education published extensive extracts from Currie's book, *The Principles and Practice of Common School Education* in *The Education Journal*.<sup>110</sup> These were pure translations from the section on school management subdivided into organisation and discipline except one section on 'apparatus' and one on the art of teaching. In these

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<sup>106</sup> Nishimura, 'Address in Summer Seminar of the Japanese Society of Education', in *Magazine of the Japanese Society of Education*, 155 (October, 1894), pp.2420-2423. The translations of Locke's book was published in numbers 133-137, 139-143, 145, 147-148, and 151 of the Magazine.

<sup>107</sup> Hashimoto, *A Study of American Educational Information*, pp.105-112.

<sup>108</sup> Educational Museum, *Classified Catalogue of the Books of the Library of Kiyoiuku Hakubutsukan* (Tokyo, 1881), p.31.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.12, 23. The book was *The Training System of Education* (11<sup>th</sup> edn., London, 1859). This is now held in the National Diet Library as is Fraser's *Memoir*.

<sup>110</sup> These articles are found in *The Education Journal*, volumes of 130 (20 Oct. 1880), 134 (27 Dec. 1880), 138 (17 Feb. 1881), 143 (11 April 1881), 144 (20 April 1881), 152-158 (22 Aug. 1884-15 Nov. 1881).



extracts, two important characteristics of British school theory which also connected with Stow's method can be discerned.

Firstly, in the area of organisation, Currie approved of the simultaneous method or collective teaching which induced the pupils' sympathies, and proposed to classify pupils into fixed classes regardless of subjects in order to inspire 'a common spirit' in them. He considered that the best possible school organisation was assigning a skilled teacher for each class of sixty to eighty pupils, although, considering the reality, he proposed combining a skilled teacher with pupil-teachers and monitors who would be employed for the more mechanical parts of teaching.<sup>111</sup>

Currie's recommendation above essentially challenged the existing method of teaching promoted after the School Act (Gakusei) of 1872. School children had normally been classified into grades based on the levels of each subject and this method officially continued until 1891 when the Regulations on Classification (Gakkyu henseini kansuru kisoku) enacted the classification of children based rather on numbers of teachers and children.<sup>112</sup> Previous studies agree that the recommended teaching method before that period was that of M. M. Scot, who was employed by the Department of Education and who taught in the first normal school in Japan in 1872. His method was normally understood as a 'simultaneous method' to a group of children classified by grades. Scot introduced object lessons and the method of teaching in the form of questions and answers, requesting children's simultaneous activities such as reading together or moving together. However, as Morokuzu Shincho, the principal of the normal school, stated, this teaching aimed to improve knowledge of science, stimulating the spirit of emulation in children,<sup>113</sup> rather than creating a collective culture as Stow's simultaneous method sought, inducing

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<sup>111</sup> '(Translation) James Currie, *Principles and Practice of Common-School Education*', *The Education Journal*, 138 (17 February 1881), pp.10-30, and *ibid.*, 143 (11 April 1881), pp.10-21. James Currie, *The Principles and Practice of Common-School Education* (Edinburgh, 1861), pp.154-171.

<sup>112</sup> National Research Institute of Education, *One Hundred Year History of Education in Modern Japan*, iv (Tokyo, 1974), pp.140-141, 144-145, 188.

<sup>113</sup> Hashimoto, *A Study of American Educational Information*, pp.87-88. 'Explanation', in Naka, Inagaki and Sato (eds.), *Compilations of Materials for Schools Textbooks*, pp.722-730. Morokuzu Shincho, *A Handbook for Elementary Teachers* (new edn., Tokyo, 1875), p.3 (preface).

sympathies among children.

Secondly, in the area of discipline, Currie's recommendation included an element distant from Stow's methods. While Stow was opposed to appeals to 'the selfish and lower motives of human nature' such as 'love of distinction' which was considered to correspond with the method giving a distinct place to a child, often in combination with giving prizes,<sup>114</sup> Currie praised it as well as giving prizes in stimulating children to study. He accepted emulation as natural and as an expression of self love.<sup>115</sup> Currie's school management theory leaned to Herbert Spencer's social Darwinism, along with other British authors, as will be shown shortly. This was another character brought to Japan from Britain.

Nishimura's book also reflected these two elements in the part of school management. In the area of pedagogy, Nishimura employed many of Stow's ideas, as the British authors did, although in the place of Christianity based on the Bible, Nishimura's reliance in this book was on nature's laws. He argued that 'nothing exists without connection of cause and effect' and 'nature's law controls the order'.<sup>116</sup> Pure science discovered nature's laws and scientists presented them for the use in peoples' lives.<sup>117</sup> Nishimura believed that science was the basis of civilization and improvement,<sup>118</sup> and argued that the intellectual rather than the moral decided relationships among individuals and even among nations in the way that the more intelligent controlled the less intelligent.<sup>119</sup> He considered that nature's laws and science existed even without language and letters, and criticised Eastern (Japanese) educational methods influenced by Chinese tradition as being too heavily based on

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<sup>114</sup> Stow, *The Training System* (10<sup>th</sup> edn.), pp.254-257.

<sup>115</sup> '(Translation) Currie, *Principles and Practice*', *The Education Journal*, 155 (26 September 1881), pp.9-11; 158 (15 November 1881), pp.11-13. Currie, *The Principles*, pp.235-236, 251-252.

<sup>116</sup> Nishimura Tei, *Transcriptions of Lectures on a New Theory of Elementary Education* (Tokyo, 1884), p.1. The almost identical phrases with the quote are found in Nishimura's article, 'Introduction to pedagogy (delivered in 1884)', in Nishimura, *Remarks of Education*, p.2.

<sup>117</sup> Nishimura, 'The main task of scholars and the role of educationists (delivered in 1883)', in *Remarks of Education*, p.17.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p.20.

<sup>119</sup> Nishimura, 'The essence of common education (delivered in 1884)', in Nishimura, *Remarks of Education*, pp.62-64. Nishimura, 'The Necessity of Science Education and Physical Geography (delivered in 1884)', *Ibid.*, pp.95-96.

texts and words and their memorisation.<sup>120</sup> Nishimura regarded education as a science based on nature's laws and considered his task to introduce 'the science of education' into Japan, which Nishimura found as the core of British educational ideas.<sup>121</sup>

Nishimura stated that education aimed to bring out and train up 'all that constitutes man'.<sup>122</sup> To do so, he argued that education should depend on the law of nature.

Such education does not add to the powers of human nature, nor can it alter the order in which they are developed; but it makes use of certain means to bring these powers to a state of perfection and a capacity for use, which otherwise would not have been attained.<sup>123</sup>

Nishimura accepted that education should train all the powers of human nature while following its law. He divided education into three areas, namely physical, intellectual and moral, and emphasised that these three should be educated in harmony.<sup>124</sup> Nishimura essentially accepted Stow's arguments on human nature and the role of education related to it.

Education of the mind included moral and intellectual training and, as Stow did, Nishimura considered moral training as the core of mental education. He argued that without moral training, strength of body and acuteness of intellect would be dangerous to society. He also considered that moral training would promote intellectual advancement.

This it does by giving a high and sustained energy, such as a sense of duty and moral principle can alone supply; by removing hindrances to progress; and by the questions which it offers for examination and careful judgment. What obstacles to progress are indolence, stubbornness, pride, conceit, unfaithfulness, and other faults in child character, with which few but teachers are acquainted! Let these be removed, or their influence materially lessened by judicious training, and how much would be gained at once on the side of the intellect!<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Nishimura, 'Necessity of Science Education in Common Education (delivered in 1882)', in Nishimura, *Remarks of Education*, p.12.

<sup>121</sup> Nishimura, 'Introduction to Pedagogy', p.4.

<sup>122</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, i, p.1. Gill, *Introductory Text Book*, p.1. When Nishimura's texts correspond with a British author's book, the source will be shown after Nishimura's book, as this note.

<sup>123</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, i, p.3. Gill, *Introductory Text Book*, p.3.

<sup>124</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, i, p.6. Gill, *Introductory Text Book*, pp.9-10.

<sup>125</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, i, pp.25-27. Gill, *Introductory Text Book*, p.20.



As Stow argued, Nishimura also accepted that morality decided the advancement and quality of the intellectual and the importance of the role of teachers for this. Although Nishimura saw the intellect rather than the moral as decisive for relationship among individuals and among nations, he also accepted that the usefulness of intellectual elements was decided by the moral elements.

The methods of moral training that Nishimura introduced into Japan included 'development' to find out 'the predisposition, bent, or bias of the individual' along with the role of the playground where teachers learned these.<sup>126</sup> He also introduced the method of 'example and sympathy' which Stow considered the chief method of moral training.<sup>127</sup> Since Morrison's original textbook from which Nishimura translated this method presented Stow's *Training System* as a reference book, Nishimura would have recognised Stow's contribution to this method. The new elements were the introduction of 'a code of regulations' in schools,<sup>128</sup> and the emphasis on the role of the teacher as an example for children and sympathies between the teacher and children.<sup>129</sup> While Stow based the method on the conscience which was supposed to be implanted in every person by God, Nishimura's book lacked this Christian element, which was the basis of authority behind the method and the school rules and teachers in Britain. However, this missing element was able to be replaced by the Japanese patriotic morality and Confucian values as was enacted in the 'Regulations for Elementary School Teachers' (Shogakko kyoin kokoroe) of 1881. In this pragmatic way, Stow's methods of moral training were still possible to be influential.

Nishimura's deepest interest in Stow's educational methods is seen in the area of intellectual training, accepting all the methods of intellectual training Stow presented. As has been seen above, Nishimura was concerned with the situation

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<sup>126</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, i, pp.6-7. Gill, *Introductory Text Book*, p.10.

<sup>127</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, iv, pp.21-22. Thomas Morrison, *Manual of School Management: For the Use of Teachers, Students, and Pupil Teachers* (Glasgow, 1872), p.81.

<sup>128</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, iv, pp.22-25. Morrison, *Manual of School Management*, pp.81-82.

<sup>129</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, iv, pp.2-5. Gill, *Introductory Text Book*, p.10.

where few textbooks were available to teach science in Japan. The situation in Britain was similar. Nishimura, translating from Morrison's book, stated that in this situation the teacher became 'the chief store-house' from which children derived information. Assuming the oral lessons as the basic method of teaching, Nishimura considered that Stow's method of ellipsis and question together was better than direct questioning when the teacher introduced new information to children.

In oral instruction the teacher assumes that the child is ignorant of the facts which he is about to state, and of the conclusions which he intends to deduce from these facts. ...He will do them little good, if he walk rapidly through, discoursing, eloquently it may be, on its wonders and its beauties; but he may arouse their attention, secure their interest, and thus set them a thinking, if he moves slowly forward, giving a hint here, and a hint there, but allowing the pupils to discover for themselves the objects of interest which lie in their path. Here, we believe, lies the great value of Ellipses in education, and, if properly conducted, their power is undoubtedly great.<sup>130</sup>

The method of 'ellipses' is here connected with making children's minds active, and securing children's attention and interest. The last element which was one of the important elements of the gallery lessons was thus accepted by Nishimura, although the role of the gallery was paid little attention probably reflecting the favoured interest in fixed classes.

Nishimura also accepted Stow's several methods to make children understand the meaning of a passage presented. These were termed 'exposition' as a whole, consisting of explanation, 'picturing out' and illustration.

This [exposition] is the art of conveying clearly ideas or thoughts. When an idea, as it exists in the teacher's mind, is put forth so as to enter the pupil's, or when the teacher, by any statement, explanation, or illustration, enables the learner to master that on which his mind is occupied, the method is exposition.<sup>131</sup>

All of these followed Stow's methods of intellectual training. Nishimura added his own information identifying Stow as the inventor of 'picturing out' as well as the founder of the British normal schools.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, v, pp.36-37. Morrison, *Manual of School Management*, pp.104-105

<sup>131</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, v, p.38. Gill, *Introductory Text Book*, p.180.

<sup>132</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, ii, p.38.



Not only restricted by the recent Japanese educational policy, but also influenced by the contemporary British authors, Nishimura's book accepted elements of emulation, as well as secular authorities such as teachers and school regulations. In these aspects, Nishimura departed from Stow's educational methods. However, he accepted Stow's ideas of education based on human nature and his methods of both moral and intellectual training.

#### (4) The rise and fall of British school management theories

Nishimura was appointed as a government officer of the Department of Education in December 1881. After moving to different positions in the same department, in August 1885, Nishimura became a second secretary in the department, while Mori Arinori entered the department in 1884 returning from Britain and became the Education Minister in 1885 under the cabinet system.<sup>133</sup> Until his resignation in 1888, Nishimura spent almost seven years in the department.<sup>134</sup> During this period, in line with Nishimura's thinking, British ideas of school management and pedagogy were widely introduced. In 1882, based on the Japanese school situation and using a similar framework to that of Currie,<sup>135</sup> Izawa Shuji, the principal of Tokyo Normal School from 1879,<sup>136</sup> published a book entitled *School Management (Gakko Kanriho)* and this became widely influential in normal schools in the 1880s.<sup>137</sup> Another of Currie's books, *The Principles and Practice of Early and Infant School-Education* was also translated between 1886-7 by Waku Masatatsu, the principal of Miyagi Normal School between 1879 and 1884, and later the principal of the Tokyo Normal School.<sup>138</sup> Also, in 1886, James Leitch's book, entitled *Practical*

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<sup>133</sup> 2A-10-Ko4076, Kobunroku, the 18<sup>th</sup> Year of the Meiji Era, National Archives of Japan. Also see *Magazine of the Japanese Society of Education*, 16 (28, February 1885), p.36.

<sup>134</sup> After resigning from the Department of Education he became the deputy principal of the fifth high school in Kyushu prefecture, away from Tokyo in July 1888. See Hirata, *Studies of Officials Sent for the United States and Europe*, p.261.

<sup>135</sup> Mari Fujii, 'Teachers Culture in the Period Founding the Modern School System', in Kudomi, Y. (ed.), *Teachers' Culture in Japan-Its Sociological Study* (Tokyo, 1994), p.106, and the same author, "'School Management" Theory', p.11.

<sup>136</sup> Noboru Kageyama, 'Oswego Movement and Pestalozzian Education in the Early Meiji Era in Japan', in *Bulletin of Ehime University*, 5, *Science of Education*, 14-1(1967), p.11.

<sup>137</sup> Fujii, 'Teachers Culture', pp.103-104, and the same author, "'School Management" Theory', pp.5, 14-15.

<sup>138</sup> Mizuhara, *A Study of History*, p.178.

*Educationists and their Systems of Teaching* was translated into Japanese. Leitch was the principal of the Glasgow Church of Scotland Normal College.<sup>139</sup> In this book, Locke, Pestalozzi, Bell, Lancaster, Wilderspin, Stow and Spencer were discussed. The eighty-five pages in the book devoted to Stow's work were only outnumbered by those on Pestalozzi and Spencer, showing that Stow's book was still considered to be worth attention, although Leitch highly evaluated Spencer as 'our leading champion for science teaching'.<sup>140</sup> Spencer (1820-1903) was a philosopher who compared social development to the process by which animal organisms developed from simple creatures to more advanced ones, believing in the concept of evolution by adaptation.<sup>141</sup> Spencer was also introduced into Japan,<sup>142</sup> but Stow's influence was more extensive on the general ideas of education and methods of moral training.

In 1884 and 1885 Nishimura also published two books to supplement the original *New Theories of Elementary Schools*.<sup>143</sup> He actively promoted the contents of his book by providing further descriptions of words and phrases he used in the original book which were thought unfamiliar to Japanese readers. Among textbooks officially approved for normal schools by the Department of Education in 1886 were Nishimura's *New Theories of Elementary Schools*, Izawa's *School Management*<sup>144</sup> and another translation from a British book on *School Management* by Joseph Landon, Lecturer in the Training College, Saltley. Since the Department of Education decided in 1886 that only authorised textbooks were allowed for use in schools including normal schools,<sup>145</sup> the fact that those books influenced by British educationists in normal schools were approved by the department is important.

In particular, Izawa's *School Management* can be seen as representative of what the department promoted through school management theories, from its wide

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<sup>139</sup> *Biographies of Seven Great Educationists* (Tokyo, 1885), pp.1-2, 308, 318-9.

<sup>140</sup> J. Leitch, *Practical Educationists and their Systems of Teaching* (Glasgow, 1876), p. vii. Also see *Biographies of Seven Great Educationists*, p.3.

<sup>141</sup> Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, pp.312-313.

<sup>142</sup> Checkland, *Britain's Encounter*, pp.127-130.

<sup>143</sup> Those books are *Lectures on a New Theory of Elementary Education*, Vols.1&2 (1884); *Explanations of a New Theory of Elementary Education* (1885).

<sup>144</sup> *History of Development of Educational System after the Meiji Era*, iii (1938: repr. Tokyo, 1964), pp.698-699. As for Nishimura's book, only volumes 1-4 were approved according to the decision in 1883.

influence in normal schools<sup>146</sup> and from the way it was written as his own book based on his own experiences.<sup>147</sup> One of the important points was that Izawa, following Currie, suggested that children be classified based on the average of the results of all the subjects and stay in a class rather than changing grades according to each subject.<sup>148</sup> He also accepted combining a skilled teacher with pupil-teachers or monitors for more mechanical subjects such as arithmetic.<sup>149</sup> Izawa also recommended using the mechanism of example which would work among children.<sup>150</sup> Along with the previous introduction of Currie's ideas by the department and Nishimura's book,<sup>151</sup> Izawa promoted collective teaching with elements of moral training to be adopted in schools in Japan.

But, among the five volumes of Nishimura's book, volume 5 on teaching methods which included the methods of Stow's intellectual training, in particular oral lessons, was omitted from approval,<sup>152</sup> although general ideas of education including moral and intellectual training and school management theory were approved. In an address in 1883, Nishimura argued that oral lessons were the most useful method of teaching in elementary schools, but complained that teachers were not trained to conduct oral lessons. Further the Department of Education decided in the same year that schools should obtain permission before deciding school textbooks including those for use in oral lessons which were allowed only for the subject of morality.<sup>153</sup> These conditions restricted the use of oral lessons and this would probably have led to the omission of Nishimura's volume on oral teaching. Instead, Nishimura's energy on science education was poured into introducing Thomas Huxley's work chiefly as school textbooks.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Mizuhara, *A Study of History*, p.644. *One Hundred Year History of Education*, iv, p.26.

<sup>146</sup> Fujii, 'Teachers Culture', p.103.

<sup>147</sup> Izawa Shuji, *School Management* (Tokyo, 1877), Preface.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p.32.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.16-19.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p.120.

<sup>151</sup> Nishimura, *A New Theory*, iii, pp.30, 41.

<sup>152</sup> Joseph Landon, translated by Toyama Masakazu, *School Management* (Tokyo, 1886-1889)

<sup>153</sup> Nishimura Tei, 'The Urgent Tasks of Elementary School Teachers', in Nishimura, *Remarks of Education*, pp.45-48. *One Hundred Year History of Education*, iv, p.26.

<sup>154</sup> For example, Nishimura translated Huxley's *Physiography* as a textbook for normal



Although the reason for his resignation from the Department of Education in 1888 is not known, Nishimura was back in the department again between 1890 and 1892.<sup>155</sup> He now showed a considerable emphasis on moral education. In April 1890, Nishimura asserted that ‘recently ideas promoting a relationship between education and the state have been continuously produced’.<sup>156</sup> He developed his six resolutions on education, the first being as follows:

My resolution on education is at first that the most important thing among important things for our educationists is always, even in an emergency, to work holding and respecting in our mind the establishment of our Imperial Japan.<sup>157</sup>

The other five resolutions Nishimura expected from teachers were all connected with the development of the Japanese nation in competing with European countries and the United States, and the role of the teacher in such a situation. Two defects to be overcome were pointed out: the lack of the concepts of public duty (Kokyoshin) and the Japanese nation; and the lack of scientific ideas.<sup>158</sup>

Nishimura’s change of emphasis was connected with the establishment of the Constitution of Imperial Japan (Dai nippon teikoku kenpo), which was proclaimed by the Emperor in 1889, and the establishment of the Imperial Rescript of Education (Kyoiku chokugo), which enacted moral standards to be followed by the Japanese, and also in connection with this, the second Elementary School Act in 1890. Through these, Japanese national polity was defined as being loyal to the emperors of an unbroken line from the beginning of the country while the importance of obeying the constitution and laws were emphasised along with Confucian values.<sup>159</sup> The second

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schools replacing his examples with those relevant to Japan and this was authorised by the Department of Education between 1887 and 1892. Nishimura Tei (ed.), *New Physiography*, 3 vols. (Tokyo, 1884). Mitsuko Suefuji, ‘Study on science education in the early Meiji era of Japan (1)—How T. H. Huxley’s Idea of Science Education was Accepted in Japan—’, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, the University of Tokyo*, 20 (1980), p.243.

<sup>155</sup> Nishimura was appointed as an Inspector of the Department of Education on 5 March 1890 and in August 1891 he was concurrently appointed as a Counsellor of the department and then he resigned from both of them on 18 November 1892. See *Current Educational Topics*, 178 (25 March 1890), p.7; *Education Report*, 278 (25 August 1891), p.16; *Magazine of the Japanese Society of Education*, 122 (30 November 1892), p.726.

<sup>156</sup> Nishimura, *Remarks of Education*, p.156.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p.159.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.160-165.

<sup>159</sup> Pittau, ‘Inoue Kowashi’, pp.272. 275-276.

Elementary School Act is usually described as having been epoch-making in the history of Japan's elementary school system especially because this act removed 'enlightened elements' which had still remained under the first Elementary School Act in 1886 and produced a clear direction on moral education in line with the Imperial Rescript of Education.<sup>160</sup> However, this act should be seen in line with attempts to establish Japanese patriotic morality along with the western framework. The act was distinctive in its objective which sought to create a strong sense of 'Japaneseness' through elementary schools as Nishimura's change clearly suggested. The aims of elementary schools were enacted as Article I of the act, which were to be maintained for around 50 years.

The main aims of elementary schools were to provide the base of moral education and Japanese (Kokumin) education, paying attention to developments of children's bodies, and ordinary knowledge and skills necessary for their lives.<sup>161</sup>

Japanese (Kokumin) education was defined by Egi Kazuyuki, who wrote the act, as 'education reflecting the nature of a country', or education based on the national polity of being loyal to the emperors.<sup>162</sup>

Nishimura resigned from the department in November 1892 again, although he had become the chief of the section for educational certification in the department in August 1891 and was a counsellor of the department, the seventh highest person in the department.<sup>163</sup> With his resignation, British influence in education also went into decline and German influence became dominant. Nose Sakae, the principal of Nagano Normal School in 1882 and secretary to the Department of Education between 1887 and 1889,<sup>164</sup> four of whose books were authorised by the department after 1890 as textbooks for education in normal schools,<sup>165</sup> characterised in 1894

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<sup>160</sup> *One Hundred Year History of Education*, iv, pp.54-65 (the author is Tadahiko Inagaki).

<sup>161</sup> Article I in the Elementary School Act, quoted in *One Hundred Year History of Education*, iv, pp.57-58.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.58-59, 65.

<sup>163</sup> *Education Report*, 278 (25 August 1891), p.16.

<sup>164</sup> Suguru Inaoka, 'Publishing school textbooks in the period of textbook authorising system in Meiji era and the management of Kinko-do', in *Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library Science Bulletin*, 24(1994), p.64.

<sup>165</sup> The Department of Common Education, *Lists of Authorised School Textbooks for*



British educational theories: they aimed at the development of intellectual power and valued science, but they have two defects: 'British people...tend to mix up ideas of morality and those of business'; moral education was based on the law of nature and forgot that moral education needed punishment.<sup>166</sup> In both defects, Spencer's ideas were in Nose's mind and he emphasised the necessity of pedagogy based not only on psychology but also on ethics, recommending some textbooks written by French and Germans on ethics. And for him the foundation of ethics was now the Imperial Rescript of Education (Kyoiku chokugo).<sup>167</sup> Although the tide of British influence faded in the 1890s, the essence learned from Stow's moral training was not totally denied.

Along with the policies of the Japanese Department of Education, Nishimura introduced to Japan British school management theories. Although they, influenced by Darwinism and introducing secular authority, partly departed from Stow's ideas centred on the Bible, Nishimura introduced many elements of British pedagogy influenced by Stow. Although Stow's methods of oral lessons were overshadowed by Huxley's influence on science education after 1886, the methods of moral training incorporated with simultaneous method were disseminated in the 1880s through Nishimura's and others' publications. This would have paved the way to the 1891 Regulations on Classification to promote collective teaching in fixed classes. The enactments of the Constitution of Imperial Japan and the Imperial Rescript of Education in 1890 provided the moral authority for moral training in place of Christianity. Thus, although Christian elements were totally omitted from Nishimura's and others' books influenced by British educationists in normal schools, their works introduced a new teaching framework of moral education into the existing framework of intellectual education. In this way Stow's ideas on education had influence on Meiji-Japan.

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*Normal Schools, Middle Schools and Women's High Schools: May 1886-April 1899* (Tokyo, 1904), reprinted in Nakamura, K.(ed.), *Materials for Studies of School Textbooks*, iv (Tokyo, 1985).

<sup>166</sup> Nose Sakae, 'Orders of Studies of Pedagogy', in *Magazine of the Japanese Society of Education*, 156 (15 Oct. 1894), pp.36-37.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.35, 38, 42.

### 3. Chalmers in the context of urbanising Japan

When the British school theories were introduced into Japan, most of the Japanese regions were still neither industrialised nor urbanised. However, in the 1890s and especially in the 1900s and the 1910s, rapid urbanisation and industrialisation caused problems of social order which alerted the government. It was in such a situation that British social policies were studied by Japanese officials and Chalmers's ideas were also introduced into Japan.

Previous studies on Japanese social welfare tend to emphasise a peculiarity of Japanese policies in this period. Doi has noted that social welfare works were strongly led by the state administration and in this sense were completely different from the United States and Europe.<sup>168</sup> Yoshida, discussing the ideas of bureaucrats in the Japanese Home Department (Naimu-sho) on relief in this period, argues that although poor relief tended to come to be an individualistic right in the European experience, Japanese bureaucrats considered that the Japanese family and neighbourhood system should be utilised.<sup>169</sup> Behind these judgements there seems to be an assumption that, while social welfare activities in Europe and the United States were led by an individualistic principle, those in Japan were led by the state utilising communal relationships.

However, the idea of 'de-pauperisation', which was strongly emphasised in this period in Japan, was imported from outside and a more detailed investigation of outside influences is required. Thomas Chalmers was also introduced for the first time into Japan in the context of social welfare in this period. Takano and Kawai, in their work on Chalmers, referring to previous views on Chalmers by Japanese writers, distinguish two trends: those which emphasised his negative side as an economic liberal and a person who called for the abolition of poor laws, and those which highlighted his influence on the promotion of settlements, charity organisation societies and casework.<sup>170</sup> However, these two aspects were inseparable and Inoue

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<sup>168</sup> Yoichi Doi, 'Suppression of Relief and Reformation of People', in Kikue Uda, Takushi Takazawa and Kojun Furukawa (ed.), *History of Social Welfare* (Tokyo, 1977), p.194.

<sup>169</sup> Kyuichi Yoshida, *History of Japanese Social Works* (new edn. 1981: repr. Tokyo, 1985), p.139.

<sup>170</sup> Their work is the only one which studies Chalmers's influence in Japan. Takano and

Tomoichi, who, they considered, took the former view, and Tomeoka Kosuke, the latter, worked closely together in the Home Department in the early 1900s. A closer look at Chalmers's influence on the policy making of the Home Department is necessary.

#### (1) Emphasis on education in Japanese poor relief policy

In 1891 Nishimura stated that the social sanctions which had operated within the feudal system had disappeared and that schools should now become leaders in their revival.<sup>171</sup> This view reflected a new condition emerging especially in cities. Reports on slums (Hinmin kutsu) in Tokyo and Osaka started to be published by journalists in the second half of the 1880s.<sup>172</sup> While the population of Edo, renamed Tokyo in 1868, half of whom were samurai, was one million or more, and had remained stable for 150 years, it decreased to 580,000 by 1872 because a large number of ex-shogunal retainers and their families left Tokyo following the collapse of the Shogunate regime. The population gradually began to increase after 1880 and once again exceeded a million by the 1890s. From a population survey taken in 1908, Nakagawa suggests that many of the migrants who entered Tokyo after 1880 were male, young and, probably, unmarried.<sup>173</sup> Traditional neighbourhood stability was placed under severe threat with the extensive inflow of immigrants.<sup>174</sup>

Other cities, such as Yokohama, Osaka and Kobe also showed their highest population growth between 1872 and 1885.<sup>175</sup> An emphasis on the schools' role in educating society gradually became an important policy in the Home Department. In

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Kawai, 'Thomas Chalmers, Life and his Idea of the Abolition of Pauperism) 1', in *The Meiji Kaguin Review*, 231(1975), pp.19-21. Also Kawai, 'Thomas Chalmers, Life and his Idea of the Abolition of Pauperism 2', in *The Meiji Kaguin Review*, 249 (1976), pp.46-47.

<sup>171</sup> Nishimura, 'Education should be Respectable (delivered in 1891)', in *Remarks of Education*, pp.218-219.

<sup>172</sup> Kiyoshi Nakagawa, *The Lower Class of Urban Cities* (Tokyo, 1985), pp.13-15. Nakagawa presents 3 reports on Tokyo and 1 report on Osaka published between 1886 and 1891.

<sup>173</sup> Kiyoshi Nakagawa, 'Ambitions, "Family-Centredness" and Expenditure Patterns in a Changing Urban Class Structure: Tokyo in the Early Twentieth Century', in *Continuity and Change*, 15-1 (2000), p.77.

<sup>174</sup> Nakagawa, 'Ambitions', p.78. See also, Henry D. Smith, 'The Edo-Tokyo Transition: in Search of Common Ground', in Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman (ed.), *Japan in Transition: from Tokugawa to Meiji* (Princeton, 1986), pp.368-370.

<sup>175</sup> Akira Hayami, 'Population Changes', in Jansen and Rozman (ed.), *Japan in Transition*,



1890, 1897 and 1898 attempts were made to revise the 1874 Relief Regulation (Jukkyu Kisoku) which maintained similar principles for dealing with the able-bodied poor as the nineteenth century Scottish practice, but none were successful. Relief was provided only to the aged, the disabled and children and if the needy person was not without kin, all the rest of the family needed to be over 70 years old or under 15 years old in order to be eligible. The regulation relied on family support and stressed that 'the matter of poor relief should be dealt with based on people's natural sentiment towards each other'.<sup>176</sup>

Nakagawa claims that if the regulation had been loosened, too much relief would have been needed.<sup>177</sup> Takahashi also suggests that the ideas opposing a more liberal provision seemed to have been based on shortages in the state finances, although she mentions the Malthusian view of poverty behind them without explaining further.<sup>178</sup> Attributing the failure to enact new regulations mainly to the problem of cost, they fail to see the importance of the stress that the Home Department placed on education in dealing with poor relief.

According to Kubota Seitaro, Counsellor to the Home Department between 1897 and 1900, Inoue Tomoichi, who had taken charge of poor relief in the Home Department, considered that the education of children should be first promoted and poor relief should come later.<sup>179</sup> In fact, Inoue was opposed to the bill for a new poor law presented in 1902, which aimed to provide jobs for the vagrant poor, for the following reasons.

If it [the bill] was provided the most dreadful vice as the result of obligatory relief, would occur. That is, it would promote and develop idleness amongst the people and increase the number of the poor, and in the end would result in

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p.306.

<sup>176</sup> 2A-9-Da 359, Dajoruiten, 2, from the Fourth Year of the Meiji Era to the Tenth Year, 137-11, National Archives of Japan.

<sup>177</sup> Nakagawa, *The Lower Class of Urban Cities*, p.37.

<sup>178</sup> Motoko Takahashi, *The Emergence of Welfare Society in Japan* (Aldershot, 1997), p.35.

<sup>179</sup> Kubota Seitaro, 'Organisations to Control Social Works in Japan', in Central Organisation of Social Works (ed.), *Compendium of Social Works*, i (1929), reprinted in Japan College of Social Work (ed.), *Collection of Works of Kubota Seitaro* (Tokyo, 1980), pp.470-471. Kubota Seitaro, 'Thinking of Mr Inoue', in *These People*, 14-7 (July, 1919), p.38. Aida Yoshio, 'Critical Biography of Respected Dr Inoue Tomoichi', in *Education*, 5-12 (1937), pp.53-54.

abusing the state finances.<sup>180</sup>

Inoue was against 'obligatory relief' as Chalmers was and asserted in 1908:

In Japan measures for helping the poor are backward. There is however a country, England, which exposed the shame [of dependency] because of having poor laws. Although the Japanese poor law is inferior to western countries, work for de-pauperisation in Japan should go beyond those countries.<sup>181</sup>

Inoue stated that the system in which Japan could take most pride was the spread of general education.<sup>182</sup>

Behind the policy rejecting 'obligatory relief' and promoting general education as a core of de-pauperisation, information on the poor laws in Britain seems to have played an important role. Its most important informant was Tanaka Taro, a Methodist, who became an officer of the Cabinet Statistics Bureau (Naikaku-tokei-kyoku) in 1889 and worked in the Cabinet office until 1908. He was regarded as the expert on British poor laws in the circle of government officials.<sup>183</sup> In his book entitled *Relief and Cure of the Criminal* published in 1896, Tanaka agreed with the idea that poor laws in general would create idle people based on the example of the English poor laws, which admitted to the poor a right to relief. At the same time, he warned that without more positive measures poverty would increase crime, and proposed reformatory work for potentially delinquent children and convicted juvenile offenders as the most useful means to prevent future crime.<sup>184</sup> On poor laws, in his 1903 translation of T. W. Fowle's *The Poor Law*, Chalmers was favourably introduced as a person who opposed to them.<sup>185</sup> Further, in 1901, reviewing a history of poor relief in England, he also emphasised the necessity of educating pauper children. On this occasion Chalmers was introduced as an important person who influenced the

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<sup>180</sup> Quoted in Doi, 'Suppression of Relief and Reformation of people', p.192.

<sup>181</sup> Inoue Tomoichi, 'Important Points of Relief Works and their Systems', in *Collection of Lectures in the Meeting of Reform and Relief Works*, ii (Tokyo, 1909), p.50.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, p.18.

<sup>183</sup> Fukawa Magoichi, 'Brief Bibliography of Mr Tanaka Taro', in Kiyoshi Tanaka (ed.), *Tanaka Taro* (Tokyo, 1933), p.2. Namae Takayuki, 'Remembering Mr Tanaka Taro', *ibid.*, pp.142-143.

<sup>184</sup> Tanaka Taro, *Relief and Cure of Criminals* (Tokyo, 1896), pp.111-118, 157.

<sup>185</sup> Tanaka Taro (translation), *The Poor Law* (Tokyo, 1903), pp.131-133.



appointment of the Royal Commission on the English poor law in 1832.<sup>186</sup> He wrote:

The Commissioners and local governors both admitted the necessity of education of the pauper children and established a facility for it and promoted the development of a method of education.<sup>187</sup>

Extending education in reformatories and to pauper children was praised by Tanaka as positive approaches to poverty, referring to Chalmers.

When in 1900 Kubota Seitaro, who had already been acquainted with Tanaka since around 1897,<sup>188</sup> organised a group of officials to study matters concerning the poor,<sup>189</sup> Tanaka would have been one of them. Kubota stated:

To regulate a poor relief system is the most difficult of difficult things. The difficulty was not because of the necessity of a large amount of money and not because of the difficulty of finding workers, but because of the difficulty in preventing people's spirit of self-help from being degraded.<sup>190</sup>

He rejected the charitable approach (Jikei-shugi), which was considered to harm people's spirit of self-help, apart from relief for the aged and the disabled. Instead, Kubota recommended an approach emphasising public interest (Koeki-shugi), which gave relief from the point of view of public benefits. Kubota divided the method of relief into two, namely direct relief which provided food, clothing and shelter in institutions, and indirect relief which provided necessities such as medicines and education.<sup>191</sup> In 1904, for indirect relief, Kubota suggested that the first priority should be given to compulsory industrial education for beggar children.<sup>192</sup>

From the thinking of the study group, the Reformatory School Act of 1900 emerged for educating potentially delinquent children as well as juvenile offenders in

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<sup>186</sup> Tanaka Taro, 'A History of Poor Relief in Britain and some Comments on it', *The Journal of Statistical Collections*, 238 (January, 1901), p.23.

<sup>187</sup> Tanaka, 'A History of Poor Relief in Britain', 240 (March, 1901), p.131.

<sup>188</sup> Kubota Seitaro, 'Mr Tanaka in my Eyes', in Tanaka, *Tanaka Tato*, p.95.

<sup>189</sup> Aida, 'Critical Biography of Respected Dr Inoue Tomoichi', p.53.

<sup>190</sup> Kubota Seitaro, 'Opinions of Poor Relief System', in *Society*, 11 (December 1899), reprinted in *Collection of Essays of Kubota Seitaro*, p.154.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p.158.

<sup>192</sup> Kubota Seitaro, 'On Poor Relief System', in *Monthly Report of the Tokyo Municipal Hospital*, 42 (25 August 1904), p.4.

reformatory school.<sup>193</sup> One of the members of the study group, Adachi Noritada, was also committed to founding a reformatory school from 1900 in the Tokyo Municipal Hospital to educate deserted children and orphans who had not been dealt with by the Relief Regulation.<sup>194</sup> Following the same trend, two special elementary schools, which only targeted the children of the poor, were also established by the Tokyo municipal government in 1903, followed by nine similar schools later.<sup>195</sup> In 1900, compulsory education had been enacted in the third Elementary Schools Act,<sup>196</sup> and elementary school attendance rapidly increased from 67% in 1897 to 97% in 1907.<sup>197</sup> It should be recalled that the basis of this improvement of general education was prepared in the 1880s under the influence of British school management theories.

Facing industrialisation and urbanisation, Chalmers's ideas were already introduced into Japan to deal with the growth of poverty. This path was, however, further to influence Japan through another element which the nineteenth-century Scottish evangelicals promoted for dealing with the growth of pauperism— family visitation.

#### (2) The visit by two experts to Glasgow searching for new policies on the poor

The Home Department was well aware, as Kubota's suggestion shows, that some new policies apart from school education should be initiated. In order to create its own policy, the Home Department investigated foreign examples, especially in the United States and European countries. One of these explorations was a visit of Tomeoka Kosuke (1864-1934), an advisor to the Home Department,<sup>198</sup> to the United

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<sup>193</sup> Akiko Tanaka, 'A Consideration of the Reformatory School Act in the 33<sup>rd</sup> Year of the Meiji Era', in *Bulletin of Law Study of Osaka University*, 48-6 (1999), pp.1504-1505. See also Hitomi Kobayashi, 'A Study of the Reformatory School Act in 1900', in *The Annual Report of the Department of Human Cultural Studies, Nara Women's University*, 5 (1989), pp.39-49. Kubota, 'Organisations to control social work in Japan', pp.457, 497.

<sup>194</sup> Tomoe Naganuma, 'Foundation of the Reformatory School on the Tokyo Municipal Hospital and Shibusawa and his Colleges', in *Shibusawa Studies*, 7 (1994), pp.10-19.

<sup>195</sup> Atsuko Betchaku, 'Evolution of Special Elementary Schools and Measures for Poverty', in Tokyo Metropolitan Educational Research Institute (ed.), *History of Education in Tokyo Metropolis*, 2 (Tokyo, 1995), pp.637-638.

<sup>196</sup> *One Hundred Year History of Education*, iv, pp.999-1000, 1003-1004. (The author of this part is Hideo Sato.)

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, p.188. (The author is Tadahiko Inagaki.)

<sup>198</sup> Koichi Endo, 'Tomeoka Kosuke as "an Advisor"', *The Meiji Gakuin Sociology and Social Welfare*, 65/66 (352/53), 1984, p.292.

States, Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, France, Singapore and Hong Kong from 1903 to 1904. In the middle of the trip, Tomeoka was joined by Namae Takayuki (1867-1957), a Methodist, later also an advisor of the Home Department, and they travelled together in the United States and Britain.<sup>199</sup>

The original purpose of Tomeoka's trip was to investigate prisons, charitable work and social work in the United States and Britain. In Britain, apart from London, Tomeoka only listed the Royal Blind Asylum and School, and Dr A. H. Freeland Barbour, both in Edinburgh, although this was to broaden. Tomeoka noted that Barbour was a close friend of Saeki Riichiro,<sup>200</sup> who was an evangelical doctor in Kyoto who had established a private maternity hospital greatly aided by Barbour. Barbour was also a gynaecological physician in Edinburgh active on medical missions in Japan and China through which he closely connected with Hugh M. Matheson sharing evangelical sentiments.<sup>201</sup> While Tomeoka regarded his trip abroad as an official affair of the Home Department, as its acting Director, Inoue Tomoichi, arranged for his cost to be paid,<sup>202</sup> he would have also hoped to learn about Christian social activities in various countries.<sup>203</sup>

He became a Congregationalist in 1882 when he was eighteen.<sup>204</sup> After studying in the Department of Theology in the Doshi-sha English school in Kyoto between 1885 and 1888, he became a clergyman, a chaplain in two prisons, and in 1899 established the Home School, a private reformatory school based on Christian

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<sup>199</sup> Correction Society (ed.), *Journal of Tomeoka Kosuke*, ii (Tokyo, 1979), pp.215-260. Tomeoka, in this trip, contacted Namae on 12 August for the first time and also met him for the last time on 17 December in 1903 before leaving London.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.284-285.

<sup>201</sup> For Matheson, see 1-(3) above. 'Dr A. H. Freeland Barbour', *The Student*, 10-18 (5 March 1896), p.278. Matheson, *Memorial*, pp.165-167. Yoji Nagatoya, 'Riichiro Saeki and Kyoto (1)', *Journal of the Kyoto Society of Medical History*, 7 (1989), p.11. Barbour (1856-1927) donated the highest amount of money for Saeki's 'Kioto Maternity Hospital' in 1893. Saeki's notebook (1891-), Saeki Riichiro Collection, Doshisha Archives Centre.

<sup>202</sup> Aida Yoshio, 'Going in and out under a Tree Lined Road', in Makino Toraji (ed.), *Memorial Works for the Seventieth Birthday of Mr Tomeoka Kosuke* (1933: repr. Tokyo, 1987), pp.804-806. Tomeoka Kosuke, 'A Letter to Mr Inoue Tomoichi', in *Journal of Tomeoka Kosuke*, ii, pp.287-288. The letter was dated 19 July 1903.

<sup>203</sup> Tomeoka established a private reformatory named the Home School (Katei Gakko) based on Christian principles in 1899.

<sup>204</sup> Yasuo Murota, *Study of Tomeoka Kosuke* (Tokyo, 1998), pp.65, 329.

principle. Between 1894 and 1896 he studied prison reform and reformatory work in the United States.<sup>205</sup> In his book entitled *The Charity Problem (Jizen mondai)* published in 1898, he claimed that without the power of Christianity, real charity in Japan would not be effectively developed and also insisted that thanks to scientific developments, charity was now not mere alms, but work and education.<sup>206</sup> It is noteworthy that Tomeoka was proud of the development of the Congregational church in Japan, since it, from the beginning, aimed to create a Japanese non-denominational church which held both evangelical ideas and 'Japanese spirit'. The latter implied respecting the Emperor and Japanese patriotism. When a new move to unite different evangelical denominations emerged in 1897 Tomeoka celebrated it.<sup>207</sup>

Tomeoka knew Chalmers's name before the trip. While being a student in Doshisha English School, which was originally built as a Kyoto mission school by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, an interdenominational and evangelical body,<sup>208</sup> Tomeoka wrote down Chalmers's name in his notebook on lessons on preaching.<sup>209</sup> M. L. Gordon, a Presbyterian teacher, may well also have discussed Chalmers, since his later donation of books to the Doshisha University (the successor institution of the school) included Hanna's *Memoir of Chalmers* and one of Chalmers's books.<sup>210</sup> Also while Tomeoka was editing *the Christian Newspaper*

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<sup>205</sup> Hitomi Kobayashi, 'Tomeoka Kosuke's "New Philanthropy"', in *Annual Bulletin of Nara Women's University: Department of Education*, 6 (1988), p.33.

<sup>206</sup> Tomeoka Kosuke, *The Charity Problem* (Tokyo, 1898), pp.39-40, 48-49. Kobayashi, 'Tomeoka Kosuke's "New Phylanthropy"', pp.16-19.

<sup>207</sup> Tomeoka Kosuke, 'Evangelical Association', 'Dark Trends of the Present Ideas in Churches in Japan', 'The 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Congregation church', in Doshisha university (ed.), *Works of Tokeoka Kosuke*, i (Kyoto, 1978) (originally published in *The Christian Newspaper*, 723 (25 June 1897); 798 (2 December 1898); 815 (31 March 1899) respectively), pp.208-209, 446-447, 496-497. Kenichi Matsumura, 'A Formation of 'Social Reformers Idea' in Charities by Tomeoka Kosuke', *The Social Sciences Review*, 31-1 (1985), p.109.

<sup>208</sup> Yasuhiro Motoi, 'Doshisha as the Kyoto station', in Institute for the Study of Humanities and Social Science (ed.), *American Missionaries to Japan* (Tokyo, 1999), pp.245, 273. Kazuo Shiono, 'Learned's Early Commentaries on the New Testament', *ibid.*, p.217.

<sup>209</sup> Tomeoka Kosuke notebook 3, *An Outline of the Study of Preaching* (1886-1887), p.159, held in Institute for the Study of Humanities and Social Science, Doshisha university.

<sup>210</sup> Marquis Lafayette Gordon (1843-1900) stayed in Japan between 1872 and 1877 and also



(*Kirisutokyo shinbun*) between 1897 and 1899,<sup>211</sup> at least one article mentioned Chalmers as an active promoter of evangelicalism.<sup>212</sup> Tomeoka would also have acquainted with Tanaka's works and he read his translation of Fowle's book soon after the departure for the trip.<sup>213</sup>

With this previous knowledge of Chalmers, Tomeoka was probably inspired by somebody to visit Glasgow in the middle of the trip. Namae, who joined Tomeoka from the middle of the trip, was a possible source. He was acquainted with Tanaka<sup>214</sup> and since 1900 he had studied in the United States mainly on social work after becoming an assistant minister of Aoyama Church in 1899. In 1900, he visited some prisons and reformatories in various states, and moved to New York where he attended a course for workers in charitable and philanthropic work managed by the New York Charity Organisation Society.<sup>215</sup> This course would have been the Summer School for Philanthropic Workers held in June and July for around six weeks every year, on which Tomeoka later reported. Tomeoka also stated that the origin of their ideas on charity organisation came from Chalmers's experiment in St John's parish in Glasgow, which influenced the development of the London Charity Organisation Society (LCOS) and the system in German cities.<sup>216</sup> It is very probable that Namae got similar information at the course. In August 1902 Namae entered a postgraduate course in Boston University and studied mainly theology and sociology for a year, while investigating social welfare work in the city.<sup>217</sup> On 12 August 1903,

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1879 and 1899 as a missionary from the American Board. For the latter period he was a teacher in the Doshisha School. See 'Gordon, Marquis Lafayette', in *Large Dictionary of Christian History in Japan* (Tokyo, 1988). The books on Chalmers he donated to the school were: William Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writing of Thomas Chalmers, vols. 1-4* (New York, 1850-52); Thomas Chalmers, *Sermons and Discourses*, ii (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., New York, 1848).

<sup>211</sup> Kobayashi, 'Tomeoka Kosuke's "New Phylanthropy"', p.33.

<sup>212</sup> Ozaki Hiromichi, 'Our Gospel', in *The Christian Newspaper*, 741 (9, October 1897), p.5.

<sup>213</sup> 15 & 17 July 1903, *Journal of Tomeoka*, vol.2, p.205.

<sup>214</sup> Namae, 'Remembering Mr Tanaka Taro', p.142.

<sup>215</sup> Yasuko Ichibangase, 'Explanation', in Ichibangase (ed.), *Collections of Works of Namae Takayuki* (Tokyo, 1983), p.402. Also see 'A Chronological History of Namae Takayuki and a List of his Works', *ibid.*, pp.425-426.

<sup>216</sup> Tomeoka Kosuke, 'Charitable System in War Time', in Institute for the Study of Humanities and Social Science, Doshisha university (ed.), *Works of Tokeoka Kosuke*, 2 (Kyoto, 1979), pp.48, 50 (Originally published in 1904).

<sup>217</sup> Namae Takayuki, *Autobiography of Namae Takayuki: My Ninety Years Life* (1958: repr. Tokyo, 1988), pp.46-47.



Tomeoka sent Namae a telegram in Boston to ask him to visit and the two of them talked from time to time about a future investigation.<sup>218</sup> During this period Namae may have referred to Chalmers and Glasgow. According to Tomeoka, after visiting some prisons in Boston they moved to New York and on 31 August met E. T. Devine, general secretary of the New York Charity Organisation Society, who praised Chalmers's experiment in Glasgow in his *Practice of Charity* published in 1901.<sup>219</sup> Namae held a copy of this book and possibly had read it before meeting Tomeoka.<sup>220</sup>

Devine may have been another source which made Tomeoka decide to visit Glasgow. Tomeoka and Namae bought tickets for Glasgow leaving on 12 September.<sup>221</sup> Namae later stated that entering Britain through Glasgow occurred by accident.<sup>222</sup> However, since Tomeoka himself had planned to visit only Edinburgh it seems natural to think that at some point they found that Glasgow was also worth visiting. After returning to Japan, in 1904 Tomeoka wrote that he had at least two reasons to visit Glasgow. One of them was that Glasgow, as well as Birmingham, had an international reputation as a model city and the other was that Thomas Chalmers, who was famous as 'an originator of modern scientific charity', had actively worked in Glasgow.<sup>223</sup>

On 22 September Tomeoka, Namae and another Japanese arrived in Glasgow. The following three days through the good offices of the Juvenile Delinquency Board they visited the Maryhill Women's Industrial School, the Chapelton Women's Reformatory, the Orphanage in Bridge of Weir and its reformatory ship. On 25 September they visited the Glasgow Young Men's Association and two day vocational schools and on the 26<sup>th</sup> they saw the City Hall, tenement houses, public baths, Queen's Park, playgrounds for children and a shipyard on the River Clyde. On the same day they moved to Edinburgh. Tomeoka signed the visitor's books in the

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<sup>218</sup> For example see *Journal of Tomeoka Kosuke*, vol.2, pp.215-216.

<sup>219</sup> E. T. Devine, *The Practice of Charity* (New York, 1901), p.33.

<sup>220</sup> In his copy of Devine's book, now held in the Namae collections in Doshisha University, he wrote down the following memo: 'T. Namae, Boston University. Jan. 1903'. I thank Hitomi Nii for drawing my attention to this collection.

<sup>221</sup> *Journal of Tomeoka Kosuke*, vol.2, p.220.

<sup>222</sup> Namae, *Autobiography*, p.48.

<sup>223</sup> Tomeoka Kosuke, 'On Social Works in the City of Glasgow', in *Works of Tomeoka Kosuke*, ii, pp.86-87, (originally published in 1904).

Glasgow Lord Provost's Room as 'the adviser of Official charity of the Home Office, Tokyo, Japan' and Namae, as 'Rev. T. Namae'.<sup>224</sup> Tomeoka wrote in his journal that he was very impressed by the simple and kind character of the people he had met in Glasgow, and the well-arranged administration of the city. In Edinburgh, Tomeoka's interests were largely limited to religious matters.<sup>225</sup> On 28 September, Tomeoka and Namae visited the house where Chalmers died although they were not allowed to enter.<sup>226</sup> On 1 October, Tomeoka bought a biography of Chalmers and read it in the evening.<sup>227</sup> He failed to find a copy of a book by Chalmers but later in London he was successful in this (possibly *Tracts on Pauperism*, 1833). He also bought *Chalmers on Charity*, published in 1900, arranged and edited by N. Masterman,<sup>228</sup> who was the Honorary Secretary to the LCOS between 1882 and 1908.<sup>229</sup>

In the early twentieth century, a new interest in Chalmers as a social scientist developed, and he was taken seriously by several social thinkers.<sup>230</sup> N. Masterman and other LCOS's members such as C. S. Loch, Helen Bosanquet and Bernard Bosanquet all praised Chalmers's principle of the sufficiency of the neighbouring charity and his emphasis on improving character, as still applicable to their charitable activities.<sup>231</sup> Some strands in the newly emerged sociology also placed value on Chalmers's view on pauperism. The socialist, R. H. Tawney of the London School of Economics from 1912, and Charles R. Henderson, professor of sociology at the

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<sup>224</sup> Visitor's Books: Lord Provost's Room 1869-1907, pp.181-183. G 2/2/1, GCA. The other name was Misono Hama.

<sup>225</sup> *Journal of Tomeoka Kosuke*, ii, pp.228-233.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, p.325. Also see Namae, *Biography of Namae Takayuki*, pp.51-52.

<sup>227</sup> *Journal of Tomeoka Kosuke*, ii, p.233.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.244, 275.

<sup>229</sup> Helen Bosanquet, *Social Work in London 1869 to 1912* (London, 1914), p.395. N. Masterman, *Chalmers on Charity* (Westminster, 1900)

<sup>230</sup> For example, J. Wilson Harper, *The Social Ideal and Dr Chalmers's Contribution to Christian Economics* (Edinburgh, 1910); Helen L. Kerr, *The Path of Social Progress* (Edinburgh, 1912); Henry Hunter (arranged), *Problems of Poverty* (London, 1912); Julie Sutter, *Britain's Hope* (London, 1907).

<sup>231</sup> Bernard Bosanquet, 'The Meaning of Social Work', *International Journal of Ethics*, 11-3 (1901), p.299-300. Helen Bosanquet, 'Book review of *Chalmers on Charity* by N. Masterman', *International Journal of Ethics*, 11-4 (1901), pp.519-521. C. S. Loch, 'Poor Relief in Scotland: Its Statistics and Development, 1791 to 1891', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 61-2 (1898), pp.306-308, 330.

University of Chicago were among them.<sup>232</sup> Tomeoka and Namae encountered this new trend.

After leaving London, Tomeoka moved to continental Europe. Although Tomeoka visited some towns in the Netherlands and Switzerland as well as Brussels and Paris, he spent most of his tour in Germany. He visited various institutions in Hanover, Bielefeld, Hamburg, Berlin, Mannheim, Koln, Dusseldorf, Elberfeld and Essen.<sup>233</sup> After returning to Japan, the trip was to mark a new epoch in policies towards the poor in the Home Department.

### (3) Discovering Chalmers's ideas in the Home Department

Tomeoka, after returning to Japan, reported his observations in several journals and also through publications of the Home Department. In 1904 he published an essay on social work in Glasgow. Giving a general description of Scotland, he wrote that he had developed affection for Scotland during the trip. Its warmly enlightened cultural manner attracted him.<sup>234</sup> Tomeoka later stated in a book published by the Local Office of the Home Department in 1908, that in Britain the most developed place for social work was Scotland, which had produced Thomas Chalmers and 'much sound and liberal ideas'. Reformatory work in Glasgow especially, was considered the best.<sup>235</sup> These remarks suggest that Tomeoka still found Chalmers's legacy in Glasgow.<sup>236</sup>

In his journal he made some remarks on poor law administration in Scotland based on information given by the Glasgow Parochial Board and stated that in terms of those entitled to apply for poor relief, Scotland was different from England in not providing poor relief to the able-bodied.<sup>237</sup> Tomeoka would have found the similarity between this and the principle of the Relief Regulation in Japan. In his article on

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<sup>232</sup> R. H. Tawney, 'Religious Thought on Social and Economic Questions in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *The Journal of Political Economy*, 31-6 (1923), p.824. 'Richard Henry Tawney', *ODNB*, [article/36425]. Charles R Henderson, 'A Half Century after Thomas Chalmers', *The American Journal of Theology*, 4-1 (1900), pp.52, 55.

<sup>233</sup> *Journal of Tomeoka Kosuke*, ii, pp.245-254.

<sup>234</sup> Tomeoka, 'On Social Works', p.87.

<sup>235</sup> The Local Office of the Home Department, *Reformation Nishimura, A New Theory*, i, *Work in Europe and the United States and others* (Tokyo, 1908), pp.10-11.

<sup>236</sup> Tomeoka, 'On Social Works', pp.87-88.

<sup>237</sup> *Journal of Tomeoka Kosuke*, ii, p.326. Although Tomeoka wrote it down as 'Parish



social welfare work in Glasgow, Tomeoka described how baths and laundries were placed within slum areas, and also other social welfare projects such as gymnasiums, parks, trains, tenement houses, lodging houses and libraries,<sup>238</sup> which would have been considered as indirect relief in Kubota's proposals. This article probably developed later as a pamphlet entitled *The City of Glasgow Renowned as a Model City*, published by the Local Office of the Home Department, since it included all the items Tomeoka described, apart from housing, and it remarked the citizens' character as being 'industrious and rich in patience, and having a discreet attitude'.<sup>239</sup> More detailed information was also introduced in another pamphlet published by the Local Office later, based on a report by Namae, including a detailed analysis of Scottish and English Poor Laws.<sup>240</sup> Interest in Scotland's and Glasgow's experiences of social policy increased in the Home Department and they were favourably introduced into Japan.

Regarding Chalmers, Tomeoka's main interest was given to his emphasis on the education of the children of the poor. Tomeoka wrote:

When Dr Chalmers met a problem of poor relief in the St John's parish, Glasgow, Scotland in 1812 [sic], what he kept in mind was by what methods many pauper children could be reformed well.<sup>241</sup>

Tomeoka argued that if people wanted to save the paupers, they should at first educate the pauper children. Tomeoka considered that the reform of the pauper children was not poor relief but de-pauperisation (*bohin*), or preventing them from becoming pauper.<sup>242</sup> The book by Masterman purchased on the trip may have been a source for this. Masterman wrote:

It was, therefore, entirely to the moral influence of Church and School that Chalmers looked for the improvement of the condition of the poor. ...Side by side with kirk and manse, the school formed a centre not merely for secular

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Council' this was probably wrong.

<sup>238</sup> Tomeoka, 'On Social Works', pp.88-95.

<sup>239</sup> The Local Office of the Home Department (ed.), *The City of Glasgow Renowned as a Model City* (Tokyo, ?), p.3.

<sup>240</sup> The Local Office of the Home Department, *Series of the Local: Materials of the European Countries* (Tokyo, 1910), pp.86-88. This was based on his visit to Glasgow in 1908 as an advisor of the Home Department.

<sup>241</sup> Tomeoka Kosuke, *Society and Philanthropy* (Tokyo, 1910), p.50.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*

teaching, but for the training of the young in that 'education of principle' which was to be the source of all their welfare.<sup>243</sup>

Tomeoka also valued the same aspects of Chalmers as had Tanaka before.

In addition, Chalmers was introduced into Japan in connection with the Elberfeld system, which was a civil poor relief system in Germany. In the book entitled *The Garden Cities (Den-en toshi)*, published in 1907 by volunteers of the Local Office of the Home Department, Chalmers was introduced as the person who divided areas for poor relief into subdivisions and inspected the situation of the poor in St John's parish in Glasgow. The authors, who may well have included Tomeoka and Namae,<sup>244</sup> pointed out that these methods were later developed in the Elberfeld system in Germany, where the poor families were visited by commissioners and given guidance to improve their situation. The system was described as a 'poor relief system based on the de-pauperisation principle'.<sup>245</sup>

Tomeoka also paid attention to the social role of elementary school teachers in the Elberfeld system. The city of Elberfeld was divided into twelve districts and one poor relief officer and 45 unpaid commissioners were assigned to each district.<sup>246</sup> After his own visit to Elberfeld in November 1903,<sup>247</sup> Tomeoka wrote:

Among commissioners there are great numbers of elementary school teachers. The reason is they are well acquainted with each family.<sup>248</sup>

Criticising the opinion that not enough money was spent to improve society, Tomeoka insisted that school teachers should voluntarily involve themselves in

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<sup>243</sup> Masterman, *Chalmers on Charity*, p.162.

<sup>244</sup> Namae also carefully read Masterman's *Chalmers on Charity* on the St John's experiment and Chalmers earlier experiences, underlining and putting some comments in places. Namae held a copy of this book (now in Doshisha university, Namae Collections). He highly valued Chalmers's St John's experiment and connected it with the Elberfeld system. See Namae Takayuki, 'Recollections of Dr Chalmers's', in *Social Work*, 8-4 (1924), pp.2-6; *Elements of Social Work*, originally published in 1924 and reprinted in Yasuko Ichibangase (ed.), *Collections of Namae Takayuki's Work* (Tokyo, 1983), pp.160, 374.

<sup>245</sup> Volunteers of the Local Office of the Home Department (ed.), *The Garden Cities* (Tokyo, 1907), reprinted as *The Garden Cities and Japanese* (Tokyo, 1980), pp.315-317.

<sup>246</sup> Tomeoka, *Society and Philanthropy*, pp.151, 346.

<sup>247</sup> Tomeoka, 'Social Role of Educators', pp.358-359.

<sup>248</sup> Tomeoka Kosuke, 'Elberfeld System (17 November)', in *Journal of Tomeoka Kosuke*, ii, pp.360-361.



educating society and be teachers outside schools.<sup>249</sup> On emphasising the role of schools to educate society, Tomeoka was a follower of Nishimura and even Stow.

The policies of the Home Department on social welfare shifted radically in 1909 from poor relief to de-pauperisation. Ikemoto claims that the change started in 1908, since in 1909 the government reduced costs for poor relief to a half and then to one third or one quarter, and instead, budgets for encouraging people's efforts to support each other, and for schools and investigation into reformatory and relief work were introduced from 1908, and for local development work and for encouraging savings from 1910.<sup>250</sup> However, in 1909 there were still reservations about introducing a similar system to the Elberfeld system into Japan. Inoue valued this system as the best system for individually supervising the poor in their residences. He had obtained information on the system by attending the third International Congress for Public Relief and Private Charity held in Paris in 1900.<sup>251</sup> However, he argued that the system was too complicated and large in scale to adopt in Japan.<sup>252</sup>

However, the situation changed in the late 1910s. Tokyo was one of the earliest examples of introducing such a system and strongly reflected the intention of the Home Department at that time.<sup>253</sup> In Tokyo, following the foundation of the Tokyo Metropolitan Charity Organisation Society (Tokyo-fu jizen kyokai) (TMCOS) in 1917, the Relief Commissioners System (Kjusai iin seido) was introduced into

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<sup>249</sup> Tomeoka, *Society and Philanthropy*, pp.154, 344-345, 347-348.

<sup>250</sup> Miwako Ikemoto, 'De-pauperisation and Local Reformation', in *Studies of Social Welfare*, 37-2 (1996), pp.38-41.

<sup>251</sup> Inoue was sent to the International Congress held in Paris in 1900 as a representative from the government. 2A-18-NinB234, Ninmen, the Thirtieth Year of Meiji Era, vol.7, 17, National Archives of Japan, and 2-mon 9-rui 3-ko 5-go, Koshi kjusai bankoku kaigi, the Foreign Department Historical Records Office on Foreign Policies. For this Office I appreciate Naoto Tsuji's information. See also Nobuaki Hayashi, 'A Historical Character of the International Congress of Relief Held in Paris in 1889', in *The Annual Report of Hanazono College*, 22 (1990), p.151.

<sup>252</sup> Tomoichi Inoue, *Main Points of Poor Relief System* (Tokyo, 1909), pp.232-234.

<sup>253</sup> Similar systems to Elberfeld's were in fact introduced first in Okayama and Tokyo in 1918 and by the late 1920s founding these became a nationwide movement. Being officially recognised in 1936, these systems still continue to the present day although they were renamed by the Community Welfare System (minsei iin seido) in 1946. 'Explanations of Phrases: Japanese-English', in Y. Nakamura, Y. Kijima and L. H. Thompson (eds.), *Social Welfare and Related Services Glossary English Japanese Japanese-English* (Tokyo, 1981), p.26.

fourteen districts in 1918. The TMCOS was promoted by individuals close to the Home Department. Inoue Tomoichi was now the governor of the Metropolis of Tokyo, and Tomeoka was one of the TMCOS's original promoters.<sup>254</sup> Inoue now changed his view about introducing such a system into Japan.<sup>255</sup> The main reason was the unrest in society during World War I. In July 1917, the Military Relief Law was enacted to deal with injured soldiers and their families, and the war bereaved. The price of rice, however, increased and riots spread throughout Japan especially in 1918.<sup>256</sup> An article in the journal of the TMCOS which also reported the establishment of the Relief Commissioners System stated that the aim of the society was to 'prevent and cure new defects emerging from changes of lives in society'.<sup>257</sup> The new system was also part of realising this aim, faced with growing 'rice riots'.

In June 1918 the detail of the system was decided. There were three types of relief commissioners. The first was honorary commissioners consisting of related officials from the local governments and influential local residents. The police and municipal authorities were expected to be deeply involved. There were also district and special commissioners, who were chosen from members of the TMCOS. The district commissioners were to supervise the special commissioners who were to deal with families in their assigned areas. Their tasks included, first to survey the district and secondly to consult the needy. They were also expected to provide relief, although this was postponed in practice for the time being. For 14 districts, 9 district commissioners and 31 special commissioners were assigned. Among the former 9, five were elementary school head teachers and the latter 31 included 11 elementary school teachers and 3 teachers from infant schools and nurseries. The first important task of the Relief Commissioners was to investigate each poor household, including their financial situation, occupations, morals, hygiene, education, as Chalmers had at the commencement of his experiment. The regulations stressed that supporting people to find jobs and helping them at home (rather than sending them to

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<sup>254</sup> *Report of Tokyo Metropolitan Charity Organisation Society*, i (April 1917), pp.1-2.

<sup>255</sup> *Report of TMCOS*, 7 (July 1919), pp.77-78.

<sup>256</sup> Kyoji Yoshida, 'Intensification of Class Conflicts and Fictitious "Social Solidarity"', in Uda, Takasawa and Furukawa (eds.), *History of Social Welfare*, pp.209-211.

<sup>257</sup> *Report of TMCOS*, 5 (August 1918), p.1.

institutions) should be first sought and giving money ought to be avoided as much as possible. Encouraging self-help and self-respect was emphasised.<sup>258</sup>

In order to improve the Relief Commissioners System, Chalmers's ideas and practices were often referred to. In 1920, Shinozaki Tokuzo, a Christian, a director of the TMCOS and a relief commissioner, spoke in a special meeting of the Relief Commissioners about Chalmers's 'relief commissioners system'.<sup>259</sup> Shinozaki was the vice-principal of the Home School which Tomeoka founded and was deeply influenced by Tomeoka. Shinozaki's main task as a relief commissioner was to investigate and report about commissioners' systems mainly in foreign countries.<sup>260</sup> Although no detailed report survives of this address, Shinozaki also wrote an article on Chalmers's work concerning poor relief, based on works on Chalmers by George Kerr, a social worker in Edinburgh (*The Path of Social Progress* published in 1912), Margaret Oliphant (*Thomas Chalmers* published in 1893), and Masterman. Shinozaki stressed Chalmers's idea that achieving economic subsistence depended on morals.<sup>261</sup> This article also mentioned that Oka Hiroki, another Christian, the secretary to the Tokyo Metropolitan Social Work Society which succeeded the TMCOS, recommended introducing Chalmers's ideas.<sup>262</sup> Interest in Chalmers was shared by those Christians who would have held evangelical sentiments and involved in social work along with Tomeoka.

The TMCOS emphasised the role of commissioners in advising families and preventing them becoming dependent.

The core role of relief commissioners is not only to provide relief but also to prevent people from coming to depend on relief...what is needed is to reach people who are living in areas to be reformed, from the bottom of the heart....To reach them the commissioners have to open meetings for children

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<sup>258</sup> Ibid., pp.21-23.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., 10 (June 1920), p.97.

<sup>260</sup> Shinozaki Tokuzo, 'The Curriculum Vitae', Kensho senzen B jinji 389, Kanri-riin shintaigensho 3 satsu no uchi 1, in Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives. For this document I am indebted to Katsunori Kawamura of the Yamaguchi prefectural archives.

<sup>261</sup> Shinozaki Tokuzo, 'A Glance at Dr Chalmers's', in *Philanthropy* (August 1934), pp.3-4. Shinozaki also wrote another article concerning Chalmers. 'Thomas Chalmers's Lectures on the Romans', in *Philanthropy* (November 1934), p.2.

<sup>262</sup> Oka deeply involved in founding the TMCOS under the initiative of Inoue. See Akira Yamada, 'From Relief Works to Social Works', in *Oka Hiroki and Social Work* (Tokyo, 1980), pp.49-50.

and mothers, evening schools and sometimes to visit their homes, thus gradually both sides would come to understand each other and the number of people coming to consult the commissioners will increase.<sup>263</sup>

Family visiting was the indispensable method to reach the needy in the Relief Commissioners System, as was true in the St John's experiment. Also through consultation, the first priority was given to keeping the family together.<sup>264</sup> Suzuki, analysing the Osaka district volunteers system introduced in 1918, has argued that the role of the district volunteers was to recreate family unity in those families close to breakdown caused by habitual drinking, wasting money, and so on.<sup>265</sup> This emphasis on family unity was the core of similar systems which spread after the 1920s with the concept of 'social casework'.<sup>266</sup> Chalmers was later described as the first person to originate case work.<sup>267</sup>

Post-Meiji Japan learned from the Scottish evangelicals' programme centred on moral education and family visitation in two different periods. British ideas on education influenced by Stow were introduced into Japan in the 1880s. Three elements were essentially learned from Stow: education based on human nature; moral training as the core of education; and methods of moral training using sympathy of numbers. These prepared the basis of Japanese schools to introduce a new teaching framework of moral education, founded on Japanese patriotic morality in the place of Christianity.

Although at that period Japan lacked an interest in the other important element of the Scottish evangelicals' programme, family visitation by moral agents, being in her infancy in both industrialisation and urbanisation, the 1900s and the 1910s saw a different picture. Chalmers's idea on poor laws, his experiment of family visitation and emphasis on education of pauper children were found attractive to deal with growing social unrest in Japan by the Home Department. This move was greatly

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<sup>263</sup> *Report of TMCOS*, 13 (March 1921), p.29.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.29-30.

<sup>265</sup> Tomoichi Suzuki, 'A Stratified Diffusion of "Home" as a Representation among Poor Families in the Interwar Period of Japan', in *Bulletin of the School of Education of the University of Tokyo*, 38 (1998), p.220.

<sup>266</sup> Tamio Okamoto, *Studies on Casework* (Tokyo, 1973), p.65.

<sup>267</sup> Takeuchi Aizo, *Theories and Practices of Case Work* (1938: repr. Tokyo, 1997), p.32.

backed by Japanese evangelical interests. In the midst of rice riots in 1918 a visiting system learned from Chalmers was introduced into Tokyo and spread nation-wide in the 1920s. A system in which moral education in schools and a system of visiting poor families were promoted together came into existence in Japan, learning from Scottish evangelicals' programme.



## **Conclusion**

This thesis has attempted to show how the Scottish Evangelicals' programme of education for working-class children was formed and came to be influential within Scotland and beyond. It also investigates the fate of those influences. While holding the Bible as the ultimate authority, the programme's basis was formed through the St John's experiment in Glasgow which was founded on a 'scientific' and rational approach to human nature and society. This being combined with the development of educational methods carried out in an infant school, which itself emerged from the experiment though beyond its original ideas, a national movement of education was commenced in 1834, applying for government aid. The new educational method named the 'training system' included moral and intellectual training as its core and was to be adopted into infant and juvenile schools, both organised as parochial schools. Those schools were also expected to be supported by family visitation by moral agents, which was organised by churches and Sabbath schools. To promote this system, the teacher training school, the Glasgow Normal Seminary, played a significant role for the Scottish Evangelicals' programme of education both in Scotland and beyond through government grants and missionary activities. This thesis has analysed its impact and fate in Scotland, the rest of Britain, certain colonies and post-Meiji Japan.

Chapter I attempts to locate Chalmers's St John's experiment in the history of practices and ideas of the poor relief system and education in Glasgow from the eighteenth century, focusing on the history of Glasgow Town's Hospital. Three different phases are discerned in it, corresponding with changes in ideas within the British Enlightenment. The first phase was from the foundation of the hospital to the late 1760s. The hospital, at that time a charity workhouse, was expected to force the poor to work and to educate children into industry. Francis Hutcheson, a leading philosopher of the British Enlightenment represented the ideas behind it. The second phase was from the 1770s to the reform in 1818-19, influenced by the ideas of the liberal philosopher Adam Smith. In this period, the hospital started regularly using the assessment funds, and commenced outdoor relief, approving of keeping the able-bodied poor with large families at the level of ordinary labourers in order to encourage their labours. General and religious education was encouraged to educate the poor in social duty.

The reform in 1818-19 reacted against this phase. Keeping the assessment, the hospital proposed to give relief to the able-bodied poor only from non-assessed funds

temporarily with a small amount. To supervise this properly, it recommended dividing management areas for poor relief and increasing the number of agencies, in order to investigate applicants and recipients within their families. The educational role of the family was also emphasised for children under hospital care. Essentially agreeing with this, through his St John's experiment, Chalmers was given by the reform an opportunity to prove the practicability of managing poor relief without assessment funds and the effectiveness of moral and religious education in restricting pauperism.

Chapter II attempts to locate Chalmers's St John's experiment in the British Enlightenment and reappraises it as a strategic programme to transform people's views towards poor relief, families and education. Chalmers analysed the mechanism of the parochial system in country parishes based on human nature using Malthus's psychological analysis and John Robison's methods of generalisation based on observation and experiences. He considered that it would work even in urban areas if similar circumstances were created, as a result of nature's constancy, a belief which he also learned from Robison.

The mechanism of the parochial system centred on the principle that if public charity was almost removed or kept as low as possible, people would rely on their families. Chalmers thought insufficiency would create both an interest and necessity towards families. This was carried out in particular by introducing deacons. The personal acquaintance of residents in individual districts in a parish, acquaintance between the working class and the administrators of the parochial charity, and the contribution of the working class to charity were also considered to act as psychological inhibitors to deterring individuals from applying for poor relief. These elements were also introduced into the experiment, dividing districts, increasing agencies and creating a collection especially from the parishioners mostly consisting of the working class. The parochial school which was also considered to play an important role in the mechanism, creating habits of education in families by charging fees to parents was also promoted in the parish, resulting ultimately in the transfer of all the existing charity schools in Glasgow to a similar system. However, the decisive element for Chalmers in working the mechanism properly was religious (Bible) education which it was believed would foster its principles. This largely depended on Sabbath schools using the 'local system', an area in which Chalmers could expect interdenominational support.

Chapter III considers developments of the experiment beyond its original programme and its termination in new circumstances. Discussing this Chalmers's realistic strategy to promote schools first so as to in the end to transfer the assessment funds for poor relief into supporting education is important. Infant schools developed, partly learning from Chalmers's ideas and aiming to improve the experiment itself. The foundation of the Glasgow Infant School Society and its promotion of infant schools in Scotland in fact added a new type of institution to modify the mechanism of the parochial system. Targeting young children from two to six, the infant school was another type of parochial day fee-paying school, but added the role of the Sabbath school as a religious school. Infant schools were extended by the GISS not only in Glasgow but also in many parts of Scotland. Besides, the number of parochial schools further increased in Glasgow, and Sabbath schools, with a new role of visiting families, were extended on an inter-denominational basis not only within Glasgow but also beyond. Although previous studies agree that the experiment was a failure as shown in the termination of the experiment, parochial schools along with a new additional type of infant schools, and Sabbath schools extended even beyond Glasgow.

The experiment ended as a result of its financial difficulties, themselves the result of constant increases in expense in the area of education including infant schools, and in particular from 1832 because of the increase in foundling children dependent on the parish. Chalmers stressed education as a priority, while providing for foundling children at first started only out of necessity. However, new elements which Chalmers was not able to predict at the beginning of the experiment were added, namely infant schools and the positive support to foundling children. The experiment terminated in these new circumstances. The assessment still continued, but the principle of restricting relief to the able-bodied and the importance of moral and religious education was widely accepted beyond Glasgow. In this sense the experiment enjoyed success in changing people's views towards poor relief, education and families.

Chapter IV analyses Stow's new educational methods developed in the GISS in relation to Chalmers's theology and shows that a national movement of education led by the Glasgow Educational Society, established in 1834, was promoted by Scottish Evangelicals. The GES adopted Stow's deeply evangelical-based methods of education and transferred the experiment into this new educational movement. The GES aimed to protect the established church, the nation and the existing order of

society faced with radical demands for political and social changes. Although Stow learned his educational ideas and methods based on his views of human nature from many educationists, his religious views were greatly influenced by Chalmers and employed some key terms Chalmers developed. Chalmers also learned from the efforts in infant education and approved the importance of early moral education from his own philosophical basis by 1833.

Some key words which Stow employed from Chalmers were conscience, sympathy and example, all of which were connected with moral training. Moral training aimed to awaken or strengthen the conscience which was thought to be implanted in human nature as the voice of God. In order to do so, teachers were expected to use the principle of 'sympathy and example', by presenting good examples before children and by inducing sympathy or a collective conscience (fellow-feeling). Based on moral training, intellectual, Bible and science training were the areas which Stow developed after 1832. This met the demand of Scottish Evangelicals' to place the Bible at their programme's core. Science training aimed to suggest to children the existence of God in every natural phenomenon, utilising the current attainment of professional science, while Bible training aimed to lead them to Christianity. The method of intellectual training was termed 'picturing out' and based on a concept of human understanding. With these methods of moral and intellectual training, the GES promoted the extension of parochial schools including infant and juvenile schools, in close relationship to the established church, though not excluding dissenters. Its movement was also inseparable from extending churches and Sabbath schools since elders and Sabbath school teachers were expected, as moral agents, to visit the working-class family in order to secure the children's attendance.

Chapter V explores the impact of the GES's programme on the governmental policy on education and its influence in Scotland, the rest of Britain and certain colonies. The establishment of the Committee of Council on Education in 1839 opened a new opportunity through which the GES's programme was promoted widely with the backing of governmental approval. The Glasgow Normal Seminary established in 1837 played an important role in this process. Although the government grant for building schools started in 1834 for Scotland, the CCE undertook a strong initiative to promote a system which Kay, secretary of the CCE, learned from Stow's training system, not only for school buildings but also for teaching methods, requiring church-based schools to follow its wishes. It is, however, noteworthy that these



developments had a negative aspect in that it was possible to promote them without any connection with the parochial system and its moral agents for family visitation which the original GES's programme of education supposed. In fact, introduction of the programme into English workhouse schools and a prison school had a limited success by lacking the family and community background. In missionary areas such as Australia and the West Indies, whether moral agents behind the school management existed was one of the most important elements in deciding its success, as well as the existence of government support which included that of promoting a normal seminary. In Scotland, with government grants, parochial schools including infant schools were strongly promoted until 1843, the year of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, in close association with church extension and the increase of Sabbath schools.

Although the Disruption took the parochial system on which the GES promoted their own programme and parochial schools themselves, out of their hands, the GES's programme survived the Disruption. Chapter VI explores this process. One of the chief reasons of the survival was the governmental approval of their programme centred on moral education. Distress in Paisley led to setting up the Royal Commission on the poor law in 1843 and the 1844 commission report approved of the method of poor relief in the St John's experiment as useful for suppressing the idea of the rights of the unemployed to relief. It also accepted the crucial importance of moral and intellectual education. Although after 1845 individual parochial boards started dealing with poor relief, the Free Church found a new basis to extend schools using the training system based on inter-denominational Sabbath school teachers as the agents to visit families. This served as a model for promoting working-class education thereafter.

Chapter VII deals with influence of the Chalmers-Stow programme in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Japan, which was neither a Christian country nor an active British missionary area. The British school management theories which were still influenced by Stow's ideas were introduced into Japan in the 1880s, when Japan was rapidly learning from western culture, in particular science. The main elements which Japan learned from Stow included: education based on human nature; moral training as central in education; and the methods of moral education using the sympathy of numbers. These paved the way to introducing a new framework of moral

education into Japan where methods of intellectual teaching were still dominant, based on Japanese patriotic morality in the place of Christianity.

Chalmers was also introduced into Japan by officers of the Home Department when Japan started dealing with growing poverty arising from industrialisation and urbanisation in the 1900s and the 1910s. His ideas were introduced into Japan chiefly in two ways. Firstly he was considered as a person who emphasised the role of education to deal with poverty. The Home Department promoted extending education to children including those potentially delinquent. Secondly Chalmers was introduced into Japan as a precursor of the Elberfeld system in Germany which attempted to prevent people becoming paupers by giving guidance and encouragement through commissioners' family visitation in divided districts. Similar systems were gradually introduced into Japan in particular after the 1920s. Behind these, the role of Japanese officials who were evangelicals was significant. In this way, two elements which Scottish evangelicals promoted, namely moral education and family visitation, were to meet together on the Japanese scene, replacing Christianity with Japanese patriotic morality.

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