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SECONDARY EDUCATION AND PARENTAL CHOICE IN ENLIGHTENMENT GLASGOW:

**A case study of the Moore family, with particular reference to the extended tour
abroad of (Sir) John Moore with his father Dr Moore (1772-76)**

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Abstract

The thesis takes the form of a case study, exploring the educational choices made by Dr John and Mrs Jean Moore of Glasgow for their family. It focuses particularly on the education of their eldest son, John, (Sir John Moore of Corunna) before 1772 and abroad during the next four years till September 1776. It contends that, although the Moore parents' choices were highly personal, designed to suit their family situation and never part of a dogmatic rejection of contemporary educational provision, elements of these choices indicate a radical approach to the principles and practices of education that preceded the curricular reforms of the nineteenth century.

The thesis examines secondary schooling in Enlightenment Glasgow. The source material is problematic: town records for eighteenth-century secondary education in Glasgow are scant and the evidence gleaned from contemporary newspapers provides a one-sided view of how private enterprise widened the schooling options available to parents. Taking into account the limitations of the sources, the thesis examines the educational milieu in Glasgow, considering opportunities outside the all-male Glasgow Grammar School, including some consideration of the education of females. It discusses why calls for curricular reform, in line with Enlightenment thinking on 'useful' education, were not taken up by Glasgow Town Council.

The choice of John Moore as a case study stems from his unique situation. He was educated in Glasgow until 1772, when he was ten. He then accompanied his father on a tour organised for the Duke of Hamilton across Europe, mainly in Geneva, but also in France, Germany, Austria and Italy until 1776, when he was approaching fifteen. His letters home provide good historical evidence of his attainment and progress. Dr Moore's practice of allowing him to write free of parental supervision makes these sources particularly valuable historically, as a way to investigate the perception of education by school age children. Primary sources also include the published work of Dr Moore, other family letters and journals. The wealth of archival material, some of it studied for the first time in this thesis, enables examination of the views of parents and children on education, an area rarely covered in histories of the subject.

The evidence presented in this thesis has shown that educational pathways in a growing city such as Glasgow left scope for individual family initiatives, as the quality and range of the existing educational provision in Glasgow left room for further experimentation.

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Finally I feel privileged to be part of a family with parents and grandparents who valued education.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this thesis is the result of my own work, and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature

Name SANDRA McCALLUM

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DSL	Dictionary of the Scots Language
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collections On-line
GC	Glasgow Courant
GJ	Glasgow Journal
GCA	Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library Glasgow
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
GUL	Glasgow University Library
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NMS	National Museum of Scotland
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OED	Oxford English Dictionary

Chapter One: Introduction

In February 1772, John Moore left his native town of Glasgow, with his father, Glasgow physician Dr John Moore (1729-1802), who had obtained a post as tutor to the fifteen-year old Douglas eighth Duke of Hamilton. Dr Moore's task was to accompany the duke on a Grand Tour of Europe and he took the extremely unusual step of including his eldest son. John Moore (1761-1809) was later to be known as Lieutenant General, Sir John Moore of Corunna, Commander of the British Army in the early stages of the Peninsular War, but, at this point, he was a ten-year old schoolboy. Biographical treatments of Sir John have noted briefly the impact of Dr. Moore's decision to take his son to Europe on the boy's later success, but have concentrated on his later career.¹ However the Moore family's approach to educating young John and his siblings can tell us much about attitudes towards educational options available to middling Scottish families in the era of the Enlightenment. This thesis takes the form of a case study, exploring the educational choices made by the Moore parents for their family, with particular reference to John Moore's education and experiences before 1772 and during the next four years till September 1776 when the fourteen-year-old Moore returned to London, with a commission as an ensign in the British Army. It considers Dr. Moore's attitudes towards education as expressed in his correspondence and published writings and the decisions made by Dr. Moore and his wife in educating their children.

Alexander Broadie describes the Scotland of the decades on either side of 1760 as 'home to a creative surge'.² He sees the two essential features of the Enlightenment firstly, as requiring that 'we think for ourselves', not assenting to something simply because someone with authority has sanctioned it' and secondly, 'characterised by the social virtue of tolerance,' that 'people are able to put their ideas into the public domain without fear of retribution from political, religious or other such authorities as have the power to punish those whose ideas they disapprove of'. The educational experiences of young John Moore and his siblings afford a unique opportunity for a case study of an alternative approach to the education of children in an educated professional family from a social background that was strongly influenced and informed by Scottish Enlightenment thinking and by the contemporary socio-economic situation. The thesis argues that

¹ Carola Oman, *Sir John Moore*, (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1953), pp.1-26. This is the most scholarly biography of Moore. It concentrates on his later life and military career, as does a more recent work, Roger Day *The Life of Sir John Moore: Not a Drum was Heard*, (Barnsley: Leo Cooper, 2001).

² Alexander Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2011), p.1.

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in educating their family, the Moore parents, Dr Moore and his wife, Jean Moore (1735-1820), did not confine themselves to conventional provision, in Glasgow, where this seemed inappropriate or inadequate to their children's needs. It contends that although their choices were highly personal, designed to suit their own family situation and never part of a dogmatic rejection of contemporary educational provision these choices indicated a radical approach to the principles and practices of education that preceded the curricular reforms of the nineteenth century.

The focus of this study is regional, in that it examines the educational milieu in Glasgow and the situation in an eighteenth-century Glaswegian family. The universal questions on education are not exclusive to any era. Each society has to tackle the same fundamental questions: what does this society understand by education; what is the purpose of education; who should be educated and why and how should this be accomplished. This raises further issues: the economic question of how it should be funded; where should it take place; when and for how long it should last; how it should be organised; and what relationship there should be between the needs of the state and of individuals. This thesis concentrates on how one family addressed the questions most relevant to their own situation. The controversy about the desirability of universal education and the extent of nationwide literacy is tangential to this study, although as these questions have loomed large in the more recent historical examinations of post-Reformation Scottish education, an outline of the historical treatment of these issues is given below. In this case study one major concern of recent historians, basic literacy, is not explored. The social status of the Moore family meant that there would never have been any question of the Moore children not being educated to the standard of basic literacy and beyond. Therefore the focus is on what decisions were made for their post-literacy education, the core aims influencing the parents' choices, the methods adopted to achieve these, and the content and outcomes of this education.

Historical Accounts of Education in Eighteenth-Century Scotland

The historiography of Scottish education in the eighteenth century can broadly be seen as having moved from a naive acceptance of an excessively optimistic view to a more critical approach which emerged in the later twentieth century. Earlier assumptions of excellence were challenged by subjecting the evidence for these assumptions to rigorous scrutiny, thereby highlighting flaws and inadequacies that had hitherto been overlooked. Since then the approach has become less polarised, with the general conclusion tending towards giving credit to the system for what it was able to achieve, without falling into the earlier tendency of lavish praise.

Although this is an acceptable view of the trajectory of historical analysis of Scottish educational themes, it can also be argued that the resultant targeting of a limited number of educational issues has left certain key areas unexamined and still susceptible to over-generalised, uncritical

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description. This is particularly true of the historical portrayal of the secondary stage of education in the eighteenth century. Modern research has concentrated on examining the extent of basic literacy and on the pioneering work done in university education. Little attention has been paid to educational provision for the stage after the acquisition of basic literacy. It is this stage that is the focus of this thesis.

In recent decades historians have been critical of earlier historians for presenting an adulatory view of Scottish education and for their part in promulgating this to the extent that it was accepted without question. Earlier historians have been accused of propounding what is described by Helen Corr as ‘the celebrated myth of egalitarianism.’³ In *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, published in 1969, T. C. Smout cited an early nineteenth-century work by educationist Alexander Christison, published in 1802, as exemplifying this type of fulsome praise of Scottish education, described by Christison as a ‘precious inheritance.’⁴ Smout noted that these opinions were ‘echoed again and again, in the next quarter of a century.’ Furthermore it can be argued that this attitude persisted and can be found throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. For example, writing in 1908, W. J. Gibson advanced the view that Scottish education was superlatively egalitarian: ‘In no other country has there been in the past the same free path for ability, in whatever rank produced, not only through the schools, but into all the learned professions.’⁵ John Strong, in *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland*, published in 1909, extolled the inclusivity of the system.

Whether the parish school, the burgh or grammar school, or the University is considered, the result is the same. The laird’s son is found associating on terms of equality with the plough boy, the son of the manse is seen entering into friendly rivalry with the cottar’s son – a rivalry often continued in the University, and a friendship seldom repudiated even when in later years fortune had not been equally kind to both.⁶

The identification of education with male education in historical treatment is an issue too vast to be addressed in this thesis, though this neglect is particularly apparent in historical accounts of the eighteenth century. Corr’s work, for example focuses on the nineteenth-century situation and

³ Helen Corr, ‘Dominies and Domination: Schoolteachers, Masculinity and Women in 19th Century Scotland,’ *History Workshop Journal*, 40, (Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.150-164.

⁴ T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London: Collins, 1969), p.449; A. Christison, *The General Diffusion of Knowledge One Great Cause of the Prosperity of North Britain*, (Edinburgh, .J. Brown for P. Hill, 1802), n.p.

⁵ W. J. Gibson, *Education in Scotland*, (London; Longmans, 1912s), p. x.

⁶ John Strong, *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), p.3.

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historians of the eighteenth century provide scant or no treatment of female education. The merit of the system was the alleged equality of opportunity at all stages of male education, with additional social benefits of coherence and co-operation. The bonding of those of different social rank, as a result of a shared experience, was seen as a social and national unifying factor.

Strong, however, was not uncritical of the achievements of the system. He dismissed as 'idyllic' James Kirkton's claim in 1817 that 'in most of the country all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided of Bibles, either by the parents or their ministers.'⁷ Strong argued that the eighteenth century was a low point in the history of secondary education, contrasting the commendable measures to support the education of the poor, with the narrow curriculum, substandard accommodation and the niggardly treatment of schoolmasters, in pay, and status.⁸ Some other earlier historians also struck a note of caution. In *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Scottish Education, 1696 – 1946*, published in 1953, H. M. Knox acknowledged that concentration on the academically able young male – the 'lad o' pairts' – skewed educational provision. Although he accepted that it was successful in allowing these able young males to attain professions, he argued that this could lead to neglect of other scholars.⁹

In general, however, praise of the system prevailed. The two main accepted assumptions were a high level of access to education for all and nationwide literacy. It was also argued that Scottish education held a leading position in Europe. As late as 1969, Lawrence Stone claimed a degree of European ascendancy for the late eighteenth-century Scottish system.

The largest elementary educational system, one of the best classical secondary systems, and the best university system in Europe, all catering for an unusually wide range of social classes. At every level Scotland in the middle and late eighteenth century – the Scotland of Adam Smith and David Hume – was one of the best educated countries in Europe.¹⁰

The later twentieth century, however, saw important challenges to received opinion and complacent assumptions about the efficacy of the system, examining not only the claims themselves but also positing theories on how they came to be made. In his *History of the Scottish People*, published in

⁷ James Kirkton, *The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to 1678*, (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co, 1817).

⁸ John Strong, *Secondary Education in Scotland*, pp.118-124.

⁹ H. M. Knox, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Scottish Education, 1696 – 1946* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1953), pp.10, 34.

¹⁰ Lawrence Stone 'Literacy and Education in England, 1640- 1900', *Past and Present*, 42, (1969); R. D. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p.1

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1968, T. M. Smout dismissed the idea that Scotland had a functioning national system of education in the eighteenth century, arguing that the system was seriously flawed and inadequate to provide literacy nationwide.¹¹ He contended that it was, in effect, a valued but underfunded institution and he argued that one reason for the praise lavished upon it was economic, a desire to improve funding for schools by persuading those responsible for financing the system of its excellence.¹² He identified national pride as another influential reason for positive portrayals: Scots felt that, despite any shortcomings, at least in Scotland a national structure did exist. Therefore there was a degree of self-congratulation in the idea that England, which lacked such a structure, might do well to copy the Scottish system.¹³

Another important area of challenge to favourable presentation of eighteenth-century provision can be seen in the work of R. A. Houston who questioned the validity of claims of superiority over other European countries in his article 'The Literacy Myth? Illiteracy in Scotland 1630-1750' published in 1982.¹⁴ Houston argued that the belief that the Scottish system was delivering a high degree of national literacy was a delusion and that illiteracy was much more prevalent than previous historical accounts had acknowledged. Houston's work in its turn came under scrutiny; the validity of his deductions from the evidence was challenged. Donald J. Withrington, for example, criticised Houston's use of the assertion in 1758 by Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) that 175 Scottish parishes had no parish schools as evidence of a lack of school provision in these areas, since it failed to recognise that the SPCK 'defined the parish school very narrowly.'¹⁵

Much of the historiography in the later twentieth century concerned itself with the search for evidence of achievement or failure, in order to establish where, on the spectrum of the provision of nationwide literacy, Scottish education of the eighteenth century could confidently be placed. The availability and validity of source material was an important issue. When considering the problems of the paucity of evidence of educational provision and achievement in the eighteenth century, R. D. Anderson drew on Alexander Law's work on education in Edinburgh at this period to highlight

¹¹ T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London: Collins, 1968), pp.449-461.

¹² T. C. Smout, *History*, p.449.

¹³ T. C. Smout, *History*, p.449.

¹⁴ R. A. Houston, 'The Literacy Myth? Illiteracy in Scotland 1630-1750,' *Past and Present*, 96, (1982), pp 81-102.

¹⁵ Donald J. Withrington, *Schooling, Literacy and Society*, eds T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland 1760-1830* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988) I, p.165, 170.

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gaps in our knowledge.¹⁶ Law pointed out how the lack of available evidence made it impossible to gauge either the percentage of children attending school in Edinburgh, or the responsiveness of the school system to population growth. In the continuing search for source material from which valid deductions might be made, Houston examined Scottish court records to identify those who were literate enough to sign their names on legal depositions and used this to substantiate his argument on the prevalence of illiteracy.¹⁷ Smout studied the personal handwritten accounts of men and women participating in the religious revival in Cambuslang, concluding that these sources show ‘a population universally able to read, but with almost all the women and a substantial minority of men unable to write.’¹⁸ This attention to literacy has led to a greater understanding of the complexity of what is understood by the term and an appreciation that signature literacy cannot be taken as indicative of the presence or absence of more sophisticated skills.¹⁹

Withrington has been highly critical of what he described as the ‘untenable generalisations which have characterised so much of the writing on Scottish schooling, either adulatory or damning.’²⁰ He has rejected both G. E. Davie’s assertion in *The Democratic Intellect* that ‘Scottish education emerged from the [eighteenth] century in good shape’²¹ and R. A. Houston’s counter-assertion in *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity* that ‘there was general discontent with it.’²² Ultimately, however, Withrington emerged on the positive side of the debate; he argued that ‘school provision

¹⁶ Anderson, *Education*, p.12; Alexander Law, *Education in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: University of London Press, 1965).

¹⁷ Houston, ‘The Literacy Myth?’ pp.81-102.

¹⁸ T. C. Smout, ‘Born Again at Cambuslang: New Evidence on Popular Religion and Literacy in Eighteenth-Century Scotland’, *Past & Present*, 97 (1982), p.122; Arthur Fawcett, *The Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century*, (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Society, 1971), pp.5-8.

¹⁹ Thomas Munck, ‘Literacy, Educational Reform and the Use of Print in Eighteenth-Century Denmark’, *European Historical Quarterly*, 34, 3 (2004), pp.275-303.

²⁰ Withrington, *Schooling, Literacy and Society*, p.174; James Scotland, *History of Scottish Education*, (London: University of London Press, 1969), I. p.174; R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp.1,8,49.

²¹ G. E. Davie, *The Democratic Intellect*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Press, 1961), p.xvi.

²² R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy*, p.1.

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assuredly remains the best single indicator of education for literacy in the Scottish population' and that by this measure, 'literacy in reading at least was very widespread.'²³

In the most recent account of Scottish education, published in 1995, *Education and the Scottish People*, R. D. Anderson recorded that the 'favourable picture' of eighteenth-century education has 'generally been endorsed by modern specialists in Scottish history like Donald Withrington and Christopher Smout,' although recent comparative work, like that of R. A. Houston 'makes Scotland look less exceptional' in the European context.²⁴ The historiography of Scottish education, therefore, has benefited from more rigorous examination of its claims to excellence, but the contemporary assessments of its general structure and achievements in basic literacy are generally favourable.

Secondary Education – a neglected area

There are, however, areas that are not well served by historical accounts. Post literacy education in the eighteenth century is one instance of an under-represented topic of discussion. Historical accounts of Scottish schooling have concentrated on primary and tertiary education: the introduction of the parish school system by the reformed Church of Scotland in the sixteenth century, as advocated in *The First Book of Discipline* in 1560 and the development of the Scottish universities and the university curriculum. As Michael Lynch has noted, the focus on parish schools has tended to eclipse interest in pre-Reformation schools, including the burgh grammar schools, although this is an area which has since been comprehensively addressed by the publication in 2013 of John Durkan's *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters: 1560-1633*.²⁵ Since secondary education is normally represented by reference to the history of the burgh schools and these did not cater for the acquisition of basic literacy, which has been one of the main interests of contemporary historiography, less attention has been paid to the role of burgh schools and their effectiveness.

Thus there is a large and expanding body of work on the progress of university education in the eighteenth century and the philosophies being developed in the Scottish universities, including the

²³ Withrington, *Schooling, Literacy and Society*, p.174.

²⁴ Anderson, *Education*, p.1.

²⁵ Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, (London: Pimlico, 1991), p.106; John Durkan, *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters 1560-1633*, edited and revised by Jamie Reid-Baxter, Scottish History Society 2006, Fifth Series, Volume 19, Boydell, 2013.

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work of Francis Hutcheson and Thomas Reid at Glasgow University.²⁶ Individual academics and philosophers are well represented in contemporary studies. *Glasgow and the Enlightenment*, published in 1995, by Andrew Hook and Richard Sher (eds), concentrated mainly on university academics and Paul Wood and Daniel Carey have continued this trend, with work on Hutcheson and Thomas Reid. More recently, the writings of Thomas Reid have been edited by Alexander Broadie, Steven Reid has examined the development of the Scottish Universities post-1560 and Esther Mijers has studied the Scottish students enrolled at universities in the Netherlands.²⁷

In contrast to this body of work, there is little on the intermediate stage between primary and university education. An example of the absence of any modern historical study of secondary education can be found in the fact that *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland*, by John Strong, first published in 1908, remains the standard work, with a 2008 electronic edition.²⁸ No comparative history of secondary education in Scottish schools appeared in the twentieth century. Grant's *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*, published in 1876, remains the only attempt to cover this area and is of limited value.²⁹ Described by William Ferguson in *Scotland 1689 to the Present* as 'a mine of undigested information,' Grant's work exemplifies the difficulty of dealing analytically with the disparity of available evidence on this aspect of burgh responsibility. Grant

²⁶ Andrew Hook and Richard Sher, eds, *Glasgow and the Enlightenment*, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995); J. J. Carter and D. J. Withrington, eds. *Scottish Universities: Distinctiveness and Diversity* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992); P. B. Wood, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment: the Arts Curriculum in the Eighteenth Century* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1993); P. B. Wood, *Science, the Universities, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth Century Scotland*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Paul Wood, 'The Fittest Man in the Kingdom: Thomas Reid and the Glasgow Chair of Moral Philosophy' *Hume Studies*, 23 (1997) pp.277 – 314; Daniel Carey, *Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson : Contesting Diversity in the Enlightenment and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

²⁷ Steven J. Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism: Andrew Melville and the Universities of Scotland 1560-1625* (Farnwell: Ashgate, 2011); Esther Mijers, *Scotland and the United Provinces c1680-1730 : a Study in Intellectual and Educational Relations*, (Leiden, Brill, 2007); Alexander Broadie, *Thomas Reid on Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005).

²⁸ John Strong, *Secondary Education in Scotland*; John Strong, *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland* (BiblioBazaar LLC: 2008).

²⁹ James Grant, *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*, (Glasgow: William Collins, 1876).

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has amassed a great deal of information but the approach of different burghs to record-keeping varies, makes comparison difficult.³⁰

The most recent and most comprehensive work on Scottish education is the 2003 second edition of *Scottish Education*, edited by T. G. K. Bryce and W. M. Humes.³¹ In this work, R. D. Anderson covers the pre-1920 period, as does his 1995 *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*.³² In both works Anderson has, however, little to say on the eighteenth century. He focuses on institutional organisation, rather than curriculum or pedagogy, and this is not an area which saw significant change in the eighteenth century. Thus Anderson concentrates on the development of a secular national educational system from the early nineteenth century, confining his account of education pre-1800 to his first chapter, where the sixteenth-century structure of church-based parish schools is described.

It could be argued that one reason for the lack of interest in eighteenth-century secondary schooling is that during this period Scotland was remarkably free from any change. Neither the government nor the Church of Scotland seems to have seen any pressing need to change or improve those structures that were in place. Craigie's *Bibliography of Scottish Education before 1870* lists both government and Church of Scotland legislation, recording only six pieces of parliamentary legislation with any mention of educational issues during the century and only eleven instances of education appearing in the Acts of the General Assembly, mainly in respect of financial arrangements and religious education.³³ The main government concern was to ensure that, following the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745, only those loyal to the Hanoverian crown were engaged as schoolmasters and to increase educational provision in the highlands. Similarly the

³⁰ William Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the Present*, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1968, p.421.

³¹ R. Anderson, "The History of Scottish Education pre-1980", in T. G. K. Bryce and W. M. Humes, eds, *Scottish Education: Post-Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2nd edn., 2003).

³² Anderson, *Education*.

³³ James Craigie, *Bibliography of Scottish Education before 1872*, (London: University of London Press, 1970), pp.28-29; The acts during the eighteenth century are listed as follows: 1. Geo I, c.54, Sect 16, (1715) set up a commission to investigate areas needing schools; 4. Geo I, c.8, Sections 32 and 42, (1715) allowed the use of money from the sale of estates forfeited by Jacobites to be used to provide schools; 19. Geo I, c.39, Sect 16 (1746) required an oath of loyalty from schoolmasters and tutors; 21 Geo II, c.34 covered the disarming of the Highlands, including schoolmasters (1748).

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General Assembly of the Church of Scotland concentrated in the main on ensuring the strength of the system in place.³⁴

This hiatus in activity was noted by W. J. Gibson in 1912, when he stated in *Education in Scotland: A Sketch of Past and Present*, 'There are no striking developments within the schools to mark the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.'³⁵ When burgh schools are described in histories, the general treatment is to portray them favourably. This may suggest that this topic has not undergone the challenges that have been made to the Scottish education system generally in recent decades. Grant's approach was typical: writing in 1876 he said that in the eighteenth century Glasgow had one of the 'fine old grammar schools' delivering 'in the various courses a large and liberal scheme admirably, if not wonderfully, arranged for acquiring sound scholarship,' but he advanced no evidence to support his assertion.³⁶

The problems of investigating secondary education also play a part in this cursory treatment. Urban post-literacy education was in the main provided by burgh grammar schools controlled by the town councils. Coverage of the history of secondary schooling in the eighteenth century has largely depended on whatever information is available on the grammar schools in town council records and in works of personal reminiscence. This has resulted in unevenness, as town records vary in the amount of detail recorded, so that the situation in towns which have better records has been used as the evidence for more general historical accounts of the Scottish situation. In Grant's *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*, Glasgow's rare appearances concentrate on a single important source document, the seventeenth-century Glasgow Grammar School syllabus.³⁷ Thus historiographically Glasgow fares badly in comparison to other Scottish towns, like Ayr and Perth, where burgh records give more information about contemporary educational matters. Similarly, in modern histories, like Withrington's 1988, survey of schooling in the second half of the eighteenth century, Glasgow does not feature prominently.³⁸ Withrington noted that 'new subjects were being introduced into burgh schools' but his evidence was drawn from Aberdeen.³⁹

³⁴ Craigie, *Bibliography*, p.54.

³⁵ Gibson, *Education in Scotland*, p.v; pp.1-38 deals with pre-reformation education. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are treated together in pp.60-71.

³⁶ Grant, *Burgh Schools*, p.344.

³⁷ Grant, *Burgh Schools*, pp.336-339.

³⁸ Withrington, *Schooling, Literacy and Society*, pp.163-187.

³⁹ Withrington, *Schooling, Literacy and Society*, p.163.

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In a recent major history of Glasgow, published in 1995, Jackson dealt briefly with education in the eighteenth century, noting the existence of support to enable the sons of poorer burgesses to access secondary and university education. This approach is in line with the traditional view of the inclusivity of Scottish education. He also highlighted the lack of information on the extent of schooling available to the general population of the city.⁴⁰

The earliest historical references to secondary education in Glasgow in the second half of the eighteenth century occur in John Gibson's *History of Glasgow*, published in 1777.⁴¹ His treatment was mainly descriptive, with brief information about fees, curriculum and teachers' salaries. Gibson's educational concerns were narrow and hierarchical. He concentrated exclusively on the education of elite males at the Glasgow Grammar School and was critical only of the age at which they were first sent to school, considering five too early to begin elementary education and seven or eight too young to start at the Grammar School.⁴² Mention was made of English schools and other establishments supplementing the Grammar School's classical curriculum. However his focus was on those Grammar School boys progressing at too early an age to university, where they were unable to cope with the demands of the course. His description of attempts to keep Grammar School fees as low as possible links to the 'lad o pairts' belief – that a talented poor boy could flourish within the system, but there was no information on how many of those without access to the Grammar School received any kind of tuition in basic skills.

The nineteenth-century historian James Cleland dealt with secondary education in Glasgow, both in *Annals of Glasgow* and in the fuller *Historical Account of the Grammar School*, first published in 1825.⁴³ In *Annals*, he began his account of education in Glasgow with a positive reference to Scotland's European reputation for the social width of the access of its educational system: 'The attention which has been paid to the education of the lower orders of the Scottish nation has been proverbial over Europe for several centuries past.'⁴⁴ Although he was not uncritical of Scottish education, his general approach was positive. Cleland dismissed as 'illiberal' contemporary nineteenth-century British and European opposition to the principle of the education of the poor,

⁴⁰ Gordon Jackson, 'Glasgow in Transition', in *Glasgow*, T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson, eds, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

⁴¹ John Gibson, *History of Glasgow* (Glasgow: n.pub, printed for the author, 1777).

⁴² Gibson, *Glasgow* (Glasgow: n.pub, printed for the author, 1777), pp.191-3.

⁴³ James Cleland Burns, ed, *The History of the High School of Glasgow* (Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1878). This contains a reprint of James Cleland's history, originally published in 1825.

⁴⁴ Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow* (Glasgow, John Smith and Son, 1829), p.250.

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contrasting it unfavourably with the Scottish attitude.⁴⁵ Therefore he followed the tradition of presenting Scottish education as more enlightened in its provision of access than many other European countries, including England. His discussion of eighteenth-century Glasgow schooling, like Gibson's, was limited to the Grammar School, but although he said it had 'uniformly maintained its eminent character' he was strongly critical of its management, in the latter half of the century.⁴⁶ Cleland (1770-1840), who went on to publish extensively on civic statistics, was a pupil at Glasgow Grammar school at this period. Therefore his criticism is particularly significant, reflecting contemporary eighteenth-century views.⁴⁷

The system of education in the Grammar School up to 1782 was such as to require reformation. Up to that period there were no systems to arrange the plan of education, or to take charge of the general interests of the School, nor were there any examinations at stated periods, nor marking of places. Magistrates were never seen in the School but at the annual examination and distribution of prizes.⁴⁸

The tendency to concentrate only on the Grammar School has continued. In the most recent history of the school, *The History of the High School of Glasgow*, published in 1976, Harry Ashmall used Cleland as a major source and argued that the 1770s 'make for dismal reading in the Grammar School's history,' a judgement based on Cleland's analysis above of flaws in curriculum planning, lack of examinations and the magistrates' failure to monitor the school regularly. Despite this, Ashmall concluded that in the eighteenth century Glasgow Grammar School was 'efficient and effective by the standards of the day.'⁴⁹

It can reasonably be argued therefore that examination of secondary schooling in Enlightenment Glasgow is ripe for reappraisal, but will rely on the identification of new sources. This thesis uses a case study of the Moore family to examine secondary educational provision in Glasgow and ask how far users of the system were satisfied with the provision at a time of intellectual ferment in education.

⁴⁵ Cleland, *Annals*, p.251.

⁴⁶ Cleland, *Annals*, p.281.

⁴⁷ Stana Nenadic, 'Cleland, James (1770–1840)', ODNB; James Cleland, *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow*, (Glasgow: John Smith & Sons, 1832).

⁴⁸ Burns, *High School*, p.10.

⁴⁹ Harry A. Ashmall, *The High School of Glasgow: A History*, (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1976, p.21.

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Parents and Pupils

In *Education and the Scottish People*, Anderson specifically excluded from his discussion the perception of education by parents and pupils.⁵⁰ However he highlighted the need for more consideration of ‘how it was seen and used by those at the receiving end,’ which is one of the central concerns of this thesis. Anderson’s general position on the cultural climate of the eighteenth century was that there was no major criticism of the system. He argued that since the clergymen whose reports were used for the Statistical Account, published in 1793, did not highlight any crisis in urban areas, this can be taken as evidence of the absence of any major dissatisfaction.⁵¹ This case study addresses the issue of how the parents of one Glasgow family interacted with the schooling available in Glasgow, primarily in the period 1772 to 1776, examining to what extent the opinions they expressed and the decisions they made indicate approval or dissatisfaction. It considers schooling opportunities outside the Glasgow Grammar School, including some consideration of the education of females. Primary source material from the letters of John Moore (1761-1809) is used to investigate the perception of education by school age children.

Moore Family Background

The Moores were a well-educated and well connected family⁵². Both parents, Dr John Moore (1730-1802) and Jean Moore (1735-1820) came from Glasgow backgrounds, where education was valued and both had family connections with many influential people, from the church, academia, medicine, politics and trade. Dr John Moore’s father, Charles Moore (1680?-1736) was a clergyman in Stirling.⁵³ His mother, Marion, was a daughter of John Anderson the younger (1636-1710) four times Provost of Glasgow, and she had inherited part of his Dovehill estate, a property that bounded the University grounds, from the garden wall of the College and the Molendinar Burn east towards Gallowgate.⁵⁴ Mrs Jean Moore’s father, the Reverend John Simson (1667-1740), was

⁵⁰ Anderson, *Education*, p.v.

⁵¹ Anderson, *Education*, p.13.

⁵² See Appendix1: Moore Family Tree, p.218.

⁵³ CUL Add Mss 9303, John Moore, *Sketches of My Birth and Certain Circumstances*, unpublished manuscript.

⁵⁴ Robert Renwick, *History of Glasgow*, 3 vols (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson and Co, 1921) III., n.p. http://www.electricscotland.com/history/glasgow/glasgow3_23.htm [accessed 20.04.14]

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the controversial Professor of Sacred Theology at Glasgow University. Simson was the subject of a lengthy, and ultimately successful, trial for heresy by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which led to his being suspended from teaching at the university in 1729.⁵⁵ A strong influence on Frances Hutcheson, who was his pupil and successor, he ‘stood within the Westminster tradition for a religion of reason rather than a religion of experience.’⁵⁶ Her grandfather, Patrick Simson (1628-1715) had been Moderator of the General Assembly of Scotland in 1695, the assembly renowned for its decision to establish a school in every parish in Scotland.⁵⁷ Mrs Moore’s uncle, the Reverend John Stirling (1654-1727), was Principal of the University of Glasgow; her cousin, Robert Simson (1687-1768) was Professor of Mathematics at Glasgow and a renowned geometrician, whilst Robert Simson’s brother, Thomas Simson (1696-1764) held the first chair of Medicine at St Andrews from 1722 till 1764.⁵⁸

In addition to clerical, academic and political connections, the most famous of Dr Moore’s relations was Tobias Smollett (1721-1771), the comic novelist, with whom Dr Moore travelled in Europe in 1750, whose biography he wrote and with whom he corresponded.⁵⁹ Dr Moore enrolled at Glasgow University in 1742 and studied under Frances Hutcheson. The painter Gavin Hamilton was a classmate.⁶⁰ Dr Moore also had strong personal connections with John and William Hunter, Baron Mure, and the Duchess of Hamilton.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Anne Skoczylas, *Mr Simson’s Knotty Case*, (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 2001), p.3.

⁵⁶ T. F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology*, (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1996), p.230; Skoczylas, *Mr Simson’s Knotty Case*, p.12, p. 30.

⁵⁷ Skoczylas, *Mr Simson’s Knotty Case*, pp.12, 30-31.

⁵⁸ For more on the teaching of John Simson and his influence on Frances Hutcheson see Alexander Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: an Anthology* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997), p.116.

⁵⁹ T. Smollett and John Moore, *The Works of Tobias Smollett, M.D. with Memoirs of his Life: To which is Prefixed a View of the Commencement and Progress of Romance, by John Moore*, (London: B. Law, 1797).

⁶⁰ W. Innes Addison, *Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose and sons, 1913) p.29, 1742, no 986 John Moore; p.30, 1743 no.1026, Gavin Hamilton. This would have been the same class, as Hamilton enrolled in his second year; Appendix 1, Table of Consanguinity.

⁶¹ NLS 4946 Correspondence between Dr John Moore and Baron Mure of Caldwell; Argyll, Letters of the Eighteenth Century, 2 vols (London: Stanley Paul, 1910).

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The choice of the education of John Moore as a case study stems from his unique situation. His education, elementary and secondary, took place in Glasgow until 1772, when he was ten, and continued in Europe, mainly in Geneva, but also in France, Germany, Austria and Italy until 1776, when he was approaching fifteen. During that period he wrote home regularly, thus providing good historical evidence of his attainment and progress. His education is analysed using primary sources: family letters and the published work of his father and brother. Analysis of his father's letters and his published work provides insight into what Dr and Mrs Moore saw as educational priorities and good practice. John Moore's letters from 1772-1776 can be used to track his educational development during this period. His views on education are also examined, most significantly by close analysis of an extended letter written in 1776. Dr Moore's practice of allowing John to write free of parental supervision makes these sources particularly valuable historically.

Source Material

The source material for the Moore family affords a unique opportunity to study the issue of secondary schooling in Enlightenment Glasgow, as their family circumstances, involving long periods of separation, have resulted in a substantial archive of correspondence and diaries, in which education frequently appears as a topic of interest. In addition, Dr Moore's published works of non-fiction and fiction, discussed below, are sources of information, not only on the itinerary of his travels between 1772 and 1776, but also on his views on educational principles and practice.

The main repositories for the manuscripts of Moore family papers are the British Library, Cambridge University Library and the National Library of Scotland. Some correspondence between Dr John Moore and the Duchess of Argyll was published in 1910.⁶² James Carrick Moore included sixty-one family letters in *The Life of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore*, most of them from John's later military career, and these are a major source for later historians.⁶³ Twentieth-century biographies by Beatrice Brownrigg, Carola Oman and Roger Day draw heavily on material from Carrick Moore's *Life*.⁶⁴ Oman also used the manuscript material, at that time in the possession of different family members and some manuscripts discussed in Chapter Six, which

⁶² Argyll, *Letters*.

⁶³ James Carrick Moore, *The Life of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore K. B.* (London: Murray, 1834)

⁶⁴ Beatrice Brownrigg, *The Life and Letters of Sir John Moore*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1923), pp. 4-8; Roger William Day, *The Life of Sir John Moore: Not a Drum Was Heard*, (Barnsley: Leo Cooper, 2001); Oman, *Moore*.

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Oman consulted, are not included in either the British Library or Cambridge University Library collections.⁶⁵

John Moore left an extensive collection of manuscript papers relating to his military career, including a journal, although he published only one book, an extremely technical analysis of army pay.⁶⁶ An edited version of his journal, concentrating on his Peninsular War period, was published in 1904.⁶⁷ Some of John's known early letters have not come to light, although correspondence of varying dates is found in other collections, for example in a biography of his cousin, the chemist and inventor Charles Macintosh, written by Macintosh's son.⁶⁸ Other manuscript material consulted includes the journal and correspondence of Jane Moore, the eldest child and only daughter of Dr and Mrs Moore. Her journal and correspondence has only recently come to light in a collection of family papers acquired in 2008 by Cambridge University and are examined for the first time in this thesis.⁶⁹ Also examined in this thesis for the first time is a letter written by John Moore in 1776, which has as its main theme his own education and that of his siblings. His brother Graham Moore's journal, also held by Cambridge University Library, is a substantial body of manuscript work, comprising 37 volumes, written from 1784, when he was a young naval officer, till his death in 1843. The size of the volumes varies from notebooks containing 180 pages to some with over 400. The whole work, therefore, totals more than one and a half million words, incorporating not only a record of his naval activities, but also his reflections on many issues.⁷⁰ The method of handling this amount of material has been to read each volume rapidly to identify which areas are relevant to this thesis and to concentrate on these. The two major collections are in the British Library and in Cambridge University Library, but other significant letters can be found

⁶⁵ Oman, *Moore*, p.641, notes 10-17, list letters in the Heath family papers, which are now only available if printed in Carrick Moore's *Life* or Oman's *Moore*.

⁶⁶ John Moore, *States of Pay of the Several Regiments of Horse, Dragoons, Foot and Royal Artillery, on the Establishment of Peace Establishment of Ireland* (n. pub. 1786).

⁶⁷ John Moore, *The Diary of Sir John Moore*, ed J. F. Maurice, 2 vols (London: Edward Arnold, 1904).

⁶⁸ GUL Special Collections, John Moore to Charles Macintosh, Chelmsford, 1800 in George Macintosh, *Biography of the Late Charles Macintosh*, (Glasgow: W. G. Blackie, 1847), p.43. Other family letters between Moore and Macintosh families, pp.18, 21, 51-52, 57, 133, 142.

⁶⁹ CUL Add 9808/6/1-27.

⁷⁰ CUL Add 9303/1-37.

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in the National Library of Scotland in individual collections of the many correspondents of the family, including Robert Burns, Baron Mure of Caldwell, Kenneth McKenzie and John Murray.⁷¹

Although these sources are extensive, it must be remembered that there are significant gaps in the available material and reservations that must be made about their use. Most significantly, whilst there is a wealth of primary source information available from the letters of Dr Moore, and a significant representation of the letters of John, James and Graham Moore, very few of the letters known to have been written by Mrs Moore have come to light, and none of the youthful correspondence of Jane Moore, although references in other letters indicate that she did write regularly to her father and brother John while they were abroad and it must be assumed that she also wrote home during her own period at school in France. This disparity means that the female viewpoint is underrepresented in the family archives. One reason, ironically, might be that the care which Mrs Moore took to preserve the letters she received was not matched by her husband, who would have had limited capacity to store and transport a large body of correspondence on his travels. Another possible cause is deliberate suppression or destruction, whether at her request or as a result of family decisions that these letters should remain private. Although she acted as the caretaker of each successive volume of Graham Moore's journal, which he regularly dispatched to her for safe keeping, again her letters to him are missing. We know that Graham Moore had a policy of regular destruction of his voluminous correspondence, but that his views on retention were complex in that although he valued family letters highly, some he destroyed because he did not wish them to be read more widely. It may be that his mother's letters fell into this category.

Dr John Moore's Works

Publications by Dr. Moore and surviving family letters provide a unique window on this period in the history of Glasgow. Although during and immediately after his lifetime Dr Moore was a well known author, for many years his work has been neglected. Dr. Moore's main claim to fame is in his success as an author of both fiction and non-fiction; his first published work, *A view of society and manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany (Manners)*, was reprinted twenty-two times in fourteen years, was quickly translated, a French edition appearing by 1806.⁷² More recently the

⁷¹ NLS MS 23150 f.30, Robert Burns to Dr John Moore, 1787; NLS 4946 Correspondence between Dr John Moore and Baron Mure of Caldwell ; NLS MS 8028 fols 5-25, Correspondence between Sir John Moore and Kenneth McKenzie.

⁷² John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany, with anecdotes Relating to some Eminent Characters*, (London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1779) 3rd

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work of Henry L Fulton and Pam Perkins has started to redress this neglect. Fulton has published widely on Dr Moore and his biography of Dr Moore is to be published in autumn 2014.⁷³ In 2008, Perkins published a new edition of Dr Moore's best-selling novel, *Zeluco*.⁷⁴

In his lifetime Dr Moore published three highly successful accounts of his travels: in 1779 *A view of society and manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany (Manners)*; in 1781 *Travels in Italy: exhibiting a view of society and manners in that country (Travels)* and, in 1793, *Journal of a Residence in France (Journal)*. This last work was followed in 1795 by *A View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution*. He published three novels, *Zeluco*, in 1789, *Edward*, in 1796 and *Mordaunt* in 1800. He also wrote a biography of the novelist, Tobias Smollett, to whom he was related and with whom he had travelled in Europe, publishing the *Life of Tobias Smollett* in 1797 as part of an edition of Smollett's works.⁷⁵ Only two of his works drew on his medical background, a brief paper on tuberculosis, *An Essay on the Causes, Nature, and Cure, of Consumptions*, published in 1783 and *Medical Sketches*, published in 1786.⁷⁶

ed; John Moore, *Voyages de John Moore, en France, en Suisse et en Allemagne, traduits de l'Anglais*, (Paris: Perlet, 1806).

⁷³ H. L. Fulton, 'An Eighteenth-Century Best Seller', *Publications of the Biographical Society of America*, 66 (1972); H. L. Fulton, 'Robert Burns, John Moore, and the Limits of Writing Letters' *Studies in Scottish Literature*, Central Michigan University, n.d., pp.526-550.

⁷⁴ Henry Fulton, *Biography of John Moore M.D.* (Delancourt, 2014) forthcoming biography. Other articles by Fulton will be cited throughout the chapter. John Moore, *Zeluco*, Pam Perkins, ed.(1789)*John Moore* (Kansas City: Valancourt, 2008).

⁷⁵ Tobias Smollet and John Moore, *The works of Tobias Smollett, M.D. With memoirs of his life; to which is prefixed, A view of the commencement and progress of romance by John Moore*, (London: B. Law, 1797).

⁷⁶ John Moore, *An Essay on the Causes, Nature and Cure of Consumptions*, (Boston: William Green, 1783); John Moore, *Medical Sketches: In Two Parts*, (London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1786); John Moore, *A view of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution*, 2 vols (London: C. G. & J. Robinson, 1795); John Moore, *Edward: Various Views on Human Nature, Taken from Life and Manners, Chiefly in England*, (London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1796); John Moore, *Mordaunt, Sketches of Life, Characters and Manners, in Various Countries: including the Memoirs of a French Lady of Quality, by the Author of Zeluco and Edward*, (London: G. G. And J, Robinson, 1800); John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany, with anecdotes Relating to some Eminent Characters*, (London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1779) 3rd ed; John Moore, *Travels in Italy: Exhibiting a View of Society*

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In view of the numerous editions of Dr Moore's works, some of which have become available electronically, the references in this thesis, unless otherwise stated, are taken from the 1820 edition of his works, *The Works of John Moore, M. D.*, ed. R. D. Anderson.⁷⁷ In this edition no list of the contents of each volume is published, therefore it is helpful to know that *Manners* is printed in volume one, *Travels* in volume two, *A Journal During a Residence in France* in volume three, *A View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution* in volume four, *Zeluco* in volume five, *Edward* in volume six and *Mordaunt* in volume seven.

Initially Dr Moore's work enjoyed considerable success, particularly his travel writing and *Zeluco* although the other novels were less popular. The poet Robert Burns was one enthusiastic reader, finding enough in *Manners* and *Zeluco* to merit re-reading.

I have just been reading over again, I daresay for the hundred & fiftieth time, his 'Views of Society and Manners' & still read it with unsatiated delight. His humour is perfectly original. It is neither the humour of Addison, nor Swift, nor Sterne, nor anybody but Dr Moore & is positively as rich a vein as any of them could boast.⁷⁸

Zeluco, moreover, enjoyed a wider audience than the novel-reading public. In the preface to his highly popular poem *Childe Harold*, Byron acknowledged its influence.⁷⁹ At least one stage version was produced and performed in London; among those recording attendance at a performance in 1812 was the dramatist Joanna Baillie.⁸⁰ Dr Moore's second novel, *Edward*, was adapted for young people by the novelist and poet Mary Pilkington and published in 1800.⁸¹ Mark Towsey's recent research into the reading habits of subscribers to lending libraries in rural Scotland

and *Manners in that Country, With Anecdotes Relating to Eminent Characters*, (London: G. G. & J. Robinson, 1793).

⁷⁷ John Moore and R. Anderson, (ed) *The Works of John Moore, M. D. With Memoirs of his Life and Writing*, (Edinburgh: Stirling and Slade, 1820).

⁷⁸ George Scott Wilkie, *Robert Burns: A Life in Letters*, (Glasgow: Neil Wilson, 2011), p.320, Robert Burns to Frances Dunlop, 12 January 1795.

⁷⁹ George Noel Gordon, Lord Byron, *Additions to the Preface to Child Harold* (1813)
<http://library.crisischronicles.com/2008/06/22/childe-harolds-pilgrimage-preface-and-canto-i-by-lord-byron.aspx> (para. 2), [accessed 21/07/2013].

⁸⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 15 August 1812, Haymarket Theatre advertisement, *Look at Home*, based on Dr Moore's *Zeluco*; Judith Slagle, *Joanna Baillie; A Literary Life*, (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002), p.149.

⁸¹ .Mary Pilkington, *Edward: A Tale for Young Persons, Principally Founded upon that Much Admired Performance of the Same Name by Dr Moore and Adapted to the Capacities of Youth*, (London: Vernor and Hood, 1800).

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has identified Dr Moore as one of the frequently borrowed authors in provincial eighteenth-century Scottish libraries.⁸² In Wigtown, for example, for the period 1796 to 1799, the frequency of issues of his novel *Zeluco* surpassed that of works by his more famous kinsman, Tobias Smollett, and his travel writing was also popular with borrowers. To make his writing more available to those unable to access the full version, a two-volume anthology entitled *Mooriana* was published in 1803 and this was followed in the same year by a one-volume anthology, *The Beauties of Dr Moore*, which the editors had designed, 'for the use of schools and young persons.'⁸³

However, after this initial success, his work went out of print and Fulton points out that even general works on the history of the literature of the period have frequently ignored his contribution, arguing that the family's concern to vindicate the military reputation of his son, Sir John Moore (1761-1809) caused them to neglect the reprinting of their father's literary opus.⁸⁴ Although this may well have been the case, another factor in its publishing demise might have been a degree of natural obsolescence, in that his travel writings were superseded by newer accounts of travel in a constantly changing Europe. Similarly his novels were supplanted by the great early nineteenth-century novelists like Austen and by a plethora of popular fiction. The content of his novels, however, are relevant to this thesis, as they display a particular interest in the development and education of young people, which is a major theme in his works.

More attention has been paid recently to Dr Moore's place in the Glasgow Enlightenment. His novels have been revisited, as significant to our understanding of this period.⁸⁵ His role as tutor to Douglas, eighth Duke of Hamilton (1756-1799) has been the subject of a number of essays and articles and his dual roles, as physician and tutor, has drawn the attention of scholars in medical humanities.⁸⁶ This period in Dr Moore's life has also received attention as part of the

⁸² Mark R. M. Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and Their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p.28.

⁸³ John Moore, F. Blagon and F. Prevost, *Mooriana*, (London: Crosby and Co., 1803); Moore, John, F. Blagon and F. Prevost, *Beauties of Dr John Moore*, (London: Crosby and Co., 1803), p.3.

⁸⁴ Henry L. Fulton, 'The Reputation of Dr. John Moore (1729-1802): Reflections on Loss & Recovery,' Paper presented at the East-Central Meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, Pittsburgh, 5 November 2010.

⁸⁵ Gary Kelly, 'Enlightenment and Revolution: The Philosophical Novels of Dr. John Moore' *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 1.3 (1989), 219-237.

⁸⁶ Henry L. Fulton, 'Private Tutoring in Scotland: The Example of Mure of Caldwell,' *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 27.3 (2003) 53-69; Andrew Steptoe, 'John Moore: Eighteenth Century Physician, Bearleader and Social Observer,' *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 98.2 (2005) 70-74;

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historiography of the Grand Tour, where Dr Moore's role was not so different from that of many tutors employed to oversee the travels of rich young noblemen.⁸⁷ There has, however, been no thorough analysis of his views on education, or his role supervising his own son during his years abroad.

Nomenclature

Since Dr John Moore (1729-1802) and his son, Lieutenant General Sir John Moore (1761-1809), shared the same first name, Dr Moore's medical title is used throughout the thesis to distinguish the two. During his youth, Sir John Moore was known as both John and Jack. In the thesis he will be referred to as John. Similarly Mrs Jean Moore will be differentiated from her daughter Jean, or Jane as she was known in the family, by the use of her marital title. James Carrick Moore, who also became a physician, is distinguished from his father by the use of his middle name. None of the substantial body of written work of Dr John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury (1730-1805), appears in this thesis, although the coincidence of names should be noted, as some contemporary letter writers, like Lady Hester Stanhope refer to both Sir John Moore and to the Archbishop.

Einar Perman, 'John Moore M. D. Physician, Travel Writer and Social Commentator,' *Hektoen International Journal* 1.3 (2009); Einar Perman, 'Dr Moore in Italy,' *Hektoen International Journal* 1.3 (2009).

⁸⁷ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, (Stroud: Sutton, 1992).

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Chapter Outlines and Sources

Chapter One argues there is a need for research on secondary education in the later eighteenth-century period 1760-1775. It reviews the relevant literature on the history of education in Scotland at this time. An introduction to some of the Moore family sources is provided in this section and other source material will be detailed and discussed in the relevant chapters.

Chapter Two reviews contemporary Enlightenment thinking on education, examining the calls for reform and linking this to what can be established about discussion of key Enlightenment ideas in Glasgow.

Chapter Three deals with secondary education in Glasgow. It concentrates mainly, though not exclusively, on the period 1760 to 1776, examining the educational choices that were available to a family at this period. It considers the extent, the variety and the quality of provision for boys and girls, the measures for monitoring and improving standards, and what influence was exerted by interested groups, the church, civil authorities and parents. The primary sources are contemporary newspapers, town council minutes and church records in the Glasgow City Archives. The main value of the newspapers is in identifying what educational opportunities were being offered in 1760s Glasgow, particularly in subjects supplementary to the traditional curriculum at Glasgow Grammar school. The advertisements of private sector educationists also afford some insight into what was on offer to a wider range of society than that catered for by the grammar school, including females. Since established successful teachers may not have needed to advertise for pupils, contemporary newspaper advertisements cannot be assumed to provide a comprehensive overview of provision, but they can give information about the minimum provision available to parents intending to educate their offspring in Glasgow.

Chapter Four considers the question of whether, in the 1760s and 1770s, it was easier to embrace Enlightenment ideas on education at a family rather than an institutional level and examines the extent to which the Moore family did so. It discusses those decisions of Dr John Moore and Mrs Jean Moore which, it might be argued, followed convention and those which broke with the expected choices of a family of this type. The main source for this chapter is correspondence between Dr and Mrs Moore between 1772 and 1776, supplemented by material from the journal of Graham Moore.

Chapter Five examines the educational provision for John in the years 1772 to 1776, from the time he left the parental home in Glasgow in February 1772 until his return in September 1776, when in effect his formal education was complete and he had started his military career. It identifies the priorities displayed in his education. The contemporary concern with the appropriate age for foreign travel is put in context of John's experience. Some comparison is made of the schooling

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arranged for him in Geneva and in other venues with what had been available in Glasgow. It examines his education thematically under the broad curriculum areas and discusses the extent to which John Moore was given access to education in each of these areas, including informal learning acquired as a result of his travel, rather than through formal instruction. Finally it considers whether there is any evidence that his experiences enhanced his awareness of the social and political structures in Europe, provided him with vocational training and skills, enlarged his appreciation of the arts and played a part in developing his moral views.

The two major sources for Moore's education after 1771 are the surviving family letters from this period and the two published works of his father Dr John Moore dealing with the period 1772 to 1776.⁸⁸ The status of these two types of source must be distinguished. Although the published works describe many of the same events, they are designed for a general readership and this affects style and content. Within the text, therefore, it is made clear where evidence is being drawn from family letters and where it is from Dr Moore's travel writing.

In Chapter Six the surviving letters of John Moore from the period 1772-1776 are examined for evidence of educational attainment and progress. It considers the comments he makes on his education and that of his siblings, seeking to identify the extent to which he was aware of his own and their learning and whether he had formulated opinions on its relevance. John Moore's most important letter dealing with the subject of education is discussed. This dates from October 1776 when he wrote from Glasgow to his father who was still in Paris.⁸⁹ The viewpoint of the young on their education and education generally is rarely examined, but in the case of John Moore we have one remarkable example of a substantial piece of work, where, at the age of fifteen, he analysed the results of the education of himself and his siblings, recording his views of its successes and failures, and suggesting to his father suitable strategies for their continuing education and careers. This document is examined for the first time in this thesis.

There are many gatekeepers that prevent access to the views of children and young people in the early modern period: the most likely means of self-expression was oral and therefore immediately transitory unless transcribed for posterity, for example by being recounted in the family letters. Even when the reflections and opinions of young people were expressed in writing, the manuscripts were unlikely to have been considered important enough to have been preserved systematically. Therefore the body of available primary sources is limited. Finally, the circumstances, in which those observations which survive have been made, introduce potentially distorting factors. For

⁸⁸ Moore, *Manners*; Moore, *Travels*.

⁸⁹ CUL Add 9808/1/46, John Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 3 October 1776.

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example, adult influence can prescribe subject matter, constrain freedom of expression, or alter the finished product by intervention, usually to enhance it beyond the young person's independent capability.

In the letters of John Moore and his siblings some insight can be gained into the attitudes of young people born in Glasgow in the 1760s. It is the contention of this thesis that the Moore family letters make a valuable contribution to our understanding of an area that has not hitherto been the subject of academic scrutiny.

Chapter Two: Ideas on Education

In 1765, in his second year in the position of Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow, Thomas Reid referred his students to those whom he considered to have ‘almost exhausted’ the subject of ‘a System of Rules for Education’ listing Xenophon, Plato, Quintilian, Milton, Cowley, Locke, Berkeley, Turnbull, Fordyce, Rousseau, and Sheridan.¹ The reference is particularly significant to the issue of what interest there was in educational theory and practice in Glasgow at this period and what issues were likely to be under debate. Reid considered the topic of how best to educate children important enough to be included in the university curriculum and to be of enough general interest to the Glasgow public to be dealt with in his private classes.² In the list of educational theorists that he assumed his students had either heard of, studied, or could access for themselves, he included three ancient and eight modern writers, of whom two, George Turnbull (1698-1748), Reid’s mentor at Marischal College in Aberdeen and David Fordyce (1711-1751) were contemporary Scottish thinkers.³ James Fordyce (1720-1796), brother of David, also wrote on education, most notably the highly successful *Sermons to Young Women*, first published in 1760. However the reference to a ‘system’ makes it clear that Reid was referring to David Fordyce, who in his *Dialogues Concerning Education*, published between 1745 and 1748, used the Platonic model of a series of dialogues between characters on how best to educate youths, rather than James whose sermons directly addressed young women, advising them on a range of topics that included education.⁴ Thus Reid recommended not only the latest Scottish thinking but also the most recent European work. Although he was speaking only three years after Rousseau published *Émile, ou de l’Éducation*, Reid alerted his students to the importance of Rousseau’s work and expected his students to have read or to be able to source it.⁵ His inclusion of Thomas Sheridan

¹ J. C. Stewart-Robertson, ‘The Well-Principled Savage, or the Child of the Scottish Enlightenment’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 42, (1981), pp.503-525.

² Stewart-Robertson, ‘The Well-Principled Savage’, p.524, footnote 110. The manuscripts of Reid’s lectures give dates on which the lectures occurred and whether they were delivered to his public or private class. Stewart-Robertson also points out that Reid follows many others in attributing the *Adventures of Gaudentio di Lucca* to Berkeley and not to Simon Berington.

³ Paul Wood, ‘Turnbull, George (1698–1748)’, ODNB.

⁴ Alan Ruston, ‘Fordyce, David (bap. 1711, d. 1751)’, ODNB; Alan Ruston, ‘Fordyce, James (1720–1796)’, ODNB; James Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*, (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1809).

⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile, ou de l’Éducation*, (Amsterdam, Néaulme, 1762); English translations appeared quickly, the first in 1762. (London: Griffiths, Becket and de Hondt, 1762); Jo-Ann E. McEachern, ‘The Diffusion of Emile in the Eighteenth Century’, p.117.

(1719?-1788) gave representation to an extremely vocal contemporary educational reformer, whose *British Education or the Sources of the Disorders of Gt. Britain*, published in 1756, attacked the classical curriculum and argued that the study of English, and particularly spoken English should be the main focus of the curriculum.⁶

Educational Issues in Europe

The latter half of the eighteenth century was a time of many challenges to contemporary educational theory and practice throughout Europe and educational reform was a key issue. In France, for example, during the eighteenth century more than a hundred and eighty major books and proposals dealing with education were published and about a third of these appeared in the 1760s.⁷ This activity was mirrored in other European countries, including Scotland. This chapter will consider the main questions which impinged particularly on secondary education and place Scottish educational thinking in its European context.

Reid's list of educational theorists is a useful indication of the cultural heritage, which informed the educational theorists of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The three representatives from classical times, Plato, Xenophon and Quintilian varied in their approach, but represent issues that have persisted over the centuries, the place of education in serving the needs of the state, the influence of teachers on the minds of their pupils, especially in the formation of religious views and the role of parents in selecting a suitable education for their children. Plato (c428-c348 BC) in *The Republic* constructed a system of education for an ideal state, concentrating mainly on the best way to produce leaders, but also indicating how other citizens should be educated. Xenophon's approach was narrower; he was particularly concerned to defend Socrates against the charges of corrupting the young by his irreligious attitude.⁸ Like Plato, Xenophon (c450-c350) had been taught by Socrates and in *Memorabilia* he purported to be recording the dialogues of Socrates and his teaching methods. Quintilian (c35 AD -c100 AD) concentrated on principles to be followed by

<http://rousseauassociation.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/publications/PDF/Emile/Em-McEachern.pdf>
[accessed 17 Feb 2014].

⁶ Peter Thomson, 'Sheridan, Thomas (1719?-1788)', ODNB; Thomas Sheridan, *British Education*, (Dublin: George Falkner, 1760) first published 1756.

⁷ James A. Leith, 'Unity and Diversity in Education', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1977), CLXVII: *Facets of Education in the Eighteenth Century*, p.14.

⁸Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, <http://www.utm.edu/research/iep/x/xenophon.htm> [accessed 3 Jan 2010]; <http://www.iep.utm.edu/xenophon/> [accessed 2 Feb 2014];

parents in the education of individual children; in *Institutio Oratoria* he examined whether a boy should be taught at home or school, what should be taught and how, arguing that learning should be made pleasurable to be effective.⁹ Both Plato and Xenophon were available in Glasgow in translation, Plato's *Republic* having been published by Robert and Andrew Foulis in 1763, and Xenophon published by Robert Urie in 1757.¹⁰

Three British educational theorists of the seventeenth century are mentioned by Reid, John Milton (1608-1674), Abraham Cowley (1618-1667) and John Locke (1632-1704).¹¹ Like the classical authors listed, these also address the place of education in serving the needs of the state, but the issues of teaching methods and curriculum are particularly important to Milton and Cowley. They are now better known as poets rather than educationists and their work on education is narrower in range, but both described educational schemes that Reid might well have thought offered scope for discussion. Abraham Cowley's 1661 pamphlet *A Proposition for the Advancement of Learning* outlined a plan of education that advocated the establishment of a college for scientific education, which would have an affiliated boys' school with a scientific curriculum.¹² Milton's 1664 treatise, *Of Education*, is a slim volume outlining his ideas for the ideal education for youths, to ensure that they would become useful citizens, fit to govern in a republican society. Milton envisaged a boarding academy which would admit a wide age range of boys and young men and it is clear from his assumptions about the content and pace of learning that it would have been suitable only for very narrow band of highly able youths. But he also raised curriculum and methodological issues, particularly the teaching of languages, including English, and the inclusion of experiential learning outside the classroom, which will be dealt with in Chapter Six.¹³

Locke's place in the history of educational theory is universally relevant and his ideas have remained highly influential to the present day. His importance was acknowledged in the eighteenth

⁹Quintilian, *Institutio Oratorio*,

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Quintilian/Institutio_Oratoria/1A*.html#1
Book One, n.p.[accessed 2 Feb 2014].

¹⁰ Plato, *The Republic of Plato in Ten Books: Translated from the Greek by H. Spens*
D.D.(Glasgow: Robert and Andrew Foulis, 1763; Xenophon, *The Memorable things of Socrates*,
(Glasgow: Robert Urie, 1757).

¹¹ Gordon Campbell, 'Milton, John (1608–1674)', ODNB; Alexander Lindsay, 'Cowley, Abraham
(1618–1667)', ODNB; J. R. Milton, 'Locke, John (1632–1704)', ODNB.

¹² A. Cowley, *A Proposition for the Advancement of Learning*, (London: Herringman, 1661).

¹³ John Milton, *Of Education*, (London: n. pub., 1664).

century, with frequent references to his work in any discussion of education. In *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding* (1690) and *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) Locke argued that the human mind at birth has no innate ideas and is to be formed by subsequent sensory experiences.¹⁴ If this theory is accepted then it should be possible to design a system which would produce an individual with the education and personal attributes considered desirable by any society. Enlightenment thinkers were attracted by this idea, as it meant that it should be possible to create a better society through education. Thus in *De l'Esprit*, published in 1758, the French philosopher Helvétius (1715-1771) argued that education could achieve all things, 'éducation peut tout,' and the cross-fertilization of Enlightenment ideas is illustrated by the appearance of an English translation of *De l'Esprit* in 1759 only one year after its original publication.¹⁵

The work of these authors therefore set the scene for a consideration of eighteenth-century concerns: whether education could achieve all things and if so what its priorities should be; whether the aim should be as near universal provision as was practicable or concentration on producing an elite governing class; what the role of the state and church should be in organising and regulating education; whether the curriculum in place in the existing schools was suitable for the social conditions and could deliver the skills required; and what place moral and religious education should have in formal education.

The eighteenth-century authors Reid mentioned addressed these questions differently. George Berkeley's place in Reid's list is the most problematic and idiosyncratic, in that it is based on Reid's belief that Berkeley (1685-1753) was the author of the utopian work *The Memoirs of Sig Gaudentio di Lucca*, published anonymously in 1737, and now generally attributed to Simon Berington (1680-1775).¹⁶ This work falls into the fictional travel genre, describing the imaginary kingdom of Mezzorania, where the natural environment has resulted in an ideal patriarchal society.¹⁷ This includes accounts of the education of both sexes. Only selected details are given, most likely those with audience appeal, since this is a work of entertainment, although it has serious points to make about the structure of society and its educational philosophy, aims and

¹⁴ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding*, (London: Thomas Bassett, 1690)
John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London: n. pub., 1693; John Milton, *Of Education*, (London: n. pub., 1664).

¹⁵ Helvétius, Claude Adrien, *De l'ésprit or, Essays on the Mind, and Its Several Faculties*, (London: n. pub., 1759), p. 286.

¹⁶ Simon Berington, *The Memoirs of Sig Gaudentio di Lucca*, (Philadelphia; W. Cooper, 1799).

¹⁷ Simon Berington, *Memoirs*, p.214.

methods. Berington makes no mention of schools or syllabuses, but stresses the importance of educating individuals who can serve the state. Allowing them to enjoy physical pursuits is a way of motivating them.

They look on [their youths] as the seeds of their commonwealth, which if corrupted in the blood will never bring forth fruit [...] so their particular care is laid out in their education, in which I believe they excel all the nations [...] they indulge their youth very much in proper recreations, endeavouring to keep them as gay as they can [...] riding, vaulting, running, [...] hunting wild beasts and fishing for crocodiles and alligators.¹⁸

The figurative use of ‘seeds’ and ‘fruit’ shows that the educational process is seen as a nurturing one, and in Berington’s imaginary society it is important that future leaders are provided with conditions which encourage intellectual, physical and moral growth. Although it makes no significant contribution to educational theory, the work is interesting in the context of how education was presented in popular contemporary literature, which could have been read by educated parents. The book was available in Glasgow, having been printed and published in 1765, the year of Reid’s lectures, by the bookseller James Knox.¹⁹

Reid’s next choice, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), is widely acknowledged as the most influential educational theorist of the eighteenth century and has conventionally been seen as a force for child-centred learning. In 1761, the Genevan born philosopher published his first major work, the best selling *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse*, followed in 1762 by *Émile ou de l’Éducation*. However it is his influence on eighteenth-century Scottish thinking that is most relevant to this thesis. In Glasgow, Reid’s reaction to Rousseau’s work was swift. In 1764, in *Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*, Reid rejected Rousseau’s philosophy of education. He argued that Rousseau seemed ‘to prefer the savage life to that of society’ but that ‘the education of nature could never of itself produce a Rousseau.’²⁰ The ‘common sense’ approach of Reid advocated a judicious blend of nature and nurture. ‘It is the intention of nature that human education should be joined to her institution to form the man.’²¹ He acknowledged the harm that can be done by a system which does not give due attention to natural instincts and abilities, ‘When the education which we receive from men does not give scope to the education of nature it is wrong

¹⁸ Simon Berington, *Memoirs*, p.210.

¹⁹ ESTC, Simon Berington, *The Memoirs of Sig Gaudentio di Lucca*, (Glasgow: James Knox, 1765), printed by James Knox and sold at his shop.

²⁰ Thomas Reid, *Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1823, first pub 1764), p. 243.

²¹ Reid, *Inquiry*, p.243.

directed; it tends to hurt our faculties of perception, and to enervate both the body and mind.²²

However he was equally adamant that the intervention of 'Reason and Reflection' was vital.

The education of nature without any more human care than is necessary to preserve human life makes a perfect savage. Human education, joined to that of nature, may make a good citizen, a skilful artisan, or a well bred man. But Reason and Reflection must superadd their tutory in order to produce a Rousseau a Bacon or a Newton.²³

Thus Reid distinguished between varying qualities of education and identified the limitations of restricted methodology. He believed that human nature is receptive to education, without the intervention of formal teaching.

From the time that children begin to use their hands nature directs them to look at it while they handle it [...] they are engaged in the most serious and important study, and if they had all the reason of a philosopher they could not be more properly employed. [...] And she hath fitted her for human education by the natural principles of imitation and credulity, which discover themselves almost in infancy as well as others which are of later growth.²⁴

This positive view of the relationship between natural instincts and good education is in line with the thinking of George Turnbull whose *Observations upon Liberal Education in all its Branches*, was designed to show how,

young minds, by suitable methods of education, may indeed be very early formed to the sincere love of virtue; and may make great improvements in the more useful arts and sciences, as well as in languages, with much less difficulty, and in much less time, than is commonly imagined: And to delineate and recommend these methods of instructing and forming youth.²⁵

Turnbull commended the attitude of the Greeks to education, including the broader curriculum and the acceptance of responsibility by parents and rulers.

The principal duty of fathers, mothers, magistrates and princes, is to watch over the education of children, as an affair of the last moment to private and public happiness. In fact, whilst the mind is yet tender and flexible, it may be moulded and formed just as we please, whereas age and long habit render faults almost incorrigible.²⁶

He did, however, have serious criticisms of a sterile curriculum.

the design of masters is not merely to teach their scholars Greek and Latin, or to instruct them in making themes, verses, amplifications; to load their memories with historical dates [...] These arts are, I deny not, useful and estimable, but as means, and not as the end [...] when they serve as preparatives and instruments for better things, the ignorance of which renders everything else useless. Youth would be to be pitied indeed, if they were condemned to pass eight or ten of

²² Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 234.

²³ Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 243.

²⁴ Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 241.

²⁵ George Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education, in All its Branches*, ed. Terrence O. Moore, Jr. (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003); <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/892/66487> [accessed 6 November 2014], p. 25

²⁶ Turnbull, *Observations*, p. 186.

their best years in learning, at great expense, and with incredible labour, one or two languages, and other such things, for which they may perhaps have very rarely any occasion.²⁷

He did not advocate, however, a merely ‘useful’ education, but one which taught independent thought, which would as a secondary corollary fit its recipients for careers.

The great use of masters[...] is to accustom their disciples to thinking and serious application, and to make them love and esteem the sciences, to excite a hunger and thirst in them after solid knowledge, which will spur them to seek after it, when they leave the schools and colleges; to direct them into the true road to it, and to imprint upon their minds a deep sense of its value and price, and by this means, to qualify them for the different employments to which divine providence may call them.²⁸

Character formation was a further duty of educators, to ensure their charges adopted virtuous principles and shunned vices:

to form their hearts and inclinations; to inspire into them good principles [...] of honour and probity, and to train up in their minds good habits; to correct and amend in them by soft and sweet methods, any bad dispositions [...] such as pride, insolence, self-conceit, selfishness, and a spirit of railery, that delights in irritating and insulting, or a habit of laziness and indolence.²⁹

Turnbull’s conclusion was a plea for more study of the subject. ‘Education, properly speaking, is the art of fashioning the heart and mind. It is of all the sciences the most difficult and the rarest: It is the most important, but it is not studied enough.’ It is clear, however, that at this time there was considerable interest in the theory and practice of education throughout Europe, including Scotland.

Educational Provision

In an intellectual climate where the importance of education was accepted, the issue of potential expansion and reform of provision became a topic of concern. One major issue in educational theory and practice in the eighteenth century was the core question of who should be educated, the choice between an exclusive system and one which strove towards universality.

Chapter One has shown how in Scotland the aspiration was a degree of universality that opened education to all; irrespective of class or sex. Literacy was a means to enable each individual to read the Bible and to have access to the catechism in order to learn central religious tenets.

Historians have tended to stress the role of the Protestant movement in promoting literacy in early modern Europe, arguing that the main aim was to give individuals access to the Bible. This has been countered by some historians, like Gawthrop and Strauss, who acknowledge the part played

²⁷ Turnbull, *Observations*, p. 186

²⁸ Turnbull, *Observations*, p. 186

²⁹ Turnbull, *Observations*, p. 186

by the Protestant Lutheran church in fostering education, but argue that the attitude towards self-directed bible reading by lay people was more complex.³⁰ They chart the growing advocacy of using the catechism to teach how to read, so that 'clear and certain' orthodox views could be learned. It was thought that enabling independent Bible reading could result in challenges to church orthodoxy.³¹ But even when it is accepted that the core aim of teaching literacy and establishing school systems was to promote a particular belief or orthodoxy, once reading literacy had been acquired, individuals were empowered to continue their education in directions of their choice.

Even when the principle of universal access to education was accepted, the extent of the schooling necessary could be controversial. From a religious standpoint, the achievement of basic literacy, with an emphasis on reading skill, could be regarded as a suitable exit point. Individuals could continue their religious development independently; therefore secondary and tertiary education need not be open to all. Those who might be excluded therefore after this stage could include males and females from poorer families who needed to work to contribute to the family income. Females from more affluent families might continue with a privately arranged education, but not in the grammar schools or at university, which were essentially designed to produce a professional class of males.

Church and State: Rivals or Partners?

Although a distinction must be made between formal schooling and other means of education, including self-education, and home tuition, one main issue among educational theorists in Europe in the period under study was state intervention. The role of the Church, whether Catholic or Protestant, Lutheran or Calvinist, was pivotal, particularly in the part traditionally played by the church in the provision of schools and teachers. There were contrasting answers in the eighteenth century to the questions of who should deliver education, what place the church and the State should have in this process and what the parental role should be. Church and State could be seen as partners or rivals in the delivery of education and European states varied in their response to this question.

³⁰ Richard Gawthrop and Gerald Strauss, 'Protestantism and Literacy, in Early Modern Germany,' *Past and Present*, 104, (1984), pp.35, 37; James van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth Century: Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.9.

³¹ Richard Gawthrop and Gerald Strauss, 'Protestantism and Literacy, in Early Modern Germany,' *Past and Present*, 104, (1984), p.38.

In Scotland, there was a mixed system: parish schools were run by the church, with kirk sessions appointing the schoolmasters; burgh schools were run and overseen by the town councils; private enterprise and charity schools were also overseen by the town councils, who occasionally gave financial support to promote the teaching of specific skills. Chapter One has described how there was no government intervention into the running of the schools, beyond the legislation after the Jacobite risings to ensure that only schoolmasters loyal to the Hanoverian monarchy would be appointed.

This lack of state involvement contrasted with recommendation of state control in the thinking of some French, Prussian and Austrian educational reformers, although this does not mean that the state was prepared to accede to these plans. Calls for state control were often accompanied by proposals to restrict or excise the role of the church in education. This was a particular feature of proposals in Catholic France and Austria, where there was opposition to the teaching role of the clergy, particularly the Jesuits. In 1763 Louis-René Caradeuc de la Chalotais (1701-1785) published his *Essai d'Education National*, which proposed a secular structure, rather than the one then current, which relied heavily on the Jesuit schools and teachers.³² In 1764 Louis XV dissolved the Jesuits, requiring them to be replaced in schools by secular teachers or regular clergymen from other religious orders.³³ Historian Charles R. Bailey argues that the motive of the reform was that secondary education should become 'more useful, more secular and more patriotic' but he points out that in practice there were insufficient suitably qualified secular teachers and that local boards, established by royal edict in February 1763 to implement the changes, varied in their response.³⁴

In Catholic Austria, a similar attempt was made to establish limit the influence of the Jesuits and bring education under state control. In 1769, the Council of State of the Hapsburg monarchy appointed Count Johan Anton Pergen to draft a plan for the reform of the Vienna Oriental Academy. When this was submitted in 1770, Pergen had gone far beyond the original remit and outlined a complete national educational strategy. Pergen argued that 'the state must at all times

³² Louis-René de Caradeuc de La Chalotais, *Essai d'Education National*, (Geneva: Philibert, 1763) cited in James van Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth Century: Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.205.

³³ Charles R. Bailey, 'Attempts to Institute a System of Secular Secondary Education in France, 1762-1789', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 167(1977), pp.108.

³⁴ Bailey, 'Secular Secondary Education in France, pp.105-204.

know and determine how, where, why and by whom instruction is given.³⁵ In Pergen's plan religious orders, especially the Jesuits would be forbidden from teaching, as he considered their goals incompatible with those of the state, since their desire to recruit the most able into their order deprived the state of their talents.³⁶ He advocated compulsory primary schooling. This was to be followed either by a *Gymnasium*, a school, similar to Scottish grammar schools, where a curriculum based on the study of Latin was intended to lead to university, or by a *Realschule*, a school whose curriculum would include mathematics and science and other subjects providing vocational training.³⁷ Although his plan did not become law, it is a useful indicator of one direction of thought, where the function of the state was both to provide and control education.

Lutheran Protestant Prussia and many other German states also introduced national legislation to formalise the state's role in education in the sixteenth century and Gawthrop and Strauss point out that this was also true of Catholic German states, like Bavaria.³⁸ It had never been part of Luther's sixteenth-century plan that the boys' and girls' schools, which he wanted to be established in every town or village, should be run by the church; the Lutheran church expected the state to fund and control them and advocated that schooling should be compulsory.³⁹ This was the expected structure in those European states which adopted the Lutheran form of Protestantism, whether or not the aspired provision of schools was achieved. In 1764 a further step towards compulsory schooling was taken in Prussia when a *General-Landschul Reglement* law, ordered the introduction of a uniform system of education for all children from five to thirteen, with fees for poor children subsidised by parish taxation and parental fines for absenteeism. Within Lutheranism there was also a strong voluntary tradition of charitable schooling, most notably in the model at Halle, where the *Pädagogium*, established in 1696 by Pietist-Lutheran clergyman August Francke (1663-1727)

³⁵ HHStA, Alte Kabinettsakten, Studiensachen 1736-1773, Fasz 1, fol 1087, cited in James van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth Century: Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.205.

³⁶ Melton, *Compulsory Schooling*, p.205.

³⁷ HHStA, Alte Kabinettsakten, Studiensachen 1736-1773, Fasz 1, fol 1087, cited in Melton, *Compulsory Schooling*, p.205.

³⁸ Richard Gawthrop and Gerald Strauss, 'Protestantism and Literacy, in Early Modern Germany,' *Past and Present*, 104, (1984), pp.33-34.

³⁹ M. Luther, *An die Ratsherren aller Städte deutscher Lands, dass sie christlicher Schulen aufhalten und halten sollen* (1524) in *D. Martin Luther's Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 70 vols (Weimar: 1883-1963) xv, pp.27-53; Richard Gawthrop and Gerald Strauss, 'Protestantism and Literacy, in Early Modern Germany,' *Past and Present*, 104 (1984), p.34.

provided free schooling for orphans, alongside private education for those able to pay and employment opportunities for students to help finance their studies.⁴⁰

Much depended, therefore, on the degree of trust that existed between state and church. In France and Austria the Jesuits were believed to damage society generally, by persuading the most talented to join their order. In many German states, religious education provided for example by the Pietists was valued for its social effects in producing better citizens. In Scotland the important relationship was not between church and state, but between local councils and the church, at national level in the annual General Assembly, and at local level in church synods, presbyteries and kirk sessions. How this worked in practice will be dealt with in the next chapter, but in general there was a collaborative relationship towards the provision of education.

Social Mobility

Despite the move towards an inclusive primary and secondary education in Prussia and Austria throughout the eighteenth century, the aim in both Prussia and Austria was to keep university education exclusive to the offspring of propertied parents.⁴¹ In Scotland, although the social origin of students at Glasgow University was predominantly mercantile and professional, there was no barrier in legislation to entry into further education.⁴²

A by-product of the Scottish system, which had as its core motivation religious salvation, was a structure that engendered a degree of social mobility, making it possible for the most able males to progress beyond literacy to a level that allowed them entry into academic, clerical, legal, medical and other professions. This places Scotland in line with the situation in other Protestant European countries, including Scandinavia, the Netherlands and some Protestant German states, where there was a similar link between education and social mobility.⁴³ Gawthrop and Strauss also point out that there were examples in Catholic states of support for education as a means of social mobility,

⁴⁰ Anthony J. La Vopa, 'Vocations, Careers, and Talent: Lutheran Pietism and Sponsored Mobility in Eighteenth-Century Germany', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, (1986) 28.2, pp.257, 261.

⁴¹ Melton, *Compulsory Schooling*, p.118.

⁴² W. M. Mathew, 'The Origins and Occupations of Glasgow Students 1740-1839, *Past and Present*, 33 (1966).

⁴³ La Vopa, 'Vocations, Careers, and Talent,' pp.257, 259.

for example the refusal of the Bavarian parliament, the *Landtag*, to abolish vernacular schools on the grounds that ‘not all peasant children want to be peasants.’⁴⁴

Curricular Reform

Calls for curricular reform of secondary schooling challenged the supremacy of a classical curriculum and argued for a broader syllabus, which would include modern languages, the sciences, the arts and vocational subjects. The classical curriculum, with exclusivity at its core, was very robust, its main strength perhaps stemming from the versatility of arguments in its favour. In face of many attacks on its rationale, it was constantly able to reinvent itself, buttressed by powerful vested interests, including the schoolmasters who had been trained in the subject.

When schools were run by the Church in medieval times and there was a need to produce clergy who could read the scriptures in Latin, a classical education was a necessary vocational skill. When the translation of the scriptures into vernacular languages weakened this rationale, emphasis was put on the access it gave to classical philosophy and literature and it remained a major feature of the education of the clergy. For lay people, the lack of practical application gave the classics status as a mark of gentility, providing the elite classes with shibboleths that were unavailable to those excluded from this material. Utilitarian arguments were also advanced: etymological knowledge would result in understanding the derivation and meaning of words; learning Latin and Greek grammar was a mental exercise which could be transferred to other disciplines.

Attacks on the classical curriculum did not begin in the eighteenth century, although they did increase in volume. Part of the attack was that the experience of learning Latin was unpleasant and therefore counter-productive. In the seventeenth century Milton complained about poor standards.

Hence appear the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful; first we do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek, as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year.⁴⁵

Locke also criticised the classical curriculum and called for instruction in English teaching and many educationists pointed out that in classical times pupils were instructed in the use of their native language.⁴⁶ George Turnbull cited the classical Greek system of studying their own language first and asked passionately,

⁴⁴ Richard Gawthrop and Gerald Strauss, ‘Protestantism and Literacy, in Early Modern Germany,’ *Past and Present*, 104, (1984), fn. 35, p.38.

⁴⁵ John Milton, *Of Education*, n.p.

⁴⁶ John Locke, *Some Thoughts*, p.143.

But where is *English* taught at present? Who thinks it of use to study correctly that language which he is to use every day in his life, be his station ever so high, or ever so insignificant. It is in this the nobility and gentry defend their country, and serve their prince in parliament; in this the lawyers plead, the divines instruct, and all ranks of people write their letters and transact all their affairs; and yet who thinks it worth his learning to write this even accurately, not to say politely?⁴⁷

More radical calls for reform suggested the establishment of a new kind of school with a more ambitious curriculum than the grammar schools provided. This was an attractive alternative to introducing a broader curriculum in grammar schools, as it left the grammar schools with the role of preparing scholars for university studies, a function which it could be argued they were better fitted to fulfil than a school offering a general secondary education for those whose future careers did not require knowledge of the classics.

Some of the proposed school reforms were closely allied with state intervention, but the influence of religious and secular movements further complicate matters. It could be argued that secular and religious thinkers arrived at the same conclusion by a different route. A rational-scientific approach highlighted the flaws in the existing educational structure and indicated the need for a different kind of education. The Pietist aim was to strengthen religious belief and to provide practical and technical instruction that would fit its recipients for careers. Becker argues that the religious motivations skewed curricular decisions and that although Pietists supported science education in secondary schools, it was constrained and distorted by the religious priorities which were used to justify it.⁴⁸ The extension of the curriculum, with organised nature walks, wood cutting, engraving on copper and so on, was motivated, he contends, at least partly by a belief that adult supervision was necessary to prevent the moral corruption of the child and a desire to avoid the evil consequences of giving pupils free time. However, whether the motivation was religious or secular, the end effect was the same, the promotion of an innovative curriculum.

If these ideas were to be translated into reality then the financial support of the state would be advantageous. This was the intention of the Pergen plan in Austria, where the new *Realschule* curriculum would have stressed vocational education, as it was in the interest of the state to encourage the reform in order to acquire a trained workforce. In Prussia one advantage of the 1764 legislation for universal schooling was financial, as schools were funded from taxation. Without this financial security schools would have to rely on attracting enough income from fees or charitable benefactors

⁴⁷ Turnbull, *Observations*, p. 26.

⁴⁸ George Becker, 'Pietism and Science: A Critique of Robert K. Merton's Hypothesis', *American Journal of Sociology*, 89, 5, 1065-1090.

The history of the *Realschule* movement illustrates the initial difficulties in establishing continuity. The first *Realschule*, the *Mathematische und Mechanische Realschule* was founded in 1708 but did not attract sufficient pupils to survive, closing in 1711, reopening in 1739 and closing again the following year. The Pietist Johann Julius Hecker is credited by Melton with the first functioning *Realschule*, which opened in 1747, although Becker argues that subjects such as biology, physics, astronomy and mechanical sciences were relegated to a subordinate position in the curriculum, since Latin instruction was allocated three and a half hours a day. It could however be argued that this indicates a pragmatic acceptance of the strength of the classical curriculum in the perception of what constituted a good education and therefore its inclusion was vital.

In Scotland, grammar schools were funded and controlled by town councils and in some areas calls for reform had resulted in official action to found alternative schools. In 1761, following public petition, the town council founded Perth Academy to deliver a curriculum including mathematics and science, while Perth Grammar School remained dedicated to the traditional curriculum. A local clergyman, John Bonar, a strong supporter of the need for a scientific education, was one of the instigators of the petition, arguing against ‘the Grammatical knowledge of Dead Languages and a skill in Metaphysical Subtiltys’ and in calling for the introduction of practical scientific subjects which would achieve ‘the Improvement of the Merchant, Mechanick and Farmer in their respective Arts.’⁴⁹ The academy movement also existed in England, most notably in the foundation of Warrington Academy.⁵⁰ Its history shares some features with the Pietist *Realschule*, as it was envisaged as satisfying a need of English Presbyterians for education in line with their religious principles. The principal promoter of the academy at Warrington was John Seddon, who had studied at Glasgow University under Frances Hutcheson. It was envisaged that Warrington Academy would offer a ‘liberal education of youth in general’ which in its later stages would ‘prepare students for commerce or law, for physics or the ministry.’ The syllabus therefore included Latin, Greek, ethics, philosophy, theology, mathematics, languages, commerce, history, modern languages, drawing, book-keeping, and also the sciences, chemistry, electricity, logic, magnetism, optics, and pneumatics, to be delivered by four tutors, while Seddon became the librarian. This ambitious scheme combined secondary and tertiary stages and obviated the necessity of moving on to university. It relied however on raising its own funds from fees and donations from sympathetic religious dissenters and therefore suffered from a lack of financial stability.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Richard B. Sher, ‘Bonar, John (1721–1761)’, ODNB.

⁵⁰ Bright, *Historical Sketch of Warrington Academy*, (Liverpool: T. Brackell, 1859)p.3.

⁵¹ Bright, *Warrington Academy*, p.28.

The examples of Perth and Warrington illustrate the strengths and the weaknesses of the academy movement in effecting change in secondary education. The Scottish system of having town councils bear the responsibility for secondary education ensured basic funding for the maintenance of a building and staff salaries, although this would be augmented by fees from parents. If however town council support could not be obtained for curricular change then attempts at such provision would be limited to the private sector, with the concomitant financial uncertainty and danger to continuity. Chapter Three considers the fate of attempts at curricular reform in Glasgow in the 1760s.

Parental Role and Responsibility

The parental role in education is often described in terms of a duty of care. In eighteenth-century Scotland there was no legal requirement for parents to provide their children with education, but considerable moral and social pressure to do so. In addition there was the incentive of the economic and social advantages that could be obtained through education. Therefore it can reasonably be assumed that, where family finances permitted, parents would take advantage of school provision, although home tuition would also be socially acceptable.

The school-parent relationship for private and burgh grammar schools was similar in that the schools accepted the parental right to choose whether or not to send children to school and adopted a tone of supplication that acknowledged this. A grammar school teacher, although employed and paid by the town council would advertise his classes in local newspapers to persuade parents to 'entrust' him 'with the care of their children' and offer references to assure them of 'his care and assiduity.'⁵² The owner of a private school used the same kind of language when addressing parents in advertisements, promising that 'whoever incline to favour him with their children, may depend on their being carefully attended.'⁵³

Parents therefore were free to decide whether to educate their children, when and for how long this education should take place, who should deliver it and what its content should be, although such freedom would be restricted by their economic circumstances and the number of choices available to them. If a grammar school education was chosen then the parents had no control over this area of their children's education and had to accept the curriculum that was on offer. If they felt this was deficient in any way then they would need to devise a means of supplementing the deficiency, perhaps by privately purchased tuition.

⁵² *GJ*, Thursday 27 September 1764.

⁵³ *GC*, Monday 4 February 1760.

Although it is easy to amass evidence of the importance attached to the parental role in the thinking of educational theorists, it is far harder to devise a means of gauging how parents perceived their role, how satisfied they were with the provision available and what changes they might have seen as desirable to provide their children with an education they deemed suitable. This thesis offers the case study of the Moore family as a new source from which some insight can be gathered into these issues.

Conclusion

Educational reform was a key issue in eighteenth-century Enlightenment Europe. The major thrust in many western European countries, notably Prussia and other protestant German states was the attempt to introduce national systems of education, under the control of the state, but in partnership with the church. There were also calls for state intervention in France and Austria, although these were motivated by a desire to eliminate the influence of the Jesuits. Scotland differed, in that state interference was not an issue and secular provision under the control of town councils existed side by side with church-run parish schools, without any animosity.

There was, undoubtedly, no shortage of paper plans and proposals for education in Enlightenment Europe and, in this area, Scottish thinkers played a part, but there has been a dearth of information on how and when these plans affected the life of the child and the position of the parent in the education of their offspring. Although many Glasgow thinkers made significant contributions to the debate on education, the educational milieu in Glasgow is under-researched, and this is an area that the next chapter will address.

Chapter Three: Education in Glasgow

To date, there has been no full scale study of secondary education in Glasgow in the eighteenth century, only passing references to the situation in Glasgow in general histories of Scottish education.¹ Part of this chapter, therefore, is descriptive, aiming to construct a fuller picture of secondary educational provision in Glasgow, with the main focus on the period 1760 to 1776 when the Moore family were educating their six children. The central questions addressed are the extent to which available education could be said to fulfil the needs of eighteenth-century Glasgow pupils, parents and society generally, whether there is any evidence of desire for educational reform, and if so to what extent this reflects Enlightenment ideas.

Sources and Methodology

The standard sources for secondary education in eighteenth-century Glasgow are successive accounts of the town's history, in which education is included as part of the general coverage.² The first eighteenth-century history of Glasgow was published in 1736 by John McUre and this source would have been available to John Gibson, whose 1777 *History of Glasgow* can be considered a near contemporary account of the period under study as it takes the story of education up to the situation current in 1777.³ McUre's *History of Glasgow* has almost nothing to say about education, and this is a feature of the general histories, where space is limited. McUre can, however, be aligned with those historians who propounded a eulogistic view of Scottish education. His affirmation of its excellence is made in the context of an account of Scots who had made a

¹ Strong, *Secondary Education in Scotland*; Knox, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Scottish Education*; Withrington, *Schooling, Literacy and Society*; Anderson, *Education*.

² Robert Renwick, *History of Glasgow*, 3 vols (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson and Co, 1921); Gordon Jackson, 'Glasgow in Transition', in *Glasgow*, T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson, eds, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); John Gibson, *History of Glasgow* (Glasgow: n.pub, printed for the author, 1777); John Gibson, *History of Glasgow*, (Glasgow: D. McVean and J. Wylie & Co, 1830). References to Gibson's *History* are taken from the 1830 edition; James Cleland Burns, ed, *The History of the High School of Glasgow* (Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1878). This reprints James Cleland, *History of the High School of Glasgow* and references hereafter will use the page references of this text as Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*; James Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow* (Glasgow, John Smith and Son, 1829); Harry A. Ashmall, *The High School of Glasgow: A History* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1976);

³ John McUre, *History of Glasgow*, (Glasgow: James Duncan: 1736); John Gibson, *History*.

reputation abroad: ‘It is well known that the Scots made a greater figure abroad than any other nation [...] entirely owing to the fineness of their education.’⁴

McUre confines his treatment of education to a description of the history of the university, especially in the medieval period, although he pays tribute to certain eighteenth-century professors of the university for their generous donations to the university library, a list which includes ‘John Simpson, Professor of Divinity, Francis Hutchison, Professor of Philosophy, and Robert Simpson, Professor of Mathematics.’⁵ He says little about schooling. When he is describing Glasgow streets and buildings he records the location of the Grammar School in Grammar School Wynd and a Latin inscription above the entrance.⁶ In a section on charitable foundations, he includes the information that the charitable Hutcheson’s Hospital provided free education for fifteen boys.⁷ It can reasonably be assumed that some of these boys were beyond primary education stage by the information that no fencing or dancing masters were to be allowed, but again McUre concentrates on describing the building and its location and not on school organisation.⁸ Although he gives the history of the expansion of parishes in Glasgow, he says nothing about the existence of parish schools at any time in the town’s history. John Gibson’s *History of Glasgow* has a fuller treatment of education in that he gives some information about schooling, concentrating on Glasgow Grammar School. However Andrew Brown’s *History of Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock and Port Glasgow*, published in 1795 says nothing about education and James Denholm’s 1797 *History of the City of Glasgow*, has only one educational detail about Grammar School fees, although he himself was a teacher, described on the front page as ‘of the Academy, Argyle Street.’⁹

Early nineteenth-century burgh histories are more useful. They are often sources of primary information about later eighteenth-century schooling, as the authors had been educated in Glasgow

⁴ McUre, *Glasgow*, p.271.

⁵ McUre, *Glasgow*, p.178. These three, apart from their academic importance, are of particular significance to this case study, the first as the grandfather of John Moore, the second as Dr Moore’s mentor while a student at the university, and the latter as another Moore kinsman, evidencing the position of the Moore family in the educational milieu of the eighteenth century.

⁶ McUre, *Glasgow*, p.130.

⁷ McUre, *Glasgow*, p.63.

⁸ McUre, *Glasgow*, p.70

⁹ Andrew Brown, *History of Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock and Port Glasgow*, (Glasgow: William Paton, 1795); James Denholm, *History of the City of Glasgow*, (Glasgow: A Magoun: 1804)^{3rd} edition, p.208. The introduction states Denholm, had written the book in 1797, p. v.

during this period. Between 1848 and 1851 *The Glasgow Herald* published an important series of articles recording memories of Glasgow life which later appeared in James Pagan's 1851 book *Glasgow, Past and Present: Illustrated in Dean of Guild Reports and in the Reminiscences and Communications of Senex, Aliquis, J.B. & others*.¹⁰ Some information can also be gleaned from *Old Glasgow and Its Environs*, by Robert Reid, one of the contributors to the Glasgow Herald series under the pseudonym Senex.¹¹ The main educational focus in these works is the history of Glasgow Grammar School, gathered in part from reminiscences of former pupils, although there is some information about charitable schools, and private schools. The nineteenth-century statistician and historian James Cleland deals with secondary education in Glasgow, both in *Annals of Glasgow* and in the fuller historical account of the Grammar School, *History of the High School of Glasgow*, first published in 1825, a major source for Harry Ashmall's 1976 *The High School of Glasgow: a History*.¹² T.M Devine and Gordon Jackson's, *Glasgow, Volume 1: Beginnings to 1830*, published in 1995, has a brief paragraph on grammar school and university education and some information on Town Council funding.¹³ The most recent scholarly history of Glasgow by Irene Maver, *Glasgow*, published in 2000, when it deals with education, concentrates on the nineteenth century, a period of more extensive reforms, aimed at expanding provision and broadening the curriculum.¹⁴ In *Scottish Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Life and Ethnology: Education*, (2000), Hamish M Paterson's chapter on secondary education also concentrates on the nineteenth century.¹⁵

Although this chapter draws on these sources, it also aims to extend knowledge of the education available in Glasgow by studying primary sources, some of which have not been used before in this context. In addition to standard sources like the contemporary minutes of the town council, the presbytery and kirk session records, the two Glasgow newspapers of the time, *The Glasgow*

¹⁰ James Pagan ed., *Glasgow, Past and Present: Illustrated in Dean of Guild Reports and in the Reminiscences and Communications of Senex, Aliquis, J.B. & others*, (Glasgow: James Macnab, 1851).

¹¹ Robert Reid, *Old Glasgow and Its Environs*, (Glasgow: David Robertson, 1864).

¹² Cleland, *Annals*; Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*; Ashmall, *High School*.

¹³ M. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson eds, *Glasgow, Volume 1: Beginnings to 1830*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p.91, p.242.

¹⁴ Irene Maver, *Glasgow*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), pp.104-6.

¹⁵ Hamish M. Paterson, 'Secondary Education', in *Scottish Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Life and Ethnology: Education*, vol. 11, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp.136-153.

Courant and *The Glasgow Journal* have been systematically examined for educational coverage.¹⁶ These appeared weekly and enjoyed healthy advertising sections, which are particularly rich in information on private enterprise provision. Both newspapers have been analysed for the twelvemonth from October 1759 until November 1760 with every issue of the newspapers for this period scrutinised to extract all examples of coverage of educational issues and opportunities during that time. Similar study of the newspapers between 1760 and 1765 looks at how patterns of advertising can be identified, with similar or identical articles appearing in successive years. By 1765 the newspapers had merged into the single title *The Glasgow Journal* which has been scrutinised till 1772 for continuity or change in educational coverage.

Selected letters, pamphlets and educational textbooks are examined, partly for factual detail, but mainly to test whether they can shed any light on attitudes towards education. Cleland's *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow* supplies some information about educationists operating in the town.¹⁷ Some deductions, particularly about the social background of Grammar School pupils, can also be made from the details recorded in the *Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow 1728-1858*, as these include father's occupation and place of residence.¹⁸

Although it could reasonably be expected that standard potential primary sources like town records and church presbytery records would contain significant detail about educational provision, in eighteenth-century Glasgow, this is not the case. The town council and church records for the period are disappointingly uninformative about many educational issues. Only administrative items, like the appointment of schoolmasters, payment of salaries, annual inspections of the Grammar School and sums expended for the maintenance of buildings are normally recorded, often in a formulaic way which reveals little of the principles and criteria governing the decisions. Similarly, church records afford only occasional insights on educational issues, for example the criteria for appointing schoolmasters. Some reasons for this paucity can be advanced. It was important to record financial decisions and appointments to posts, but, if there were few changes from year to year, details of practice and priorities were less likely to appear in records. However, although the deficiencies in coverage of education can be partly explained by the absence of change, it also signals at best a general level of satisfaction and at worst a degree of stagnation and

¹⁶ GCA, Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1770, CH2/171/13/2, fols 142-282; Robert Renwick, *Extracts from the Burgh Records of Glasgow 1739-59, 1760-80*, (Glasgow, Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1911, 1912), VI, VII; GCA, GC, GJ, 1760-1770.

¹⁷ James Cleland, *Enumeration*, (Glasgow: John Smith & Sons, 1832), pp.46-83.

¹⁸ W. Innes Addison, *Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow 1728-1858* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and sons, 1913)

a lack of engagement with change and reform. The chapter shows that despite the apparent complacency of the town and grammar school, voices outside the establishment were pressing for change.

Although letters and other manuscripts convey only an individual point of view, they do give an insight into contemporary thinking. A letter written by Thomas Reid in 1778 as a parent of a son intended for a medical career shows how the navy was seen as a potential provider of vocational education and experience.¹⁹ Often the forewords to textbooks, in providing justification for their publication, also give evidence, otherwise lacking, of changing educational rationales. One particularly significant indication of pressure for change can be found in a 1763 textbook on book-keeping, where the author, William Gordon, the owner of a private school in Glasgow, includes what is virtually a treatise pleading for change.²⁰ This may be the first time attention has been drawn to this work, which is examined later in the chapter. Its insertion into an accounting textbook could account for its not having come to the attention of historians of education, although the popularity of the book, as evinced by the history of its reprints, would have meant that Gordon's ideas had a fair chance of reaching readers in contemporary Glasgow whom he wished to persuade.²¹

Historical coverage of education in Glasgow is skewed towards Glasgow Grammar School to the detriment of other provision, especially private enterprise. This deficiency is most marked in the lack of information on the education of females. Although this thesis cannot cover the area comprehensively, it uses a manuscript text which has not hitherto been examined as a source of

¹⁹ GUL MS GEN 506/23, Information by Dr Thomas Reid of Glasgow College concerning his son George Reid, Hospital Mate, Autograph document signed Glasgow 6 May 1778; Thomas Reid, *Correspondence of Thomas Reid*, ed. P. Wood, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002, pp.100-102.

²⁰ William Gordon, Master of the Mercantile Academy Edinburgh, *The Universal Accountant and Complete Merchant* ((Edinburgh: Alexander Donaldson, 1763).

²¹ The ESTC lists seven print runs between 1763 and 1796. The first still described Gordon as Master of the Mercantile Academy Edinburgh. A second edition also appeared in 1765. William Gordon, *The universal accountant and complete merchant: the second edition, corrected and revised by the author*, (Edinburgh: Alexander Donaldson, 1765). In this Gordon now describes himself as 'At the Academy, Glasgow.'

information on female education in Glasgow, ‘Memoirs written to please my nephew’ by the playwright Joanna Baillie (1762-1851).²²

Secondary Education: a definition

The term ‘secondary education’ was not in use in the eighteenth century and there was not such a clear division into primary, secondary and tertiary education. For the purposes of his essay on secondary education in Scotland in *Scottish Life and Society*, Hamish M Paterson defines secondary education as ‘the schooling of adolescents [...] between the ages of twelve and eighteen.’ This is, however, a definition more applicable to institutional organisation from the nineteenth century on and cannot be usefully applied to the eighteenth-century educational situation in Glasgow, or indeed Scotland, where after learning to read, a typical next stage for able youths was to embark on a course of Latin study in preparation for entry into the first classes of the university and they would start this about the age of eight, either in the parish school or in a town grammar school.²³ For the purposes of this thesis the term ‘secondary’ will be taken to encompass the stage beyond the acquisition of basic literacy, where different subjects or skills are taught, before entry into tertiary education or exit from formal education. This will therefore include instruction of young people of between eight and twelve years of age, and beyond this to an exit point short of tertiary education at university.

In the period 1760 to 1776, the educational provision in Glasgow available to those families able to afford to educate their children to the standard of basic literacy or beyond was the responsibility of the Town Council. Urban provision in Scotland differed from rural provision, because of the existence of burgh schools under the control of town councils. These burgh schools aimed to fulfil the social function of education, to educate youths to a standard that would enable them to go to university and thus provide the professionals needed by contemporary society, clergymen, doctors, lawyers and teachers. It was in this area that the main challenges to educational principles and practice occurred, as increasingly the grammar schools were criticised for their failure to provide

²² Norma Clarke, ‘Baillie, Joanna (1762–1851)’, ODNB; J. Baillie, ‘Memoirs written to please my nephew’ and J. Baillie, ‘Memoir composed for Miss Berry,’ in Dorothy McMillan, *The Scotswoman at Home and Abroad: Non Fiction Writing 1700-1900* (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1999), pp.99-107; The originals are in the Hunter-Baillie Papers in the Royal College of Surgeons (HB 11) and the Hunterian Society Deposit MS 5613/68 in the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine Library.

²³ Hamish M. Paterson, ‘Secondary Education’, in *Scottish Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Life and Ethnology: Education*, vol. 11, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p.136.

an education suitable to the burgeoning trading and manufacturing communities in which they operated.

The educational provision in Glasgow might reasonably be expected to have been particularly open to change at this time, as Glasgow was an expanding town, with a growing population, and flourishing mercantile, trading and manufacturing industries. Successive enumerations of the population by the magistrates record a population of 23,546 in 1755, 28,300 in 1763 and 43,832 in 1780.²⁴ It is not possible to be precise about the percentage increase as these figures are based on different criteria.²⁵ Despite the impossibility of an exact figure, it is clear that the rise in population entailed an increase in the numbers of school age children, for whom provision was required.

The complexity of educational provision in Glasgow makes it hard to gauge the extent to which it satisfied contemporary needs. There was a grammar school, run by the town council, charity schools, including one within the Town Hospital for the very poor, a substantial private sector of 'adventure schools' of widely varying sizes and the possibility of privately arranged tuition sometimes offered by these establishments.

It is necessary, however, to begin with recording a negative presence: there were no parochial schools. Glasgow's parishes, like those of Edinburgh and of other towns of substance in Scotland, did not provide parish schools.²⁶ The 'burgh' school, in this case Glasgow Grammar School, was an alternative, acceptable to the Church of Scotland. Therefore although access to schooling was available to youths from affluent families at Glasgow Grammar School, and to poor boys and girls,

²⁴ James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow*, (Glasgow: John Smith and Son, 1840), p.11.

²⁵ Cleland, *Rise and Progress*, p.11. The 1755 census which was prepared as part of a plan for a Widows' Fund included houses adjoining the boundary. The 1780 figure included the suburban parishes of Barony and Gorbals. Devine and Jackson, *Glasgow, Volume 1: Beginnings to 1830*, accept the 1780 figure, saying on p.122 that the 1801 figure of 77,000 is a 75% increase in 20 years. This would be based on the 1780 count and is nearer the 43,383 figure than the lower one, on p.243, of 'approximately 42,000 in 1780.' There is little on the eighteenth century population, beyond that it grew at 'an explosive rate between the 1750s and 1830s.' (p.20); p.402 is no more informative than that there was an 'extraordinary growth in the population from the middle decades of the eighteenth century.' Most estimates use a period that includes the early nineteenth century, when there was more accurate information based on the 1801 government census.

²⁶ Alexander Law, *Education in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: University of London Press, 1965), p.26.

in charitable establishments like the Town Hospital, a considerable proportion of the town's children had only what was available privately. There may have been some church support of reading lessons as part of catechism instruction, but the parish records are uninformative about any involvement in education. The Town Council was also responsible for the grammar school at Port Glasgow, since it had purchased the land of the Newark estate in 1668 to build a harbour.²⁷ The resultant community became known Port Glasgow and McUre records that with the purchase included responsibility for the payment of a schoolmaster. Glasgow magistrates inspected the Port Glasgow Grammar School annually, but again town records reveal little, although some facts can be unearthed from newspaper reports and advertisements.²⁸ The consequences of the separate treatment of urban and rural parishes are perhaps not always appreciated. By the end of the seventeenth century, the original call for a school in every parish in Scotland was firmly established in principle and reinforced by Act of Parliament.²⁹ The parish school spanned primary and secondary education in that it would provide basic literacy tuition for boys and girls, but it would go beyond this and take able youths to the standard in Latin needed to be able to tackle the first class of the universities and embark on courses potentially leading to the professions. Alex Wright, in *History of Education and the Old Parish Schools of Scotland* points out that the original intention of the reformers had been to have a form of secondary education provided by the church, by establishing a college in every 'superintendent's town, which would act as a link between the parish school and the university, but that this had been thwarted by the failure of the Church of Scotland at the Reformation to acquire the financial resources of the Catholic Church.³⁰ As a consequence parish schools had to take on the role of educating youths to university entrance standard, in addition to teaching basic literacy. However one advantage of the parish school system was that it had the potential to cope with population changes. If new parishes were established, schooling in theory should also be expanded.

In towns, where it might be argued there was a more urgent need for the ability to respond to population changes, the civil contribution to educational provision was less simple and less flexible and a key question is whether in Glasgow the mechanism and the will existed to adapt to changing demands. Only more affluent parents could afford to send their sons to Glasgow Grammar School, but this chapter describes how there was an active private sector offering to provide alternative

²⁷ McUre, *Glasgow*, p.246; Jackson, 'Glasgow in Transition' l.p 69; Irene Maver, *Glasgow*, p.14.

²⁸ *GJ*, Monday, 29 April 1760.

²⁹ *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland*), <http://www.rps.ac.uk/> [accessed 29 July 2014]

³⁰ Alex Wright, *History of Education and of the Old Parish Schools of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, John Menzies & Co, 1898), p.59.

schooling and instruction. Parental choice therefore was potentially a powerful force for change. If this group had no major criticisms of the grammar school system it was unlikely to alter.

The most flexible area of educational provision was the private sector. The town council operated a system of licensing individuals who wished to run their own 'adventure' schools and even gave regular payments to some schoolmasters, thus increasing access for those able to afford the fees.³¹ These small, largely self-funding establishments were responsive to market forces. Therefore they were prepared to make arrangements for females, to offer instruction in traditional subjects, like Latin, to those not attending the Grammar School and when demand warranted it, to teach subjects, like mathematics, which were not included in the Grammar School curriculum. In addition to these three main educational providers, charitable individuals, interest groups, parents and tutors all had a role in the schooling of children. The different types of education available in eighteenth-century Glasgow are described separately below. Much education took place in schools and these are dealt with as separate institutions, but the section also considers private tuition in its many forms.

Glasgow Grammar School

In 1760 Glasgow had a well established and prestigious grammar school, which dated back to the twelfth century, appearing in the records from the mid fifteenth century, as a school attached to the Cathedral.³² By the end of the sixteenth century it was firmly under the secular authority of the Town Council, which was responsible for monitoring educational standards in annual inspections, the appointment of staff, and the maintenance of the various buildings in which the school was housed in the course of its history.³³

Expanding the provision of grammar school education to cope with population growth or demands for curriculum change was problematic. Traditionally, the yearly intake was limited to one class and the school was staffed by four teachers in limited accommodation.³⁴ There was no set limit to class size. It was normal for boys to start at about the age of eight, but the age at which any boy

³¹ Renwick, *Extracts from the Records*, p.32.

³² Ashmall, *High School*, pp.1-3.

³³ Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*, pp.1,6-11,14. The inspection visits were reported annually in the September issues of *The Glasgow Courant* and *The Glasgow Journal*.

³⁴ Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*, p.7. Cleland records that in 1727 a staff of one Master and two Doctors, or under Masters, was considered insufficient for the demand, therefore the Magistrates and Council agreed to appoint another doctor. This was the staffing arrangement throughout the 1760s and 1770s.

started in the first class would be a decision for his parents. There were great variations from year to year in the size of classes, depending on a number of factors, not least the reputation and popularity of a particular teacher, since teachers kept their classes through the full four-year course. In 1762 one very popular teacher, Patrick Holmes, had a class of 125 boys. But not all boys stayed for four years, so succeeding class sizes diminished and typically in the 1760s the Grammar School would have a total roll of fewer than 300.³⁵ Therefore, at best, only some fifty or sixty boys born in any given year were likely to be educated at Glasgow Grammar School.

The most obvious solution was to permit very large class sizes and there is evidence that this happened. Tennent, writing of an intake into Glasgow Grammar School in the 1790s describes a class of 115 boys, between eight and nine years of age, coming from households living ‘in a close, and up a common stair in the old or eastern part of town, now almost deserted by their descendents for stately mansions in the west or cheerful villas in the suburbs.’³⁶ This, therefore, was the main group who could access secondary education. Males from less affluent families, who were not fortunate enough to obtain charitable financial support, and all females, were still excluded.

Glasgow Grammar School traditionally took only male pupils from families affluent enough to pay the fees. Although Cleland lists ‘mortifications’ in the form of bursaries which existed to help able boys whose families were less well off, this included university bursaries and it is not clear how many boys of secondary school age benefited.³⁷ Tradesmen’s guilds provided grants for the able school pupil and university student, and also apprenticeship and living fees, for those entering a trade, but again these are hard to quantify. There is more detailed discussion of the cost of education later in this chapter. It should be understood, however, that when Tennant describes grammar school pupils in the 1790s ‘living in closes’ this refers to tenement buildings several storeys high where residents shared a common entrance to separate apartment houses. Living in a close’ was the norm in Glasgow: it had no connotations of slum dwellings and did not imply low standards of accommodation, or social standing. Thomas Reid, newly arrived in Glasgow in 1764 describes his tenement accommodation in the Drygate,

among the weavers [...] eight minutes walk from the university [...] You go through a long, dark, abominably nasty entry, [...] to a neat little close. You walk upstairs to a neat little dining room and find so many other little rooms as just accommodate my family so scantily that my apartment is a closet of six feet by nine off the dining room. To balance these little

³⁵ Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*, p.9.

³⁶ Andrew Tennent, ‘Statistics of a Glasgow Grammar School Class of 115 Boys’, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 18 (1855), 364-66. Tennent does not give the exact year but, delivering the paper in 1855, says it was 60 years before.

³⁷ Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*, pp.43-48.

inconveniences, the house is new free and of buggs; it has the best air and the finest prospect in Glasgow; the privilege of a large garden, very airy, to walk in, which is not so nicely kept but one may use freedom with it. A five minute walk leads us up a rocky precipice into a large park, partly planted with firs [which] gives a view of the windings of the Clyde a great way. The ancient Cathedral stands at the foot of the rock, half its height below you, and half above you; and indeed it is a very magnificent pile.³⁸

The boys who lived in the tenements were according to Tennent, ‘chiefly sons of merchants, manufacturers and shopkeepers.’³⁹ Sons of university professors and doctors can be added to the list. Further proof of the positive perception of this accommodation comes from the Moore family letters in that, when writing to the Duchess of Argyll in 1772, Mrs Jean Moore is confident enough of the comfort of her house to invite the Duchess to stay there rather than ‘at the inn.’⁴⁰

Evidence about the social class of the pupils at Glasgow Grammar School in the eighteenth century is limited to the names of the dux of each class and their father’s occupation, dating from the year 1782.⁴¹ However, although there are no school rolls for the Grammar School, some information about the period may be gleaned from the university matriculation rolls, which give some facts about students from Glasgow entering university.⁴² These must be treated with caution as they do not include all university students. Matriculation was only required of students in the Faculty of Arts intending to proceed to graduation or to vote in the Rectorial Election; it was not necessary to matriculate in the first year but could be postponed till subsequent years.⁴³ According to Innes Addison there is evidence that these rules were not rigorously enforced.⁴⁴ However those matriculating when entering the first year (Latin) class or the second year (Greek) class and giving their father’s residence as Glasgow can fairly be assumed to have received their education at Glasgow Grammar School. It may well be that, given the strong trading and family links, students from the West Indies had also been sent earlier to Glasgow for their schooling. The list of duxes of

³⁸ Thomas Reid, *The Works of Thomas Reid D.D. now fully collected, with selections from his unpublished letters*, (Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart 1872), p.39, Thomas Reid to Dr Andrew Skene, 14 November 1764.

³⁹ Tennent, ‘Statistics of a Glasgow Grammar school Class’, pp.364-366.

⁴⁰ Argyll, *Letters*, p.356, Mrs Jean Moore to the Duchess of Argyll, Glasgow, November 1772.

⁴¹ Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*, p.27

⁴² W. Innes Addison, *Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow 1728-1853* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913).

⁴³ Addison, *Matriculation Albums*, p.xii.

⁴⁴ Addison, *Matriculation Albums*, p.xii.

Glasgow Grammar school includes John James, son of John James, a Jamaican planter.⁴⁵ He had clearly been sent to Glasgow for his education. We know about him because he was dux of his class for four successive years, from 1791 to 1794. This is later than the period of this study, as the information available on duxes dates only from 1783, the date of the school renovation. But it is a reasonable assumption that this was not a unique instance of Glasgow Grammar School being chosen by parents abroad, particularly those with family links to the town.⁴⁶

An examination of the matriculation rolls for 1772 shows a significant number of students from artisan backgrounds entering Glasgow University.⁴⁷ In this year, eighty students matriculated in the first year class, fifty-five of whom were from Glasgow and another four from the West Indies. For eleven of the fifty five, the fathers' occupation is not given. For the remaining eighty percent, the most frequent occupation is merchant (twenty-one instances.) The next major grouping of fourteen is from the artisan class, of whom seven give their fathers' occupation as weavers. The remaining nine are from the professional and landed classes. From this it can be argued that the Grammar School was educating, not only the male offspring of the merchant and professional class, but also that a substantial proportion of the school roll was drawn from those artisans affluent and ambitious enough to access secondary and then university education. Thus there was potentially a fairly wide social mix at the school.

Curriculum

Glasgow is credited by the Oxford English Dictionary as the location of the first recorded use, in 1633, of the word 'curriculum' meaning a course of study.⁴⁸ The source comes from the seventeenth century records of the University, but the Glasgow Grammar School curriculum was also described at this time.⁴⁹ Two seventeenth-century documents exist, one describing the weekly timetable of the school and another outlining the syllabus.⁵⁰ The first document is undated, but Cleland reports that it was discovered in 1794, bundled in papers dating from 1660 and written in language consistent with the 1660 date.⁵¹ It outlines the weekly timetable of the classes, with times

⁴⁵ Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*, pp.28-29.

⁴⁶ Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*, p.28.

⁴⁷ Addison, *Matriculation Albums*, p.100.

⁴⁸ 'curriculum, n.' 1633, OED on-line Oxford University Press [accessed 14 March 2014]

⁴⁹ *Munimenta Univ. Glas.* III.379, 1854

⁵⁰ Cleland, *History*, pp.2-6.

⁵¹ Cleland, *Annals*, p.281.

and activities and some detail of texts. A full curriculum was drawn up in 1685 when Glasgow magistrates initiated an inspection report from representatives of the university and the church ministers of the town into the 'order, discipline and method of teaching.'⁵² Ten recommendations were made, dealing with management, curriculum and timetable. It recommended that the course should be five years; that scholars who had completed the course should be able to start the university humanity class, that the scholars were to study specific texts, which were listed for each year; that scholars should attend church with their masters morning and afternoon and meet afterwards to give an account of the sermon and be instructed in the catechism; that scholars should speak only Latin, not only to their masters but among themselves; and that doctors be affixed to particular classes.⁵³

The curriculum laid down in 1685 specified that Grammar School pupils should study the rudiments of Latin grammar in their first year. In succeeding years they were taught the selected epistles of Cicero and Cato; Buchanan's psalms and some Ovid; Caesar's commentaries, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Virgil, Justin's history; and finally Buchanan's epigrams, Horace and Juvenal.⁵⁴ When this is compared to the early nineteenth-century curriculum, there are marked similarities in the texts and authors studied and the order in which this took place.⁵⁵ Information on the eighteenth-century curriculum is scant, but it is reasonable to assume that the seventeenth-century curriculum was still in operation throughout the eighteenth century since at the start of the nineteenth century the curriculum had hardly changed. Thus Cleland reports that in 1815, year one pupils studied rudiments and a little of Cordery; year two contained more of Cordery, Cornelius Nepos, grammatical exercises or Mair's introduction; the third year was devoted to Mair, Caesar and Ovid; and in their final year pupils read Sallust, Virgil and part of Horace. The fables of Phaedrus and Buchanan's psalms were also taught during the last two years.⁵⁶

Without criticising the education provided by the Grammar School, Gibson describes how the normal practice was to have these pupils supplement their education by simultaneously attending other schools for tuition in writing, arithmetic, book keeping and even dancing, all of which involved extra expenditure, making a rounded education even less accessible.⁵⁷

⁵² Cleland, *History*, p.4.

⁵³ Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*, p.5.

⁵⁴ Cleland, *Annals*, p.291.

⁵⁵ Cleland, *Annals*, p.285.

⁵⁶ Cleland, *Annals*, p.291.

⁵⁷ John Gibson, *History of Glasgow*, p.191.

Staff

In the eighteenth century the normal arrangement at Glasgow Grammar School was to have four staff, often, but not always, three ‘doctors’ and one ‘rector’ who had his own teaching commitment but also some responsibility for supervising and monitoring the others.⁵⁸ There was some controversy as to whether there was any need for a rector. At certain times, for example from 1782 till 1815, the post was abolished and the four doctors shared the additional duties.⁵⁹ In the 1760s the rector was James Barr, who held the post from 1756-1782.

Staff took their classes through the whole four years of attendance at the school. The appointment was normally ‘*ad vitam aut culpam*,’ that is for life unless there was neglect of duty, immoral conduct, cruel or improper treatment of scholars.⁶⁰ Glasgow Town Council could, and did, dismiss unsatisfactory teachers, although instances were rare. In 1767, for example, Thomas Irvine was dismissed, ‘without approbation’ it being considered ‘unbecoming to a teacher of Youth to appear so often intoxicated upon the public streets.’⁶¹ It is not clear whether Irvine’s drunkenness affected his teaching, although it is quite likely that it did, but his behaviour outside the classroom was considered sufficient to warrant dismissal and it was perhaps easier and more politic to use this rather than to admit that his class were not being taught efficiently.

Private Enterprise

The press is the most important source of information about private enterprise schools, often called adventure schools. These varied greatly in structure and size. One establishment offering a grammar school type education announced the start of a new course on Thursday 27 September 1764. In a long advertisement in the *Glasgow Journal*, John Dow, outlined the tuition he was offering.

⁵⁸ Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*, p.7.

⁵⁹ Cleland, *Annals*, p.386.

⁶⁰ Wright, *History of Education*, p.140-1. This was tested in 1795 in the Court of Session, in the case of the parish schoolmaster of Monymusk, where ‘*culpa*’ was taken to mean not just private acts of misconduct or immorality but could include irreligious views subversive to ‘the religion which he was bound by oath to teach and uphold.’

⁶¹ GCA, Glasgow Town Council Act Book, 5 May 1767. In 1795 the Court of Session, in the case of the parish schoolmaster of Monymusk, held that ‘*culpa*’ meant not just private acts of misconduct or immorality but could include irreligious views subversive to ‘the religion which he was bound by oath to teach and uphold.’

John Dow, about to finish his contract for the class presently under his care, proposes to open a new class not exceeding thirty in number against the 10th current, to begin with the rudiments of the Latin language, and to continue for four years, in which time he would propose to qualify them to attend the University. Such as chose to entrust him with the care of their children may by applying to Messrs John Miller, John Anderson, John Lightbody and Convener James Clerk, be informed of the conditions, and of his care and assiduity.⁶²

Some elements are similar to the Glasgow Grammar School courses: the pupils would remain with the same teacher for their whole four year course and the central aim is to equip them for university entrance. It is clear that Dow has taken at least one class through a complete course and it can reasonably be assumed that he would have been able to demonstrate a degree of success and could rely on this being known in the town. The limit placed on the class size is significant for several reasons. It promises a higher degree of attention to individual pupil progress than would be possible in the larger classes found at Glasgow Grammar School with an implicit rejection of a standardised method of teaching. It suggests there is an optimum number for effective teaching and assumes that this is a feature which would appeal to prospective parents. This marks a difference from the practice at Glasgow Grammar school both before and after this period, when classes were often much larger.⁶³ It also indicates that Dow could earn a sufficient amount under this arrangement. The standard phraseology 'entrust him with the care of their children' is used and references from prestigious Glasgow councillors are offered. This would indicate that private schools were not regarded as competition to the Grammar school, but as providing additional capacity. Dow did not confine himself to the instruction of youth. In this advertisement he also informed the public that he offered adult tuition in the evening, further evidence that there was a demand for education from those no longer in formal schooling and that there was a private enterprise industry ready to supply it.

Dow's school could be seen as beneficial to the town in that it expanded the number of pupils able to reach university standard. It could also have been seen by the doctors and rector of Glasgow Grammar School as a rival, siphoning off potential pupils and therefore reducing the income from fees. Three years later, in 1767, Dow, having presumably finished his next course, was appointed to one of two vacant posts in the Grammar School to replace Patrick Holmes, whose class had numbered 115 pupils.⁶⁴ This case illustrates one of the pitfalls of the adventure school system, its vulnerability to change, when the circumstances of the single teacher-owner altered. It also illustrates a limitation of using the press as source material for the existence of schools. Dow's school only needed to advertise once every four years, unless vacancies occurred.

⁶² *GJ*, Thursday 27 September 1764.

⁶³ Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*, p.9, notes Patrick Holmes' class of 115 in 1762;

⁶⁴ Ashmall, *High School*, p.72.

Many of the press advertisements are for 'English' schools which educated children in literacy and numeracy. In 1760, Glasgow had several such schools. The absence in many cases of reading from the advertised curriculum would indicate that like Glasgow Grammar School they expected their pupils to be able to read before they started. Most mention writing and then go on to offer mathematical and other subjects, indicating that they were providing an alternative type of secondary education, beyond basic literacy. At least eleven schoolmasters were active within the town, whose advertisements are analysed below. Their establishments were small, often with only a single schoolmaster, dependent on attracting enough pupils to be economically viable. Several regularly advertised a wide variety of courses and flexibility in times and method of delivery. Generally the schoolmaster's qualification was a Master of Arts degree, indicating that teaching was seen as a graduate profession.

Although the single master school was the prevailing pattern, at least one establishment was able to employ an assistant.⁶⁵ Mr Gordon and his assistant Mr Jack taught 'with the permission of the magistrates' in the Hall of Hutcheson's hospital.⁶⁶ The advertised hours were long, from 9 a.m. until 10 p.m. and clearly were designed not just for the education of the young but also for those in daily employment who wished to further their education in the evening. The curriculum included not only writing and arithmetic, but also geometry and trigonometry for navigation, geography, drawing and book-keeping designed for adults.

Entering into a partnership was one method of consolidating business. Another joint venture was outlined in an advertisement by James Monach and John Collie who advertised tuition in arithmetic and reading, but made a feature of instruction on drawing which included 'flowers, landscapes, ornaments, attitudes of the human figure on silk, vellum or on paper.'⁶⁷ These might be regarded as female accomplishments and the offer of home tuition further indicates these teachers were targeting the female market. This would indicate parental demand for instruction in core numeracy and literacy and in artistic skills for their daughters. It also shows how schools had to extend their curriculum, perhaps because they were unable to survive without fees from additional subjects.

Sometimes the partnership seems only to have extended to splitting the cost of an advertisement without any overlap in the instruction offered. James Galbraith gave the location of his school as 'Buchanan's Hall' and advertised tuition in 'Writing, Arithmetic, Book keeping, Geography,

⁶⁵ GC, Monday 22 October 1759. Mr Gordon ran his advertisements in both the *Glasgow Courant* and the *Glasgow Journal*.

⁶⁶ GC, Thursday 29 September 1760.

⁶⁷ GJ, Monday 5 November 1759. Next week's *Glasgow Courant* carried the same advertisement.

Globes' to start on Monday 12 November 1764 and in the same advertisement James Buchanan announced the start of a course in church music.⁶⁸ The offer of classes in different disciplines is a common feature. An advertisement containing information about classes in church music by James Buchanan was part of a larger notice by James Scruton, a 'Writing Master' who offered tuition in writing, arithmetic and book-keeping, including classes in the evening classes from 8 until 10. Young gentlemen, he added, could also board with him.⁶⁹

The combination with music was a popular one, although sometimes a single schoolmaster included it in his list of subjects taught. John Girvin, the precentor of the Tron church offered tuition in church music at 'Mr Burn's school in the Trongate.' Competitors to Girvin include John Buchanan, clerk to the English Chapel, and Thomas Moore, who also taught church music. But Girvan also taught reading, spelling, English, writing, vulgar and decimal arithmetic, book keeping and as well as church music 'at the Gorbals Chapel' assuring parents that: 'Whoever incline to favour him with their children, may depend on their being carefully attended and are desired to send them soon, that they may have the benefit of the initial lesson.'⁷⁰

The language here, 'to favour him with their children' echoes Dow's phraseology 'to entrust him with the care of their children' and the assurance of 'their being carefully attended' has a counterpart in Dow's stress on class size limits. Although formulaic, both are acknowledgements of parental choice, the need for a relationship of trust between parents and teachers, and the duty of care owed by teachers to pupils.

On occasion it is possible to extract information about the theory underpinning practice. One regular advertiser, James Stirling, not only gave curricular details, but included justification for content and detailed how his methodology was designed to make education effective by engaging the pupils in creative speculation and problem-solving. Geography, for example would be taught 'in a great number of amusing and instructive problems.' Although based in a town with worldwide trading links, he did not seem to be aiming at travellers but at 'persons who incline to employ part of their leisure hours in reading, that they may be able to trace any remarkable or entertaining piece of history on the map.'⁷¹ Stirling, like Gordon, also made provision for adults in the evening and in

⁶⁸ *GJ*, Thursday October 25 1764

⁶⁹ *GJ*, Thursday 27 September 1764.

⁷⁰ *GC*, Monday 4 February 1760.

⁷¹ *GC*, Monday 12 November 1759. Stirling, like Gordon, also advertised in *The Glasgow Journal*.

addition offered early-morning and lunchtime classes. His curriculum included French, which he was prepared to teach 'to young gentlemen or ladies' in their lodgings or at his own house.⁷²

One way for teachers to maximise income was to offer a wide range of subjects and proposals for delivery. Another possibility was to offer specialist tuition and hope for a healthy take-up. Among those offering dancing lessons were Daniel Burrell, John Campbell, Mr Dick, and Mr Fraser.⁷³ Mr John Brulart offered instruction in French; and George Jamieson announced he would be resident in Glasgow some months and was prepared to give instruction in architectural drawing.⁷⁴ This last was presumably aimed at an older client group and the advertisements of this period make it clear that there was a flourishing market in self-improvement courses for those beyond school age and that the same schoolteachers catered for a broad range of ages.

Advertisements and reports in the Glasgow newspapers also feature schools in other towns and illustrate various school models available to parents, depending on local circumstances and viability. A private grammar school in Irvine, a port on the west coast twenty miles from Glasgow was advertised in 1760, although it is not clear whether pupils were being sought particularly from Glasgow, or whether the circulation of the Glasgow newspapers was wide enough to attract pupils from other areas, particularly those for whom a boarding option was required.⁷⁵ The advertiser, George Lesly M.A. gave detailed information on teaching methodology. He listed his school curriculum as arithmetic, Latin, Greek and French and he undertook to 'qualify any boy of tolerable capacity in three years, with such a knowledge of the Latin language as to render him capable of translating any prose author into English at sight.' In addition to Roman history, pupils would be given a foundation in 'Chronology, Geography Mythology and Ancient History.' The length of the teaching day was stressed, 'from 8 in the morning till 10 at night.' This intensive method, he claimed, reduced the time needed to obtain competence in Latin, 'esteemed a work of 5 or 6 years.'⁷⁶ However, he also stressed a further feature of his methodology, the use of a variety of approaches and examples.

It was also possible for pupils to board with Lesly. Boarding was an additional attraction frequently mentioned, both by independent schoolmasters and by schools. For example in 1765

⁷² GC, Monday 12 November 1759.

⁷³ GCA, Glasgow Town Council Minutes Index, p. 247. (Burrell); GJ No 1630, (Campbell) GJ No 1485, (Dick); GJ, 26 Sept 1771; GJ, 5 Sept 1771 (Fraser.)

⁷⁴ GC, Monday 22 October 1759; Glasgow Council Minutes Index 247;

⁷⁵ GJ, Monday 10 May 1760.

⁷⁶ GC, Thursday 28 September 1760.

Hamilton Grammar School advertised a boarding option in the *Glasgow Journal*. This was presumably aimed at parents from Glasgow and district and not just Hamilton, where pupils were more likely to be day pupils.⁷⁷ Glasgow Grammar School doctors were prepared to take some students, presumably from outwith the town, into their homes as boarders.⁷⁸ In his very detailed educational advertisement moreover, Lesly took the opportunity to mention that his wife was a mantua maker, and that she proposed to continue in this trade. The term ‘mantua maker’ described a dressmaker, capable of tailoring expensive gowns. Therefore Lesly’s advertisement achieved the additional purpose of publicising his wife’s business and implying superior family atmosphere for potential boarders. The boarding-school regime option therefore existed for Glasgow parents, who wanted this for their sons.

Since the private sector needed to be responsive to market demand, changes of emphasis in the advertisements give some insight into educational developments. During the 1760s regular references to English grammar and ‘the new method’ began to appear. In October 1764 John and George Burns and Company advertised that they had opened a school in Trongate for ‘teaching English after the new method.’⁷⁹ This meant that there was no reliance on Latin grammatical concepts, and that instruction was centred on English grammar, language and literature. It was designed to attract the custom of both sexes, rather than limiting it to males. Home tuition was offered to both sexes, although care was taken to stress that there would be separate classes. ‘Young ladies and gentlemen will be separately attended for learning the English Grammar and composition, so as to enable them to express their thoughts with ease and perspicuity.’ The standard promise is also given that ‘whosoever shall be pleased to entrust them with their children’s education may be assured that all justice shall be done them.’

Although this is described as a new school, it is given as the venue for a music class in 1760.⁸⁰ There are no advertisements at this date for the school itself, but this may merely mean that there were sufficient pupils to make publicity unnecessary. It also illustrates the limitations of newspapers as sources of information on these independent schools, as absence from the publications does not mean non-existence. Thus it cannot be concluded from the disappearance of many regular advertisers in 1760 that their schools are no longer functioning. However it does

⁷⁷ *GJ*, Thursday 9 May 1765.

⁷⁸ *GJ*, Thursday 27 September 1764.

⁷⁹ *GJ*, Thursday 18 October 1764.

⁸⁰ *GC*, Monday 4 February 1760.

raise the issue of stability and whether parents choosing this form of schooling could rely on continuity of educational provision.

Dancing and Deportment, Confectioning and Candyng: education of females

It was more difficult for females to access education, even those from families able to afford fees, and there was an extremely narrow view of what would be a suitable curriculum. There was a noticeable concentration on home-making skills, particularly sewing and cooking, and on accomplishments like music and art.

Although some burgh schools, like Ayr, allowed girls to attend classes, Glasgow Grammar School accepted only boys. The general education of females was left exclusively to the private and charity sectors although occasionally the town council would vote funds to 'encourage' an entrepreneur offering particular courses. In 1740 the town council voted that James Lochhead, a teacher of cookery who had been losing money because of the cost of provisions should be allowed '£10 sterling yearly for his encouragement.' For this support the magistrates required agreement on the terms and conditions of his delivery of a syllabus of 'confectioning, candyng, preserving and pickling.'⁸¹

The source material for the period shows that there was a demand for various types of education, which was fulfilled by the private sector. Frequently advertisements make a feature of special provision for females, most commonly in the offer to provide home tuition if desired. In 1765 Burns and Company stressed that females and males were taught separately in their English school. However the Burns brothers clearly saw an opportunity to expand their intake by teaching girls language skills beyond basic literacy. Their venture into female education was expanded in a later advertisement in 1770, when, after outlining the arrangements for usual classes in English language and composition, there is an offer from Mrs Burns, 'formerly Miss Whitehill' to take 'a few young ladies to teach them in the pastry way.'⁸² Running a school was clearly a family business and the talents of Mrs Burns were now mobilised to broaden the curriculum on offer in an area that was perceived as suitable for females and for which there might be a demand.

Women running schools did not tend to advertise their own education, but announced that qualified instructors would be used. The term, 'Dame School' often used to describe a small private school

⁸¹ Robert Renwick, *Extracts from the Records*, vi. p. 60.

⁸² *GJ*, Thursday 27 September 1770.

run by a woman, is not found in use in Scotland, although nineteenth-century authors and historians of education use the term, often disparagingly.

Small boarding schools for girls tended to stress domestic skills. In 1759 an educational establishment regularly advertising in both Glasgow newspapers was a boarding school for girls opened by Mrs Home.⁸³ This offered all kinds of sewing lessons to boarders and day pupils. A long list of practical tuition was itemised, but no academic subjects were mentioned. Instead Mrs Home stressed the modesty of the fees, particularly for boarders.

Mrs Home, at her house in Wallace's Land (entering by Bell's Wynd, Glasgow) has opened a Boarders school for the reception of young ladies wherin she intends to follow the practices of the best English boarding schools, and on the following terms, viz Boarders at five pounds the quarter and day scholars at ten shillings and to be taught the following works: all kinds of sewing, sampler, petit point, embroidery, likewise all kinds of white seam [...] painting in gauze, gum flowers, silk and silver pongs, new fashions in millinery for their own wear; with washing, dressing and clean starching after the best method.

Her educational qualifications are unclear. She had formerly owned a shop selling dress material, but had sold this. It may be that her husband was David Home, the bookseller, as advertisements for both businesses often appear in the same issues.⁸⁴ When compared with Glasgow Grammar School, which charged £1 a year, her fees at ten shillings a quarter are exactly double, so that it would cost parents £2 a year to send their daughters as day pupils, and £20 a year as boarders. It is not clear if this includes the cost of materials, which, from the list given, might have been a considerable expense.

The wording of her advertisement gives some insight into contemporary attitudes. The educator's duty to parents is acknowledged, as is the value parents place on their children's well-being. However, apart from sewing skills, which presumably would be taught on the premises by Mrs Home herself, the girls' instruction would be by private tutoring, at their parents' discretion, which would have been a major additional financial outlay.

Such as favour Mrs Home with the care of their children, may depend on due consideration to everything necessary for completing their education by getting in masters to the house, or carefully sending them out, as parents and friends agree.⁸⁵

Another advertisement limited potential pupils to females, advertising the teaching of French, also perceived as a desirable accomplishment. If parents wished their daughters to learn French there was a French school, 'set up by a gentlewoman lately come from London who will be ready to wait

⁸³ GC, Monday 22 October 1759. Mrs Home's advertisement, with variations was frequently repeated.

⁸⁴ GC, Monday 25 February 1760.

⁸⁵ GC, Monday 25 February 1760.

on any gentlewoman or parents of young ladies, on the most easy terms, at her lodgings at Mr Brooks up one pair of stairs, opposite the hospital in the Trongate of Glasgow.’⁸⁶ There is no more information about this venture in later newspapers and again the vulnerability of these small enterprises is detectable. It is not clear why the lady in question was ‘lately come from London’ or whether she was likely to attract enough pupils to ensure that she remains and provides her pupils with continuity of instruction.

The poet and dramatist Joanna Baillie (1762-1851) provides an insight into the education of better-off females in her recollections and memoirs.⁸⁷ Baillie wrote, but did not publish, two biographical pieces which describe her education and these are printed in Dorothy McMillan’s, *The Scotswoman at Home and Abroad: Non Fiction Writing 1700-1900*. Baillie was a contemporary of the Moore children and although there is no record of their having contact as children, she features in the later correspondence of Jane Moore, as a friend.⁸⁸ Baillie’s brother Matthew (1761-1823), born in the same year as John Moore, was being educated at Hamilton Grammar School at the same time as John Moore and his siblings were attending Glasgow Grammar School.⁸⁹ Joanna Baillie’s experience reveals not only the opportunities open to those of her class and background, but also the restrictions that could have resulted in her leading an unremarkable life as a cultured female, rather than fulfilling her potential as one of the most successful dramatists of her time.

The youngest of three children of Dorothea Hunter (1721-1806) and the Reverend James Baillie (c1722-1778), Joanna was educated at home in Bothwell, at the local day school in Hamilton and then, around 1772, sent with her elder sister Agnes to boarding school in Glasgow. She came from an educated family, where learning was encouraged. Her clergyman father was parish minister in Bothwell, then in Hamilton and was appointed Professor of Divinity at the University of Glasgow in 1776. Her mother's brothers were the anatomists William Hunter (1718-1783) and John Hunter

⁸⁶ GJ, Monday 25 February 1760.

⁸⁷ Dorothy McMillan, *The Scotswoman at Home and Abroad: Non Fiction Writing 1700-1900* (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1999), pp.90-107. The originals are in the Hunter-Baillie Papers in the Royal College of Surgeons (HB 11) and the Hunterian Society Deposit MS 5613/68 in the Wellcome Institute for the history of Medicine Library.

⁸⁸ CUL MS ADD 9808/6/17, Jane Moore to Christine Alexander, Otterbourne, Sept 28 1827. Jane tells Christine that she has heard from ‘her good friend’ Agnes Baillie about the visit she and Joanna had made to Christine at Airdrie.

⁸⁹ Baillie, Matthew (1761–1823), Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1066>, accessed 14 March 2014].

(1728-1793). Baillie pays tribute to the contribution of both her sister and her mother in her early education, although she presents herself as more interested in physical activity than in scholarship.

The farthest back I can remember is sitting with my sister on the steps of the stairs of the Bothwell manse, repeating after her as loud as I could roar the letters of the Alphabet while she held in her hand a paper on which was marked in large letters the ABC. I was then about three years old and this was, I suppose, the very beginning of my education. Of the other lessons which followed I have no recollection, and that they were not very successful may be inferred from my not being able to read except in a very imperfect manner to the age of eight or nine. My Mother took pains to teach me and I was sent to a day school at Hamilton where my father was then settled as Clergyman, but even the sight of a book was hateful to me and all this teaching produced little effect. As I was an active stirring child, quick in apprehending or learning anything else, My Parents were the more provoked at my uncommon dulness in learning this most useful of all acquirements. However I ought not to say provoked for they had more patience with me than I deserved.⁹⁰

Although she is self-deprecating about her educational standards, by the age of eleven, encouraged by her twelve-year-old sister, she is able to read with pleasure Ossian's poetry. She is also motivated by personal pride and a desire not to be shamed when she starts at her new school.

About the beginning of my tenth year (as far as I can remember) they informed me that I was to be sent to a Boarding School in Glasgow, and then I began to consider that it would be a shameful thing for me to be among strangers - Young Ladies - without being able to read decently. [...] When I did at length find myself settled in this formidable place amongst the Young Ladies, I was as good a reader as any of them. Indeed several months before I went to Glasgow and I was then just eleven years old, I must have read with some facility; and a little taste for reading was begun in me by my sister to whose kind anxiety in this respect, being herself a natural lover of books, I owe much. Having in some of my out-of-door gambols cut my ankle with bottle glass so severely that I was obliged to lie upon a sofa the whole day for a week on end, she came to me with Ocean's [Ossian's] poems in her hand and coaxed me in a very persuasive soothing manner to open the book and read some of the stories to myself: I did so and was delighted with them (as far as I can recollect) the first book which I read willingly and with pleasure.⁹¹

Despite the stress she puts on 'Young ladies' by underlining the phrase, indicating a degree of irony towards the school's aim of inculcating contemporary standards of feminine gentility, she pays tribute to its influence on her later literary interests. It was in Glasgow that she first attended a professional dramatic production.

I had seen nothing of the kind before but a puppet show in a poor little outhouse when I was a mere child. But now I beheld a lighted up theatre with fine painted scenes and gay dressed Gentlemen and Ladies acting a story on the stage, like busy agitated people in their own dwellings, and my attention was riveted with delight. It very naturally touched on my old passion for make-believe, and took possession of me entirely.⁹²

⁹⁰ McMillan, *Scotswoman at Home*, p.92.

⁹¹ McMillan, *Scotswoman at Home*, p.92.

⁹² McMillan, *Scotswoman at Home*, p.99.

The school owner, Miss Macdonald, encouraged her pupils' enthusiasm by organising dramatic activities at the school and an audience for their performances.

Dresses were prepared as well as our scanty means would allow and each character as she entered was received with a merry cheer by the spectators, but when I made my appearance as Lady Penteezle there rose a roar of laughter among them that shook the whole house. [...] Many drole whimsical anecdotes of my school life might be added, but I am not conscious that they had any influence on my mind connected with the writing of this after life.⁹³

Since she is selective in what she chooses to record, there are few details of other aspects of the curriculum. She admits to a lifelong deficiency in spelling, which she says curtails her written vocabulary. 'I have not used such words as I wished and best expressed my meaning, but such as I know how to spell.'⁹⁴ Although she regrets her lack of an early interest in reading, it has, however, had the positive benefit of forcing her to develop her own creativity.

having no store from books, when the Girls about me [...] told tales round, I was obliged when it came to my turn to invent one on the spot, and the pleasure they expressed in hearing my tales even after they discovered them to be inventions was a gratification to me.⁹⁵

Reading and writing were crucial to her personal development. Without them, she would have merely have had skills considered important for well-educated females.

In short had there been no such arts as reading and writing in the world, I should have passed for a clever person, showing more than a common talent for music, some little turn for drawing and above all for needlework.⁹⁶

At boarding school, learning by heart two or three verses of a psalm was a regular Sunday evening task, which was then tested on Monday morning. Baillie regrets her inability to memorise even her own verse as a lifelong defect. There is evidence that she was discouraged from developing her early poetic ability by both parents. Her father recognised her ability but did not value poetic composition. He criticised the grammar schoolmaster who set her brother, Matthew, a homework task of composing, 'a few couplets on the seasons,' saying that [Joanna] 'could do that.'⁹⁷ Her mother's approach was different. She believed that writing poetry was not a social advantage for a woman, telling Joanna when she was ten 'Remember you are no longer a child and must give up making verses. People would only laugh at you now.'⁹⁸

⁹³ McMillan, *Scotswoman at Home*, p.99.

⁹⁴ McMillan, *Scotswoman at Home*, p.93.

⁹⁵ McMillan, *Scotswoman at Home*, p.93.

⁹⁶ McMillan, *Scotswoman at Home*, p.93.

⁹⁷ McMillan, *Scotswoman at Home*, p.93.

⁹⁸ McMillan, *Scotswoman at Home*, p.93.

In Baillie's case, therefore, although she came from a background where education was valued, there were still major restrictions, stemming from preconceived ideas of what was appropriate in an adult female.

Even among those able to afford a boarding school option, there is evidence of parental dissatisfaction at the fragmented nature of female education. Before moving back to Glasgow in 1762, the Lisbon merchant James Grossett wrote to William Cullen for advice on education for his eight year old son and twelve year old daughter.⁹⁹ He is particularly aware of the limitations of provision for girls, in particular its fragmented nature.

for young ladies to be obliged to walk about [...] from house to house for the different parts of it or be at a vast expense for private masters where besides they never learn so well for want of emulation at home, I cannot say I much approve of.

Clearly he would have preferred a more regulated school environment. There is within the letter, however, an almost apologetic note. 'But what is to be done with parents when this Father is perhaps as bad as the Mother in that respect?' The diffident tone indicates an attitude of defensiveness for being so concerned about the matter, as if the education of his daughter is not something that should be considered so important.

Often the issue of female education is ignored by contemporary theorists, who talk generally about education, when what is described refers only to males. When female education is discussed specifically, the justification often is that it benefits males to have well-educated women as mothers and companions, rather than any intrinsic right of the female to the means of self expression available through education. It is admirable that Baillie profited from the opportunities open to her and did not succumb to the social restrictions that might have curtailed her creativity, but it is untypical. For females of her rank, the difficulties were immense; for others they were insuperable. The nature and extent of elite female education was more of a lottery than for males. It depended largely on the degree of commitment of parents and their attitude to which subjects and to what level their daughters should be taught.

When considering possible attitudes to female education in Glasgow, one indicator of a desire for change can be sought in the legacies left by citizens for educational purposes, where it is possible to identify areas which the donors thought were deficient and required to be funded, as opposed to those which were in existence and worthy of financial support. The provision of schools for females is one example. Not until late in the eighteenth century was there any specific charitable provision for female education in Glasgow. In 1790 Andrew Millar left the whole of his estate,

⁹⁹ GUL, MS Cullen 76, James Grossett to William Cullen. By this time Cullen, formerly Regius Professor of Practice of Medicine at Glasgow, was Professor of Chemistry at Edinburgh.

£7074, 10s 6d, as a legacy for the clothing and education of a specified number of girls.¹⁰⁰ They were to be at least eight years of age and taught reading, writing, arithmetic, knitting, sewing, church music and principles of religion.

There were few professions for women, where they had to display competence to be allowed to practice, but midwifery was one area where a system of licensing was in place, a subject examined in scholarly detail by Anne Marie Cameron in her 2003 thesis 'From ritual to regulation? The development of midwifery in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, c. 1740-1840.'¹⁰¹ Dr Moore took an active part in these developments, advertising courses of lectures in 1763 in the *Glasgow Journal*: 'John Moore, surgeon, who has instructed Midwives occasionally for several years past, intends to give regular course of lectures upon midwifery from time to time. The Lectures to be illustrated by machinery.'¹⁰²

Education for the less affluent

There were several routes to education for the poorer classes. These might limit education to basic literacy, or allow able youths to progress beyond this stage. Glasgow Town's Hospital was founded in 1730 to provide accommodation and support for the poor. This, as Gibson records, included access to education; 'The young are instructed in the principles and precepts of the Christian religion, they are taught reading and writing, and, from their earliest years are accustomed to a life of virtue, frugality, and industry.'¹⁰³ From this it would appear that the aim was basic literacy followed by some vocational training. In 1760 the Town's Hospital invited suitable candidates for the post of schoolmaster and chaplain, to apply to the preceptor, the bookseller Daniel Baxter.¹⁰⁴ No details are given of terms of employment. The advertisement ran for only one week, which would indicate confidence that an acceptable candidate would be found speedily. The dual responsibility 'schoolmaster and chaplain' indicates a structure similar to the parish schools, where the schoolmaster, appointed by the kirk session, was carefully chosen for his religious conviction as well as his teaching ability and had the dual responsibility of educational development and spiritual welfare. Thus, although the Town Hospital was a publicly funded

¹⁰⁰ Cleland, *Annals*, p.206

¹⁰¹ Anne Marie Cameron, 'From ritual to regulation? The development of midwifery in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, c. 1740-1840,' Ph. D.Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2003.

¹⁰² Cameron, 'From ritual to regulation', p. 126; *GJ*, 3 March 1763.

¹⁰³ Gibson, *History*, p.181.

¹⁰⁴ *GJ*, Thursday 12 June 1760.

institution, there would presumably be some church involvement in the approval of the successful candidate.

In addition to the Town's Hospital, there were at least four charity schools in mid-eighteenth century Glasgow. The Highland Society was set up in 1727 to clothe, educate and put to trades boys with Highland parents for four years.¹⁰⁵ They had the cost of their entry to a trade paid and after working hours were taught reading, writing and church music. Two schools were set up by the philanthropist Simon Tennent and further supported by a legacy in 1741 from his brother Robert Tennent, who left a sum of 5000 merks, the interest from which was to be disbursed by the town council for the maintenance of the children at these schools.¹⁰⁶ Hutcheson's Hospital was first established by George and Thomas Hutcheson in 1640, to care for poor burgesses and their dependents.¹⁰⁷ Part of the legacy was set aside for maintaining, clothing and educating a number of sons of burgesses. This fund was increased by legacies, from James Blair in 1713 and from Daniel Baxter, in 1784. The school provided four years education in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English grammar and Church Music. The specification of 'English grammar' would indicate that there was no commitment to educating the youths to the standard that would allow them entry to the university, as this would require training in Latin grammar.

Self Education

Once literacy had been attained, an important factor in the ability to build on this is the availability of relevant reading material. Newspaper advertisements in the 1760s show there was a vigorous market for books and magazines in Glasgow. Two booksellers, John Smith and David Home frequently took advertising space to remind readers that for a modest subscription they could borrow books and to invite subscriptions for magazines and for books appearing in parts. Sometimes lists of books for sale are given, showing that the citizens of Glasgow had access to Voltaire, Condillac and 'the best authors in most branches of literature.'¹⁰⁸ There are also advertisements for the sale of private libraries. With the exception of a Latin grammar book, however, there is no sign of any book specifically written either for the instruction of the young or for their leisure entertainment. This is still true in the year 1764-5, although an interest in

¹⁰⁵ Cleland, *Annals*, p.207.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Renwick, *History of Glasgow*, III.Ch XXIII.

¹⁰⁷ Cleland, *Annals*, p.195.

¹⁰⁸ GC, Monday 1 October 1759.

education is indicated by the inclusion in the list of books advertised for sale by the bookseller Robert Urie of *Dialogue Concerning Education*; by Edward, Earl of Clarendon.¹⁰⁹

Although school textbooks do not feature in Glasgow newspaper advertisements, there is evidence that the Scottish book trade found a market for school textbooks. In 1770 James Barr, the rector of Glasgow Grammar School brought out an adaptation of Thomas Ruddiman's textbook, *The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue*.¹¹⁰ Although the core textbook, published by Ruddiman in 1714, was still influential and Barr used Ruddiman's name in the title of his own textbook, *A Practical Grammar of the Latin Tongue, Adapted to the Rules of Mr Ruddiman's Rudiments*, Barr claimed that his methodology was superior.¹¹¹ Barr had already published a textbook, *An Easy Introduction to Latin Grammar*, in 1763.¹¹² The main difference in Barr's methodology was that, instead of defining grammatical rules, he used a question and answer format, which he believed was a more effective way of engaging the pupil. Although this catechistic approach would have been familiar in religious education, it is significant that, rather than accepting traditional methodology, he was seeking improvement. It can fairly be concluded that his lessons at the Glasgow Grammar in the 1760s would have been conducted using these principles.

Quality of teaching

When considering the calibre of teaching, confirmation of contemporary confidence in the Scottish system can be found in the works of grammarian James Buchanan, who contrasts the situation in England and Scotland, arguing that in England,

Great numbers set up for Teachers of English [...] without a preparative education, or being the least qualified for the execution of such an important trust. Let us but travel North of the Tweed, and we will find these grand errors in a very great measure repudiated as scandalous.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ GJ, Thursday 1 November 1764.

¹¹⁰ Thomas Ruddiman, *The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue, 1714*, (Edinburgh: 17th edn, n. pub. 1769). The English Short Title Catalogue lists 29 editions of the textbook during the eighteenth century; James Barr, *A Practical Grammar of the Latin Tongue, Adapted to the Rules of Mr Ruddiman's Rudiments*, (Glasgow: n.pub, printed for the author, 1770), p. 8.

¹¹¹ Barr, *Practical Grammar*, p.8.

¹¹² James Barr, *An Easy Introduction to Latin Grammar*, (Glasgow: Robert and Andrew Foulis, 1763)

¹¹³ James Buchanan, 'Linguae Britannicae Vera Pronunciatio', *English Linguistics 1500-1880*, 39, (1757), pp.6-7.

Although Glasgow Grammar School was run by the town council, parish schools, like those in Gorbals and Govan, were under church control. The presbytery's practice was to appoint a committee to oversee the selection of schoolmasters. There is evidence that the need for qualifications was taken seriously by those appointing staff. Three areas were considered important, academic achievement, professional competence and moral character. When it was decided in 1770 that there was a need for a Highland School in Glasgow, to cater for the children of the many highlanders now resident in the town, the presbytery delegated the task of recommending a suitable candidate to a small committee led by the Reverend William Porteous, the Moderator of the Presbytery.¹¹⁴ Once accepted by the presbytery, the candidate's name would be given to the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge for ratification.

The recommendation provides an insight into the criteria for appointment as schoolmaster and catechist. It is not clear whether the recommended candidate, John McKellar, was a sole applicant, someone who had been identified and invited to apply, or whether other applicants had been eliminated at this stage. The committee's investigation covered the applicant's method of teaching English, his knowledge of religion and his handwriting. They also took up a reference to his character, teaching experience and teaching ability. McKellar had already been six years at Strachur, a highland village on Loch Fyne in Argyllshire, so it is clear that a teaching post in Glasgow could attract experienced applicants and would be perceived as career advancement. This makes it likely that the quality of teaching personnel in Glasgow schools would generally be above average.

However, academic achievement is no guarantee of professional competence. There was no system for teacher training, although Buchanan does point out the need for teaching skill and shows that he is fully aware of the harm that could be done by poor teaching, especially in the early stages. Towns like Glasgow could rely on applicants with proven experience in other schools, but less appealing posts in other towns could be more difficult to fill. Chapter Two has shown how, in several European countries, a shortage of qualified secular staff prevented the implementation of educational reform, for example the attempts in France to exclude the Jesuits from teaching. The Scottish universities, however, were producing graduates prepared to enter the teaching profession and Glasgow was wealthy enough to be able to attract and keep them. This is illustrated in 1765, when a prominent advertisement announced that one of the Grammar School staff, William Bald, had been appointed as rector of Hamilton Grammar.¹¹⁵ An enticement had clearly been the 'well aired commodious house, very proper for the accommodation of boarders' and parents were

¹¹⁴ GCA Glasgow Presbytery Records, 1770.

¹¹⁵ *GJ*, Thursday 9 May 1765.

assured that ‘all who please to commit their children to his care, either as boarders or scholars, have the best grounds to hope that he will give universal satisfaction.’ Although he was scheduled to take up the post in June, he in fact remained in Glasgow and died in post in 1783. Being a ‘doctor’ in Glasgow had more appeal presumably than promotion to rector in a smaller school.

Very little attention has been given to the women involved in education in eighteenth-century Scotland. They are largely invisible from the records. Corr’s examination of the situation of women teachers concentrates on developments since the nineteenth century, when she argues that the patriarchal system of Scottish education disadvantaged women teachers, whereas male teachers in Scotland were better paid and had higher status than their English counterparts.¹¹⁶ In the eighteenth century teaching was essentially a graduate profession and there is little recognition of the fact that it was impossible for women to obtain a university degree. Hamish M Paterson’s chapter on secondary education in *Scottish Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Life and Ethnology* published in 2000, relegates this to an aside in brackets, without any further comment on the mismatch of the initial assertion ‘Entry to university was open to anyone’ followed by the parenthetical remark, ‘(but not women or girls).’¹¹⁷ Even into the twenty-first century the assumption of historians of education that humanity consists only of males persists.

Information on the competence of female teachers is more difficult to obtain. When the magistrates and town council of Perth advertised in 1788 for a mistress to take charge of a boarding school for girls, there were seventeen applicants, variously describing themselves as teachers or governesses, including one from Paisley and in some cases offering references of their competence. This, however only indicates a substantial body of women teachers regarding themselves as qualified for such a position, but not how far their claims were justified.¹¹⁸ From elsewhere in Scotland, evidence exists of action taken to prevent women from teaching boys, a prerogative jealously guarded by male graduates.¹¹⁹ There is a need for more research on this area, but the idea particularly prevalent in nineteenth century descriptions of ‘dame schools’ in England, that these were run by illiterate women often in dirty accommodation, must be treated with extreme caution

¹¹⁶ Helen Corr ‘Dominies and Domination: Schoolteachers, Masculinity and Women in 19th Century Scotland’, *History Workshop Journal*, (1955) pp.150-64. Although Corr’s analysis concentrates on the treatment of women teachers from the nineteenth century on, the disparity in status is apparent.

¹¹⁷ Hamish M. Paterson, ‘Secondary Education’, in *Scottish Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Life and Ethnology: Education*, vol. 11, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p.137.

¹¹⁸ NAS B59/24/6/79

¹¹⁹ Durkan, *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters*, p. 175.

in the Scottish situation. It assumes a supply of illiterate women, at some odds with estimates of Scottish literacy and also that parents would have recourse to such 'schools' and be satisfied with the education provided.

Salaries, Benefits and Fees

Teachers' income was derived from a variety of sources. The doctors and the rector of Glasgow Grammar School had a salary from the council. They collected class fees and, in September, a discretionary Candlemas offering from pupils. They could also increase their income in various ways by offering to board pupils, or give private tuition.

Glasgow Town Council was interested in attracting teachers to Glasgow Grammar School and this included reviewing the salaries paid. In 1765 following a 'memorial' from the rector and the doctors of the Glasgow Grammar School, substantial salary increases were awarded, when the committee to which the matter had been remitted raised the rector's salary from £40 to £55 per annum and the doctors' salary from £15 to £20, supplemented by pupil fees of £1 per annum.¹²⁰

The Town Council also funded or subsidised the private sector. In 1765, Mr Collet of London was invited to come to Glasgow to 'play chimes and assist in music,' for a salary of £20 sterling in advance for half a year.¹²¹ In the same year, Mr James McKenzie 'teacher of the English language in Glasgow,' was awarded a yearly pension of £10 sterling to acknowledging his 'extraordinary care of the children placed under him, his assiduity in teaching and the proficiency of his scholars.'¹²²

One important benefit that the provost and bailies could confer was to nominate persons as burgesses and guild brethren, a position that could otherwise only be gained either by hereditary right or by purchase. From 1751 until the practice was discontinued in 1770, retiring provosts and bailies could nominate a selected number annually and in this way a significant number of schoolmasters were admitted to the burgess rolls, not only doctors of the Grammar School, but also teachers in English schools and other schools in the town. The wording of their admission stresses that this is in recognition of their contribution to education. A typical entry reads: 'Broadfoot, Alexander, one of the masters of the Grammar school, in respect of his care in the education of the

¹²⁰ GCA, Glasgow Town Council Act Book, 11 September 1765, 3 December 1765.

¹²¹ GCA, Glasgow Town Council Act Book, 22 November 1765.

¹²² GCA, Glasgow Town Council Act Book, 3 December 1765

youth under his charge.’¹²³ One rather unusual entry on the same page notes the admission of John Penman of Biggar, as an honorary burghess on the grounds that his son had served the town well. ‘Penman, John, in Biggar, father of Alexander P., schoolmaster in the Town’s Hospital, in respect of his son’s proficiency in his office.’ This public expression of appreciation not only enhanced the status of schoolmasters in the town, but also conferred significant rights and privileges on them, their wives and dependants, increasing their security in old age.

The cost of educating children is complicated by the fact that Glasgow Grammar School did not provide a full curriculum at secondary stage and it was necessary to supplement it by attending extra classes. This was particularly so in the case of writing, where a distinction must be made between learning the mechanics of forming letters and words in elegant handwriting, which would have been required prior learning before starting grammar school and the skills of transactional, discursive and expressive writing. At Glasgow Grammar School it is recorded in 1782 that the fees were ‘to remain’ 5s a quarter with an additional 6d a quarter for coal, a sum that remained static between 1743 and 1799, when it was raised to 7s 6d a quarter.¹²⁴ This meant until 1799 the annual fee was £1, and 2s for coal, with the cost was spread over the year.¹²⁵ Therefore for the period of this study £1 annual fee for educating one child at Glasgow Grammar school would have been well within the means of a teacher at the school and those with similar incomes. The existence of one class of 125 pupils in 1762 would indicate that there were ample better off parents able to afford this choice for their sons.

It was not the practice to include details of fees in press notices, therefore information about fees in the private sector is difficult to obtain, except in the situations where the Town Council subsidised tuition. Church music was considered important enough to be ‘encouraged’ by the Town Council. Thomas Moore, for example, was able to offer free lessons to those who passed a voice test in 1759 and 1760, ‘by order of the magistrates.’¹²⁶

¹²³ James R. Anderson, *The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow 1751-1846*, (Edinburgh: J. Skinner and Company, 1935), p. 467.

¹²⁴ Ashmall, *High School*, p.119.

¹²⁵ Ashmall, *High School*, pp.12-13.

¹²⁶ GC, Monday 12 November 1759; No 746, Monday 28 January 1760.

Pressure for change

Glasgow Grammar School

In the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth, the minutes of the Town Council show that they were experimenting with school management systems to achieve better results. Increasingly too, the narrow curriculum at the Grammar School, concentrating solely on Latin grammar and texts, was coming under attack, as unsuitable for the needs of a mercantile town. In general, however, the civic authorities seem to have had an established pattern of action in their management of the Grammar School, and did not attempt to effect any radical change.

No major initiative for change in Glasgow Grammar School was taken in the period covered by this thesis. There is one slight indication of awareness of the demand for instruction in English in reports placed in the *Glasgow Journal* in 1764 and 1765 by the Town Council.¹²⁷ The main purpose of these reports was to announce the satisfactory outcome of the annual inspection of Glasgow Grammar School, but this was followed by what amounted to an advertisement for the new intake of pupils. It stated that the 'rudiment' class was about to begin under the tuition of Mr Irvine and asked 'those who intend to send their sons [to] 'endeavour to observe the time as near as possible, that they may have the benefit of being taught the English grammar along with the rudiment.' The mention of English grammar is significant. Its inclusion in the first year syllabus could have been motivated by a desire to make Latin grammar more accessible to the pupils. Although the classical curriculum remained unchallenged, this concession would help to satisfy any parents who were concerned that more advanced knowledge of English was important to a full education. From the plea that pupils must attend the class at its start, however, it is likely that this English element was a brief component of the course. There is also a plea for regular attendance, as, 'absenting days or diets have been found by constant experience, not only to be hurtful to the boys themselves but to retard the progress of the class in general.'¹²⁸ The Town Council's power was limited. It could only persuade and not compel parents to enrol and continue to send their sons to school.

It was not until 1782 that a committee was set up which, like the last one a century earlier, in 1685, also made ten recommendations for improvement.¹²⁹ Until this change the annual school inspection was the only formal means the council had of testing the school's efficiency. This was

¹²⁷ *GJ*, Thursday 27 September 1764; *GJ*, Thursday, 25 September 1765.

¹²⁸ *GC*, Monday 12 November 1759; *GC*, Monday 28 January 1760.

¹²⁹ Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*, p.11.

carried out in the presence of the Lord Provost, town magistrates and the professors of the university and was reported in the press.¹³⁰ The event however was ceremonial rather than a genuine scrutiny of practice. Press notices used the same language year after year to record that ‘the pupils acquitted themselves so well as to gain universal approbation [and that] the Lord Provost was pleased for their encouragement to distribute among them a great many elegant examples of the classic authors.’¹³¹ It would appear therefore that the Town Council was satisfied with the performance of the Grammar School and certainly this was the official line that the councillors broadcast to the general public. This was mirrored in the annual press report of Glasgow Town Council’s inspection of Port Glasgow Grammar School.¹³² The public were informed in the *Glasgow Journal* in 1760 that ‘Boys in all classes were examined in Latin, English, Writing and Church Music and ‘great satisfaction’ was expressed.¹³³ However, these commendations are too general to be useful as a measure of teaching standards and pupil attainment: they are more akin to good public relations, a morale booster to staff and pupils and a reassurance to parents and the general public.

Although the 1782 reforms fall outside the time studied in this thesis they are included here, as they give some indication of what might have been perceived as long term faults in the system that needed reform. It would appear for example that the death of the rector gave the Town Council the opportunity to effect changes that might have been more difficult to implement during the tenure of the incumbent, James Barr, who had been rector since 1752.¹³⁴ The most radical change was the abolition of the post of rector: the four masters of the school were to be of equal rank and share the responsibilities and duties formerly undertaken by the rector. Masters were to wear gowns ‘without distinction.’ The school should assemble once a day for prayers, taken by the master of the senior class. There were to be four hours of study a day in winter and six in summer, a four-week holiday and specified public holidays. A committee of the council was to be appointed and to visit the school once a month. A new school was to be built, with better accommodation and a place ‘fitted for the innocent diversions of the Boys.’ Fees were to remain at five shillings a quarter with six pence a quarter for coals. The additional voluntary donation at Candlemas, and

¹³⁰ *GJ*, Tuesday 24 September 1764 provides one example. A year later a similar report is filed in the *GJ*, Tuesday 30 September 1765.

¹³¹ *GJ*, Tuesday 30 September 1765.

¹³² Robert Renwick, *Extracts From Records*, Appendix Accounts 1752-3. The annual salary was £2 15.6d.

¹³³ *GJ*, Monday, 29 April 1760.

¹³⁴ Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*, p.9.

handing this over in a public ceremony, was to continue. However an end was put to the practice of announcing the sum donated, with differentiated cheering, 'vivat' 'floreat' or 'gloriat' according to the value of the contribution and the proclamation of the boy handing in the highest amount as the 'victor.' This had increasingly been perceived as divisive and as humiliating for the masters, particularly since some boys deliberately converted their donations into coins of the smallest denomination and the other boys sniggered as these bundles of small change were handed over.¹³⁵

Clearly this was a response to problems in the management of the school, which was now to be more closely under council supervision. All of the recommendations, however, are administrative. The question of what is taught, or how, is not addressed. There is no indication that the question of expanding the curriculum to include subjects in addition to Latin had been considered. If there was to be any radical change to secondary provision in Glasgow it was not likely to come from Glasgow Grammar School.

This rigidity of curriculum contrasts with the attitude of Glasgow Town Council to the Grammar School at Port Glasgow. Here the curriculum included English, Writing and Church music as well as Latin. Learning English was now publicised as an important feature of the syllabus. The variation in attitude almost certainly lies in the different situations of the schools. Port Glasgow Grammar School was less than a hundred years old, located in a 'new town,' purpose-built as a harbour for Glasgow. Although it could prepare able pupils for university, it perhaps had more pupils for whom the other skills offered were more important. On the other hand, the proximity of Glasgow Grammar School to the university, and its traditional role in preparing pupils for university entry, bound it to a more traditional curriculum. It would appear therefore that Glasgow Town Council took a pragmatic, rather than a dogmatic approach to the curriculum, supporting both the broader syllabus as appropriate to the needs of Port Glasgow and the ultra conservative syllabus of Glasgow Grammar School.

The Academy Movement

One critic of the contemporary provision was William Thom (1710-1790) minister of the parish church in Govan. In 1762 he published *The Scheme for erecting an academy at Glasgow*. His fundamental rationale was that education should inculcate virtue and be useful to society.

That education ought to be calculated for the Times we live in; that the Aim of it should be to make the youth good Men and useful subjects: to prepare them to acquit themselves well

¹³⁵ Cleland, *High School of Glasgow*, p.12.

in the particular Business they are to live by, and to make a manly and decent figure in the Companies they may be in.¹³⁶

But although he believed the universities should become more responsive to the demands of contemporary society, he argued that changes should start earlier and called for the reform of secondary education. Dissatisfied with the purely classical education provided by the Glasgow Grammar School, he wanted an expansion of the curriculum.

to have in this city a school or academy for instructing our Youth in that knowledge which is proper to give them an early Liking to Religion and virtue; that which will fit them for business and enable them to discharge the Duties of Life with Honour, and to appear to Advantage in the World.¹³⁷

He referred approvingly to the foundation of Perth Academy in 1761, after a public petition and he deplored the inadequacy of curricular provision in Glasgow. ‘Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping and some parts of mathematics are here taught in Private schools....History, Chronology...hardly ever attempted.’¹³⁸ Thom distinguished between the moral, social and personal purposes of education and advocated a system which would inculcate in children, ‘love of Religion and virtue, to render them serviceable to the Government, useful to themselves and to that Society to which they may now immediately belong.’ His proposed solution was to keep the Grammar School, but supplement and improve the provision by erecting an academy offering an alternative curriculum.

Apart from commending Perth, Thom did not refer in his text to the wider academy movement, either in Scotland or south of the border in England. But there were links between Glasgow and the foundation of the main leading academy in the north of England at Warrington, set up in 1757 and in existence till 1786.¹³⁹ Ironically, when the English Presbyterians were seeking funds in 1755 from non-conformists in the major cities of the north to set up their flagship academy in Warrington, subscriptions were forthcoming from Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Exeter, Bristol and Warrington, but not from Leeds, which, the correspondence notes: ‘looks coldly upon the plan, and thinks ‘the Glasgow education’ sufficient for their wants.’¹⁴⁰ The reference to Glasgow, however, is most likely to the university, which like other Scottish universities was a

¹³⁶ William Thom, *The Scheme for Erecting an Academy at Glasgow*, (Glasgow: James Duncan, 1762).

¹³⁷ Thom, *Scheme for Erecting an Academy*, p. 27.

¹³⁸ Thom, *Scheme for Erecting an Academy*, p.22.

¹³⁹ Henry Arthur Bright, *Warrington Academy*, (Liverpool: T. Brackell, 1859), p.3.

¹⁴⁰ Bright, *Warrington Academy*, p.3. The academy ran from 1757 till 1786 with varying success. The curriculum was delivered by four tutors. Seddon became the librarian.

popular choice for religious dissenters from England and Ireland, unable or unwilling to study at Oxford, Cambridge or Trinity College, Dublin.

Although not calling specifically for academies, one national campaigner for educational reform with similar ideas to Thom was the dramatist Thomas Sheridan, (1719-1788) father of the more famous dramatist Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816). Thomas Sheridan toured Scotland in 1757 and 1761 to muster support for his schemes. He was Irish, not Scottish, but his ideas were influential in Scotland. Sheridan argued strongly for radical improvements both in his book, *British Education: or the Source of the Disorders of Great Britain* and in public meetings in Edinburgh, where his ideas were received with enthusiasm.¹⁴¹ The impact on public opinion in Glasgow is harder to gauge. Glasgow publishers printed his dramatic works, but not his educational writing.¹⁴²

Sheridan challenged the view that traditional grammar school and university education fitted youth for citizenship, citing Milton and Locke in support of this.¹⁴³ He argued that, in effect, only ‘the divine, the lawyer and the physician’ gain professional advantage from the system and that the only other benefit was in ‘giving the studious a harmless leisure pursuit in later life.’¹⁴⁴ His major criticism was that the current curriculum, based on the classics, left too much undone and his analysis hinged on the identification of the failings of contemporary provision: neglect of oratory; neglect of the English language and neglect of the imitative arts. He argued that interfering with present schools was not likely to prove successful. More surprisingly he believed it was unnecessary. He never satisfactorily explained how his improvements could be implemented, but most probably he envisaged some system of parallel or supplementary schooling.

Like Thom, he believed that the aim of education was first to make the youth good and then to make them useful to society. However the exclusivity of his scheme is clear, when he deplored the fact that travel out of the country was the only way for a youth to complete his education, indicating he was discussing those able to afford foreign travel, which he condemned as potentially

¹⁴¹ Thomas Sheridan, *British Education: or the Source of the Disorders of Great Britain*, (Dublin: George Falkner, 1756); *Scots Magazine*, July 1761, Aug 1761; *The Library*, Dec 1761.

¹⁴² Thomas Sheridan, *Captain O'Blunder or The brave Irishman: A farce, as acted at the theatres in London, Dublin, and Edinburgh*, (Glasgow: n. pub., ‘printed in the year’1758. The ESTC also lists editions in 1761 and 1770).

¹⁴³ Sheridan, *British Education*, pp.14-19.

¹⁴⁴ Sheridan, *British Education*, p.18.

corruptive on religious and civic grounds. He claimed his alternative system would provide a better education for potential leaders of society.

Although both Thom and Sheridan criticised the classical bias in the curriculum, Thom's proposed extensions focussed on better science education, whilst Sheridan's were arts based, with particular stress on oratory. They contrasted, too, in structure. Thom wanted an academy in Glasgow run by the Town Council, which would have operated as an alternative to the Grammar School and been a direct competitor, allowing parents to choose which type of school they wished for their sons. It is less clear how Sheridan's establishments would have operated, but there was no suggestion that they should be a civic responsibility.

In Glasgow, in contrast to Perth, the only contemporary response came from the private sector. By 1772 there was a school in Glasgow, terming itself an academy, with a staff of at least two.¹⁴⁵ This is less impressive than it might at first appear, as the subjects offered were no different from those advertised by other private schools in the town, Writing, Mathematics, Accounting and Geography. The most significant factor is the use by the advertiser, William Gordon, of the term 'academy' to categorise this type of curriculum. Gordon had formerly been in partnership with another schoolmaster, Mr Jack. In 1760 he advertised a school with much the same curriculum but without calling it by any specific name.¹⁴⁶ He did not use the term 'academy' until 1771, when he joined a different partnership.¹⁴⁷ In the 1772 issue of the *Glasgow Journal*, in which Gordon advertised his 'academy' his former partner had a competing advertisement pointing out that 'his partnership with Mr Gordon is now discontinued and that he continues to qualify youth for mechanical, mercantile and naval employment.'¹⁴⁸ Gordon continued to use the term 'academy' for his school, for example in correspondence with Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon, when he wrote on 13th November 1776 seeking help to raise the £300 that he needed to expand his academy to accommodate boarders and students he expected to attract from America; a venture which he expected to 'make his fortune.'¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ *GJ*, October 10 1772

¹⁴⁶ *GC*, Thursday 29 September 1760.

¹⁴⁷ *GJ*, 10 October 1771.

¹⁴⁸ *GJ*, 10 October 1772.

¹⁴⁹ .NAS GD44/43/18, *Papers of the Gordon Family*, William Gordon to Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon, 1766.

Gordon had in fact been active in education in Glasgow for more than a decade already, although Gordon's main subject was mathematics and by 1765 the textbook he published on the subject had gone into its second edition.¹⁵⁰ On the front page of this he described himself as William Gordon of the Academy, Glasgow and, after a five page introduction addressed to 'the Public' he includes an advertisement for his establishment:

At the Academy, Trongate, Glasgow, By the Author and proper Masters, Young Gentlemen are qualified for business mercantile, mechanical, naval or military, according to a plan which hath a peculiar tendency to fix the attention and accelerate their progress. Youth may likewise be boarded at the Author's house, where he dedicates an hour every day to private conversation with them upon their studies, their morals and their behaviour.¹⁵¹

In his introduction, Gordon went beyond justifying the contents of his two volume book, and considered the defects of contemporary education as a preparation for a mercantile career. 'The plan of education usually followed in schools, hath been found, by constant experience, to be far from answering the design.'

Before beginning the textbook itself, therefore, he included 'An Essay on the Education of a Young Gentleman intended for the Counting-House.' This is a substantial piece of work, taking up seventeen pages of the textbook and covering subjects he thinks should be studied and the rationale for these. He begins by asserting the value of commerce to the state and the need for an appropriate education for 'the industrious merchant' and laments the current deficiencies.

What extent of knowledge, what abilities must it require, to fit a man for so great and valuable purposes? And yet it is certain that there is not another class of men in the British community, who labour under greater disadvantages, in point of education, than that of the commercial profession.¹⁵²

He castigates the Grammar School curriculum as irrelevant, uninspiring and insufficient for aspiring merchants. 'A formal drudgery imposed on them by custom, which continues only for four years.' Attempting to remedy any deficiencies later by attending supplementary classes is dangerous he warns: 'Parents ought by no means to trust the future prospects of their children to a foundation so weak or uncertain'¹⁵³

Gordon's custom-made education for the merchant class has as its first priority an ability to read the English language 'with ease and accuracy.' However he criticises those who believe no foundation in the classics is necessary. He also advocates instruction in writing, arithmetic and

¹⁵⁰ Gordon, *Universal Accountant*.

¹⁵¹ Gordon, *Universal Accountant*, n.p. (follows p. vii).

¹⁵² Gordon, *Universal Accountant*, pp.1,2.

¹⁵³ Gordon, *Universal Accountant*, p.2.

French, followed by mathematics, navigation and geography. When more advanced, students should begin to apply their knowledge to real-life situations.

Fictitious differences among merchants might likewise be submitted to their judgment, sometimes to two in the way of arbitration, and again to a jury of fifteen; whilst one would assume the character of the plaintiff, and another that of the defendant, and each give such memorials or representations, according to the facts [...] Thus will youth be accustomed to think, write, and act like men before they come on the real stage of action.¹⁵⁴

By adopting such innovative teaching methods, and following his planned curriculum, Gordon believed he could deliver an education designed to produce successful merchants and entrepreneurs. However he did not believe this could be accomplished without help from the civil authorities, as it was too hard to attract teachers of a sufficiently high calibre to posts which were poorly remunerated.

It is no doubt the business of magistrates to interest themselves in the education of youth, since they are the nursery of the state, by whom it is renewed [...] and on whom the national prosperity, as well as the national existence depends. If part of the public revenues were employed in erecting academies for training up youth to business, especially in the trading cities, where every master should have a salary proportioned to the difficulty of his department; if the most intelligent merchants were appointed as superintendants of these academies [...] if parents [...] would set that value on education which they sometimes do on trifles, and be as careful of having the minds of their children adorned with virtue and good sense [...] then we would see a reformation indeed. [...] we would soon see a spirit of industry, knowledge, humanity, and good sense diffuse itself among all ranks and denominations, whilst idleness and folly [...] would be banished the streets. In one word, our young men would be senators, and “our merchants would be princes.”¹⁵⁵

The response to demands for a syllabus more appropriate to commerce and industry varied. Rather than start a separate school the burgh of Ayr had adopted a different tactic in 1746 by extending the curriculum in Ayr Grammar School to include arithmetic, geometry, bookkeeping, navigation, Euclid, algebra and natural philosophy, as well as Latin and Greek.¹⁵⁶

In Perth the memorial presented to the Town Council in 1760 expressed succinct reasons for dissatisfaction with the relevance of the traditional curriculum:

In times not long past, all learning was made to consist in the grammatical knowledge of dead languages, and skill in metaphysical subtilities, while what had immediate reference to life and practice was despised.

But Providence has cast our lot in happier times, when things begin to be valued according to their use, and men of the greatest abilities have employed their skills in making the sciences contribute not only to the improvement of the physician, lawyer and divine, but to the improvement of the merchant, mechanic, and farmer, in their respective arts. Must it not,

¹⁵⁴ Gordon, *Universal Accountant*, p.12.

¹⁵⁵ Gordon, *Universal Accountant*, pp. 16,17.

¹⁵⁶ Strong, *Secondary Education in Scotland*, p.160.

then, be of importance, to put it into the power of persons in these stations of life, to reap that advantage science is capable of.¹⁵⁷

Ayr and Perth were pioneers in curricular reform: other burghs, like Dundee, followed suit in 1783.¹⁵⁸ However Glasgow was more reactionary, impervious to local and national pressure. Although Thom presented his case strongly, ‘we were in distress for our children,’ and there were clearly teachers like Gordon, who strongly supported the idea, the appeal for curricular change did not succeed. Gordon was pessimistic about the degree of thought that was given to this by those whom he felt ought to have been most concerned to effect change. ‘How few are there, even among parents, who perhaps have felt the loss of a proper education, that consider the extent of knowledge requisite to make a young gentleman appear with dignity in the commercial life.’¹⁵⁹

As a structured approach to educational reform, the academy movement made no real progress in eighteenth-century Glasgow. The role of providing vocational and cultural education remained the province of private enterprise and Glasgow Grammar School retained its purely classical curriculum until the start of the nineteenth century, only appointing teachers of English, mathematics, arithmetic, geography and modern languages in 1834.¹⁶⁰

Parental influence

The inhabitants of Glasgow, who were able to afford an education for their children, had a choice of educational establishments vying for their custom. In addition to the specialist training of the Grammar School, whose main purpose was to prepare their pupils for a university education, there were various ‘English schools’ catering not only to boys before they went to Glasgow Grammar School, but to a wider age range, including adults and those girls whose parents wished to educate them in selected academic subjects and social accomplishments.

In view of the extensive and ever-changing choice of educational courses on offer the parental role was essentially one of selection. Parents had to decide how much formal education to arrange for their children and then to select a suitable provider. This was the only area where parents’ wishes and views could exert any influence. Once Glasgow Grammar school, or one of the private grammar school options had been chosen, this entailed being locked into a curriculum that had

¹⁵⁷ Strong, *Secondary Education in Scotland*, p.161

¹⁵⁸ J. W. Stephenson, *Education in the Burgh of Dundee in the Eighteenth Century* (n.p., n. pub, 1973). Chapter 2 of this monograph deals with the history of the founding of Dundee Academy.

¹⁵⁹ Gordon, *Universal Accountant*, p.15.

¹⁶⁰ Cleland, *High School*, pp.58,59.

scarcely changed in a hundred years. Whilst this would have been an unavoidable diet for those heading towards university, other private schools offered more flexibility and therefore more scope for parents to choose courses suitable for individual children's abilities and career paths

Parental influence, therefore, could be exerted to some extent in choosing or rejecting available schooling. Some manipulation would have been possible in choice of teacher at the Grammar School by deciding which year to enrol their son, since there was no fixed age for starting, but this would have been restricted to perhaps a choice between two teachers, as it is unlikely that parents would have delayed or advanced enrolment for more than one year in order to select or avoid a particular teacher.

Conclusion

In the second half of the eighteenth century Glasgow had a severely restricted secondary education system, catering for a very small proportion of those in the age range for secondary schooling. Designed mainly for the elite, it educated the sons of burgesses to a sufficiently high standard to enable them to go on to university and study for the professions of law, theology or medicine. Other university courses assumed no previous knowledge of the subject. Therefore the lack of prior education in science, mathematics, modern languages, history and geography was not a barrier to embarking on tertiary education.

An important feature of the educational climate was the extent to which it was thought natural and necessary to supplement school provision, in expanding the curriculum. Tutoring was a common resort, which offered the advantages of better individual or small-group teaching, more geared to the needs of the learner, more sensitive to the desires of parents and with greater accountability to them, rather than to the town council or the kirk session. However, even in the case of better-off males, the system had major deficiencies for those who were not intending to enter the professions, in that subjects more appropriate for commercial or industrial employment were excluded from the curriculum, leaving their provision to an unstable private sector. Despite this, the traditional grammar school curriculum was accepted long after it had ceased to be appropriate, as the status of having had a classical education was valued. Moreover, the ready availability of more relevant courses from the private sector reduced the urgency for reform.

Historical treatment of the educational provision has concentrated on Glasgow Grammar School because it was the one solid fixture in what was a fluid and fragmented state of affairs. However the flourishing alternative provision is evidence of the many areas where there was a need to improve the curriculum. Glasgow Town Council took a diligent interest in the calibre of teaching and the standard of accommodation in the Grammar School and contributed to other ventures

considered worthy, but its members were not proactive in initiating changes or widening access. The policy of 'encouraging' selected private business enterprises was fairly shrewd in that both cost and risk were shared with providers and consumers. The variety of models available could be seen as an advantage, in that it enabled parents to put together what they perceived as a suitable educational experience for their children. The flexibility also allowed deficiencies caused by missing particular educational stages or experiences to be made good later, when time, money or inclination permitted. The power of parents to influence educational provision was limited. They could decide whether to educate their children, where and for how long. But they had no say in the running of the main school in the town, what curriculum it offered, or what methodology it adopted.

Chapter Four: The Moore Family

In the 1760s and 1770s Dr and Mrs Moore had a family of one daughter and five sons to educate and therefore this is when their interest in education would have been at its peak. This chapter considers the educational choices they made for their four eldest children, until 1776, while the family home was still in Glasgow, although John's education from 1772 to 1776 is dealt with separately in the next chapter. The two youngest sons, Frank and Charles completed their secondary education after the family moved to London and are therefore not considered in this thesis. The intention is to contribute to what R. Anderson in *History of Education in Scotland pre 1980*, has identified as a hiatus in the historical coverage of education, the views of parents and pupils and the need for consideration of 'how it was seen and used by those at the receiving end.'¹

Anderson identifies the difficulty of amassing information in this area, the main sources being memoirs, which 'although interesting' are not 'generalisable,' as evidence of attitudes overall.² In view of this problem, this thesis argues that new ways must be sought to investigate the extent to which Enlightenment ideas operated at family level and that a case study of the Moore family is a valid source of information, particularly for the period from 1772 on. Although it is not argued that their decisions reflect general views on education prevalent in Glasgow at this time for families in their social position, it is contended that they are indicative of openness to innovation that throws light on some of the failings which could only be addressed by parental intervention. Three main areas are examined: the essential components of the education the Moore parents sought for their children; what they rejected or saw as less important; and what views they had on educational methods. Key areas to be examined are their perception of the parental role in education, moral and religious education, motivation, discipline, and career choices.

By 1772 at least four of the Moore children were in education and the separation of Dr Moore and John from the family home in Glasgow means that the surviving correspondence can be used as a source of information on the family's view of education, as applied to individual children, and more generally. One further reason for focussing on the Moore family is that, probably uniquely in the history of eighteenth-century Glasgow, descriptions exist of the family home by the novelist Tobias Smollett and of the education the children received by a family friend, Mrs Francis

¹ Anderson, *Education*, p. v.

² Anderson, *Education*, p. v.

Dunlop.³ Neither of these portrayals can be claimed as completely independent, as they were written by contemporaries of the Moore parents, who were both friends and distant family members and this is taken into account when considering their reliability. But they add a dimension, beyond the autobiographical memoir, which as Anderson warns often provides insufficient material from which general deductions can be made.⁴

The Moore family home

The novelist Tobias Smollett introduces Dr and Mrs Moore and their home in a description voiced by his fictional main character, Matthew Bramble, in the novel *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*. Smollett portrays Dr Moore as known beyond Glasgow and acquainted with the most important people in the town. ‘The people of Glasgow have a noble spirit of enterprise. Mr Moore, a surgeon, to whom I was recommended from Edinburgh, introduced me to all the principal merchants of the place.’⁵ Dr Moore, therefore, is identified by his sociability, a feature commonly associated with Enlightenment Glasgow. Smollett’s correspondence also confirms that the Moores’ hospitality included inviting visitors from abroad into their home. In 1762 he wrote to thank them for entertaining two young Norwegians and a Dane during their tour of Britain, ‘The civilities you have shown to the three foreigners on my account I shall never forget. They were very full of your praises and talk much of the hospitality and industry of the people of Glasgow.’⁶ The Moore household, therefore, was open to guests from home and abroad and this would have afforded the children a wider view of society than if their experience had been limited to family and friends in Glasgow.

In *Humphry Clinker*, Smollett also includes a more detailed description of the Moore household voiced by the character, Jerry Melford, who paints an extremely positive picture of the environment in Glasgow, the Moore home, and of both Dr and Mrs Moore.

But Glasgow is the pride of Scotland, and indeed it might well pass for an elegant and flourishing city in any part of Christendom. There we, John, *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters 1560-1633*, ed. Jamie Reid-Baxter, Scottish History Society 2006, (Edinburgh, Boydell Press, 2013). had the good fortune to be received into the house of Dr Moore, an eminent surgeon to whom we were recommended by one of our friends at

³ Tobias Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, 1771, (London: Penguin, 1967), p.279; William Wallace, *Robert Burns and Mrs Dunlop*, 2 vols (New York: Dodd Mead, 1898), II p.123, Mrs Dunlop to Robert Burns, 1 January 1791.

⁴ Anderson, *Education*, p. v.

⁵ Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, p.281.

⁶ Edward S. Noyes, ‘Another Smollett Letter’, *Modern Language Notes* 42.4, (1927), p.234.

Edinburgh; and truly he could not have done us more essential service – Mr Moore is a merry facetious companion, sensible and shrewd, with a considerable fund of humour; and his wife an agreeable woman, well bred, kind and obliging [...]. Our landlord shewed us everything, and introduced us to all the world at Glasgow; where, through his recommendation, we were complimented with the freedom of the town.⁷

Dr Moore's sense of humour is stressed, with three mentions of this characteristic in a single sentence, and tribute is paid to his intelligence and good reputation. Mrs Moore is described as good-natured. Her qualities include a fundamental kindness, concern for others and willingness to help them. The family home is established, therefore, as a warm, happy place run by good tempered and kind parents, and very much part of the better-off community of Glasgow, although Dr Moore also worked among the poor of the town as the surgeon of Glasgow Town's Hospital from 1762-1771, in addition to having a private practice.⁸

A Family to educate

The Moores had a large family to educate. In all, eleven children were born to Dr and Mrs Moore between 1755 and 1772, five of whom died in infancy. Of the six surviving children, Jane (1758-1820) was the eldest and only daughter and John (1761-1809), the oldest son. Their younger brothers were James (1762-1860), Graham (1764-1843), Francis (1767-1854) and Charles (1770-1810). In 1772 the six Moore children ranged from Jane, aged fourteen, to the two-year-old Charles, who would be seven before his father returned to Glasgow in 1776. When Dr Moore and John left in February 1772, Mrs Moore was pregnant with her last child, Hamilton, who died in November 1772, when Dr Moore and John were in Geneva. Although both of the children's grandfathers were dead, their maternal and paternal grandmothers lived in Glasgow, less than a mile from the Moore home in Trongate, and the extended family in Glasgow included aunts, uncles and cousins.⁹

Education was a major theme in Dr Moore's letters. Shortly after he reached Geneva, in July 1772, he learned of the crash of the Ayr Bank. The financial difficulties caused by the crash in 1772 worried him, because it endangered their children's education and also his and his wife's security

⁷ Smollett, *Humphrey Clinker*, p.279.

⁸ Fiona A. Macdonald, 'The Infirmary of Glasgow Town's Hospital 1730-1800,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 73.1., (1999) pp.64-105; GCA, Mitchell Library Rare Books and Manuscripts (MLRBM) 641982: Glasgow Town's Hospital, Minutes of Directors' Meetings, 1732-64; MLRBM 641983: Quarterly Meeting Minute Book of the Directors of the Town's Hospital, 1732-1816.

⁹ See Appendix 1, Moore Family Tree; Table of Consanguinity.

in old age.¹⁰ Both topics recur in later letters, for example in February 1773 when he regrets having trusted ‘what might have secured us a happy independency and put our boys creditably into the world to such a treacherous rotten plank.’¹¹ Dr Moore saw the education of his children and setting his sons up in successful careers as a primary duty and accepted that he had to expend money in doing so. The family income derived from a variety of sources, inherited property, rent from some houses in Glasgow, and money earned from Dr Moore’s medical practice and his post as director of the Town’s Hospital. His salary and subsequent life pension from his post as tutor to the Duke of Hamilton was probably a major incentive in accepting the task. However, the discovery of how vulnerable his savings had been, strengthened his determination to see his sons settled. Indeed this determination, it could be argued, was a major influence on subsequent decisions on their careers.

Parents’ choices about education can be influenced by their own experience of education, the features they accept as having been successful and those they would wish to reject in the education of their offspring. Before studying the choices made, it is relevant to examine what is known about the parents’ education and to consider what influence this is likely to have had on their decisions.

The Moore parents’ education

Both Dr and Mrs Moore were raised by widowed mothers. When her husband the Reverend Charles Moore (1680?-1736) died, Dr Moore’s widowed mother, Mrs Marion Moore, moved from Stirling, back to her home city of Glasgow to raise her children, four daughters and seven-year-old, John.¹² Dr Moore’s early education followed a conventional path. He attended Glasgow Grammar School and then Glasgow University.¹³ In *Sketches of My Birth and Certain Circumstances*, an unpublished handwritten autobiographical fragment written for his family in 1799, he makes some major criticisms of his childhood experience, which may well have influenced his decisions and practice.¹⁴ He makes no criticism of educational establishments he attended, but is highly critical of a lack of parental guidance and encouragement, in his case solely maternal. This he blames, partly at least, on his mother’s involvement in religion, which he sees as having had an adverse effect on her duty as a parent. In general Dr Moore’s letters are written fluently with few

¹⁰ BL 57321 fols 14,15, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 17 July 1772.

¹¹ BL 57321 fols 18-22, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773.

¹² CUL Add Mss 9303 1/1-3, John Moore, *Sketches*, 1799.

¹³ CUL Add Mss 9303 1/1-3, John Moore, *Sketches*, 1799.

¹⁴ CUL Add Mss 9303 1/1-3, John Moore, *Sketches*, 1799.

amendments, but in this manuscript the erasures suggest a certain emotional turmoil and tentativeness in choosing the right words to describe his mother's attitude to his education.

No Woman loved her children more, yet her devotion often led her from them and engrossed her [...] mind so much that they were neglected. I in particular, though no expense was spared on my education, though put to schools and the University was in reality much neglected - I had nobody to direct me in my studies, or form my taste.

He portrays his mother as a woman whose 'devotion' to religion meant her family were 'neglected.' The word is repeated in the next sentence, a strong indictment of maternal dereliction of duty. He does not give any reason for his claim that he 'in particular' was 'neglected,' but it may have been because, as the only son, he was destined for a career, whereas his sisters were educated with marriage in mind. His comment on the expense is revealing, as he clearly believes money spent on education cannot replace the need for parental interest and direction. In describing his own flawed experience of education Dr Moore voices his thinking on a central tenet of education, the need for adult direction of the young, to enable them to acquire a clear set of principles and proper tastes.

His belief that obsessive devotion to religion prevented his mother from fulfilling this duty most likely coloured his own response to the place of organised religion in the education of the young and this is dealt with later. Less clear are his feelings about the role of women in their children's education, and whether or not his views are in line with Rousseau's belief in the particular importance of maternal influence. In Dr Moore's case his father's death put the onus on his mother to perform the full parental role. In his own situation, between 1772 and 1776, his six children were raised, in effect by a single parent for more than four of their formative years, one by himself and the other five by Mrs Moore, with the other parent's influence exerted only through letters.

The autobiographical fragment also makes it clear that he resented how his mother stifled his literary aspirations. This was particularly directed at his interest in drama, an issue that divided Presbyterian Scotland. When Dr Moore was thirteen his mother was shocked to discover his first serious attempt at writing, a dramatic piece based on the comedy *Andria* by the Roman playwright Terence. Her negative reaction caused him to abandon this form of literary activity, but he retained a lifelong interest in drama and dramatic performances.¹⁵ The acceptability of drama was a matter of hot debate within religious circles in Scotland. The first theatre in Glasgow erected in 1752 was burned down in 1754 by a mob after listening to an open-air sermon by the itinerant preacher the Reverend George Whitefield (1714-1770) who is said to have pointed to the theatre as the

¹⁵ Moore, *Manners*, contains many references to plays attended in Europe, p.172, Letter XLVII refers to plays in Frankfurt, p. 275, Letter XLLIV to a performance of Voltaire's *Oedipus* in Potsdam.

‘habitation of the devil.’¹⁶ Mrs Marion Moore’s disapproval of drama places her firmly in the illiberal faction. The sexual content of *Andria*, where a main character is born to unwed parents and raised by a ‘courtesan,’ might have been a particular cause for disapproval.¹⁷ Dr Moore, however, insists his mother’s objection to drama was a fundamental one. ‘She was greatly shocked at my attempt to write in this mode, not entirely on acc[oun]t of the childishness of the piece -she would have been shocked at my writing a comedy however witty it had been.’¹⁸ Dr Moore’s youthful interest in drama, therefore, came from outside the home, and one likely place was at school and university. Records show Glasgow Grammar school hosting a dramatic performance by students of the university as far back as 1720, when the students had been denied permission to stage a play at the university.¹⁹ There is also a record of a Glasgow Grammar school performance of scenes from the work of Terence in 1743, when Dr Moore would have been thirteen, making this a likely inspiration for his literary efforts and a sign that maternal disapproval was counterbalanced by more liberal influences. His rejection of his mother’s view, therefore, is likely to have been a factor in his encouraging his children to read literature and to express themselves in writing, as shown in the manuscript journals of Jane, John and Graham, publications by John and James and the family’s active support of the poet Robert Burns.²⁰

At Glasgow University Dr Moore studied under Francis Hutcheson, acquiring therefore direct experience of Hutcheson’s innovative teaching methods, where English was the language of instruction rather than the traditional Latin.²¹ He was then apprenticed to John Gordon, a Glasgow surgeon and physician, before a spell as an army surgeon, a period in Paris, followed by study in London with the physicians and anatomists William and John Hunter²². On his return to Glasgow he met and ‘became increasingly fond’ of Jean Simson and that ‘prevailed on [him] to remain’ in

¹⁶ Anon, *Glasgow Delineated*, (Glasgow: Wardlaw and Cunningham, 1826), p.30.

¹⁷ Terence, *The Comedies of Terence*, translated by Henry Thomas Riley, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1896), p.3.

¹⁸ CUL Add Mss 9303 1/1-3, John Moore, *Sketches*, 1799.

¹⁹ J. McKenzie, ‘School and University Drama in Scotland, 1650-1760’ *Scottish Historical Review*, 34 (1955) 103-121, p.119.

²⁰ CUL Add Mss 9808, Journal of Jane Moore; BL MS Add 57321, Journal of Sir John Moore; CUL MS Add 9808, Journal of Sir Graham Moore; NLS MS 23150, Dr Moore to Robert Burns; NLS MS 5952, Robert Burns to Dr Moore, 1787.

²¹ Addison, *Matriculation Albums*. Dr Moore enrolled in 1742 as matriculation number 986.

²² CUL Add Mss 9303 1/1-3, John Moore, *Sketches*, 1799.

Glasgow.²³ A letter in 1749 to William Cullen (1710-1790), at that time lecturer in Medicine and from 1751 professor of Medicine at Glasgow University, shows how hard the nineteen-year-old worked to acquire the skills and experience to be a successful physician in Glasgow.²⁴

I was extremely Glad to find that you particularly Reccomend these two branches of our Bussiness w[hi]ch I have made my principle Study since my arrival at Paris, as the most likely to succeed in Glasgow-viz Performing Surgical Operations and Midwifery. With Regard to the first, I have not Contented myself with attending the Hospitals and Seeing them again & again performed there, but have also taken the Courses of two Celebrated Surgeons, where under their Inspection I have performed every operation several times over upon Dead Subjects, particularly the stones, others w[hi]ch I have never performed on living persons I would fain had my Coup d'épée of this operation over here, but find to my great Sorrow Impracticable, I mean upon a living person. As to Midwifery I have attended one course, seen a good many births and performed some myself, have also read upon this subject Mauricean and La Motte with tolerable Diligence and shall give the finishing stroke under Dr Smillie who I design to attend at London upon My Return. My time at present is occupied in Dissecting, and attending the lectures of the famous Astruc upon the Diseases of Women and Children, a branch of my Bussiness w[hi]ch I freely own I have a great need to study.

There is no specific information on whether he considered his choice of medicine as a career was another example of the lack of guidance that he refers to, but it is clear that, despite his diligence and success in this field, Dr Moore did not become a doctor through personal choice.

I applied to medicine and surgery, not from taste, I hated both, but because I had a great friendship for Colin Douglas [...] who was at that time an apprentice with Dr Jo Gordon a Surgeon and Physician in Glasgow with whom Dr Smollett had formerly been also an apprentice.²⁵

He was not content to spend his life practising as a Glasgow physician. There is evidence that he had academic aspirations. In 1763, John Anderson (1726-1796), Professor of Natural Philosophy at the University, made an unsuccessful bid that some of the £1000 given by the King annually for the encouragement of the Arts and Sciences in Scotland be used to establish a post of Professor of Midwifery at the University and recommended the appointment of Dr Moore, who it has been noted in the last chapter was giving midwifery lectures in the town.²⁶ Although the attempt to establish this chair did not succeed, the recommendation indicates a measure of confidence, not only in Dr Moore's medical expertise, but also in his suitability as a teacher. John Anderson's commitment to broadening the university curriculum resulted in his leaving a legacy in 1797 to found Anderson's Institution, which pioneered technical and scientific education for men and

²³ CUL Add Mss 9303 1/1-3, John Moore, *Sketches*, 1799.

²⁴ GUL MS Cullen 91, John Moore to William Cullen, 1749.

²⁵ CUL Add Mss 9303 1/1-3, John Moore, *Sketches*, 1799.

²⁶ NLS fol. 2424/5, John Anderson to Baron Mure, 8 November 1763.

women.²⁷ But the failure in this instance to create a chair in this branch of medicine at Glasgow University and secure it for Dr Moore could have been a factor in Dr Moore's later decision to look beyond his medical career to become first a tutor and then an author.

Mrs Moore's formal education is unknown. She was only five when her father, Professor John Simson (1667-1740) died, so any influence he might have had on her education could have been slight, although her father, who had been removed from his teaching post at the university five years before her birth, may have occupied some of his time with teaching Jean, the last of his children. Her mother was also a daughter of the manse and a potential provider of home tuition.²⁸ If Mrs Moore's education followed the norm, she would have acquired basic literacy either at home or at some private establishment, followed by supplementary education at home from tutors or by attending whatever selected classes her family thought appropriate. Whether this included any attendance at a boarding establishment for females cannot be established. By the age of twenty she was married and for the next seventeen years, until the birth and death of her last child in 1772, it might reasonably be assumed that much of her time was taken up with her role as wife and mother and that this included an element of instruction of her children, overseeing their educational progress as well as attention to their manners and moral growth.

In *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth Century Scotland*, Katharine Glover, highlights the 'elusiveness of sources in family archives' on female education and this is true of the Moore family archives, which contain few letters written by Jean Moore and her daughter Jane.²⁹ Glover argues that the letters of females were less valued and tended to be more readily disposed of and there may be an element of this, but it could also be that the content of Mrs Moore's letters were thought by her sons and daughter to be too personal to be included in the family archives and she or

²⁷ John Butt, 'Further Education Institutions', in *Scottish Life and Society: Education*, Heather Holmes, ed. (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 2000), p.175.

²⁸ CUL Add Mss 9303 1/1-3, John Moore, *Sketches*, 1799.

²⁹ Katharine Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth Century Scotland*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press: 2011), p.26. Glover gives a good bibliography of more recent work on eighteenth century female education. Glover's examples tend to be taken from the aristocracy or gentry. She does not deal with Joanna Baillie, Jane Moore or Katherine Mure, the eldest daughter of William Mure, who may have attended the same school in France as Jane Moore, although she does quote from Katherine's aunt, Elizabeth Mure, 'Some Remarks on the Change of Manners in my own Time, 1700-1790' in *Selections from the Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell*, ed. W. Mure, Maitland Club, 71 (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1854), p.206, a standard primary eighteenth century source.

her children destroyed them - unless they are still awaiting discovery. Mrs Moore was certainly literate and corresponded not only with her own family, but with the Duchess of Argyll, the publisher John Murray and others.³⁰ Although fewer of her letters survive, they are mentioned in other correspondence and some of their content can be deduced. Letters from her great friend and distant relative Mrs Frances Dunlop, whose correspondence with Burns has survived, give an insight into the literary standards of women of a similar class.³¹ Mrs Dunlop, who claimed credit for bringing Dr and Mrs Moore together, left a substantial body of correspondence.³² Her letters are lengthy, sprinkled with literary and classical allusions, and display an enthusiastic interest in contemporary literature and a desire to encourage young writers like Robert Burns. Whether Mrs Moore shared her friend's interest is unknown, but her social confidence is shown in the poignant letter she wrote in November 1772 to the Duchess of Argyll to explain that she had been unable to reply to a letter because of 'the death of my infant' but she invited the Duchess to stay at the Moore home if she was visiting Glasgow as it would be 'quieter than the inn.'³³

It is clear, that her literary skills went beyond mere competence. Dr Moore approved of her style and considered her fully capable of teaching Jane good letter writing skills. In 1773, when Jane was visiting Frances Dunlop, he advised Mrs Moore to teach Jane letter-writing skills by example. 'You ought to correspond with her while she is at Loch Rian to form her stile in writing English. I never desire her to have a better than yours.'³⁴ Mrs Moore's knowledge of literature cannot be determined, but in letters home Dr Moore did not hesitate to use fairly obscure literary allusions to describe their family circumstances. Anxious, for instance, about the financial crisis caused by the crash of the Ayr Bank, he tells her he will only believe her version, rather than 'other Rhodomontandes' – clearly expecting her to understand this reference to Rodomonte, an arrogant Saracen leader in *Orlando Innamorato* by Matteo Boiardo (1487) and *Orlando Furioso* by Ludovico Ariosto (1521).³⁵ Describing an excursion Dr Moore refers to scenery 'of which Rousseau gives such a fine description in the beginning of Heloise' and to 'the abode of Julie d'Etange,' implying that his wife is familiar with Rousseau's novel, either in French or in

³⁰ NLS 45031, Ann Murray to John Murray 27 July 1775, 25 August 1775. Letters contain details of correspondence with Mrs Moore and Dr Moore.

³¹ Wallace, *Burns and Dunlop*.

³² Wallace, *Burns and Dunlop*, II, p.49.

³³ Argyll, *Letters*, p.356, Mrs Moore to the Duchess of Argyll, Glasgow, 17 November 1772.

³⁴ BL 57321 fols 22, 23, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine, July 1773.

³⁵ BL 57321 fols 18-21, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773.

translation.³⁶ It is likely that Mrs Moore had a working knowledge of French, as Dr Moore recommends that she ‘let [Jane] read French to you this will amuse you and keep up the language with her’³⁷ In later years she and Jane read French works for pleasure in the evenings: ‘We are now reading Lord Clarendon and at night I read some French books which might amuse us.’³⁸

A later letter shows Mrs Moore as a strong character, prepared to challenge the establishment. After the death of John in 1809 Mrs Moore wrote impassionedly to King George III about the pension which had been granted to the family.³⁹ In this she displayed detailed knowledge of the Spanish campaign, describing it as a ‘hazardous movement, made at the instance of your Majesty’s Ambassador resident with the Central Junta. [John Hookham Frere].’ She asserted that Moore ‘terminated his zealous and honourable career by a death he had always aspired to – his last moments cheered by the sound of victory – his last prayer for his country’s welfare – his last hope that his country would do him justice.’ The language at this point is stylishly rhetorical, with repetition of phrases building to a climax. She objected to the sum awarded as she thought it did not do justice to the service her son had given, although she did not want to benefit personally from any larger sum that might be awarded and had waived her right in favour of her next eldest son, James. This letter was possibly a ‘family’ production, with Mrs Moore getting advice from Jane, James, Frank and Charles – Graham was at sea at this time. There is evidence that the family collaborated in this way, when writing important letters. As an adult James described to his mother how he had consulted Frank and Graham before dispatching a letter to the Duke of York in 1809. ‘Frank composed a letter for me [...] but on finding this too civil by half,’ James sent his own letter after ‘Graham approved.’ Frank returned his copy ‘hoping to God’ James ‘had not sent it and he pencilled it all over with courtly words,’ causing James to comment that ‘Frank and I differ strangely in our stiles.’⁴⁰ In a letter to the King it would have been imperative for Mrs Moore to achieve the right tone so it would have been natural to consult others at the draft stage, but there is no reason to think that the final letter was not fundamentally her composition.

³⁶ BL 57321 fol. 26, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine, 13 August 1773.

³⁷ BL 57321, fol. 8, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Calais 17 April 1772.

³⁸ CUL MS Add 9808/6/9, Jane Moore to Christina Alexander, 23 November 1803.

³⁹ Arthur Aspinall, *The Later Correspondence of George III*, v. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), no 3842, p.244, Mrs John Moore (born Jane Simson, wife of John Moore, M.D. and mother of Lieutenant General Sir John Moore) to King George III, 24 March 1809.

⁴⁰ BL57321 fols 36, 37, James Moore to Mrs Jean Moore, 3 June 1809.

An image of an extract of the only letter written by Mrs Moore which survives from the period studied in this thesis is given in Appendix 2. Written to Dr Moore in October 1776, it shows her use of imagery to express her mixed emotions: the news she had just received of a relative's serious illness had acted as an 'alloy' to her joy at her reunion with her son John.⁴¹ Therefore, despite the absence of her letters, the content and the style of those that survive show her as an extremely competent and well educated correspondent.

Parental roles in the education of children

The education that Dr Moore provided for his children is described by Mrs Frances Dunlop in a 1791 letter to Robert Burns, where she gives a comprehensive analysis of what she considers the key features responsible for the success of the Moore children in later life and argues that their education was a model suitable for children of all ranks.⁴²

To this his children owe an education suited to the prince or the peasant, in which their minds and bodies were alike remembered, their constitutions mended by his medical skills, their morals attended to, and every idea impress that could improve benevolence, friendship, or humanity, encourage industry, prudence and economy, repress arrogance, petulance, barbarity or insolence, and blend the goodness of a Christian with the spirit and freeborn independence of a man, fit to make his own way in a world with which he is early and properly made acquainted, so as to serve others, without being a dupe himself; to feel himself so truly well instructed and ready knowing as to be always beloved, modest, and unassuming.⁴³

The education she outlines in such laudatory terms is rounded. It gives attention to physical well-being, as well as academic progress, a balance not present in the traditional grammar school syllabus with its neglect of physical education. She also asserts that Dr Moore took active steps to build character and inculcate virtues, 'every idea impress that could improve.' The list which follows gives an insight in what she perceives as Dr Moore's priorities. It begins with those virtues that show concern for others, 'benevolence, friendship, or humanity.' The next virtues exemplify the importance of work ethic, 'industry, prudence and economy.' The vices to be repressed are those where others are badly treated, 'arrogance, petulance, barbarity or insolence.' Finally there is a sense of balance: the children should be confident of their own worth, including their education, without being arrogant. She rates Dr Moore's abilities as an educator highly and approves of the thoroughness of his approach. 'Nor did the Dr even stop here. The ornamental acquirements were added, exterior as well interior, with a profusion that no other man in similar circumstances

⁴¹ CUL MS Add 9808/1/2 Mrs Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 29 September 1776.

⁴² Wallace, *Burns and Dunlop*, II, p.123, Mrs Dunlop to Robert Burns, 1 January 1791.

⁴³ Wallace, *Burns and Dunlop*, II p.123.

could have reached.⁴⁴ She affirms the importance of Mrs Moore's role in the education of their family, though as a helpmeet rather than an active partner in the children's education. She describes Dr Moore as 'unaided by everything except the tenderest love and most reverential esteem of the best wife ever a man chose for the mother of that family which was to constitute such a part of his future pride.'⁴⁵

As a family friend, Frances Dunlop's analysis is highly enthusiastic and shows some signs of judicious editing in her account of the Moore's background. She stresses the humble origins of Dr Moore, 'the son of a poor Scots clergyman' omitting his mother's family and their comparative affluence. She does not acknowledge the strength of the family connections of both Dr and Mrs Moore. Perhaps she does this to establish a link with the poverty of the Burns family. When allowance is made for her partiality, however, her analysis of the principles that underpinned their educational choices shows a desire for an extensive set of skills and virtues.

Dr Moore took his duty as an educator of his children seriously and had high expectations of the outcomes, writing in 1774, 'I expect great things from my boys'; he felt confident that his wife shared this ambition and was herself capable of undertaking this task, and assured her that the children left in her care would do well 'under the eye of such a Guardian.'⁴⁶ The term 'great' indicates that his standard goes beyond monetary success. Dr Moore's priorities are those which benefit both the individual and the wider society.

I indeavoured to inspire them with energy, honourable sentiments and ambition. I believe both Virtue and Happiness consists in honourable exertions. I believe Vice and Misery are the Children of Indolence, of disregard of character and effeminate indulgences – I believe those who are eternally in search of comforts, and prefer them to everything else are not only the most despicable, but also the most [uncomfortable] and wretched of the human race. By enabling my sons to follow useful professions successfully I thought I would do more for them than if I was to give them fortunes to tempt them to idleness, and indulgence in uncomfortable comforts.⁴⁷

His sons' career choices, in the army, navy, diplomatic service, medicine and law, fall into this category. Dr Moore's aim was that his sons work hard, excel in their chosen careers, and fulfil their roles honourably and he believed that this was also the key to happiness.

⁴⁴ Wallace, *Burns and Dunlop*, II p.123.

⁴⁵ Wallace, *Burns and Dunlop*, II p.123.

⁴⁶ BL 57321 fols 29, 30, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Manheim 17 October 1774.

⁴⁷ Moore, *Sketches*.

Intellectual climate in Glasgow

When we consider the intellectual climate in Glasgow in 1772, one obviously important figure is the Scottish philosopher, Thomas Reid, who was flourishing both as an academic, a highly popular professor at the university, an active member of Glasgow Literary Society and a parent whose sons attended Glasgow Grammar School and Glasgow University at the same time as James and Graham Moore. Reid's son, David (born 1762, died before 1788) was their contemporary at Glasgow Grammar School and matriculated at Glasgow University in 1774 in the same class as James Carrick Moore (1762-1860), enrolling in the first year Latin class of William Richardson (1743-1814), Professor of Humanity (1773-1814).⁴⁸

Reid's contribution to the Scottish Enlightenment lies squarely in his philosophical ideas, but his participation in the wider Glasgow social life is significant to his potential influence on parental thinking at this time. His ideas were available, not just to his students, but more widely in the town. He was a member of the Glasgow Literary Society and in 1763 read a paper on education to the members.⁴⁹ His approach is descriptive, rather than analytic, starting with classical authors, Plato and Aristotle and going on to more modern thinkers like 'the subtle Descartes' with 'his ingenious but bewildering system' and Leibnitz, whom he considered 'inferior' to Descartes in 'every respect.' Dr Moore was not a member of the Literary Society, preferring the more convivial Hodge Podge Society, but in the small community of Glasgow it is likely that he would have been aware of the club's programme and had access to the information on topics discussed through acquaintances, such as Baron Mure of Caldwell, who was a member of both clubs.⁵⁰

Moral and religious education

In *An Inquiry Into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense* published in 1764, Reid considered the question of parental roles in the development of a child's moral faculties.⁵¹ 'Central to his argument is the development of reason and the process by which 'the child comes to appreciate its own existence and its relationship to others' and through this 'reasoning and moral

⁴⁸ Addison, *Matriculation Albums*, p.108, 1774, 3417-David Reid, 3430-James Moore.

⁴⁹ GUL MS Gen, 915, Thomas Reid, *An Essay*, 1 April 1763, Handwritten Dissertation

⁵⁰ John Strang, *Glasgow and Its Clubs*, (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1834), pp. 24, 55.

⁵¹ Thomas Reid, *Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense* 1764 (London: Thomas Tegg, 1823), p.7.

faculties.⁵² The role of parents and educators, as crucial external influences, is to foster this ‘ripening’ process and to facilitate the acquisition of reason and moral sense. Reid considered the initial, unthinking trust in what the child is told by parents and by teachers as a vital stage in its development towards reasoned beliefs and a balance between these as essential to educability.

I instinctively believed whatever they told me, long before I had the idea of a lie or thought of the possibility of their deceiving me. Afterwards, I found on reflection that they had acted like fair and honest people who wished me well [...] And the trust that I used to give instinctively I continue to give thoughtfully to those of whose integrity and truthfulness I have had experience.⁵³

The nurturing approach of the Moore parents to their children’s education fits this theory. Their children’s correspondence, examined in the next chapters, shows respect for their parents and trust in their honesty and in their benevolent intentions.

Reid places his religious beliefs in the area of instinctive trust, similar to that of the child’s trust in a parent, which is consolidated by later reflection and experience of parental honesty. ‘In all this I deal with the Author of my being in just the way I have thought it reasonable to deal with my parents and teachers.’ This is more problematic when applied to the Moore parents. The instinctive trust in the existence of a compassionate God corresponds well to the description of Mrs Moore’s religious beliefs, as described by Graham after her death, but this must be counterbalanced by a degree of elusiveness that makes it more difficult to pinpoint Dr Moore’s beliefs.⁵⁴

When describing his mother’s faith, Graham Moore makes it very clear that she was aware of contentious issues, but that she regarded these as tangential and was content to live according to a simple creed.

Devoted to her duties, of a clear and sound understanding, a true Christian free from every kind of bigotry, the least selfish and most disinterested person I ever knew and of the kindest, most benevolent and affectionate heart – She appeared never to have varied in her religious notions, being a firm believer in the divine mission and divinity of our Saviour, whose doctrine was congenial to her own feelings. She never puzzled herself with any of the dogma or controversial points, which have divided and perplexed the different sects. She saw the difficulty of reconciling some parts of scripture with each other and with her own understanding, but without being able to clear them up, she did not suffer them to affect in the slightest degree her perfect confidence in the goodness and mercy of God.⁵⁵

⁵² Reid, *Inquiry*, p.7

⁵³ Reid, *Inquiry*, p.250.

⁵⁴ CUL Add Ms 9303/26, Graham Moore about his mother, 26 March 1820; CUL Add Ms 9303/11:42 Journal of Graham Moore, xi, p.42, Graham Moore about his father.

⁵⁵ CUL Add Ms 9303/26: Graham Moore about his mother, 26 March 1820.

Even allowing for the eulogistic tone appropriate to the occasion, the final picture that emerges is of an intelligent and tolerant woman, genuinely believing in and practising the Christian religion. There is, however, nothing about her passing on these religious beliefs to her children in any systematic or deliberate way, or even of conceiving it as her duty to do so. In fact in the Moore family correspondence only Jane expresses approval of a mother educating her daughter in the ‘principles of Christian piety,’ but she does not say that her own mother had exerted any influence on her own beliefs.⁵⁶

Graham Moore’s account of his father’s beliefs on his deathbed contrasts with his account of his mother’s faith, not only in brevity but also in word choice. ‘While he was sensible he expressed himself in a calm and firm manner convinced of the existence of an all ruling Providence, and in the hope of a future Life.’⁵⁷ A considerable part of his eulogy for his mother deals with the link between her convictions and her character; for his father he reports only that he ‘expressed himself [...] convinced.’ He chooses ‘Providence’ instead of God, and ‘hope’ instead of the confident assurance ascribed to Mrs Moore. Possibly Graham wants to reassure a devout wife and daughter and other members of the family of Dr Moore’s fundamental religious faith, but carefully chooses words which could console, without compromising a more sceptical or at least a more complex standpoint. In a letter to his wife from Geneva in 1773, Dr Moore candidly expresses his uncertainty on the issue of the exact nature of life after death. He is careful not to reject basic doctrine, but for him it is transcended by his belief in the importance of the living power of his love for his wife and family. ‘I cannot be sure my dear Jeanie if I shall think of you and them after I am dead – but this I know that I think of you sleeping as well as waking.’⁵⁸ This is consistent with the few references he makes in his letters to his religious views. He occasionally refers to God in moments of emotional stress such as his worry over the effects of the Ayr Bank crash on family finances, or his wife’s physical health and spirits, but does not however mention any religious faith when describing potentially dangerous family illnesses⁵⁹ ‘I assure you that the darling wish of my Soul is to make you and them happy and when it shall no longer be in my power to contribute to that I desire to go to the Shades with all expedition.’⁶⁰ His allusion to the afterlife as ‘the Shades’

⁵⁶ CUL Add Ms 9808/6/1 Jane Moore to Christine Alexander, May 17 undated.

⁵⁷ CUL Add Ms 9303/11:42 Journal of Graham Moore, xi p.42.

⁵⁸ BL 57321 fols 22,23, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine near Geneva July 1773.

⁵⁹ BL 57321 fols 12-17, 22,23, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773; BL 57321 fols 29,50, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Manheim, 17 October 1774; NLS 583 fol 783, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Glasgow, undated [1765?]

⁶⁰ BL 57321 fols 10,11 Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Paris, April 1772

is drawn from the classics rather than scripture, but elsewhere his language draws on the Christian concept of 'Heaven.'

I thank Heaven with perfect Sincerity for the Inestimable blessing it Bestowed on me in Connecting me with you and My earnest Prayer is that it may Bless and Preserve your vulnerable life till I shall again have the happiness of Seeing you - Farewell my Dear Soul and believe me Most Unalterably Yours John Moore.⁶¹

As an adult, Graham Moore also uses classical rather than Christian allusions, for example when writing to John in 1808. 'May the God of Battle favor and protect you my dear Jack. I have no fears but for your person and that I am willing to risk in the noble, sublime cause you are engaged in.'⁶² But he does use the phrase 'our Saviour' in his mother's eulogy.

Religious Observance and Instruction

It is reasonable to assume the five children being reared in Glasgow by Mrs Moore would have been taught the basic tenets of the catechism and been taken to Sunday worship as a family, particularly in the light of the proximity of both paternal and maternal grandmothers, widows of clergymen of the Church of Scotland, and in the case of Mrs Marion Moore known to have held strong religious views. Jane is rather different in that, whatever early training she might have had, she also had five years of education in a Catholic environment, which is described and discussed below. Whether or not this included participation in actual worship, or in religious education, it would in all probability have made the reversion to Scottish Presbyterian worship difficult, when she returned home. Similarly, although it is likely that John had some basic religious training while in Glasgow, later, under his father's guidance, there is no evidence that there was any religious observance or instruction. Dr Moore mentions his habit of boarding John with clergymen or professors, when possible, but this seems more for their general erudition and suitability as teachers, rather than from any desire to inspire religious faith.⁶³ Dr Moore's main concern was the inculcation of morals and right behaviour, not instilling dogma. It is unlikely that Dr Moore would have gone as far as to encourage his children to challenge religious tenets, but he concentrated more on their general moral beliefs, which he thought of vital importance. However, the difference in attitudes of the Moore parents to religious faith does not seem to have caused any tension between them, regarding the religious education of their children.

⁶¹ BL 57321 fols 1,2, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, London 4 March 1772.

⁶² BL 57321 fols 50,58, Graham Moore to John Moore, Rio de Janeiro, 11 December 1808.

⁶³ NLS 4946 fol 235, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Venice, 31 October 1775.

There is a lack of evidence of any great concern to educate the Moore children in the conventional dogma and practices of the Church of Scotland. They were baptised and were probably instructed in the catechism, but there is a surprising dearth of references to religion in their letters, either in traditional valedictions or in response to specific family events.⁶⁴ Although the religious Calvinism of Geneva was a major factor in the perception of its suitability as a destination for British youth, as opposed to Catholic France, during his stay in Geneva and on his Grand Tour travels Dr Moore rarely mentioned attending any religious services for the purpose of worship, or entering a church other than as sightseers.

An important feature of Dr Moore's objection to religious practice in Glasgow was the gloom of Sunday as a day of worship and the joyless Glaswegian churchgoers, a criticism that would have been supported by Thomas Reid who, when he first came to Glasgow in 1764, was struck by how the 'the religion of the common people [had] a gloomy, enthusiastical cast.'⁶⁵ Dr Moore found Geneva far more congenial, as there were public festivities after religious services.⁶⁶ In justification he cites Psalm 2 v.11 'to join trembling with their mirth' using the phraseology of the Scottish Psalter rather than the Authorised Version or the Geneva Bible, thus displaying not only his biblical knowledge but also his Scottish roots.

Dr Moore's interest in religion centred on its social effects. In *Travels and Manners* he comments on Islam, Judaism and the main forms of Christianity, Catholicism, Calvinism, and Lutheranism.⁶⁷ He discusses whether Islam considered women less important than men, and commended Christianity for considering them 'creatures upon a level with men and equally entitled to every enjoyment, both here and hereafter.'⁶⁸ His attitude to Judaism was positive, and he speculated on whether the prosperity of Ancona was linked to the toleration of Jews and permitting their religious worship.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ GCA Record of Baptisms, CITY 644 BOX 19 Vol. 1 13-14.

⁶⁵ Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 38. Thomas Reid to Andrew Skene, 14 December 1764.

⁶⁶ Moore, *Manners*, p.70, Letter XX.

⁶⁷ Moore, *Travels*, p.36, Letter III.

⁶⁸ Moore, *Travels*, pp.34-6, Letter III discusses different attitudes towards women.

⁶⁹ Moore, *Travels*, p.326, Letter XXXI.

Motivating learning

Reward was Dr Moore's favoured method of achieving diligence and reinforcing approved behaviour. The children were also given reasons for virtue and these reasons were rational, secular and pragmatic, rather than religious. Good behaviour, for example, would bring the reward of a high reputation. It was important, however, to deserve this reputation and to work diligently to achieve it. The tactic therefore was to avoid any need for punishment by early reinforcement of good behaviour. In his letters he regularly asks Mrs Moore to arrange treats for the children, mostly feasts of 'raisins, almonds, pears'; sometimes presents were sent as rewards for diligence or achievement and, less often, a small amount of money promised.⁷⁰ An admirer of Dr Moore's strategy of encouragement by praise was Robert Burns, who in a letter to Dr Moore in 1789 described his experience of the effectiveness of Dr Moore as a mentor, justifying his practice of praising the sensitive learner beyond what was strictly deserved as a way of building confidence.

a friend - not only of abilities to judge, but with good nature enough, like a prudent teacher with a young learner, to praise a little more than is exactly just, lest the thin-skinned animal fall into the most deplorable of all poetic diseases - heart-breaking despondency of himself.⁷¹

This approach seems to have been both effective and influential in their children's later beliefs, Although John and Graham Moore chose careers where corporal punishment was a normal disciplinary tactic, often enthusiastically endorsed by contemporaries, both rejected it as ineffective and advocated less severe methods based on respect for individuals. John's description of the well trained 52nd regiment gives an insight into his theory and practice.

Their behaviour in the field is perfect; it is evident that not only the officers but that each individual soldier knows perfectly what he has to do; the discipline is carried on without severity; the officers are attached to the men, the men to the officers. The men find that pains are taken to keep them from doing wrong, that allowances are made for trivial faults, and that they are not punished for serious crime unless advice and [every] other means have been resorted to in vain.⁷²

At Glasgow Grammar School they would certainly have witnessed corporal punishment used as a sanction. In a letter to Graham Moore, a fellow scholar, Thomas, later Sir Thomas, Munro (1761-1827) Governor of Bengal, reminisced on how they went in fear of one of the masters 'I never think of you without looking back half a century, when we were in Glasgow and went to school in fear and trembling to meet Bald.'⁷³

⁷⁰ BL 57321 fol.10, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Paris, May 1772.

⁷¹ Wilkie, *Robert Burns: Letters*, p. 230-2; Robert Burns to Dr Moore, Ellisland, 4 January 1789.

⁷² Moore, *Diary*, II. p.155.

⁷³ Ashmall, *High School of Glasgow*, p.71.

It is not possible to quantify the extent to which corporal punishment was used in eighteenth-century Glasgow schools, either to enforce order or punish poor academic performance. The use of corporal punishment at school was not something that parents would have had power to prevent. However, in removing John from school, mid-way through the traditional four-year course, one potential motive might have been to use an alternative method of channelling what is described as John's 'fiery and untractable' temperament.⁷⁴ There is no information on which schoolmaster taught John, but as his cousin Charles Macintosh, born in 1766, was in Bald's class, given a four year rotation of teachers, the severe Bald may have been John's teacher.⁷⁵

The Moores were particularly successful in cultivating in their offspring a desire to please their parents, rather than a fear of displeasing them. They recognised the strength of character of their individual children and attempted to correct what they saw as flaws in behaviour, caused by temperament. Their approach, however, seems to have been positive, rather than punitive, to bring out what they perceived as the good in the children. This is in line with Reid's positive analysis of the child's first instincts. Reid argues that moral and political understanding comes later but that a child's first instinct is to tell the truth and only later will lie under particular circumstances.⁷⁶

It is likely, therefore, that the Moores had reservations about whether the methodology at Glasgow Grammar School was the best way for their children to learn. Dr Moore's letters show he was alert to alternative ways to engage interest by harnessing the educational potential of his travel. In 1774, he wrote to Mrs Moore to recommend she purchase a map of Germany and ensure that James and Graham studied the travels of their father and brother.⁷⁷ Although he did not go as far as to advocate John's education as an alternative to schooling, he clearly saw a value to the experience, comparable or superior to classroom-based learning

Schooling

Beyond the home, however, the existing educational institutions offered significant alternative choices for more formal education and the Moores did not reject these. Their ideas were more in tune with Reid than Rousseau. Reid took issue with Rousseau on education, rejecting the stress on nature as a freestanding educative tool for a civilised society, arguing that 'the education of nature

⁷⁴ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p.2.

⁷⁵ Macintosh, *Biographical Memoir*, n.p.

⁷⁶ Reid *Enquiry*, footnote p.53

⁷⁷ BL 57321 fols 29,30, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Mannheim, 17 October 1774.

is most perfect in savages who have no other tutor,' and that 'human education should be joined to [nature]'.⁷⁸ Reid argued for a judicious combination of natural influences and an educational system, which took account of these and this was the approach taken by the Moores. Their attention to the individual characters of their children when supervising their education is also close to Reid's common-sense approach, 'the art of education is to follow nature, to assist her in her way of rearing men.'⁷⁹ Here again, although it might be argued that, when he uses the word 'men' Reid is making a general point about human education, it still illustrates the assumption that serious education is for males.

Although 1772 saw a particularly dramatic break with convention in the decision to remove John from Glasgow Grammar School to accompany his father on the Grand Tour, there had already been two signs of an innovative approach to their children's education, the use of a private residential tutor and the decision to send Jane to France to be educated at a Benedictine convent. Both of these decisions indicate a concern for training in modern languages and a rejection of the adequacy of a Latin-based curriculum, key issues in the Enlightenment debate.

At some time before 1771 Dr and Mrs Moore acquired the services of William Cumberland Cruikshank (1745-1800) as a tutor to augment the education of their children. This arrangement was reciprocally beneficial, since Cruikshank, boarded with the Moores and was himself Dr Moore's medical pupil. Originally a student of theology in Edinburgh, Cruikshank graduated in 1767 in Glasgow with a Master of Arts degree. He left Glasgow in 1771 to become the assistant of Dr William Hunter in London and was later renowned as an anatomist and scientist. He was also highly competent in Italian and French and had used these skills to give lessons to fellow students at university.⁸⁰ He would therefore have been eminently qualified to coach the young Moore sons, not only in the classics which were such an important part of the curriculum at Glasgow Grammar School, but also in modern languages, particularly French. This decision is a sign of the importance Dr and Mrs Moore attached to their children's progress and a desire to supplement what was available locally, a tactic employed by parents when concerned about the adequacy of provision and a desire to improve their children's educational prospects.

Jane

⁷⁸ Reid, *Inquiry*, p 243.

⁷⁹ Reid, *Inquiry*, p.243.

⁸⁰ G. T. Bettany, 'Cruikshank, William Cumberland (1745–1800)', ODNB.

Dena Goodman, in 'L'Ortografie des Dames: Gender and Language in the Old Régime' argues that in the eighteenth century formal education for girls, though increasing, was 'notoriously brief and only minimally academic.' Not only poor females but also those from more affluent families were disadvantaged by the limited time devoted to learning and the restricted expected outcomes.⁸¹ She argues that this affected both rich and poor.

If, as Martine Sonnet points out, educators of poor girls 'were always in a hurry to remove the pen from their hands and replace it with needle and thread,' the convents in which young ladies were formed tended to teach writing as they did music and dancing—as an accomplishment necessary to demonstrate polish in *le monde*.⁸²

In 1772 the Moores' oldest child, Jane was in France. She was now aged fourteen and had been sent in 1768, at the age of nine, to a Benedictine convent near Calais.⁸³ Jane's attendance at a French convent was a perhaps startling choice for a non-aristocratic Scottish family where both grandfathers had been ministers of the Church of Scotland. In the convent she would learn French but also be exposed to Catholicism, a religious dogma loathed by Scottish Presbyterians and rejected by Enlightenment sceptics. The danger of conversion through Catholic education had been spelled out very recently in 1766 by Smollett in his *Travels through France and Italy*.

The smallness of the expense encourages parents to send their children abroad to these seminaries, where they learn scarce anything that is useful, but the French language; but they never fail to imbibe prejudices against the protestant religion, and generally return enthusiastic converts to the religion of Rome. This conversion always generates contempt for, and often aversion to, their own country.⁸⁴

Dr Moore was not deterred by these warnings. In a later fictional publication, *Mordaunt*, Dr Moore has a character pay tribute to the devotion of the nuns to their teaching duties.

Those nuns, to which the education of the boarders is peculiarly entrusted execute the task, for the most part, in a conscientious manner, and to the best of their understanding. The impression they make on the young mind very often remains through life.⁸⁵

But he is also aware that their influence on their pupils can lead to difficulties, going on to say that 'some it renders superstitious; others [...] become irreligious.'⁸⁶

⁸¹ Dena Goodman, 'L'Ortografie des Dames: Gender and Language in the Old Régime', *French Historical Studies* 25.2 (2002) 191-223.

⁸² Martine Sonnet, *L'Education des Filles au Temps des Lumières*, (Paris: Cerf, 1877), cited in Goodman.

⁸³ NLS MS 4957, fol. 40. Katherine Mure to Baron Mure, 27 April 1768. I am indebted to H. L. Fulton for this reference.

⁸⁴ Smollett, *Travels*, p.381.

⁸⁵ Moore, *Mordaunt*, II, p.161; *Works*, VII, p.184

⁸⁶ Moore, *Mordaunt*, II, p.161, *Works*, VII, p.184

Although in Scotland there was occasionally a degree of finishing at a boarding school, for many females, home education was traditionally felt more fitting, or perhaps simply adequate, for a domestic and auxiliary role in society. In the previous chapter it has been seen how there were at least two boarding schools for girls in Glasgow during the period when Jane was being educated. There were others in Edinburgh offering residential education, although often the stress was on social accomplishments like dancing rather than academic progress and the expense could be high.⁸⁷ Whilst the acquisition of good French was undoubtedly considered a desirable social accomplishment, there were teachers in Glasgow offering tuition in the subject, so that it could have been included in Jane's education at a lesser cost financially and with less disruption to her family life. Fulton ascribes the decision at least partly to the influence of Baron Mure, who sent his daughter to this convent.⁸⁸

To have Jane educated in France for four years shows the Moore family putting a stress on French which went beyond the notion of an accomplishment suitable for females. It is not clear whether Enlightenment thinking was applied with any rigour to females' education at this period, but if it had been, Rousseau's advocacy of maternal education would have buttressed the common practice of home-centred education, rather than the boarding-school option. Jane, however, was removed for a significant period from parental influence, particularly maternal influence, apart from what could be exerted in letters. There was no talk of a career for Jane. When she returned home in 1772 it was to help to her mother, who had a large family to raise. Any further tuition, which was planned for her, fitted traditional thinking on female education, although, as was the case with his sons, Dr Moore was keen to foster individual talent. Again, however, for Jane this tended to favour accepted views of female pursuits. When Jane sent her father a picture of a rosebud, Dr Moore commended it and immediately suggested to her mother that she take lessons to cultivate this ability, even mentioning that she take instruction from a teacher at the art school set up by the Foulis brothers.

the Rosebud is very well done if you find that she has a turn for Painting and loves it you might let her practice under one of Mr Faulise's men. I am acquainted with a girl of her age at Geneva who began last Summer and has made such progress that she draws portraits

⁸⁷ Jean MacDougall, *Highland Postbag: The Correspondence of Four MacDougall Chiefs 1715-1865*, (London: Shephard-Walwin, 1984), p.141-2. An Edinburgh boarding school in 1820 charged £20 for 6 months boarding and instruction but charges for extras included, £2.8s for writing, £3.3s each for French and English, £8.8s for music and totalled £80.11s.4d. Prices would be different but the principal of substantial additional costs remains valid.

⁸⁸ H. L. Fulton, *Dr. John Moore (1729-1802): A Life*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015) forthcoming. I am grateful to H. L. Fulton for a preview of some of this work.

already very prettily and will soon be a fine painter - if Jeanie has a Genius that way encourage it, if she has little or none it is not worth minding.⁸⁹

Although this might be termed a female accomplishment, the Foulis academy started in the university buildings in 1753 by Robert Foulis 'for the instruction of youth in painting and sculpture.' aimed to train serious painters.⁹⁰ This would indicate that Dr Moore would have encouraged Jane if she had wished to pursue this talent. That there was a demand in Glasgow for such training is evidenced in the regular advertisement of classes and tuition in various branches of art in the Glasgow newspapers. For the Moore parents the key issue was whether she had both skill and the desire to learn.

Dr Moore felt that very little further formal education was necessary for Jane. After he had been reunited with Jane in Calais in 1772, his letter to Mrs Moore from Calais in April 1772 gives an insight into his main concerns. He thought that when Jane got home should continue with her English studies, both writing and speaking. 'I would have you to make her write three quarters or half an hour every morning, a master only coming to give her a lesson by looking over what she had wrote once a week. This may be done cheap.' She should take pains to 'retain her English' [accent] which she has at present to admiration.' He expresses confidence in Mrs Moore's ability to instruct Jane. 'I am convinced [she] will Improve more with you than anywhere else.' He points out awkward habits that he wishes to eradicate: 'correct her if you can of [fumbling?] with her fingers and turning in her toes which she retains in some degree to my great Mortification.'⁹¹

The only letter from Dr Moore to his daughter Jane that is known to have survived is part of a longer letter in 1773, where he wrote a message to each of his children.⁹² Dr Moore edited the message to Jane with many deletions, which are reproduced below. His word choice, whether final or rejected, gives an insight into his handling of this sensitive situation, where he cannot participate in person and can only share in parental duties by writing persuasively to his daughter and his wife. Dr Moore is responding to his wife's reports of the difficulties she is experiencing with Jane and expresses his regret that Jane's tempers add to her 'other vexations' [...] '~~Perhaps I do her injustice. At any rate I insist that you may read her what follows.~~'

⁸⁹ BL 57321 fols 22,23, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine near Geneva July 1773.

⁹⁰ David Allan *The Interior of the Foulis Academy of Fine Arts*, oil, Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow (GLAHA 43390).

⁹¹ BL 57321 fol. 8, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Calais, 17 April 1772.

⁹² BL 57321 fols 18-21, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773.

His deletions are enlightening. Although he wants Mrs Moore to read the letter, he retracts the word ‘insist’ leaving her to handle the situation. Given the remainder of his deletions, it would have been impossible to reconstruct a comprehensible letter, but certain features are worth comment. The letter begins with an emotional appeal to be obedient and ‘obliging’ to her mother, as such conduct will not only make her father happy, but will ensure his affection. He exhorts her to be aware of her own temperament and to try to correct any sullenness. He reminds her of her debt and duty to her mother and concludes with a warning of how regretful she would feel if her mother were to die.

~~My Dear Jeany ?? I do most earnestly entreat you as you value your Fathers happyness and wish for his affection that you will study to behave to your mother in the most obliging manner, that you will not only do what she desires but do it cheerfully. And if you perceive any tendency in your own temper to be sulky my Dear endeavour to correct it, to be obliging and chearful and yield up your own humours to those of your friends particularly your mother to whom you owe so much alas what would become of you if you if you was to lose her, what remorse would you then have for every uneasy hour you have given her – do my Dear???~~that you will be directed by her in everything and that you will never be any more pouting, nor obstinate, but endeavour to gain the love of everyone by an obliging complacent behaviour and try to make your Temper as sweet as I believe your dispositions are good.⁹³

In a later letter Dr Moore responds to one Jane has written and shows concern that she keep up her French skills. and tells his wife, ‘I think her hand tolerably good - she will forget her French if she does not write French letters occasionally or translate English into French and have someone correct the translation.’⁹⁴ He refers to a letter he has written ‘to Jeany in French’⁹⁵ Jane herself conformed to the accepted norms of female occupation when she sent a present of a sword knot to the Duke of Hamilton. In the letter acknowledging this gift on behalf of his noble pupil, who was a notoriously poor correspondent, the tone is rather patronising. The duke was ‘sure she must be a neat-handed, clever girl.’⁹⁶ She, however, in a letter to a friend humorously disparages her skills at traditional female crafts, writing ‘I have only finished 1[pair] of miserable ill knit stockings, but the thread is so excellent that they are very strong.’⁹⁷

⁹³ BL 57321 fols 18-21, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773.

⁹⁴ BL 57321, fols 22, 23, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine near Geneva July 1773.

⁹⁵ BL 57321, fol. 16, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 16 August 1772.

⁹⁶ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p.255.

⁹⁷ CUL Ms Add 9808/6/9, Jane Moore to Christine Alexander, n.d.

Dancing was an important social accomplishment for both sexes and Jane had lessons in London in 1772.⁹⁸ The publisher John Murray and his wife were personal friends of the Moores and Jane stayed with them on her way home from the convent. Mrs Moore obviously felt dancing was a skill that had not been sufficiently covered in her convent education, commenting that, while she was waiting for someone suitable to escort her to Glasgow, she ‘had need to improve her time to the best advantage, the deficiencies of that part of her Education cannot be supplied here.’⁹⁹ A convent education such as Jane had just finished did not preclude dancing lessons. Thomas Twining a clergyman visiting Bruges in 1781 with his wife and his eleven year old daughter describes how at the Augustine convent they encountered the dancing master and how the nuns gave them a copy of their scheme of education to persuade them to enrol their daughter at the establishment.¹⁰⁰ Dancing lessons were also available in Glasgow, but Mrs Moore might have felt lessons in London would add to Jane’s social polish.

Although Jane’s early correspondence has not survived, her adult correspondence and her journal show a lively wit and a quick mind, which was not acknowledged in her parents’ discussion of her progress and prospects.¹⁰¹ She was aware of current scientific ideas, as is shown in a reference to ‘Enlightened’ ideas in physics, when writing about her health.

I have something to tell you which you don’t know about and it is not about any flying atoms which according to the Enlightened compass this Globe; but it is about a flying Heat in my body which has broken out in my legs.¹⁰²

She is disparaging of her reasoning ability in comparison to the intellect of her brother James.

You must study hard to qualify yourself to [converse with him] – for with shame I confess he is too abstract a personage for me who have not a mind capable of Deep Contemplation, and can only reason from my feelings and from received principles.¹⁰³

Although Jane did embrace Catholicism for a period, she later reverted to Protestantism. Exact dates are not known. In his 1801 will Dr Moore mentions Jane’s Catholicism, saying he is ‘convinced’ his sons will ‘redouble their attention to their sister, although she has from

⁹⁸ NLS Murray Archive 41898, Mrs Moore to John Murray, 26 May 1772. I am indebted to Henry Fulton for this reference.

⁹⁹ NLS Murray Archive 41898, Mrs Moore to John Murray, 26 May 1772.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Twining, *Selections from the Papers of the Twining Family*, (London: John Murray, 1887), p.15.

¹⁰¹ CUL Ms Add 9808/6/12, Jane Moore to Christine Alexander. (n.d)

¹⁰² CUL Ms Add 9808/6/10, Jane Moore to Christine Alexander, Richmond, November 23 1803.

¹⁰³ CUL Ms Add 9808/6/10, Jane Moore to Christine Alexander, Richmond, November 23 1803.

[conscientious] motives adopted a religion [different] from that of her country and her relations.¹⁰⁴ Her adult journals dating from 1811 make it clear she was attending Anglican worship. She was intelligent and reflective, but dismissive of what she considered the frivolity of society. Her French was good and she read French literature and history with ease. Her journal sometimes gives details of what she is reading and her views on these. Her letters also show her strong feelings on literature. She tells her friend Christine Alexander in 1796 how she has been discussing the contemporary author Helen Williams with her father.

Helen Williams has published another book, equally flimsy, petulant and self sufficient with her other publications, according to my Father's account, for certainly I shall never open any of her books, you know how disagreeable her character is to me – it would be a most painful task for me to read the sentiments of such a perverted mind.¹⁰⁵

Although there is no evidence that she herself considered a literary career she comments, after reading about Catherine de Medici, that a 'person of Genius might find a very interesting Romance upon these facts.'¹⁰⁶

It is from Jane that we get the scant information available about her brother John's reading tastes, when these happened to coincide with her own. She mentions in 1804 that Jack is at Sandgate where he has 'no society and is reading Rollin, a favourite author of mine, who pleases him.'¹⁰⁷ This is most probably the French historian Charles Rollin's history of the Egyptians. Jane was also fond of reading the sermons of the Scottish clergyman Hugh Blair (1718-1800) on Sundays when church was impossible.¹⁰⁸ However her piety had not robbed her of a sense of humour. When two nephews visit her she describes how she goes to one church for the sermon, while they go to a more fashionable one for the music. She accepts this as understandable without any censure of their choice and the frequency of their visits indicates her nieces and nephews enjoyed visiting.¹⁰⁹

In Scotland there was contemporary opposition to the effect of boarding schools on the female character. James Fordyce in his *Sermons to Young Women* first published in 1760 argued that females be educated at home.

Parents nowadays, down to the lowest tradesman or mechanic, who to ape his superiors strains himself beyond his circumstances, send their daughters to Boarding-schools. And what do they mostly learn there? [...] to dress, to dance, to speak bad French, to prattle much

¹⁰⁴ PRO probate 11/1371, 13 November 1801; CUL Ms Add 9808/6/27, Jane Moore, *Journal*, 1811.

¹⁰⁵ CUL Ms Add 9808/6/4, Jane Moore to Christine Alexander, Clifford Street, Thursday, [1796?].

¹⁰⁶ CUL Ms Add 9808/6/3, Jane Moore to Christine Alexander, 17 February 1796.

¹⁰⁷ CUL Ms Add 9807/6/11, Jane Moore to Christine Alexander, Richmond January, 24 1804.

¹⁰⁸ CUL Ms Add 9808/6/27 Jane Moore *Journal*, 1811.

¹⁰⁹ CUL Ms Add 9806/27 Jane Moore *Journal*, 1811.

nonsense, to practise I know not how many pert, conceited airs and in consequence of all to consider themselves accomplished Women?¹¹⁰

Sermon Eight deals with educational accomplishments and particularly the importance of reading, criticising the lack of reading or reading ‘for transient amusement.’¹¹¹ He considers books as important tools against vice and folly, approving of books of travel, geography and philosophy. Fordyce wanted to inculcate appreciation of the works of God and believed men could acquire this experience in the world, but women did not have as much opportunity, so books could supply this experience vicariously. He lists advantages that would accrue to the well-read female: the respect of men, of other women and the increased ability to entertain.

Her letters, or any other composition that may fall from her pen, will be read with particular eagerness and approbation; her correspondence will be prized as an honour, and her acquaintance courted as a privilege; attention will hang upon her words, and respect follow in her train.¹¹²

Although he warned against vanity, he thought it was appropriate for females to study the arts and he defended dancing. He believed, however, that women benefitted from the lack of a grammar-based education as they could achieve ‘unstudied correctness’ and ‘easy elegance of speech, which results from clear and lively ideas.’ Female skills should include learning to write ‘a fair hand’, to cast accounts with facility; to manage servants; to run a home and above all to be knowledgeable in the nursing, management and education of children. Gaming was condemned but needlework was recommended and having someone read aloud during it. Drawing and music were acceptable pastimes, although only for those talented enough to achieve proficiency.

Jane could have been educated in this way in Glasgow. The Moores therefore saw additional benefit in sending her to France. Christina de Bellaigue has argued that in France, a fall in the numbers of aristocratic females being sent to convents for their education had resulted in the widening of the social base of pupils to include the daughters of aspiring middle-ranking families.¹¹³ Socially Jane would have come into this category. Always ambitious for his children, Dr Moore could have seen this as an effective way of ensuring that Jane acquired a superior grasp in French, an important skill in the upper echelons of society, to which Jane might have aspired if

¹¹⁰ James Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*, 2 vols 14th edn (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies) I, p.19.

¹¹¹ Fordyce, *Sermons*, 6th ed. (Dublin: Williams, 1767), II, pp.3-33.

¹¹² Fordyce, *Sermons*, II.p.13

¹¹³ Christina de Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 26.

she had made a good marriage. Instruction in Glasgow would not deliver the fluency she could achieve during a stay in France.

The Moore sons

Initially the Moores followed the customary course in choosing schooling for their sons. When John was removed from school in 1772, he had completed at least two years at Glasgow Grammar School, if he entered at the conventional age of eight. Nine year old James remained a pupil at the Grammar School and eight year old, Graham was most likely already attending. Five year old Frank had also started school by 1772, though it is not known which establishment he attended.¹¹⁴ He followed his brothers to Glasgow Grammar School in due course. James and Graham both went on to study at Glasgow University before the family removed to London in 1777.¹¹⁵ The youngest of the family Charles was the only one to be educated largely in England, in his case at Winchester public school.¹¹⁶ As his time on the continent drew to an end, it is clear that Dr Moore was reluctant to return to his life as a Glasgow physician, and at one stage he contemplated leaving his sons in Glasgow to complete their education, while Mrs Moore joined him in Geneva. This was clearly a step too far for Mrs Moore. Again, although her letter has not survived, his reply to it shows that in the face of her opposition he has abandoned the idea. It does, however, display a measure of confidence in the education available in Glasgow for at least some of his sons.

The darling wish of my heart my dear Jeany is to live with you and my family. When I mentioned leaving the boys in Scotland for their Education do not think it proceeded from absence having cooled my affection for them or for you - that never can be - the last sigh of my soul will be for blessings on you and them. But that nor no other plan relative to the children or to myself shall be adopted by me without your consent and approbation.¹¹⁷

John

Dr Moore declared in a letter to Baron Mure, dated March 1772, that Mrs Moore approved of the plan to take John to Europe: 'I am glad you approve of my plan concerning my eldest boy. It has given much satisfaction to Mrs Moore.'¹¹⁸ However Oman says that she was badly shocked by the

¹¹⁴ BL 57321 fols 5,6, John Moore to Mrs Jean Moore, 17 April 1772.

¹¹⁵ Addison, *Matriculation Albums*, 1774/ 3420, James Moore; 1776/3643, Graham Moore. Graham's enrolment in the Greek class indicates that this was his second year.

¹¹⁶ CUL MS ADD 9808/6/11, Jane Moore to Christine Alexander, Richmond, 1804.

¹¹⁷ BL 57321 fols 18, 19, 20, 21, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, Feb 14 1773.

¹¹⁸ Mure, *Family Papers*) p.197, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, London, 7 March 1772.

news and ‘looked as if she was watching someone falling from a scaffolding.’¹¹⁹ This shock would have been exacerbated by the short time between the decision and the departure of Dr Moore and John to London. Dr Moore lost so little time in setting off that, while Baron Mure and the Duchess were still corresponding in February 1772 about how much to offer him to persuade him to accept the post, Dr Moore was on his way, accompanied by Jack.¹²⁰ John’s subsequent education was arranged and directed by his father, although he did report regularly to Mrs Moore on their son’s progress. John’s education abroad will be discussed in the following chapter, but, writing as an adult, James Carrick Moore believed John was fortunate to be under his father’s supervision: ‘In order to seize the good, and eschew the evil, on such occasions, paternal watchfulness is particularly useful.’¹²¹ He presents a view of John’s character in youth as ‘wild’ and ascribes his improvement to paternal influence. ‘In his boyish days he was fiery and untractable which faults were gradually suppressed by parental reproofs, and by his own masculine understanding; so that he acquired a complete command of temper, and a mild disposition.’¹²²

James Carrick Moore returns to the theme of character development, when he describes the change perceived in John on his return home to Glasgow in 1776, recording John’s transformation from ‘a wild schoolboy’ to ‘an accomplished youth.’¹²³ One possible motive for arranging that John accompany his father, therefore, may have been that his behaviour was giving cause for concern and that Dr Moore felt it would be unfair to leave his wife to cope with the whole family. If he could contribute by taking responsibility for John, he would at least be taking a share of parental responsibility for their children’s upbringing.

It is not possible to gauge the emotional effect of being summarily removed from his mother, siblings, extended family, school and the familiar environment of his home town, but this background must be borne in mind when considering John’s subsequent development. It is likely that he had not been behaving well at school. The evidence is that he was not a natural student, as James and Graham were; and part of his intrepid character meant he did not particularly fear injury

¹¹⁹ Oman, *Moore*, p.8. It has not been possible to trace the original source of this quotation. At the time of her research the family papers were in the possession of different branches of the family and it has not surfaced in the two major collections in the British Library or Cambridge University Library, but Oman’s quotation has credibility, as a likely response to this proposal.

¹²⁰ Mure, *Family Papers*, p.192, James Stuart to Baron Mure, London 20 February 1772 (Letter CCLXX).

¹²¹ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p.13.

¹²² Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 2.

¹²³ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p.15.

or pain. Discipline based on corporal punishment is unlikely to have motivated him to learn or deterred him from disruption. The contrast between school discipline, based on punishment and home discipline, based on reasoning and reward, might have exacerbated the situation. Dr Moore may well have felt that he could provide a better learning experience than John would get by remaining at Glasgow Grammar School, although the length of time he eventually spent abroad may well not have been originally envisaged. Dr Moore wrote to his wife in February 1772 that the Duchess of Argyll said that the duke might return ‘to Inveraray the summer after next [...] if he improved much, (but not otherwise) and after staying a month [...]return to Geneva,’ so the Moores may have expected John’s time abroad to be briefer than the five years it eventually became.¹²⁴

James and Graham

Dr Moore does not totally reject the education available in Glasgow, however. His suggestion in 1773 discussed above, that his wife should join him in Geneva, involves leaving the other children in Scotland to complete their education, a suggestion that she obviously rejected with some spirit, although her letter, which he says was dated January 22 1773, has not survived.¹²⁵ He assures her that he welcomes her views, forthrightly expressed: ‘without mincing matters you may tell your mind.’¹²⁶ The absence of her reply makes it impossible to say exactly what her objection was, but as it involved leaving her other five children, the youngest only three years of age in Glasgow, presumably under the care of the extended family, it is reasonable to deduce that she placed her maternal duties above her husband’s desire for her company. The plan to have Mrs Moore join him was probably wishful thinking. It does however indicate a confidence in the Glasgow system of schooling for his sons despite the innovative arrangement chosen for John.

The best career for James was a subject of discussion in letters between Dr and Mrs Moore. He clearly had ability that would have allowed him the choice of several options. One early idea, dating from February 1773, was that he might pursue a mercantile career in the West Indies. Although this would have entailed emigrating before his father saw him on his return from Europe, Dr Moore writes he would forego ‘that pleasure for what may be thought for my boy’s advantage.’¹²⁷ Writing on his return to Glasgow in 1776, John mentions a plan that James should

¹²⁴ BL 57321 fols 3,4, Dr Moore to Mrs Jean Moore, 25 February, London, 1772

¹²⁵ BL 57321 fols 18-21, Dr Moore to Mrs Jean Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773.

¹²⁶ BL 57321 fols 18-21, Dr Moore to Mrs Jean Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773.

¹²⁷ BL 57321, fol. 19, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773.

‘make his fortune, by becoming a lawyer in the East Indies.’¹²⁸ Ultimately however James had a more conventional Glasgow education. After attending Glasgow Grammar School, he matriculated at Glasgow University in 1774 at the age of twelve, and ultimately became a physician. The transfer from school to university took place while his father was still abroad, and there is no discussion of this in the letters archived in the British Library, but there is no reason to believe that there was any family pressure to enter the medical profession, particularly since it was at this period that Dr Moore was proposing to leave a profession that was now distasteful to him in many respects. In his 1799 autobiographical manuscript he records his ‘dislike to returning to the Profession of Medicine and my great inclination to pass the remainder of my life in studies more agreeable to my own particular taste.’¹²⁹

Graham’s formal education had three distinct stages, at Glasgow Grammar school, at Glasgow University and naval training on board ship. After this he passed the first compulsory examination to enable him to become a Lieutenant. He also experienced supplementary education from other sources, like William Cruikshank the tutor employed by the family attendance at private classes and self-education, mainly through reading.

His parents encouraged an interest in literature, but not merely as a leisure pursuit. They were alert to its social and vocational benefits. Dr Moore believed that Graham would enjoy the experience of performing poetry aloud before an audience and profit from the task, whether he were to choose the law or the navy as a career. Writing to his wife in 1773 he advised her to

use them to speak to Strangers it is of much Importance pray employ them occasionally in Reading English Poetry aloud and let them get it by heart and pronounce it well before people without fear – I think this should be a proper and agreeable task to Graham in particular who possibly will be lawyer but even should he choose to go into the Navy it will be of use.¹³⁰

We know more about Graham’s reading habits than any of the other children. Throughout his life he remained a voracious reader and his habit of copying out poems, dramatic pieces and other quotations that pleased him gives considerable insight into his views and proclivities. In his first surviving journal, dating from 1784, he devotes several pages to his favourite literary quotations, often items which provided him with inspiration.¹³¹ His taste runs to the heroic, with extended extracts from Shakespearean speeches by Brutus and Mark Antony, while from Scottish history

¹²⁸ CUL Add 9808/1/46 John Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 3 October 1776.

¹²⁹ CUL Add Mss 9303 1/1-3, John Moore, *Sketches*, 1799.

¹³⁰ BL 57321 fols 27,28, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 16 September 1773.

¹³¹ CUL ADD 9303/1, n.p. He records in this that he had made earlier attempts to keep a journal.

James, Duke of Montrose ranks high, as a military hero and poet. He often includes his own analysis of the pieces he has selected. At sea he kept up-to-date with contemporary writing on current affairs, not merely what news could be gleaned from the newspapers acquired by post. He also shows awareness of French revolutionary songs and uses them to express his opinion in other matters. For example, when conveying the Portuguese Royal family to Brazil on 1808, after they had been dislodged by Napoleon, he describes the heir to the Portuguese throne as a 'pauvre sire' a direct allusion to a derogatory French revolutionary street song of 1792, desecrating Louis the Sixteenth and gloating in the loss of power of one not fit to rule.¹³² Graham's later writing, in his letters and journals, indicates that personal reading was highly influential in the formation of his views and values. He quotes English, Scottish and French authors rather than classical authors, and favours French rather than Latin, thus showing little sign of his being influenced by his formal education in Glasgow.

Career choice

A major concern of Dr Moore was to secure professions for his sons, which would both enable them to earn their own livings and be of use to society. While it is likely that he would have been prepared to advise them on professions, he thought it was important that they choose for themselves. There was constant speculation on what might be suitable, particularly in the case of James, Graham and Frank. John chose a military career at a very early stage and kept consistently to this. In 1774 Dr Moore wrote to Mrs Moore, 'I hope this may turn out well, because he chooses it.'¹³³ In the same letter he considered Graham had the ability to make a career in law, but recognised that he was attracted to the navy and hoped his wife would 'have no objection to have one of our brave lads a sailor.' There is no discussion about Jane's role; presumably it was to support and assist her mother, unless or until marriage intervened.

The notion of becoming a useful citizen was important. Despite the fact that Graham's intellectual ability had led him to discuss the idea of his being a scholar, 'even' his proposed career in the navy will be 'of use.' The curriculum at Glasgow Grammar School would have been sufficient grounding for Graham had he opted for law, but for many occupations considered by the Moore boys it would not have provided the appropriate skills. When, for example, after financial reverses Mrs Moore's merchant brother James Simson contemplated emigrating to Grenada, there was a great deal of discussion of the possibility that the Moore's second eldest son, James, might go with

¹³² CUL ADD 0303/21, p.154; Hinrich Hudde, 'L'air et les paroles: l'intertextualité dans les Chansons de la Révolution,' *Littérature*,69:1988, pp. 42-57, p.57.

¹³³ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 253.

the Simson family.¹³⁴ Dr Moore was favourable to the ‘advantage’ of the plan and he wished James to acquire the skills necessary, for example ‘mensuration of the land.’ He also suggested that James write a letter to his uncle to display his skills.¹³⁵ To achieve this the Moores would have to make use of one of the small independent schools, run by private individuals to meet the demands of the growing mercantile community in Glasgow.

In addition to ability and vocational skills, personal qualities must be fostered and advantageous contacts cultivated. Dr Moore was very aware of the benefits of forging good relations with influential people.

The Duke's friendship will be of use to advance him, besides some English here, who must have considerable influence in Britain, and have a great partiality to the boy, and their countenance may be of use to him; so I hope he may do well. The marks of attention he has met with in Germany from people of the highest rank are enough to turn so young a creature's head but I am happy to be able to tell you that they have not had that effect, he is fully sensible of his real situation and the necessity of acquiring useful accomplishments.¹³⁶

However he was clearly aware of the gaps in provision in Glasgow, which had to be addressed at home and in additional privately arranged lessons. Under ‘useful learning’ he included ‘English poetry and the ability to converse with strangers.’¹³⁷ Special attention also needed to be given to mathematics and science.

As soon as Jamie is capable of learning Geomatic and mensuration of ground he ought to be taught it as well as Mechanicks – I have a notion he may have a mechanical Turn if so it should be encouraged it will be of more use abroad than any other Turn he can take.¹³⁸

Education in the Arts: Literature, Fine Arts, Music

A belief in the enriching role of the arts in lifelong education is evident in the Moores’ thinking and its effects on their children. As has been shown above, foremost amongst these was literature, with Jane, John, James and Graham all displaying an interest in contemporary European and classical literature. Drama, however, was also important, as was drawing and painting. Music is mentioned

¹³⁴ BL 57321 fols 18-21, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773.

¹³⁵ BL 57321 fols 18-21, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773; BL57321 fols 26, 27, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine, 13 August 1773.

¹³⁶ NLS 4946 fol 203, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Vienna Aug 1775.

¹³⁷ BL 57321 fols 27,28, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 16 September 1774.

¹³⁸ BL 57321, fols 25, 26, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine, 13 August 1773.

less often. Only Charles is known to have played an instrument, the violin, and it is clear that Dr Moore disapproved of the Sabbatarian attitudes in Glasgow, which frowned on the enjoyment of music on Sundays. 'If poor Charles was at Geneva he might play on his fiddle all Sunday - for that is the great Musick and dancing day among the citizens after the sermons.'¹³⁹ Since Charles did not play on Sundays, it would seem that in Glasgow the family did not challenge the social norms, despite Dr Moore's advocacy of a more cheerful brand of religious observance. There is no suggestion that Dr and Mrs Moore had different attitudes to the question, rather an implicit assumption that she too would welcome her son being able to play music on Sundays.

Modern Languages

The attitude towards the Scots language in the Moore family was similar to the well-documented concern of other educated Scots of the period like Hume and Smith and Reid, where there was an acceptance of the view that in everyday speech 'Scotticisms' in vocabulary and grammatical structure were to be replaced by English usages. Scots, therefore, was not recognised as a language, but regarded as a vulgar version of English. Thomas Reid, for example, in *Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, declared that provincial dialects were 'uncouth' and unintelligible' and 'should be shunned by the orator in favour of that one common dialect that is used by the best speakers and writers.'¹⁴⁰ Writing to Mrs Moore from Calais in 1772 about the continuation of Jane's education when she returned to Glasgow, Dr Moore advised his wife 'pray trie all you can to make her despise the sneers of the vulgar and retain her English which she has at present to admiration.'¹⁴¹ The reference to 'sneers' indicates that speaking 'English' was regarded by some as affectation, but that it was the Moore parents' preferred option.

Although English was the Moore family language, it was spoken with a decided Scots accent and using some dialect words. John Moore 'spoke broad' as a ten-year old and included specific Scots vocabulary like 'mickle' instead of 'little' in his letters home.¹⁴² Dr Moore also chose Scots expressions, like 'sick' for 'such' in the midst of prose that was otherwise Standard English, even when writing in formal situations. In 1772, he wrote to the Duchess of Argyll: 'the Duke [...] is

¹³⁹ BL 57321 fols 18-21, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773.

¹⁴⁰ Thomas Reid and Alexander Broadie, *Thomas Reid on Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts: Papers on the Culture of the Mind*, Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid, 10 vols ed. Knud Haakonssen (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005) v. pp, 268.

¹⁴¹ BL 57231 fol. 8, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, 17 April 1772.

¹⁴² BL 57321 fol 1, John Moore to James Moore, 4 March 1772.

fond of dress. I have endeavoured to convince him that the Duke of Hamilton needs not draw attention of Sick importance from that Quarter.¹⁴³ The occasional choice of a Scots word, however, did not prevent effective communication in English-speaking society. It is unlikely that John would have had access to such a wide vocabulary of Scots words, as, for example, Robert Burns had, but his passive understanding of Scots expressions would have been greater than his active use of Scots terminology. However his time abroad would have distanced him from hearing and using Scots.

A key concern of Enlightenment thinkers was to establish the importance of modern languages and combat the dominance of Latin in the educational syllabus. The Moore family took pains to extend their children's education in modern languages, particularly French. John, Jane and Graham were treated similarly in that all three were given the rather unusual opportunity to learn French by living for extended periods of time in French speaking communities. For his time in France Graham had to wait until a lull in his navy career in 1783. When his ship was decommissioned after the end of the war of American Independence, Graham, at age eighteen, with his father's encouragement spent part of a year in France, before his next appointment.¹⁴⁴ The youngest son, Charles, was taken to France by his father in 1792.¹⁴⁵

Dr Moore spoke French fluently; throughout his published work he quotes extensively in French when describing conversations with French speaking people, for example a drive with a loquacious marquis who drove 'vite comme tous les diables. The horses went as fast as they could and the marquis's tongue still faster than they.'¹⁴⁶ It could, therefore, be argued that he himself was in an ideal situation to tutor his daughter and sons in French. However it is unlikely that as a busy doctor, with a private practice and responsibility for Glasgow Town's Hospital he would have time to pass on this knowledge to his children in any systematic way.

There were many potential motives for the importance attached to the acquisition of fluent French. For Jane it might have been viewed merely as a social accomplishment, suitable for young ladies, which would also give her access to French literature, history and philosophy. Although for John and Graham this would also apply, there was a vocational advantage, in that competence in modern languages aided communication in foreign countries with the population generally in peacetime and, in time of war, with allied and with enemy forces. But access to works written in French was

¹⁴³ Argyll, *Letters*, p. 351, Dr Moore to Duchess of Argyll, Geneva, 12 October 1772.

¹⁴⁴ CUL Ms Add 9303/5:121-2, *Journal of Graham Moore*, 4 Aug 1792.

¹⁴⁵ CUL Ms Add 9303/5:121-2, *Journal of Graham Moore*, 4 Aug 1792.

¹⁴⁶ Moore, *Manners*, p. 8, Letter III.

also important and whereas in later years James was more likely to quote Latin authors, Jane, John and Graham sprinkled their English prose with French phrases, maxims and allusions to historical and contemporary works

For Dr Moore the opportunity to observe the political situation in France at first hand was an important educative experience, which he took care to extend to his offspring. Of his 'jaunt' in 1792 Graham writes that for Dr Moore and his travelling companion the Earl of Lauderdale, 'the object of this expedition is to indulge in the sight of regenerated France, in which they both feel a lively interest.'¹⁴⁷ Graham approves of the decision to include Charles in the party.

This jaunt will be highly gratifying to brother Charles, who is studying law [and] requires some relaxation; he is an exceeding clever young man with his whole soul bent on the pursuit of excellence as an orator; his mind is very ardent and he feels himself much interested in the present situation of the French Nation.¹⁴⁸

In taking special measures to educate their children in French the Moores were perhaps following the example of their friend, Baron Mure, who in 1764, with the approval of David Hume, had engaged the services of Samuel de Meuron, a French speaking Swiss scholar to tutor his six and nine year old sons and later sent them to a Parisian military academy with George Jardine as an accompanying tutor.¹⁴⁹ Although the Moores were not in either the social or financial bracket to employ this option, it is clear that they were alert to the advantages of individual tuition, an area that is rarely considered in research into education in this period.

Dr Moore did not undervalue the need for an understanding of Latin for an individual to be considered educated in contemporary society. He expressly recommended his wife to ground their sons in Latin and in Geneva John continued to study the language.¹⁵⁰ His letters contain incitements to his sons to develop their competence in Latin, 'tell Graham if he is a good Latin Scholar and will write as well as Jamie I'll send him something better.'¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ CUL Ms Add 9303/5:121-2, *Journal of Graham Moore*, 4 Aug 1792.

¹⁴⁸ CUL Ms Add 9303/5:121-2, *Journal of Graham Moore*, 4 Aug 1792.

¹⁴⁹ Henry L. Fulton, 'Private Tutoring in Scotland: The Example of Mure of Caldwell', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 27.3 (2003) 53-69.

¹⁵⁰ BL 57321 fols 25,26, John Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine 13 August 1773.

¹⁵¹ BL 57321 fols 25,26, John Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine 13 August 1773.

Conclusion

By rejecting conventional education provided in Glasgow for their daughter and their eldest son the Moore parents were using their most powerful means of indicating that at best they had reservations about its quality and appropriateness for their family. The most significant area where their decisions show a particular concern is in their clear desire to have their children learn French to a high standard, rather than as an educational embellishment. They did not reject the classical curriculum, but took steps to augment it in their children's education.

Chapter Five: Travel as Education

In 1748, in *L'Esprit des Lois*, Montesquieu argued for an experiential model of education that depended on acquiring a value system through experience.

It is not from colleges or academies that the principal branch of education in monarchies is derived: it is when we set out in the world that our education in some measure commences. This is the school of what we call honor, that universal preceptor which ought everywhere to be our guide.¹

The world in effect was the school and the learning was done by applying the precepts of honour to the situations encountered. This chapter considers what John Moore gained from his time abroad, what and how he learned and how it influenced him. The sources for this chapter are the family letters, but likely educational experiences are also extrapolated from Dr Moore's later publications, *Manners and Travels* and also from observations on the itinerary.

The issue of travel as a feature of education was contentious; therefore it features in general works on education by the major thinkers of the eighteenth century, following or challenging the ideas of the seventeenth century expounded by Milton and Locke. Milton was convinced of the educative value of travel, but his preference is travel in the students' native country. He advocated that they would,

go out in companies with prudent and staid guides to all the quarters of the land, learning and observing all places of strength, and all commodities of building and of soil, for towns and tillage, harbours and ports of trade – even sometimes taking sea as far as our navy to learn there also, what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and sea-fight.²

Milton believed this would 'try all their peculiar gifts of nature, and identify talents: 'would fetch [excellence] out, and give it fair opportunities to advance itself.' He distrusted foreign travel for impressionable youths as a potential negative influence on character and manners. 'Nor shall we then need the monsieurs of Paris, to take our hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies and send them over back again transformed into mimics, apes, and kickshaws.' No argument is advanced, or evidence given, to support the position that there is any intrinsic superficiality in French society or any dissolute habits that would not be encountered in its British counterpart, but the danger that those who were exposed to French manners would adopt these to their disadvantage on their return to their homeland is a view that was shared by Dr Moore, when he warned against

¹ Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (London: University of California Press, 1977), p. 42. This edition uses the translation by Thomas Nugent in the first English edition, (London: printed for J Nourse and P. Vaillant 1750), p.42.

² Milton, *Of Education*, n.p.

the risk of young men being influenced to adopt ‘Frenchified’ behaviour.³ If a European tour was to be undertaken, Milton advocated postponement till a stage of adulthood ‘at three or four and twenty years of age’ which would permit ‘wise observation.’⁴ For Milton, therefore, foreign travel was to be provided only to a very narrow social and intellectual group.

However to have made the Grand Tour was, in itself, a marker of social significance. In his treatise *Of Education* (1673) seventeenth century academic, Obadiah Walker (1616-1699) gave a typical list of accepted advantages: ‘to learn the Languages, Laws, Customes and understand the Government and interest of other Nations; to produce confident and comely Behaviour; to perfect conversation and discours.’ Sightseeing would allow travellers ‘to satisfy their mind with the actual beholding such rarities, wonders, and curiosities, as are heard or read of.’ This would produce a trained discerning mind ‘more diligent, vigorous, brisk and spiritfull [...] able to judge what is good and better.’⁵

In contrast to many theorists, Obadiah Walker argued that travel could counter bad habits contracted at home. He was not dogmatic about the appropriate age for the travel: an early experience was advisable to learn foreign languages and mores, but, since linguistic fluency was not generally the aim, he advocated travel when young men have arrived at ‘some judgement.’ Although Locke did not cite Walker, the research of H G Mason into the literary sources of his educational thinking makes a strong case for a link between Walker’s views and the position adopted by Locke on foreign travel. More generally, it can also be argued that many of the ideas on the advantages and dangers could be deduced by anyone applying a little thought and common sense to the subject, thus accounting for the similarities of position on this issue.

Scottish Enlightenment philosopher George Turnbull (1608-1748) considered the issue of travel important enough to devote the concluding section of his 1742 work, *Observations Upon Liberal Education, in All Its Branches* to an examination of its relevance.⁶ Turnbull, described by Broadie as ‘a seminal figure’ in the Scottish Enlightenment, was the only Scottish writer in Thomas Reid’s list of thinkers which was discussed in Chapter Two.⁷ Turnbull, like Milton, had major reservations about the potential educational value of travel, ‘it will readily be owned to be very dangerous to send youth, for the sake whether of languages or exercises, abroad to receive their

³ Moore, *Manners*, I., pp.197-206 Letter XXXI

⁴ Milton, *Of Education*, n.p.

⁵ Obadiah Walker, *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen*, (Oxford: 1673) pp. 193-197

⁶ Turnbull, *Observations*, p. 418

⁷ Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment*; Stewart-Robinson, ‘Child of the Scottish Enlightenment’.

first tincture, their first impressions and habits.’⁸ He believed that a flaw in the Scottish educational system was that it gave inadequate attention to English. ‘But where is *English* taught at present? Who thinks it of use to study correctly that language which he is to use every day in his life, be his station ever so high or ever so insignificant?’. Usefulness should be the criterion. ‘It is in [English] the nobility and gentry defend their country, and serve their prince in parliament; in this the lawyers plead, the divines instruct, and all ranks of people write their letters and transact all their affairs.’

Turnbull, therefore, prescribed an extensive course of study before foreign travel, to include domestic tours, and preparatory reading, an option open to a very restricted client group, who had no economic imperative to begin earning money, and affluent enough to fund this preparatory domestic travel as well as the more extensive European part. ‘Above all, our travellers ought to begin at home, and be initiated, by the assistance of a qualified guide, in a journey through their own country, into the truly useful way of travelling.’⁹ He assumed the young men would have access to advice from adults, with experience of travel. ‘They ought to lay themselves out to get all the information they can about the countries they propose to see, by frequenting the conversation of those who have travelled into them, and made useful observations.’ Turnbull’s conclusion strongly rejected the educative value of foreign travel unless this strong grounding had taken place, ‘till one is well acquainted with geography, ancient and modern, hath pleasure in reading history, and can draw solid instructions from it, and hath withal been accustomed to truly manly and useful conversation, he is not at all fitted for improvement by travelling.’¹⁰

Few if any youths would have had such training. Indeed rather than institute a period of intensive preparation for the proposed travel, many parents saw the period of travel itself as an opportunity to extend traditional branches of education, not in themselves part of the travel agenda. When John Campbell of Carwhin, later 4th Earl of Breadalbane and his brother Colin travelled in France and Switzerland from 1777 to 1779 their tutor, Louis Saussure, reported on their progress in arithmetic as well as geography and French.¹¹ This, it could be argued, is an example of a parental view that the Grand Tour was not a completely new stage, after the completion of a basic education, but a continuation of study which could have been done at home under the supervision of a suitable tutor. The use of time during the Grand Tour for tutoring would provide structure, a measure of discipline and maximum value for the considerable financial expenditure involved. The Duke of

⁸ Turnbull, *Observations*, p. 419

⁹ Turnbull, *Observations*, n. 420

¹⁰ Turnbull, *Observations*, n. 421

¹¹ NAS GD112/54/16, Correspondence between Louis de Saussure to John, 3rd Earl of Breadalbane

Hamilton's Grand Tour was at the upper end of the market: his personal allowance for the Genevan period of his Grand Tour was £1000 to £1200, an amount Dr Moore considered 'more than ample' and which worried him, as it encouraged the duke in extravagance and made it harder for him to control the duke's studies.¹²

There was, therefore, general acceptance of the contribution that foreign travel could make to the achievement of a rounded education, although there was debate on its relationship to domestic travel and the appropriate age at which it should be undertaken, most crucially a concern to warn against participation at a young and impressionable age. The assumption was that it would be limited to elite males in late adolescence or early adulthood. The evidence is that Dr Moore kept abreast of contemporary views on the educational benefits of foreign travel: the final letter in *Travels* is devoted to his reflections on its benefits and dangers.¹³ He records his agreement with Adam Smith that failings of the university system have strengthened the Grand Tour as a stage in the education of young men, but that study in Britain would be preferable: 'If a young man, is studying with diligence and alacrity, it would be doing him a most essential injury, to interrupt him by a premature expedition to the Continent, from an idea of his acquiring the graces and elegance of manner, or any other accomplishment which travelling is supposed to give.'¹⁴ The subject here is the young man of rank, but his views have more general relevance. He argues that youths exposed to French manners were in danger of adopting these and warns that 'Frenchified' behaviour would expose them to ridicule in Britain.¹⁵ His conclusion on European travel is positive, but not unreserved: 'a young man of fortune may spend a few years to advantage, in travelling through some of the principal countries of Europe, provided the tour be well-timed and well-conducted.'¹⁶

As a general principle Dr Moore does not advocate early experience of foreign travel. Given this view, his motivation for taking a ten-year-old on such a tour must be considered. This is likely to have been complex, a sense of paternal duty, strengthened by the fact that he was leaving his wife with a heavier responsibility, the possibility that John's progress at Glasgow Grammar School was unsatisfactory and a belief that this was an opportunity to give him an enhanced learning experience. Strictly speaking, John did not make a Grand Tour, a term used to describe an extended period of travel in Europe by scions of the aristocracy. Although John participated in much of the travel and in many potentially educational experiences, arrangements centred on the

¹² Argyll, *Letters*, p. 349.

¹³ Moore, *Travels*, II, pp. 489-508, Letter LXXXII.

¹⁴ Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 490, Letter LXXXII.

¹⁵ Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 490, Letter LXXXII.

¹⁶ Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 490, Letter LXXXII.

requirements of the Duke of Hamilton. However, many of John's experiences were exactly those that formed the core of what was considered beneficial in foreign travel and Dr Moore seized the opportunity to ensure that he acquired these benefits. Thus John was able to observe and evaluate different societies, to acquire skill in modern languages, to view the main architectural, archaeological and cultural sites of Europe, and to make personal contacts which would be potentially useful in later life. Such experiences meant he had common ground with aristocratic men whose education included this component. This shared experience was one desired outcome of a foreign tour for elite travellers, as ignorance of European culture would put them at a social disadvantage. John's participation in such a comprehensive journey would enable him to function confidently in social circumstances where such knowledge was required or desirable, an advantage that was normally the preserve of the elite.

Chapter Two has shown how the Grand Tour, was firmly established before the eighteenth century as a prerequisite of a rounded education for noblemen. Recent studies therefore focus on its relevance to elite males. Cohen, for example, argues that the Grand Tour had joined the major public schools as an institution designed to fit elite young men for future roles in British society.¹⁷ The primary source material for scholarship is vast, as many travellers wrote records of their journeys.¹⁸ The child traveller, however, is not considered, because such tours were not normally part of the educational experience of children. John Moore's experience, therefore, is particularly valuable in the record it provides of his education abroad over an extended period of time at a crucial stage of his learning.

The Moore family exemplifies how, increasingly in the eighteenth century, aspiring professional ranks saw benefit in foreign travel and adopted strategies to acquire these benefits. Tutoring noblemen enabled many young Scottish academics to broaden their knowledge of European society and culture without personal financial outlay and, in the best paid positions, to secure life pensions as part of their contracts. In accepting a post as an academic tutor, with a salary of £500 yearly and a life pension of £100, Dr Moore followed a well-established path for educated Scots.¹⁹ In 1764 Adam Smith resigned as Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University to become tutor to the third Duke of Buccleuch, accompanying him to France and Switzerland, and securing an annual

¹⁷ Michelle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the 18th Century* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 101.

¹⁸ Jeremy Black's studies have useful general bibliographies, see *The British Abroad, The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, (Stroud: Sutton 1992); *Italy and the Grand Tour*: (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); John Ingamells *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

¹⁹ Mure, *Family Papers II*, p.192.

pension of £300 that on his return enabled him to devote his time to writing.²⁰ Before being appointed Professor of Humanity at Glasgow University in 1773 William Richardson was tutor to the sons of Lord and Lady Cathcart, having accompanied them to Eton and then to Russia (1768-1772).²¹ While passing through Paris in 1772, Dr Moore visited George Jardine, who was to be appointed Professor of Logic at Glasgow University in 1774, and who, at this time, was supervising the studies of the two teenage sons of Baron Mure at a French military academy.²²

When choosing a suitable travelling tutor for the duke, his mother, the Duchess of Argyll and his other legal guardians, his ‘tutors’ in Scottish law, William Mure of Caldwell (Baron Mure) and Andrew Stuart, were prepared to pay highly to secure Dr Moore’s services, ‘£300 yearly for his cloaths, pocket, & and an annuity of £100 yearly for life’²³ Dr Moore’s medical qualifications as well as his erudition, linguistic ability and his experience of travel in Europe were powerful factors. His affable personality, described in the last chapter, might also have played a role in the selection. Having attended the duke’s elder brother, the teenage seventh duke in his final illness in 1769, Dr Moore was already known to the family, and, ‘upon the question [of Adam Smith or Dr Moore] being put to the Duke himself, he chose John Moore.’ Dr Moore had a long standing friendship and correspondence with Baron Mure and the decision to send Jane to be educated in France may have been influenced by Baron Mure’s inclusion of a period of study in France in the education of his children. Dr Moore and Baron Mure certainly corresponded on the topic of learning French, with Dr Moore recommending in 1765 an impoverished young French woman living in Glasgow as a suitable employee to help the Mure children learn French. ‘My wife is fond of her [and] her language is very Good. She writes a tolerable hand and Mrs Moore has Employed her occasionally to sew things [...] she will be as usefull a serv^t in most respects and more Beneficial in some than any you can employ about the children.’²⁴

Approaches to Adolescence

At ten, John Moore was particularly young to have been taken on such an extensive journey and, as shown above, contemporary educational theorists like Turnbull would have considered him too immature to derive proper benefit from the experience. Dr Moore had responsibility for two youths of different ages and stages in their education and this affected his role, as did his status and authority. As an employee of the duke’s family, his authority was dependent on his ability to

²⁰ Donald Winch, ‘Smith, Adam (*bap.* 1723, *d.*1790)’, ODNB.

²¹ ‘Michael S. Moss, ‘Richardson, William (1743–1814)’, ODNB.

²² NLS 4956, fol.141, George Jardine to Baron Mure, 1771.

²³ Mure, *Family Papers*, p. 192, James Stuart to Baron Mure, London 20 February 1772.

²⁴ NLS 4956 fol. 165, Dr John Moore to Baron Mure, Glasgow, [n.d.1765?].

secure the duke's compliance and the support of the duchess, in the event of any major disagreement or defiance. Over John, he had paternal authority with the power to make decisions and enforce his wishes, although ideally he would achieve this without conflict. The period abroad spanned significant developmental stages for both youths. The duke was fifteen when the tour started in February 1772, turning sixteen in July. He had completed his schooling at Eton and was embarking on a new phase of his education. John was ten, turning eleven in November 1772. He had attended Glasgow Grammar School, probably for two years, and his education was disrupted, in that he was leaving his course mid-term. By autumn 1776 when the tour ended the duke was twenty, a high-ranking wealthy young man. John was almost fifteen, a commissioned officer in the British army, ready to join his regiment. His commission as an ensign in the 51st Foot regiment was dated 2 March 1776 at which time John was fourteen years and still travelling in Italy.²⁵

Dwyer has pointed out that the developmental stages between infancy and adulthood was a topic of interest and debate in the Scottish periodical press during the 1760s and 1770s. He argues that the term 'youth' incorporated what is now known as 'adolescence' although this term only emerged in the nineteenth century.²⁶ Dr Moore certainly shows awareness of progress through developmental stages when he summarises the effect the years abroad have had on John. In 1773 he describes John as 'a fine, manly boy' but in 1776 writes 'Jack quitted Geneva a boy, and has returned a man.'²⁷ John's development through this stage is examined more closely in the letter analysis of Chapter Six.

A Miscellaneous Education: the education of John Moore 1772-6

Writing in October 1775 from Venice Dr Moore is diffident, rather than assertive about the educational experience he has provided, but argues it might prove suitable for John's military career: 'I would fain hope his miscellaneous education may on the whole not be such a loss to him as he is destined to be a soldier.'²⁸ The term 'miscellaneous' has connotations of a lack of structure, a fear that the basic components of John's education lack the coherence that would be

²⁵ WO 65/26, 1776, p. 105.

²⁶ John Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth Century Scotland*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), p. 74. Chapter 3, *The Construction of Adolescence in Late Eighteenth century Scotland*, pp. 72- 94, deals with eighteenth-century writers on this issue and its subsequent historiography.

²⁷ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 25, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Avignon 5 November 1773, p. 261, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 11 July 1776.

²⁸ NLS 4946 fol 235, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Venice, 31 October 1775.

necessary if he had chosen a different profession. Expressed more positively it indicates that John had gained an education more appropriate for a soldier.

John's education is analysed in two sections. The first outlines briefly the three main periods of the foreign travel: the initial journey from home to Geneva, passing through London and Paris; the years in Geneva, which provided more settled educational opportunities; and the final stage, the excursion through the German states, Austria and Italy and the return to Britain. The chronological order of the itinerary is preserved, as the distinctive characteristics of each stage mirror developmental progress and different approaches to educational strategy in a variety of situations: the Genevan period laid down the foundations of the curriculum, priorities and methodologies that underpinned John Moore's education; the German and Austrian part is characterised by familiarisation with a variety of political systems; and the Italian stage is marked by a concentration on visiting sites of cultural significance. However, although a broad distinction can be made along these lines, and an understanding of the chronology of the tour is helpful, none of the educational experiences is exclusive to any one stage. Therefore the second part is an overarching thematic examination of the outcomes that can be identified from his progress.

In 1772 John's education entered a much more fluid stage. Instead of the rigid methodology of the grammar school, with 'one hundred and twenty boys sentenced to go line by line and book by book through the classics' much of his knowledge would be experiential, gained from his observation of places and people, supplemented by instruction from his erudite father and more formal instruction, when circumstances allowed.²⁹ His educational curriculum, therefore, immediately diverged from that available to most youths of his age and rank. Although Latin and the classics were not totally ignored, modern languages were considered, and were indeed, vital. It was particularly important to become fluent in French. Other subjects not included in the traditional syllabus, like geography, history, science and art could be learned through a combination of direct experience and formal study.

The crucial role of his father in monitoring the experience is asserted by James Carrick Moore, who subscribed to the view that travel abroad can enhance or endanger character and morals. In *Life* he wrote 'The acquisitions derived from travelling on the Continent of Europe by different individuals are various. Some return sprinkled with affectations, or stained with vices: while others bring back polished manners, elegant tastes, and enlarged understandings; [or] acquire such portion of each, as to render it doubtful to which side the balance inclines.' Thus James Carrick Moore credits his father with having given John a high standard of education, not merely in the content of what was studied but more significantly in the development of character.

²⁹ GCA, *Glasgow Free Press*, 9 April 1823.

[...] the advantages derived from his father's superintendence were great. He prompted him to the study of history, poetry and writers of the first class; and by paternal precepts instilled those principles, and formed that character, which were afterwards manifested.³⁰

Although this must be treated with caution, as Carrick Moore might be overstating his father's success, it is evidence of the twin concerns of Dr Moore, to which Frances Dunlop also testified, the blend of moral and academic education, with literature playing an important part in understanding and developing character.

Dr Moore acknowledged one abrogation of parental responsibility in that John had no regular instruction for some five months between February and July 1772 and expressed some disquiet about allowing John to be 'idle.'³¹ This situation was planned to be temporary, but was extended by delays to the original arrangements, which were never very firm, and were in any case centred on the needs of the duke, rather than those of the ten-year-old appendage.

Dr Moore, however, was convinced of the educational value of the experiential learning that John was undergoing, commenting that John was 'seeing sights which at his age you may believe he can draw the useful lessons from.'³² Although he did not go as far as to advocate this as an alternative to schooling, he clearly saw a value to the experience, comparable or superior to classroom-based learning. But he was alert to the long term danger of the disruption, if it affected John's general attitude to work. Writing from Paris in May 1772 he expressed concern that it might be difficult for John to resume his studies with the diligence that his father considered essential to success.

Paris is the worst part for the Duke and for Jack. I wish to have them separated for I consider the Duke's familiarity as ruinous for the boy, besides he has been completely idle and I fear will with great difficulty return to application.³³

His fear of the duke's 'ruinous' influence indicates that he wished John to realise the difference in social status between himself and the duke, whose financial and social position was secure without the need for personal industry. Society would not treat wilful or other unacceptable behaviour in him with the same lenience that might be extended to the duke

Glasgow to Geneva via London and Paris: February-July 1772

Although John may well have gained some educational benefit from the journey from Glasgow to London, no information is available on this. John does not describe it in his letters or give any indication of his feelings about being taken away from home. His letters, which are analysed in the

³⁰ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 7.

³¹ BL 57321 fols 10,11, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Paris, May 1772.

³² BL 57321 fols 10,11, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Paris, May 1772.

³³ BL 57321 fols 12,13, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Paris, 12,15,16 May 1772.

next chapter, begin from London, the first letter describing some of his activities and his feelings about his situation and conveying a strong feeling of homesickness. John's activities included visits to sites of historical interest, museums and cultural, social and national events, like seeing the King go to the opening of Parliament.

Dr Moore busied himself in making arrangements for the tour, and preparing to take charge of the duke, but also sight-seeing, socialising and re-establishing contact with acquaintances like Dr William Hunter and the bookseller John Murray. Much of his time was spent at Argyll House, the London home of the Duchess of Argyll, but he delayed accepting an invitation to bring John until he was more confident John could cope with this social situation. As a preliminary, he took John to dinner at John Murray's house and to the museum of Dr William Hunter, the Glasgow physician now based in London, with whom Dr Moore had studied. After about ten days John was taken to dinner at Argyll House and conducted himself to his father's satisfaction.³⁴

The party left London and arrived on Dover on 14 April where they had to wait for suitable sailing conditions which Dr Moore found 'tantalizing being so near to Jeanie,' but by 17 April Dr Moore was able to describe John's reunion with Jane.³⁵ The four or so years she had spent in France made her unsure enough of John's identity to believe he was a servant, who resembled her younger brother. She was now to leave school and return to Glasgow via London, staying with the Murrays. Dr Moore described the resumption of the affectionate relationship between John and Jane in their brief two-day reunion. Paris was the first major objective of the tour and the party spent a month there before moving on to Geneva.

Geneva 1772-1774

The two years in Geneva formed the most settled period in John's education while abroad. The length of the tour had not been fixed and plans changed according to the circumstances, including the duke's growing independence and assertiveness. At one point Dr Moore expected to return home within the year for a temporary visit and it may have been that he intended to take John back then. However Geneva found favour as a suitable environment for the duke's continuing education, pleasing the duke, and allowing Dr Moore to make largely positive reports on his progress, therefore their stay was protracted and John was able to resume regular schooling during this time. After this John left Switzerland to accompany his father and the duke on a tour where his sojourns in different places would be far shorter and his father's time more fully taken up with

³⁴ Oman, *Moore*, p. 10.

³⁵ BL 57321 fol 7, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Dover, 15 April 1772: BL 57321 fols 8,9, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Calais, 17 April 1772.

organisation of the duke's plans and appointments, with the resultant disruption to the continuity of education and difficulty in organisation of any structured programme. In Geneva, however, although exact details are limited, it is possible to identify key features of the parental choice for John's education at this stage.

In *Manners* Dr Moore discusses Geneva's suitability as a venue for the education of elite English youths and his conclusion is not favourable. He argues that for an English youth, who is to spend his adult life in England, the most important aim is to make him an Englishman. He admits that Geneva is better than France in that it is 'more like England' but thinks a Genevan education would be regarded as 'Frenchified' which would be a drawback in English society. Although he acknowledges the criticisms and failures of public schools, he argues that these are preferable.³⁶

However there is a discrepancy between his published views of general principles and his attitude in practice. Despite his stated reservations about the potential damage from educating British youths in France, he did not criticise Baron Mure's decision to educate his sons in France, describing meeting the boys and their tutor, George Jardine, in Paris. 'Our young friends and Mr Jardin dined with us this day. They were dressed in their Blue and Yellow Uniforms, with swords and were totalemente Francifiés.'³⁷ The tone is congratulatory, as if to be 'Frenchified' is a positive outcome that he is confident will please the Baron. In *Manners* of course, his warnings apply specifically to a noble youth. One significant proviso is that the youth intends to spend his life in England. Neither of these criteria applied to John, for whom a military career meant a life of travel, spent mainly abroad, often in non-English speaking countries.

Dr Moore was impressed by the Genevan system of education and its achievements for the citizens of Geneva.

As education in Geneva is equally cheap and liberal, the citizens of Geneva of both sexes are remarkably well instructed. I do not imagine that any country in the world can produce an equal number of persons (taken without election from all degrees and profession) with minds so much cultivated as the inhabitants of Geneva possess.³⁸

He approved of wide access to learning, encompassing females and manual labourers. 'It is not uncommon to find mechanics in the intervals of their labour, amusing themselves with the works of Locke, Montesquieu, Newton, and other productions of the same kind.'³⁹ However, this affordable 'liberal education' was available to 'natives and citizens only.'

³⁶ Moore, *Manners*, I, p.116, (Letter XXXI).

³⁷ NLS 4956 fol 174, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Paris 25 April [n.d. 1772?]

³⁸ Moore, *Manners* I, p. 64 (Letter XIX).

³⁹ Moore, *Manners* I, p. 64 (Letter XIX).

A more informal arrangement also impressed him. Parents exerted themselves to give their offspring a network of friends by organising ‘societies for their children’ where groups of about ten of the same age and sex meet in their homes for refreshments and were left alone to converse. Dr Moore noted that these friendships and habits continued into adulthood. He approved of this imaginative version of the ‘clubability’ which was such an important part of networking in Enlightenment Glasgow, where he was an enthusiastic founder member of the convivial Hodge-Podge Club, which drew its membership from a wide group including tradesmen and merchants as well as academics.⁴⁰

In Geneva John’s letters indicate that he had settled in to his new environment and was able to reassure his mother that he was applying himself to his schoolwork. Quotations preserve John’s line divisions, spelling, punctuation, and corrections.

I work a great deal now and [my] Master told Papa that he was very much contented with me. I rise evry morning at five o clock excepte for the sunday’s and Thursdays which are two holaydays.⁴¹

John includes no details about his school or his teacher, but he outlines his daily and weekly routine. The word ‘now’ implies a change and shows awareness of parental concern that the former period without schooling might have damaged his application to schoolwork and a desire to reassure his mother about this. James Carrick Moore, in *Life*, records that Dr Moore had put John into a ‘house of education’ which would indicate a small private school.⁴²

The curriculum he describes was more extensive than he would have been offered at Glasgow Grammar School with the inclusion of writing and arithmetic, subjects that for his brothers had to be covered by separate arrangements outside the allotted school hours. Whether formal lessons in French were included at this stage is not clear. In a later letter he reports ‘I learn juste now the Latin, Writing and Arethmetick.’⁴³ The word ‘juste’ may be a misspelling or an early indication of confusion between French and English convention. By December 1772 he was able to write to his mother in French, adopting the French version *Jacques* for his signature. The information on his syllabus is identical, as is the stress on parental satisfaction with his effort. ‘Papa est très satisfait parceque je m'applique assez bien au Latin, au Francois, et à l'écriture.’⁴⁴

⁴⁰Strang, *Glasgow and Its Clubs*, p. 44.

⁴¹ BL 57321, fols 25, 26, John Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine. 13 August 1773.

⁴² Carrick Moore, *Life*, p.6.

⁴³ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 6.

⁴⁴ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 249, John Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 7 December 1772. The use of ‘ois’ instead of ‘ais’ accords with eighteenth-century convention.

In Geneva therefore John had access to a wider formal curriculum and the evidence is that he made progress in knowledge, skills and attitude to work, all of which will be examined in more detail in the thematic section below.

Germany and Austria 1774-1775

The settled period in Geneva ended on 28 September 1774 when the party left on an extended tour of Germany and Austria, as the duchess wished the duke to be introduced to the European aristocracy and become known to them as the premier peer in Scotland.⁴⁵ Dr Moore was unwilling to leave his son alone in Geneva for such a protracted period, but felt he had to justify John's participation to Baron Mure: 'You Seem my Dear Baron to disapprove of my having taken my Son along with us. And you imagine it would have been better for the boy if I had left him at Geneva.'⁴⁶ Dr Moore's tone is defensive. His reasons were partly personal, in a paternal reluctance to be separated from his son, and partly educational, in a concern that no suitable arrangement could be made for John's supervision in Geneva: 'If I had been in Circumstances to have left him under the care of a tutor particularly attached to him and who would have watched over his Morals as well as Studies I might have followed that plan.' A suitable tutor-pupil relationship therefore, according to Dr Moore, should ideally be based on affection. His main criticism is where the teacher shows lack of concern for the pupil's welfare, an attitude he is not prepared to accept.

I have Seen too much of the Cruel indifference of Mankind to expect that he would have found Such a Guardian as I imagine he Requires in any person with whom I could have left him there, especially when I should be at a distance – I Revolved this long in my Mind and found at length that my head & heart equally forbade it.⁴⁷

Dr Moore, therefore, believed that rational decisions on education could be compatible with sentiment and worked best when this was the case.

For John, a prime educative benefit was that his father continued to supervise his progress. This included arranging tuition in German, although the brevity of the periods in each location prevented extended study. John reported to his mother from Frankfurt, 'as we did not stay long enough there I have learned but very little.'⁴⁸ Also the trip to Germany and Austria offered opportunities for consolidating political awareness, through direct observation and comparison of two major European states, Prussia and Austria with each other and with France. It gave him some

⁴⁵ Douglas, *Scots Peerage*, p. 246. The order of precedence depends on the date of creation of the dukedom; therefore the Duke of Hamilton ranks first, the title dating back to 1643.

⁴⁶ NLS 4946 fol. 235, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Venice, 31 October 1775.

⁴⁷ NLS 4946 fol. 235, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Venice, 31 October 1775.

⁴⁸ Oman, *Moore*, p. 28, John Moore to Mrs Moore, Kassel, December 1774.

experience of the minor German states, particularly Hanover and Hessen-Kassel, whose troops Britain used to supplement the British army.⁴⁹ There was also a potential comparison of the city state structure of Geneva with others, particularly Frankfurt, a free city, whose citizens controlled its legal and economic affairs.

The excursion took six months, covering one thousand miles and fourteen main towns and cities. The itinerary was strenuous, with stops of varying length at Bern, Basel, Strasbourg, Mannheim, Frankfurt, Kassel, Brunswick, Hannover, Potsdam, Berlin, Dresden, Prague and Vienna. Some destinations, like Berlin and Vienna, as locations of major courts in Europe, were important enough to warrant more prolonged stays. Although the details of the transport varied, their progress was often 'grand', with several coaches and a retinue of postillions, grooms and servants, so that in September 1775, when travelling on the same route as the Archduke of Austria, they had to delay their journey as the inns could not cope with both parties.⁵⁰

Since contact with European courts was a prime reason for the visit and John was increasingly included as a member of the party, he shared in the introductions to the rulers and aristocracy of Europe. By this stage, although he was expected to continue his studies when possible, John was integrated into the activities of his father and the duke. He was old enough and sufficiently confident socially to be introduced at the various courts visited. In Vienna, at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II (1741-1790) and his mother, Empress Maria Theresa of Austria (1717-1780), also mother of Queen Marie Antoinette of France (1755-1793) John was presented to the Emperor and the Empress.⁵¹ Writing to Baron Mure from Vienna in August 1775 Dr Moore was careful to stress that he had not lobbied for this; it was, 'never expected because no such young person ever appears at Court.'⁵² Similarly, at Berlin and Potsdam John was presented to the ruler of Prussia Frederick II and he had already met members of the ruling households in the various smaller German states visited. His time abroad had effected a transformation in John's confidence and social polish so that the young boy, once considered too gauche to visit Argyll House until he acquired more confidence and social polish, was now able to behave with poise and self-assurance in what for many would be daunting social circumstances.

In practical terms, for John this phase meant a removal from the regular schooling in Geneva to more makeshift arrangements, but although his educational regime was flexible and dependent on

⁴⁹ Rodney Atwood, *The Hessians: Mercenaries from Hessen Kassel in the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 33, 35.

⁵⁰ Moore, *Travels*, I, p. 7, Letter I.

⁵¹ NLS 4946 fol. 203, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Vienna, August 1775.

⁵² NLS 4946 fol. 203, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Vienna, August 1775.

circumstances, Dr Moore still regarded continuation of study highly important. Writing to Baron Mure from Venice in October 1775, he describes the arrangements.

I endeavoured however to make Him profit as much as his Situation would allow & to prevent all in my power the bad effects of our Unsettled state – To this purpose my first care at every place where we Came was to board him in Some Clergyman or Professors house at so much by the month – where he was attended by such masters as I thought requisite. This was the case at Frankfort at Brunswick & at Berlin.⁵³

Although Dr Moore clearly considered formal tuition the most desirable option, John's education had entered a phase where self-study and self-motivation were increasingly important. Dr Moore was particularly pleased with John's work ethic, telling Baron Mure in October 1774 that taking him along was 'one of the best things that could happen for Jack who has applied to great purpose.'⁵⁴ When the brevity of their stay made tuition impracticable, Dr Moore expected John to follow a self study course instead: 'In Vienna where I could find no good boarding house [John] studied at home Six hours every day.'⁵⁵

Italy: September 1775 -June 1776

This part of the tour was longer both in time and distance than the travel in Germany and Austria, covering over 2000 miles in eight months, from Vienna to Venice and then via Padua, Ferrara, Loretto, Bologna, to Rome and Naples, returning through Naples, Florence, Milan and Paris, but with a brief excursion back to Geneva. The reasons for extending the tour to Italy were advanced by both the duke and Dr Moore; John had no choice in the matter. Although commissioned in March 1776 as an ensign in the British Army he did not report in London till September 1776.⁵⁶

As there was less opportunity to visit important courts or make aristocratic contacts in Italy than in Germany and Austria, the duchess wanted the duke to return to Britain, but the duke wished to include Italy in the tour. Writing to his mother from Vienna in August 1775, he rebutted the argument that he was in danger of having his morals corrupted in Italy and based his argument on cultural grounds, his desire to see the famous sites of antiquity.

The objections [...] appear [...] frivolous. Women are not more dangerous there than elsewhere [...] – and as for the Men, I hope it is not imagined I shall adopt their manners. But it is [...] for the sake of the Country itself [...] I have not read the Roman Classics with so very little feeling as not to wish to view the country [...] and I can never find so fit an opportunity of gratifying my curiosity as now, when so near.⁵⁷

⁵³ NLS 4946 fol. 235, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Venice, 31 October 1775.

⁵⁴ NLS 4946 fol. 181, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Mannheim, 24 October 1774.

⁵⁵ NLS 4946 fol. 235, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Venice, 31 October 1775.

⁵⁶ WO 65/26, 1776, p. 105.

⁵⁷ Argyll, *Letters*, p. 402, Duke of Hamilton to Duchess of Argyll, Vienna, 10 August 1775.

His letter displays knowledge of contemporary discussion of perceived dangers as seen in Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son on the Art of Becoming a Man of the World and a Gentleman*, only recently published in 1774.

If the prejudices of Lord Chesterfield are just, I shall be in little danger from the effeminate or profligate manners of the Inhabitants, because I shall be satisfied with a short stay, having promised to Mr Moore to be at Geneva by May or June, next.⁵⁸

Ignorance of the main centres of European culture could also be a social disadvantage. 'I will not be insulted by a parcel of Fellows telling me about Rome, when I have as good a Right to indulge myself by visiting it as any of them.'⁵⁹

Dr Moore admitted to the duchess that he too 'had a strong desire' to see Italy.⁶⁰ The party did in fact set off directly from Vienna in August 1775. There is no evidence of formal tuition for John during this period. Stays in each venue were far shorter, more designed for sight-seeing than study, although the experience itself provided many opportunities for learning.

Geneva to Glasgow June-October 1776

This final part of the journey was subject to various changes. Dr Moore's letters reflect uncertainty about plans, as the duke had definite views about the itinerary and wished to visit Geneva before returning home. Dr Moore himself showed a degree of reluctance to return speedily to Glasgow, remaining in Paris in September 1776, while John accompanied the duke to London and then continued to Glasgow alone. No clear reason was given for this delay in the correspondence: one excuse is that there was an erroneous idea that the Duchess of Argyll was travelling to Paris and thus Dr Moore remained behind to meet her there. However from his remarks on his dislike of the practice of medicine, his subsequent removal of the family to London and the start of his career as a published author of fiction and non-fiction, it is reasonable to assume that this potential career change was an important factor in his actions, although it must have been hard for his wife and children to understand why he was prolonging his absence from the family home, when the tour in effect had come to an end.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Argyll, *Letters*, p. 402, Duke of Hamilton to Duchess of Argyll, Vienna, 10 August 1775.

⁵⁹ Argyll, *Letters*, p. 405, Dr John Moore to Duchess of Argyll, Vienna, 16 August 1775.

⁶⁰ Argyll, *Letters*, p. 405, Dr Moore to Duchess of Argyll, Vienna, 16 August 1775.

⁶¹ CUL Add Mss 9303, John Moore, *Sketches*.

When John returned to Glasgow in September 1776 his mother was delighted with her son, writing to her husband, ‘as high as you had raised my expectations with regard to Jack he even goes beyond it.’⁶² Her main satisfaction was seeing John’s ability to reintegrate into the family: ‘Jeanie is in Raptures [...] My Mother sits and admires in silence.’ She paints a moving picture of John’s affectionate attitude to his brothers: ‘nothing can appear more Amiable & he is never tired of caressing them.’ They reacted with adulation: ‘the Boys all hang upon him & look with a degree of admiration as to a superior being.’ John’s maturity made him a suitable confidant and advisor to his mother: ‘I feel the happiness of a companion & one that I can place confidence in and consult like a friend. In short he is at present all my heart could desire & I never prayed with so much ardour as I have done to thank God for giving me such A Son.’ The brief period in Glasgow reinforced the strong family ties that resulted in continued regular correspondence throughout John’s worldwide travel during his adult life.⁶³

The following section considers what Dr Moore described as John’s ‘miscellaneous education’ examining eight broad curriculum areas, language, mathematics, social subjects, sciences, expressive arts and physical, religious and moral education. It evaluates the extent to which John Moore was given access to education in each of these areas. It also considers the provision of vocational education for his chosen military career.

Language

The Moores attached great importance to their children acquiring a high level of competence in both oral and written communication. This is evident in Dr Moore’s exhortations to Mrs Moore to ensure the children became articulate in a wide variety of social situations. Dr Moore prized the ability to behave well and speak confidently in society. In 1773 he wrote, ‘Jack has not entirely conquered his bashfulness.’⁶⁴ He returned to the topic a year later ‘Jack for as much company as he has seen is yet a little Timid.’ He recommended that Mrs Moore should ‘endeavour to keep [the other children] clear of vulgarity and sheepishness [and encourage them] to speak to Strangers - it is of much Importance.’⁶⁵

He was able to oversee John’s linguistic progress, by organising formal instruction and by facilitating situations which would foster confidence and proficiency, where John had to interact with a wide range of people of varying social ranks, nationalities and ages. The motivation to learn

⁶² CUL Add Mss 9808/1,2, Mrs Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 29 September 1776.

⁶³ Oman, *Moore*, remains the best account of his subsequent career.

⁶⁴ BL 57321 fols 22,23, Dr John Moore to Mrs Jean Moore, Chatelaine, July 1773.

⁶⁵ BL 57321 fols 27, 28 Dr John Moore to Mrs Jean Moore, Geneva, 16 September 1774.

to speak foreign languages was heightened by the rationale that fluency was essential to function independently in many situations. While some travellers could isolate themselves from this necessity by gravitating towards the community of English-speaking expatriates in Geneva, Paris, Rome and other popular places on the Grand Tour, John's age precluded his forming friendships with his peers unless he could speak to them in their native language; English was not a school subject in Geneva and there was little motivation for young people of his age to learn it, as French was the main language for international communication.

When John Moore reported to his mother that he was learning 'writing' in Geneva it should be remembered that writing, in this context, included handwriting, rather than transactional or creative writing and that penmanship was often practised merely by copying. His awareness of the importance attached to the ability to write not only legibly but in an aesthetically pleasing way is evident in another letter from 1773 where he asked his mother to tell his brother James that 'I was quite ashamed when I saw his letter so well wrote.'⁶⁶ Although John was self-deprecating, his standard of penmanship at ten, illustrated in the next chapter, shows that he formed letters well, with attention to legibility, regularity and artistry⁶⁷. Examples of the letters of James and Graham show a similar ability, so it is reasonable to assume that their early training stressed this skill and ensured that they practised it enough to achieve an acceptable standard.⁶⁸

There is no evidence of any formal teaching of either creative or transactional writing. This mirrored the situation in Glasgow, where it would have involved attendance at extracurricular classes. Although Dr Moore was well able to oversee this area himself, no mention is made of any requirements to produce written work beyond the letters which John was encouraged to write home. These certainly gave him opportunity to practise this skill, with the strong incentive that by doing so he was maintaining his link with home and would in turn receive communications from the family in Glasgow.

His choice of a military career, which James Carrick Moore dates at May 1774, would have provided another incentive to learn to write effectively. In Hanover the party had a great deal of contact with Marshall Sporken, the veteran soldier of the Seven Years War (1756-1763) and in *Manners* Dr Moore records how Sporken had a high opinion of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whose good communication Sporken believed contributed to military success. 'Above all things, he admired the perspicuity of his written instructions [...] accompanied by the most accurate and

⁶⁶ BL 57321, fols 25,26, John Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine, 13 August 1773.

⁶⁷ See Figure 3.

⁶⁸ See Appendix 4.

minute description [...] with directions how to act in various possible emergencies.⁶⁹ This perspective on the skills needed to be an effective officer could have played an additional part in motivating John to hone his communication skills, as it came from a person John had actually met and whose opinion he respected, describing him in a letter to James as ‘a fine old soldier [who] has been in many battles.’⁷⁰

Scots and Gaelic

Writing in *Manners* Dr Moore was scathing about the preference at German courts for speaking French: ‘the native language of the country is treated like a vulgar dialect, while French is cultivated as the only proper language for people of fashion.’⁷¹ He criticised how this was bolstered by education. ‘Children of the first families are instructed in French before they acquire their mother tongue and pains are taken to keep them ignorant of this, that it may not hurt their pronunciation of the other.’⁷² Although the situation in Scotland differed in that English was one of the native languages of the country, it has been seen in Chapter Four that the Moore parents wanted their children to speak English rather than Scots.

To be in a country where a foreign language is spoken is a disorientating experience. Even if there has been some prior learning of the language, there will be many situations where both comprehension and the ability to communicate will be hampered. When he landed in France, this was John’s first time in a French-speaking community, but it is highly likely that in Glasgow he already had experience of a community speaking Gaelic. Although Gaelic does not feature in any of the Moore family correspondence, within the family circle there was close contact with the Gaelic-speaking community of Glasgow. Dr Moore’s sister, Mary, married George Macintosh (1739-1806), a Gaelic-speaking chemist and manufacturer. Macintosh employed a Gaelic-speaking workforce and was a strong supporter of the Highland Society in Glasgow and of the use of Gaelic in church.⁷³ John Moore and his cousin Charles Macintosh (1766-1844), later a chemist and inventor of renown, were contemporaries and maintained a correspondence into adult life, although if there was any correspondence in their youth it has not survived.⁷⁴ In John’s military career there

⁶⁹ Moore, *Manners* II, p. 22, Letter LXII.

⁷⁰ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 9, John Moore to James Moore, 2 May 1775.

⁷¹ Moore, *Manners* I, p.173. Letter LXVII.

⁷² Moore, *Manners*, I, p.173. Letter LXVII.

⁷³ George Stewart, *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1881), p. 70; Charles W. J. Withers, ‘Highland Clubs and Chapels: Glasgow’s Gaelic Community in the Eighteenth Century,’ *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 101:1, 1985, pp. 16-27.

⁷⁴ Macintosh, *Biographical Memoir*, p.41, John Moore to Charles Macintosh, 17 February 1800.

was contact with Gaelic-speaking soldiers and any knowledge he had acquired in Glasgow would have been an advantage. Indeed, although the best known poem about John is *The Death of Sir John Moore at Corunna* by the Irish clergyman Charles Wolfe (1791-1823), he features in *The Battle of Holland* by Gaelic poet Alasdair MacFhionghain, a soldier in the Gordon Highlanders.⁷⁵ This poem records John Moore's participation in the 1799 Helder Expedition and the esteem in which he is held by the poet is testified by the description in the following lines,

<p>Air mìos deireannach an fhoghair, An dara là, gur math mo chuimhne, Ghluais na Breatannaich on fhaiche Dh'ionnsaigh tachairt ris na naimhdean. Thug Eabarcrombaidh taobh na mara Dhiubh le chanain's mi gan cluinntinn. Bha fòirne aig Mùr gu daingean Cumail aingil ris na Fraingich. Thriall Eabarcrombaidh's Mùr na féile Le'n laoich euchdach chun a' bhatail.</p>	<p>In the last month of autumn. The second day, well I remember, The British marched from parade To engage the enemy. Abercromby took the coast from them With his canon in my hearing. Moore had troops concentrating Close fire on the French Abercromby and generous Moore Marched their brave heroes to the fray.⁷⁶</p>
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The term 'Mùr na féile' or 'generous Moore' is part of the panegyric code in Gaelic poetry for the description of heroic chieftains, and here would indicate a commander who cared about his men and their welfare.⁷⁷ It is likely that John had at least a smattering of Gaelic that would have enabled him to forge links with Gaelic-speaking soldiers under his command.

It is not clear whether Dr Moore actively supported the measures introduced in Glasgow to provide for Gaelic speakers and to retain Gaelic as a living language, rather than suppress it in favour of English, but he was a strong advocate of the use of native languages and a critic of those who believed another language was superior. His rationale for learning other languages was to achieve better communication and to access the literature of other cultures.

Modern and Classical Languages

All of John's schooling at Glasgow Grammar School was concentrated on the acquisition of competence in Latin and Dr Moore was conventional to the point of ensuring that this study

⁷⁵ R. Black ed., *An Lasair: Anthology of Eighteenth Century Scottish Gaelic Verse*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001), pp. 521-5.

⁷⁶ Black, *An Lasair*, pp.354-5

⁷⁷ Black, *An Lasair*, pp. 521-5.

continued, albeit as a part, rather than as the totality, of his curriculum. Its importance was as a marker of an educated man, rather than a potentially useful skill for someone destined for a military career. It is, however, quite compatible with Enlightenment rationale that Latin be taught even to those for whom it would have no practical vocational application.

As a physician Dr Moore could use Latin in practical ways. Doctors in different countries employed it as a common language to describe illnesses and treatments. It was also useful as a method of preserving privacy on sensitive topics. Dr Moore sometimes employs this approach when writing to Baron Mure about the treatment and progress of the duke, whose health before the start of the tour had been affected by the contraction of a sexually transmitted disease.⁷⁸

In his creative work Dr Moore also followed the custom of using literary quotations as chapter headings and as tags to illustrate or support a point; *Travels II*, for example, begins with a Latin quotation from Horace.⁷⁹ ‘Strenua nos exercet inertia: navibus atque quadrigis petimus bene vivere. Quod petis, hic est.’⁸⁰ This quotation reflects Dr Moore’s view on the entertainment derived from travelling, which is tiring but pleasurable. When reading for leisure John would need to become familiar with this stylistic feature to derive full benefit from contemporary literature, therefore a degree of competence in Latin was desirable. It was however of secondary importance to fluency in modern languages.

It is not clear whether John had any familiarity with modern languages before he arrived in France. It is possible that he had already acquired some knowledge from his father and mother, from the tuition of William Cruikshank and from any letters that Jane may have sent from France. However it is unlikely to have been more than a superficial collection of words and phrases. Once in France, and later in French-speaking Geneva, John would have been able to benefit from his father’s fluency in both written and oral French. This skill could not be taken for granted among the Scottish educated elite and contrasted with some of the Grand Tour tutors. George Jardine, for example, writing from Paris, makes no secret of his weak grasp of French, writing from Paris that, ‘Tis all Blab-blab to me.’⁸¹ Baron Mure’s main aim in sending his sons to a private military academy for the sons of the nobility in Paris was to have them learn French though his emphasis on French appears to have been at the leading edge for his social group. Mure wrote to Hume in 1767

⁷⁸ NLS 4956 fol. 173, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Paris, 24-26 April, [1772?].

⁷⁹ Moore, *Travels II*, frontispiece.

⁸⁰ ‘Strenuous inertia exercises us: we seek to live well by ships and chariots, (a reference to Roman mock sea battles and chariot racing.) Whatever you seek is here.’ I am indebted to Gordon Hepburn for this translation.

⁸¹ GUL MS Gen 507/28 George Jardine to Robert Hunter, 26 October 1771.

about a preliminary step of employing a French tutor, ‘I like it because ‘tis somewhat new and I suppose you will because it is somewhat Francified.’⁸²

Dr Moore was dubious about the belief that the Grand Tour would necessarily be an effective way to acquire foreign languages, ‘amidst the dissipation of theatres, reviews, processions, balls and assemblies, is of all things the least possible [...] that the young gentlemen may become perfectly master of the foreign languages.’⁸³ However John’s youth and his father’s supervision of his studies made these distractions less likely, particularly in the first two years when he was in Geneva and he made quick progress, particularly in French: Dr Moore reported August 1772 that ‘Jack begins to speak French very well.’⁸⁴

German was the second modern language that John learned and its vocational use was the main factor in arranging specific tuition. John reported to his mother in December 1774. ‘when I was in Franckfort my father put me into a pension to learn German but it is a difficulter language than French, [...] when I get to Brunswick, I shall do all I can to learn it very well, as it will be of great use to me when I am an officer, especially if I am sent to Germany, which is by far the best country to learn the art of the Military.’⁸⁵ In his later career John put his grounding in modern languages to use, for example using French to discuss the defence of Sicily with the Queen of Naples in 1807.⁸⁶

Mathematics

In Geneva, John had instruction in basic arithmetic as part of his general school curriculum. As noted above, a letter to his mother in 1773 included arithmetic in a list of the subjects that he was learning. This integrated approach differs from what would have been his experience in Glasgow, where parents of youths attending Glasgow Grammar school had to organise separate tuition for subjects other than the classics. There is no evidence of tuition in any other branch of mathematics while he was in Geneva. Although in *Life* James Carrick Moore says that John’s curriculum was expanded to include mathematics and engineering after he decided on a military career in 1774, he

⁸² Henry L. Fulton, ‘Private Tutoring in Scotland: The Example of Mure of Caldwell’, *Eighteenth Century Life*, 27.3 (2003), p. 59.

⁸³ Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 490. Letter LXXXII.

⁸⁴ BL57321 ff 16,17, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, August 1772.

⁸⁵ Oman, *Moore*, p. 28, John Moore to Mrs Moore, Kassel, December 1774.

⁸⁶ Oman, *Moore*, p. 432.

does not record exactly how this was achieved.⁸⁷ It is likely to have been a blend of what tuition could be obtained and a guided course of self-study. John's interest in the practical applications of mathematics is shown in his only published book, an extremely detailed account of army pay rates, written in 1786.⁸⁸ He is also recorded as having further education in accounting by working in Glasgow as a clerk for his uncle George Macintosh. Although the exact date and duration are unclear, this was most likely during the period after the end of the War of American Independence, when he was on half pay. In *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, published in 1881, when John Moore was well established as a British military hero, George Stewart credits this work experience as having taught him skills, which lead to his later achievements.

Sir John Moore, [...] when a young man, entered as a clerk in the Dunchattan House, and the training he there received, under the careful superintendence of his uncle, Mr. Macintosh, [was] of the greatest service to him in the formation of those prompt methodical habits which were the main sources of his military success in after life.⁸⁹

Social Subjects

Study of the classics at Glasgow Grammar School introduced pupils to Roman history, but the curriculum offered no instruction on Scottish, British or European history. An early letter from John to his brother James shows that Dr Moore had begun to address this gap in London, where John learned about the fate of King Charles I by visiting the scene of his execution.⁹⁰ The letter which contains his reflections on the event forms part of the close analysis of sources in the next chapter but it is clear that Dr Moore organised excursions to sites of historical interest wherever possible.

In assessing the link between foreign travel and political awareness, Dr Moore is realistically diffident, merely claiming in *Manners* that travellers 'sometimes pick up some notion of the different governments of Europe, and a few political ideas in the course of their travels.'⁹¹ For Dr Moore the key factor was the receptiveness of the traveller to the experience, in combination with the ability to observe and draw appropriate conclusions. He warns against 'a kind of passive, gaping, oyster state.'⁹² It is likely therefore that he encouraged John to develop 'a reasoned response to observations.'⁹³

⁸⁷ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 6.

⁸⁸ Moore, *States of the Pay*.

⁸⁹ Stewart, *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 87.

⁹⁰ BL 57321, fols 5,6, John Moore to James Carrick Moore, 12 April 1772.

⁹¹ Moore, *Travels* II, p. 155, Letter LVII.

⁹² Moore, *Manners*, I, p. 6, Letter II.

There is no evidence of John's views on the political systems of the places visited. However it is possible to speculate from a review of the itinerary and from Dr Moore's comments in his published writings, what John might have gathered from his experiences of varying political systems. The evidence for a degree of political education begins with the observations John made in his first letters home, which are studied more closely in the next chapter. Whether he had any awareness of the structure of local government in Glasgow is unknown, but he included among his ancestors Lord Provosts of Glasgow. His father was a burgher of Glasgow, a member of the Trades Council and held the appointment of physician responsible for the Town's Hospital. In national politics the town had supported the Hanoverian succession during the Jacobite rising less than thirty years earlier and Carrick Moore records in *Life* that Dr Moore 'in his youth had seen the Highland army under Charles Edward Stuart, at the siege of Stirling.'⁹⁴

In London, where he saw the heads of executed Jacobites on display and the window in Whitehall from which Charles I exited to be executed, John had the opportunity to reflect on the fate of those who had supported Charles Edward Stuart, whom he describes as 'traitors.' He also saw the current British system of constitutional monarchy in action when observing the king going to open parliament. Four years later in Florence in May 1776, the duke's party had at least two encounters with the Stuart claimant to the British throne, Charles Edward Stuart. John may not have been present at the encounters with Charles Edward Stuart, although it is quite likely that he was, since by this time he was more fully integrated into the party and their activities. Writing to the duchess Dr Moore concentrates on the behaviour of the main protagonists. 'We met the Pretender in the Publick walk with his Princess [...] He look'd most earnestly at the Duke, and on our Bowing pulled of his hat and bowed very low, smiling and keeping his eyes fixed upon the Duke in a most remarkable manner.' Dr Moore was alarmed that: 'he would have spoke to the Duke, but he did not.' He assured the duchess that 'If he had, the Duke would not have been embarrassed, and would have talked to him respectfully, but as the Count of Albany.' The use of this title indicates that the duke would have addressed him as a Scottish nobleman, not as a claimant to the throne.⁹⁵

Charles Edward Stuart (1720-1788) would have been fifty-five, a very different figure from the young man in his twenties who led the Jacobite rising. Dr Moore's word choice, 'the Pretender,' shows his Hanoverian loyalty and lack of sympathy for the attempt at regime change and he affirms his 'Zeal and loyalty [...] to his Majesty'⁹⁶

⁹³ Moore, *Manners*, I, p. 6, Letter II.

⁹⁴ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 10.

⁹⁵ Argyll, *Letters*, p. 415, Dr Moore to Duchess of Argyll, Florence, 24 May 1776.

⁹⁶ Argyll, *Letters*, p. 421, Dr Moore to Duchess of Argyll, Florence 1 June 1776.

This opportunity, vicarious or not, would have been a topic of conversation and of interest to a young man about to enter the armed forces in the service of King George III. An irony of the timing of Dr Moore's comments is that they were being made in June 1776 simultaneously with but in ignorance of the Declaration of Independence, which would pose a different threat to the power of the Hanoverian monarchy.⁹⁷ Dr Moore's support of the Hanoverian dynasty extended to his approval of the German state of Hanover, which he describes as benefitting from British ideas. After visiting Hanover, he tells Baron Mure in 1775 that 'the happy Influence of freedom expands from Britain to that electorate and distinguishes it from other parts of Germany.'⁹⁸

Study of travel has introduced the concept of alterity, the traveller's realisation of difference, a comprehension of how societies visited differ from those at home.⁹⁹ In London John could see how life in the capital varied from that in Glasgow, and become aware that Britain would have been different if recent history had been different. After leaving Britain he experienced a wide variety of political systems. In France it became possible to begin the comparison of political systems. Although both Britain and France were monarchies, Dr Moore records his analysis of significant differences and their effect on the life of the people in Letter V of *Manners*.¹⁰⁰ For example, London was 'lighted at night' and had 'raised pavements' for pedestrians and Dr Moore interprets this as indicating that 'the body of the people as well as the rich and great are counted of some importance in Britain.'¹⁰¹ He criticises the French system severely. 'Everything in this kingdom is arranged to the accommodation of the rich and powerful; and that little or no regard is paid to the citizens of an inferior situation.'¹⁰² Whether he passed on his view to John in any formal way is unknown. But it is unlikely that he missed any chance of teaching his son to be observant of social ills. On the roads, for example, 'a thousand instances strike the eye immediately' of the difficulty for the 'common folk [who] must grope their way as best they can [to] avoid being crushed by coaches [...] dispersing the people like chaff before the wind.'¹⁰³

⁹⁷ *London Gazette*, Saturday 10 August 1776; *London Post*, Saturday 10 August 1776. Although it was drafted in June 1776 and ratified on 4 July 1776, news of the Declaration of Independence did not reach Europe until the middle of August.

⁹⁸ NLS 2524 28, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Berlin, 6 June 1775.

⁹⁹ Chloe Chard; *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 2, 40, 47.

¹⁰⁰ Moore, *Manners*, I, pp. 22-31, Letter V.

¹⁰¹ Moore, *Manners*, I, p. 22, Letter V

¹⁰² Moore, *Manners*, I, p. 22, Letter V.

¹⁰³ Moore, *Manners*, I, p. 23, Letter V.

Despite such treatment, Dr Moore records that the French display zeal for their monarch, which he feels is unmerited. He is scathing about the French monarchy's abrogation of responsibility for the welfare of subjects. 'In his view, the monarch 'quite loses sight of the bulk of the nation' and 'rank is valued above merit.' He distinguishes between the British and French approaches to monarchy. The French he says are loyal to 'the person of the monarch, [the English to] the king and next king' - in effect to the system not the person.¹⁰⁴

Travel through Germany and Austria included a stay in the free city of Frankfurt, which could be compared and contrasted with the Genevan city state. Other significant venues in Hessen and Hanover were important to an understanding of British military alliances and Britain's use of foreign mercenaries to supplement the British army. The smaller German states replicated in microcosm the large power blocs of Prussia and Austria. In Italy they travelled through city states with different political structures. John makes no comment in his letters about styles of European government, but there is evidence that he understood something of the tensions in Europe when he wrote to his brother Graham in 1774 about the possibility of war with France and whether the Spaniards would be Britain's foes or allies.¹⁰⁵ This brief letter is discussed in the next chapter.

Science

Science was another subject absent from the school curriculum in Glasgow which Dr Moore considered important in a general education. He argues that by occupying the mind, it provides a counter to more harmful pursuits.

Knowledge and the Love of Science is of great use to every man [...] when his mind is unemployed he flies to everything for amusement, and if he does not acquire Good habits he will acquire Bad.¹⁰⁶

He is clearly concerned here, not with those who would need specialist scientific training for vocational purposes, but with the general principle of the enriching effect of scientific study. He recognised John's need for vocational scientific education and arranged visits to workplaces to see the practical application of science in a military context. In Venice, for example, John toured the arsenal to see shipbuilding, the armament collection and a demonstration of the casting of cannon.¹⁰⁷

The link between science and ethics is a universal theme, applicable to every age and society, but one which had particular resonance in the medical ethics of the Enlightenment, where the

¹⁰⁴ Moore, *Manners*, I, p. 28, Letter VI.

¹⁰⁵ Oman, *Moore*, p.33, John Moore to Graham Moore, Vienna, 21 October 1775.

¹⁰⁶ Argyll, *Letters*, p. 341, Dr John Moore to Duchess of Argyll, Geneva, 4 July 1772.

¹⁰⁷ Moore, *Travels*, I, p. 20, Letter II.

boundaries of knowledge of the anatomy and workings of the human body were expanded by techniques like post mortem dissection. Dr Moore had studied with William Hunter and took John to see his museum on their way through London in 1772. Hunter's anatomical work on the human body included giving public exhibitions of dissections.¹⁰⁸ Questions arise on the ethical distinctions between what is justifiable to achieve the expansion of human knowledge and mere entertainment of a voyeuristic kind, titillating baser instincts. Dr Moore consistently expresses his abhorrence of all cruelty, including the use of animals to demonstrate scientific principles.¹⁰⁹ In *Travels*, Dr Moore argues: 'When the real utility of the knowledge acquired by cruel experiments on animals [...] is fairly stated [...] the benefit resulting from mankind from thence will seem too dearly bought in the eyes of a person of humanity.'¹¹⁰ This was prompted by a visit to the Grotta del Cane near Naples in 1775. The travellers were in a group which was to be shown the toxic effect of the volcanic gases emitted from the ground. The demonstration involved holding a dog in the vapour and seeing it die. Some of the group had insisted on seeing this, but the duke intervened and the dog was rescued. Recognising that the main aim was the amusement of tourists, Moore wrote of his concern that humane instincts could be weakened and the observers desensitised by the experience.¹¹¹ Dr Moore argues from this particular instance to the general conclusion that the means of acquiring knowledge cannot be justified if the means are unethical. Although John's reaction to the experience in the Grotta del Cane is not recorded, it is highly likely that Dr Moore's ethical views convinced him and that he approved the duke's action.

The visit to the Mount Vesuvius area had rich potential for scientific education. The volcano was still smoking from the last eruption, two months before. Dr Moore recorded in *Travels* how John's experience of an active volcano was dramatic: 'Your young friend Jack was a good deal hurt by a fall, as he ran to avoid a large portion of some fiery substance, which seemed to be falling on his head.'¹¹² He included more detail in a letter home; 'Jack wounded his knee and thigh' and [if he had not run] 'in all likelihood would have been destroyed.'¹¹³ Dr Moore also links the experience to John's future career, 'Jack [...] was in as much danger, and as well wounded, as if he had stood a tolerable brisk siege.'¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ Helen Brock, 'Hunter, William,' (1728-1793) ODNB.

¹⁰⁹ Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 296, Letter LXV.

¹¹⁰ Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 296, Letter LXV.

¹¹¹ Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 298, Letter LXV.

¹¹² Moore, *Travels*, I, p. 216, Letter LXI.

¹¹³ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 14.

¹¹⁴ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 14.

John's scientific education, therefore, relied on what opportunities there were to see scientific principles in action, rather than on formal, structured study. In this he was at no disadvantage, when compared to what would have been his situation in Glasgow, where it would not have been part of his school curriculum, although family connections might have afforded opportunities to learn about scientific developments in Glasgow.

Physical Education

The choice of Geneva as the permanent location for the bulk of the time abroad made it possible to incorporate a fitness regime in which swimming was an important activity, popular both with the duke and with John. Dr Moore's programme calls for a degree of 'hardiness' considered unusual by the other residents, but he is convinced that it is of 'great benefit.' Writing to the duchess in 1772 he reports that,

We continue to Bathe in the Lake four or five times a week without regarding the Weather, which is a very new thing here, where nobody Bathes, but when the weather is warm and Serene [...] after rain there is such a quantity of water coming from the Neighbouring Alps and Glacier [...] that the lake becomes as Cold as it is possible for Unfrozen water to be [...] Upon these occasions we have the Whole Lake to ourselves. We shall continue this Amusement all this month, and perhaps next.¹¹⁵

There is no information on how this compares with any measures the Moore family would have taken in Glasgow to encourage physical fitness, although a letter of Dr Moore to the Duchess of Argyll in 1771 records that the family did take a summer holiday in 'the Country' removing from Glasgow to Galston in Ayrshire for two months on at least one occasion.¹¹⁶ Physical fitness and education became a central feature of the system of training John Moore introduced into the British army and in his personal lifelong regime.¹¹⁷

Expressive arts

An important aim of the Grand Tour was to increase knowledge and appreciation of the arts, for their life-enriching quality and their didactic potential. John's art appreciation education could have begun in Glasgow at the Foulis art gallery, but the record of Dr Moore's organisation of his

¹¹⁵ Argyll, *Letters*, p. 343, Dr Moore to Duchess of Argyll, Geneva, 13 September 1772.

¹¹⁶ Argyll, *Letters*, p. 334, Dr Moore to Duchess of Argyll, Galston, 29 June 1771.

¹¹⁷ Oman, *Moore*, p. 319. 'According to his aides in 1803 he was "in the sea before five every morning."''

exposure to the arts dates from March 1772 when John writes to his brother James that he has been taken to ‘an auction where there was all sorts of Pictures and china.’¹¹⁸

Public monuments fulfil several educational and social functions, the celebration of power and achievement, a tangible representation of the historical or contemporary figures admired enough, or powerful enough to have statues erected for passers-by to notice. Dr Moore introduces this topic, and its potential for propaganda in *Manners*, when he discusses, the equestrian statue of Louis XV, erected in the king’s honour by the people of Paris.¹¹⁹ ‘The large sides of the pedestal are adorned with trophies and bas reliefs. One represents Lewis giving peace to Europe; the other represents him in a triumphant chariot, crowned by Victory and conducted by Renown to a people who submit.’ Dr Moore finds humour in the failure of the monument to achieve the desired effect. ‘In this work the horse is more admired, by sculptors and satirists, than the king. But the greatest oversight is that the whole group, though all of the figures are larger than life, has a diminutive appearance in the centre of the vast arena in which they are placed.’ It cannot be asserted that on this, or any similar occasion, Dr Moore explicitly taught John to appreciate aesthetic merit, or to analyse intention and effect. In *Life* James recounts an anecdote of John’s inattention: while his father, ‘was looking at the statues, John strayed aside to gaze at some French boys whose dress diverted him.’¹²⁰ However, given Dr Moore’s enjoyment of expounding his ideas and his determination to afford his children the best possible education, it is likely that he tried to introduce John to this branch of art, selecting the aspects most likely to interest him.

John had two experiences of having his portrait painted as part of a group with his father and the duke, once in Geneva and later in Rome. Visiting an artist’s studio and participating in the process of the production would have had basic educational value. The props and the positioning of the Duke in comparison to his father and himself would have shown John how portraits illustrated the importance of rank, wealth, power and patronage in British society.

The first portrait, by the fashionable Swiss artist, Jean Preudhomme, now in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, dates from 1774.¹²¹ The duke is the central character, flanked by John on the left and Dr Moore on the right. Dr Moore’s status as educator is indicated by his left hand pointing to a globe, with the duke looking down at the globe contemplatively - or at least with polite interest. To achieve a lower position for Dr Moore, he is portrayed leaning against a chair. John and his father are dressed in blues and greys, more soberly than the duke, who is resplendent in

¹¹⁸ BL 57321 fols 1,2, John Moore to James Carrick Moore, London, 4 March 1772.

¹¹⁹ Moore, *Manners*, p. 37, Letter XII.

¹²⁰ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 4.

¹²¹ NMS, Jean Preudhomme, *Douglas, 8th Duke of Hamilton on His Grand Tour*.

scarlet, indicative of his superior social status. Above John's head, a window opens onto a view of Geneva. Unlike the other two figures, John is looking out towards the viewer, holding open for scrutiny a scroll, showing a map of Britain with the central belt of Scotland from Edinburgh to Glasgow in the middle of the illustration. It is positioned next to the globe, so that both the duke and John are portrayed as travellers.

Dr Moore's description of the painting, in a letter to Mrs Moore in July 1772, explains the deliberate use of symbolism.

I lean on a chair, and point to Great Britain on a Globe and look at the Duke, as much to say, 'There is the country of all the world whose history and government you ought to know best, and where your affections and attentions ought to be fixed.' The Duke leans on me, and has his eyes fixed on Britain. Jack looks at the spectator, and unrolls a map of Britain. The History of Britain lies on the table. A view of Geneva and the Lake at a distance. The figures are very like.¹²²

Dr Moore's focus is on the effectiveness of the education and mentoring he is providing. The duke is an attentive and appreciative pupil. The iconography is didactic, stressing that although they are abroad, study of Britain is being given priority in his educational scheme.

The second portrait, now in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, is also a group of three, painted in Rome in 1775 by Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798), a Scot from Bothwell near Glasgow, already a painter of renown particularly in portraiture and at that time based in Rome.¹²³ Hamilton had already painted the duke's mother in 1752 on the occasion of her marriage to the sixth Duke.¹²⁴ It is also highly likely that Dr Moore was personally acquainted with him as both attended Glasgow University at the same time, Dr Moore matriculating in the fifth class in 1742 and Gavin Hamilton in the fourth class in 1743.¹²⁵

The painting underlines the cultural importance of Rome, with views of the Forum and the Temple of Concord, the Colonna Sola, the Arch of Titus, the Coliseum and the Alban Hills in the background. Again the duke is the central character, this time far more prominent in that the other two figures are significantly smaller. Again he wears bright colours, scarlet and yellow, while Dr Moore's dress is muted. John, however, is dressed in military style, with a scarlet jacket and white cuffs and lapels. He is shown from the head to the waist, holding the duke's sleeve and looking up

¹²² Oman, *Moore*, p. 25; BL 57231 fol. 24, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine, July 1772.

¹²³ National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, PG3265, Gavin Hamilton, *Douglas Hamilton, 8th Duke of Hamilton and 5th Duke of Brandon, 1756-1799 (with Dr John Moore, 1730-1802, and Sir John Moore, 1761-1809, as a young boy)*.

¹²⁴ National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, PG3496, Gavin Hamilton, *Elizabeth Gunning, Duchess of Hamilton, 1733-1790*.

¹²⁵ Addison, *Matriculation Albums*, pp. 29, 30, no.986 (Moore) and no.1026 (Hamilton).

at him. His figure takes the same space as a large hunting dog, which also looks at the duke. Dr Moore is looking out of the portrait, pointing to the duke with his left hand opened, as if displaying and commending the duke to the viewer. In both portraits Dr Moore's worried expression perhaps echoes his frequently expressed concerns that the duke, although good natured, lacked the self-discipline to use his position and power for the public good, rather than self-indulgence.¹²⁶

In *Travels* Dr Moore disparages the fashion for having portraits painted, commenting, 'Beauty is worthy of the most delicate pencil; but gracious heaven! Why should every periwig-pated fellow without countenance or character, insist on seeing his chubby cheeks on canvas?'¹²⁷ However both times the duke had his portrait painted, Dr Moore and John are included, perhaps a mark of Dr Moore's strong influence on the duke and his constant concern to promote John's interest. Artistic merit aside, the portraits provide records of locations visited, firmly positioning the subjects as informed and cultured travellers. In both paintings the dependence of John on Hamilton patronage is stressed, the choice of a military-style costume in the 1775 portrait underling the Hamilton influence in obtaining his first commission.

A major object of the Grand Tour was to see the art treasures of Europe and the collections of the nobility of Germany and Austria were a feature of this section of the duke's tour. The Elector of Saxony's museum in Dresden contained a magnificent collection of artistic artefacts, though Dr Moore's admiration of these is reserved.¹²⁸ A carved cherry stone, which can be seen through a microscope to contain 'above a hundred faces' draws a critical comment. 'These mechanical whims display the labour, perseverance, and minute attention of the workman,' but he doubts 'the wisdom' of this. He believes the microscope could be better used in examining 'the astonishing minutiae of nature.' His general criticisms embrace those who commission and purchase artistic work, which takes a disproportionate share of human endeavour, in effect misusing time, talent and the virtue of hard work. As with his critique of sculpture there is no evidence that Dr Moore conveyed his opinions to John, but it is likely that he did.

¹²⁶ Brinsley Ford, 'A Portrait Group by Gavin Hamilton: With Some Notes on Portraits of Englishmen in Rome,' *Burlington Magazine*, 97:633 (1955) Information about the background landscape and architecture is from this source. The interpretation and analysis is original to this thesis.

¹²⁷ Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 74, Letter L.

¹²⁸ Moore, *Manners*, II, p. 293-4, Letter LXXIX.

Theatre: drama, opera, dance,

As noted in Chapter Four, dramatic performance was a contentious issue in Presbyterian Scotland. The furore over the 1756 performance in Edinburgh of the tragedy *Douglas* by the clergyman John Home illustrates the dichotomy of contemporary responses. It was a resounding success with the public, but those who attended the performance risked being censured by their local presbytery, one minister for example being suspended for six weeks.¹²⁹ Dr Moore, as was shown in the last chapter, was raised by a mother who did not consider drama respectable, but this did not stifle his interest in the genre, and it is likely that he took his family to dramatic performances, even before he took John to performances in London and abroad. Glasgow had several playhouses in the eighteenth century, including one, described by contemporary Glasgow historian John Gibson in 1777 as a ‘small neat building’ which opened in 1760 and operated until 1782, when it was destroyed by fire.¹³⁰ Its popularity is shown in a letter written in 1772 when a Glaswegian lady lamented to a correspondent that: The young folks are so fond of the playhouse that there's no getting to the country.¹³¹

Graham Moore's earliest journal displays knowledge of many Shakespearean heroes and key speeches and, although this knowledge could have been acquired through reading, it is not unreasonable to assume the family were encouraged to share Dr Moore's appreciation of drama. John clearly had no doubts about paternal approval of theatres. On the day after their arrival in London, while his father was at Argyll House, John went with their landlord, ‘to the play’ without his father's knowledge or consent.¹³² The only criticism Dr Moore made was that John had taken a letter from home that had just been delivered.

Dr Moore was knowledgeable about classical and contemporary European drama. His frequent references to drama in *Manners* include his views on Italian comedy, his belief that English tragedies are better than French, that the French are better at comedy than the English, and general comments on Molière, *Andromache*, *El Cid*, *The Siege of Calais*, *Telemaque*, *Henry IV Part 1*, *Oedipus*, *Hamlet*, *Lear* and *Richard III*, Congreve's *Love for Love* and *The Way of the World*, and Voltaire's character Orosmane from his tragedy *Zaire*.¹³³ His interest extends to the quality of

¹²⁹ Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography of the Rev Dr Alexander Carlyle*, 3 ed (Edinburgh: W Blackwood, 1861) p. 315, <http://openlibrary.org/books/OL7186745M> [accessed 20/07/2013].

¹³⁰ Gibson, *Glasgow*, p. 148.

¹³¹ NAS GD /113/5/94 item12: Isabella Dreghorn, Glasgow to Mrs Innes, Edinburgh, 19 May, 1772.

¹³² BL 57321 fols 3,4, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, London, 25 February 1772.

¹³³ Moore, *Manners* I, p. 18, Letter IV; p. 28, Letter VI; p. 59 Letter XII; p. 74, Letter XIV; pp. 93-101, Letter XVII.

acting and how this can increase the power of a dramatic piece to influence the spectator. ‘That exquisite, but concealed art, that magic power [...] could melt, freeze, terrify the soul, and command the obedient passions.’¹³⁴

In *Travels*, Dr Moore describes attending a farce in Italy where initially both Jack and the duke were amused by the portrayal of disability. Dr Moore, by contrast, is ‘disgusted’ at use of a stutter for comedy, considering it a ‘pitiful substitution for wit and humour’ and criticising those ‘who could take pleasure in the exhibition of a natural affinity.’ He admits the acting was amusing and that the duke and Jack laughed heartily, but then became aware of the tastelessness of the scenario, a moral attitude most probably evoked by his teaching.¹³⁵

In the four years abroad, attendance at dramatic productions was a fairly common experience for John. In Verney, on the outskirts of Geneva, the eighty-year old Voltaire no longer staged his plays at his private theatre, but celebrated actors still gave special exhibitions there and a French comedy company came each summer to the theatre at Chatelaine.¹³⁶ The learning experience of drama was not confined to being part of the audience. Dr Moore records at least one occasion when they were able to ‘peep behind the scenes’ in Vienna in 1775, so that John would be aware of how drama creates the illusion of reality to evoke powerful emotions.¹³⁷ John also had at least one opportunity of acting in August 1773, when he played a defender of Malta against the Turks in a mock sea battle, organised as a spectacle and he records in a letter home how this ‘amused’ him, which is unsurprising given his martial interests.¹³⁸ While recounting the same mock battle in *Manners* Dr Moore recalls a tradition of ‘sportive battles’ between ‘Greeks and Trojans’ in Glasgow in his schooldays and shows he is alert to the educative effect of channelling combative inclinations in this way.¹³⁹

The military use of simulated battles was a highly developed training technique of the Prussian army, which John saw in action in Berlin and Potsdam.¹⁴⁰ The scale of the Prussian military reviews went beyond the opportunity to see troops in formal military drills. Exercises lasted three days and were full scale simulations of military actions, with different forces playing defenders and attackers of set positions, transporting and using artillery, infantry and cavalry. Although seeing this might be considered rather as vocational training than experience of drama, the element of

¹³⁴ Moore, *Manners*, I, p. 56, Letter XVII.

¹³⁵ Moore, *Travels*, I, pp. 257-261, Letter XXII.

¹³⁶ Moore, *Manners*, I, p. 190, Letter XXX.

¹³⁷ Moore, *Manners*, p. 235, Letter LXXXVIII.

¹³⁸ BL 57321 fols 25, 26, John Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine 13 August 1773.

¹³⁹ Moore, *Works*, v. p. 21.

¹⁴⁰ Moore, *Manners* II, p. 135, Letter LXIV.

drama exemplifies the multiple role of the arts for entertainment, and enrichment but also for social purposes, here the strengthening of the military efficiency and national morale.

In Italy, although there were opportunities to observe conventional dramas and opera, there was also a strong tradition of street entertainment, where individuals and groups performed on an ad hoc basis, combining drama, music and additional commercial activities. Dr Moore records, for example, ‘how a fellow with mask and guitar [...] made exceedingly happy a large cluster of people’ and then went on to sell leaden crucifixes to the crowd he had attracted.¹⁴¹

The part that spectacle played in the rituals of the Catholic church were also appreciated by Dr Moore, who uses the vocabulary of the theatre when describing his reaction to the papal Christmas blessing in 1775.

If I had not, in my early youth, received impressions highly unfavourable to the chief actor in this magnificent interlude, I should have been in danger of paying him a degree of respect, very inconsistent with the religion in which I was educated.¹⁴²

In *Manners*, Dr Moore argues that the cultural opportunities afforded by their travel compared favourably in quality as well as quantity with anything that was available in Britain, particularly in the spheres of opera and dance.

The little French operas which are given at the Comédie Italienne are executed in a much more agreeable manner than anything of the same kind at London. Their ballettes are also more beautiful: - there is a gentillesse and légèreté in their manner of representing these fanciful little pieces, which make our singers and dancers appear somewhat awkward and clumsy in the comparison.¹⁴³

John, therefore, had the opportunity of enhanced appreciation of beauty, through contact with these branches of the arts.

Some of the places visited exemplified a less tolerant attitude to theatre. Although the town of Bern had a privately financed building designed for public amusements, in this protestant canton theatrical performances had to be licensed and when the group passed through the town in 1775 no plays had yet been permitted.¹⁴⁴ Dr Moore argues for the educational effect of drama, in that it enables spectators to expand their general knowledge and hone their ethics; ‘they sometimes catch a little knowledge of history and mythology, and some useful moral sentiments, from the excellent dramatic pieces that are represented on their theatres.’¹⁴⁵ His claims are modest, however. The

¹⁴¹ Moore, *Travels*, p. 197, Letter LX.

¹⁴² Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 63, Letter XLVIII. (page no. misprinted in this edition, should be p. 47.)

¹⁴³ Moore, *Manners*, p.60, Letter XVII.

¹⁴⁴ Moore, *Manners* I, p. 135, Letter XXXV.

¹⁴⁵ Moore, *Manners* I, p. 154, Letter XLI.

potential for improvement is there, but its outcome is not guaranteed. In this, as in other areas of the arts, the intervention of a knowledgeable tutor would be crucial to secure the full benefit.

Music

There is no evidence that John had any specific training in playing any instrument. But his later use of music in a military context suggests familiarity. Dr Moore organised a music master to give regular lessons to the duke, but, although John shared the duke's instruction in military skills like shooting, it is unclear whether he participated in any other subjects. Dr Moore's sensitivity to potential criticism of his including John in the party, and the age difference between the two youths, make it unlikely that there was any systematic sharing of lessons.

Although drama and opera feature more often in the events attended, the party did go to concerts. They attended musical performances at the various courts visited, for example a recital of Handel's *Messiah* in Hanover and band concerts in Berlin.¹⁴⁶ Music was an important feature of the regular military displays in Geneva, with bands leading processions.¹⁴⁷ The function of martial music in encouraging recruitment to military careers was acknowledged by Dr Moore in a letter to his wife, when he describes John's reaction to a three day review of about forty thousand infantry, cavalry and artillery, which they attended in May 1775 in Berlin. John was 'fascinated by the splendour of the spectacle, accompanied with martial music. [The troops were] 'manoeuvred in imitation of a real action [...] if Jack had hesitated about being a soldier, this glorious scene would have confirmed him.'¹⁴⁸ Music also had a very specific part to play in the warfare of the time, not just by the use of drums and bugles to aid marching and manoeuvres, but also as a communication tool during battle to give exact commands and information about the enemy. Figure 1 gives an example of how this was incorporated into the training system that Moore inaugurated for the British army.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Moore, *Manners*, II, p. 91, Letter LIX, p. 186, Letter LXIX.

¹⁴⁷ Moore, *Manners* I, pp. 293-4, Letter LXXIX, p. 293-4; Argyll, *Letters*, p. 380, Dr Moore to Duchess of Argyll, Chatelaine, 6 September 1772.

¹⁴⁸ Carrick Moore, *Life*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁴⁹ J. F. C. Fuller, *Sir John Moore's System of Training*, (London: Hutchinson and Co, 1925), p. 248.



Figure 1: Field Sounds

Literature

There is scant evidence of what literature John was exposed to, either as set reading or as reading for pleasure, although James Carrick Moore says that Dr Moore ‘prompted him to the study of history, poetry and writers of the first class.’¹⁵⁰ The only book John is known to have possessed at this time is ‘a small pocket Horace’. Carrick Moore says this ‘classic became his favourite.’¹⁵¹ It was presented to him in Berlin in 1775 by George Keith, 10th Earl Marishal of Scotland (c.1693-1778). Keith had fought for the Jacobite cause in the 1715 and 1745 risings, been pardoned by the British government in 1759, and was at this time a general in the Prussian army of Frederick II.¹⁵² The book survived John’s subsequent military career and was still in the family possession after his death, although it is not possible to determine if John appreciated the literary merit of the book or valued it because of the donor, a soldier of Scottish and European repute. John makes only one reference to a specific book in his letters home, not one which he is reading but one that James might now have, *Cornelius Nepos*, which was often given as a prize to pupils at Glasgow Grammar School. Unlike Graham Moore, who documented his literary tastes and current reading, John made

¹⁵⁰ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 7.

¹⁵¹ Carrick Moore, *Life*, pp. 6,7.

¹⁵² Edward M. Furgol, Keith, George, (1692/3?-1778), ODNB.

few literary allusions, a rare one being Voltaire's *Candide*.¹⁵³ That he had acquired a taste for reading is, however, clear from his later references to spending 'nine out of ten evenings alone with his books.'¹⁵⁴ Oman records that his adult library, made available to his young officers contained some novels, Burns, Shakespeare and military books in several languages, but gives no source for this information.¹⁵⁵ Other evidence suggests that John Moore's personal taste included contemporary poetry, his name appearing on the subscription list for Helen Maria Williams' first poems published in 1786.¹⁵⁶

Vocational Training

The Moores' educational philosophy was to allow their sons to choose their careers, and as parents to act as facilitators to enable them to realise their ambitions. By May 1774 John had settled on a military career and secured parental consent. Dr Moore records this in a letter to his wife.

I was happy to find that you do not disapprove of Jack's going into the army. I hope this may turn out well, because he chooses it, has a turn for it, and I believe is of a character to make a good figure as a soldier. He is attentive, active, and brave; he has great good sense, will have many accomplishments, and is the most beautiful and graceful boy imaginable.¹⁵⁷

His tone is consultative, but clearly John's views are not merely important but decisive. The parents' role is to act as facilitators, exerting themselves to provide support and an educational strategy to fit him for this career, with the important proviso that his character and abilities are also right for this occupation, so that both nature and nurture work together. His rearing and education would build on the character traits that make him suitable for his chosen career and foster his talents to make him an attractive adult.

In contrast, in his novel, *Mordaunt*, Dr Moore explores this theme, when he describes parents who fail to realise that their son lacks the qualities necessary for success as a soldier. These parents, who were 'in opulent circumstances,' had 'intended him for the military profession and did all in their power by giving him a suitable education for it.'¹⁵⁸ They also established that their son was drawn to the idea of a military career. However nurture was not strong enough to counteract the effects of a nature unsuited to this occupation. The youth was attracted by the ostentatious uniform, but repelled by the realities of army life, 'namely danger and fatigue.' When the young

¹⁵³ Oman, *Moore*, p. 434, John Moore to General Henry Fox, 19 September, 1807; BM Add Ms 37050, fol.45.

¹⁵⁴ Oman, *Moore*, p. 198.

¹⁵⁵ Oman, *Moore*, p. 328.

¹⁵⁶ Helen Maria Williams, *Poems*, 2 vols (London: Cadell, 1786), I, p. iv.

¹⁵⁷ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 253, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 8 May 1774.

¹⁵⁸ Moore, *Mordaunt*, II. p. 93.

man selected a profession, therefore, he decided an ‘ecclesiastical’ career could ‘provide flamboyance without exertion,’ a satirical twist typical of Dr Moore’s humour and indicative of his cynicism about the motivations of some clergy.¹⁵⁹

There was as yet no formal military training in Britain, either for aspiring officers or for ordinary soldiers, although there were some private ‘military academies’ in England.¹⁶⁰ It can be argued that Dr Moore was able to provide a high standard of vocational education for John. This included proficiency in practical skills vital to soldiers and understanding of tactics and leadership. There was also the opportunity to observe training facilities. France, Austria, Prussia, and other German states had military schools for officers, and often provided schools for the offspring of soldiers, with military components, for example musical instruction, leading to employment as buglers or drummers.¹⁶¹ The Swiss cantons aimed at universal male training in arms, with shooting clubs, competitions and festivals to promote marksmanship and all Genevan citizens were expected to exercise daily for two months in summer, unpaid.¹⁶²

Basic soldiering skills included competence in weaponry, both with swords and firearms. These skills were also regarded as gentlemanly accomplishments; therefore they were important features of the education and leisure pursuits of the duke, in which John was able to share. Whether John could ride before he left Glasgow is unknown, but he benefited from the duke’s love of horses and his extensive stables. His future career required a high degree of competence in horsemanship, particularly with the style of leadership he adopted, where he engaged actively in combat, rather than directing.

His initial acquaintance with weapons at the age of ten certainly showed him their danger to life and limb. In Calais, John, who was unarmed, was accidentally wounded in the side during a friendly sword fight with the duke, who was playfully making him dodge his sword thrusts. His father assured his mother that the injury was not serious, and it seems to have had the effect of forging a long-lasting link between John and the guilt-stricken duke, who became an important patron, helping John in his army career and later in the brief period where he was a Member of Parliament. In another incident, John was able to get a hold of a gun, which he discharged in an empty room. Here he was not only responsible for damage to the property, but also had evidence of the possibility of unintentionally injuring others, as the bullet penetrated the wall, slightly

¹⁵⁹ Moore, *Mordaunt*, II, p. 95.

¹⁶⁰ The Royal Military Academy was founded in 1741 at Woolwich, but limited intake to gentlemen cadets wishing to train for the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers.

¹⁶¹ Barnard, *Military Schools*, p. 341.

¹⁶² Moore, *Manners*, I, p. 118, Letter XX.

injuring a maid. His father was convinced of the educative effects of this escapade, writing to his wife of ‘the adventure of Jack and the pistol.’ Assuring her that the maid would ‘in a short time be quite well’ he concluded that: ‘It has taught Jack a lesson that I hope he will be the better for all his life.’¹⁶³

More formal arrangements were made later for his training in both fencing and shooting. Dr Moore reported to Mrs Moore that he fenced well and John himself reported on his progress in shooting, when he and the duke had daily lessons in rapid firing from a Hanoverian drill sergeant in 1775, writing to his brother James, ‘We are both pretty alert and could fire and charge five times in a minute.’¹⁶⁴ There was also an opportunity for simulated battle in Geneva. John described this in a letter home in August 1773. ‘There was a Vessel filled with men dressed as Turks [...] We pretended to be from Malta [...] and took the Turks prisoners.’¹⁶⁵

Whether or not he had already acquired pugilistic ability in Glasgow, he certainly displayed a combative spirit when he became involved in a fight in Paris in 1772, with a group of boys who were mocking the style of his clothes, much to the dismay of Dr Moore whose disapproval of John’s response was based on its being ‘unmannerly rudeness,’ an inappropriate way to behave as a guest in a foreign country.¹⁶⁶

As early as 13 May 1772 John was able to view at first hand the military systems of Western Europe, attending a royal troop review in Paris, although he was not allowed to leave the coach because of the large crowd.¹⁶⁷ Reviews of troops were not merely to entertain and impress onlookers with shows of power, but also to allow the troops to display their competence in drills and manoeuvres crucial on the battlefield and, it could be argued, to afford them the opportunity to affirm their loyalty to the state and its ruler. This early experience was consolidated in later opportunities, particularly in the travels through the German states and in Italy. This included different military structures, geared to warfare or internal regime support. Venice was noted by Dr Moore for its distinctive military system, since it lacked a military establishment and had a ‘kind of standing militia’ of loyal gondoliers to support the regime in times of internal disorder and suppress revolt.¹⁶⁸ It is likely that John had acquired an appreciation of the various roles of the army, including its political role in quelling disorder.

¹⁶³ BL 57321 fols 12,13, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Paris, 12 May 1772.

¹⁶⁴ Brownrigg, *Life*, p. 4, John Moore to James Moore, Hanover, 2 May 1775,.

¹⁶⁵ BL 57321 fols 25,26, John Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine, 13 August 1773.

¹⁶⁶ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p.5.

¹⁶⁷ BL 57321 fols 12,13, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Paris, 12 May 1772.

¹⁶⁸ Moore, *Travels*, I. p. 227-9, Letter XIX.

John probably learned of the realities of warfare, not only the potential carnage of the battlefield but also the toll that disease could take. Dr Moore had direct experience of the bloody effects of warfare. From 1747-8, as an eighteen-year-old, he worked with the allied army in Flanders, first as an assistant surgeon to the Duke of Argyll's regiment in the military hospitals of Maestricht, attending to soldiers wounded after the battle of Laffeldt and then in Flushing dealing with an outbreak of sickness in the Coldstream Guards. Dr Moore is unlikely to have suppressed this aspect of soldiering from his son, or allowed him to ignore it when choosing and contemplating his future career.

Similarly John would have learned of the effects of warfare on a civilian population and the responsibility of command, when visiting Magdeburg. Here Dr Moore took care to describe the infamous sack of the town in 1631 during the Thirty Years war when General Tilly:

delivered up the citizens, without distinction of age or sex, to the barbarity and lust of his soldiers. Besides the general massacre, they exhibited such wanton acts of cruelty, as disgrace human nature, We viewed, with lively sympathy, that part of the river where three or four hundred of the inhabitants got over and made their escape: - all that were saved out of twenty thousand.¹⁶⁹

His description shows he thought the most effective teaching methodology was to encourage reflection by using an experience calculated to evoke a strong response. 'This sad catastrophe supplied us with conversation for the great part of this day's journey. It is unnecessary to comment on an event of this kind to a person of the Duke's sensibility. Proper reflections arise spontaneously in a well formed mind from the simple narrative.'¹⁷⁰ It is fair to conclude Dr Moore also encouraged John to reflect on the slaughter and on military ethics.

There is evidence that John felt his father had given him a good grounding in skills necessary for his military career. In 1780 John wrote to his father about the possibility of Frank choosing to become a soldier.

If he is resolved to enter the army, get him taught drawing and fortification; history, &c, he can read by himself afterwards. I cannot help being amazed at myself, how much I am taking upon me; giving myself the *airs* of advising *you*, who know so much better, what is necessary to teach Frank if he is intended for the army¹⁷¹

Three factors emerge: his views on essential knowledge that needs to be specifically taught; his expectation that this would be supplemented by self-study and his respect for his father's judgment, which had guided his own education.

¹⁶⁹ Moore, *Manners*, II. p.112-3, Letter LXI.

¹⁷⁰ Moore, *Manners*, II. p.113, Letter LXI.

¹⁷¹ Carrick Moore, *Life*, John Moore to Dr. Moore, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 19 June 1780.

Motivating Learning

Writing to William Mure, the son of Baron Mure in 1805, John Moore voiced his rejection of punishment as a method of achieving excellence. Asking Mure to encourage militia men to volunteer for the 52nd regiment of the regular army, Moore assured him: ‘You may do so with safety; for, though I believe there is not a better regiment, there is none where there is less punishment.’¹⁷² This was confirmed by an official report into the state of the army in 1804, when the investigating officer reported the 52nd was ‘indisputably one of the first corps in the service in every respect’ without having to resort to corporal punishment. ‘The cat-o’-nine-tails is never used, and yet discipline is there seen in the highest state of perfection.’¹⁷³

Within the Moore family there was an absence of paternal authoritarianism, of which Dr Moore was well aware. Two months into the journey in May 1772, John’s behaviour was causing some concern.

Upon the whole he beheaves himself perfectly well – Tho I must confess he took one or two of his old stubborn fits and I could with the more difficulty bring him to his senses as he had the duke interrupting between him and the parental authority which you know was never very severe.¹⁷⁴

Although Dr Moore does not reject a degree of compulsion, the achievement of self discipline was a far more desirable end. Of John’s study regime in 1775, he writes to Baron Mure: ‘At Geneva I obliged him to study hard and what at first was partly force has now become in a great measure choice.’¹⁷⁵

In tutoring the duke Dr Moore also relied on persuasion to achieve diligence, writing in March 1772 that ‘the gentlest and most amusing Methods alone are proper.’¹⁷⁶ He quickly established a good rapport with the duke, who describes in a letter to his mother in September 1772 how Dr Moore’s use of humour has shamed him into greater effort.

I also suffer by the severity of Mr Moore’s sarcasms [...] he drew such a [...] picture of laziness and Dawdeling with many allusions to my Character that I blushed and smiled alternately, and did not know whether to laugh or cry [...] My time is passed between amusement and study [...] Mr Moore has inspired me with a greater relish for [study] than I

¹⁷² Mure *Family Papers*, p.364, Sir John Moore to Colonel Mure, Sandgate, 3 April 1805.

¹⁷³ R. T. Wilson, *An Enquiry into the Present State of the Military Forces of the British Empire*, (London: printed for the author, 1804), p. 68.

¹⁷⁴ BL 57321 fols 10,11, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Paris, May 1772.

¹⁷⁵ NLS 4946 fol 203, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Vienna, August 1775.

¹⁷⁶ BL 57321 fols 3,4, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, London, 4 March 1772.

ever had. Although he labours obstinately against some of my favourite amusements, yet he has inspired me with no disinclination towards him, but greatly on the contrary.¹⁷⁷

Sometimes, however, Dr Moore's humour was effective, but insensitive. He confesses he had 'been laughing at the staleness' of one of John's letters till 'he was on the point of crying' so to make up matters I have invited him to sup [with] us which is always very agreeable – you remember my old way first to trie all I could to vex and then trie all I could to please.¹⁷⁸

His robust teasing of John for what he considered an uninspired letter is all the more dubious in that he admits this is a deliberate tactic.

As the duke's tutor Dr Moore accompanied him to lectures and then discussed them with the duke – if he could persuade him to spare the time from his sporting pursuits.

He rises every morning between 7 and 8 and goes to the Riding School – after breakfast he takes a lesson in Natural Philosophy – He has attended with assiduity an excellent course of lectures by Professor Mallet – of these last I have constantly taken notes in so full a manner that I am able to Recapitulate to the Duke the chief events and observations in each lecture.¹⁷⁹

This was fairly normal practice. Even those who attended university were not invariably considered capable of independent study. William Richardson, Professor of Humanity at Glasgow University (1773-1814), tutor to the sons of Lord Cathcart, accompanied them to Eton and then to Russia (1768-1772), when Lord Cathcart was British ambassador. George Jardine, later Professor of Logic and Rhetoric at Glasgow University, tutored the sons of Baron Mure of Caldwell, not only during their schooling in France, but at the Universities of Glasgow and Oxford, where he supplemented their education by going over the work with them. Even before leaving London, however, Dr Moore voiced doubt at the likelihood of remedying the duke's long term lack of application.¹⁸⁰

Self Reliance

Although he was under the supervision of his father, John's situation called for a high degree of self-sufficiency. In part this was a result of Dr Moore's perception of his first duty being to his paid role as tutor, but he also regarded self-reliance as a 'manly' attribute, worth fostering.

[...] he really behaves in a very manly Manner, never complains poor fellow, tho' I leave him many an hour, being obliged to be in places where I cannot take him. It is amazing how

¹⁷⁷ Argyll, *Letters*, p. 345, Duke of Hamilton to Duchess of Argyll, Geneva, 20 September 1772.

¹⁷⁸ BL 57321 fols 18-21, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773.

¹⁷⁹ NLS 4946 fols 43, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Geneva, 2 March 1773.

¹⁸⁰ BL 5732, fols 5,6, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, London, 12 April, 1772.

well he knows this town. I sent him this morning into the city above a mile by himself and he performed his embassy to admiration.¹⁸¹

This report is made from London in April 1772, when ten year old John had been in the city only a few weeks. It indicates parental pride in the accelerated rate of his development towards adulthood which is being facilitated both by the circumstances and opportunities afforded by the journey and also by his father's deliberate policy and his relaxed attitude to supervision. John, of course, was an urban child, the eldest son in a large family. In Glasgow, the family lived near the High Street in the centre of the town, less than a mile from school, very near the river Clyde, and next to the shops and businesses of the mercantile district. In navigating his way round London and negotiating his father's errands, therefore, he would be able to draw on his home background and the skills it had engendered.

The value Dr Moore placed on self-reliance is evident in his scathing description in *Manners* of the degree of helplessness that could be fostered in people of wealth or rank by an over-reliance on servants. 'If the valet happens to be out of the way, the master must remain helpless and sprawling on his bed, like a turtle on his back upon the kitchen table of an alderman.'¹⁸² Dr Moore's deliberate encouragement of John's independence was reinforced by the arrangement that John did not travel in the same carriage and was often lodged in separate accommodation, which would foster poise, communication skills and the ability to deal confidently with strangers. Although he was aware of the progress John was making, and claimed some credit for the strategies that helped to achieve this, to some extent Dr Moore was making a virtue of a necessity. His primary motive was to reassure the Duchess of Argyll and Baron Mure that John's presence would not distract him from his duty as a tutor and that he was funding John's costs himself and not including him in the duke's general expenses. However there was a harmonious conjunction of practice and principle, which justified Dr Moore's self-congratulatory attitude.

There is some evidence that John suffered emotionally from the isolated situation in which he was placed by his father's scrupulous subordination of his parental role to his professional responsibilities. There are at least two references to John being in tears over situations, when he was separated from his father. In the first incident, in February 1773, Dr Moore had gone on a private evening visit to friend living in a nearby village, but was called back to Geneva, as the duke was apparently very ill. Geneva was a walled town, where the gates were closed at night. John, 'all in tears and sobbing' had succeeded in persuading the town guard to keep the gates open an

¹⁸¹ BL 5732, fols 5,6, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, London, 12 April, 1772.

¹⁸² Moore, *Manners*, p. 7.

extra three-quarters of an hour, although Dr Moore still arrived too late for admission.¹⁸³ Despite John's distress he acted independently and resourcefully in a stressful situation.

The second instance occurred in November 1773 when his father and the duke left to go on an extended sight-seeing trip into France. This was the first time John had been left alone in Geneva and Dr Moore had not anticipated John's reaction.

I was much surprised and affected, to find poor Jack all in tears the night before we came away. He told me he could not bear the thoughts of parting so long; he had never expressed any sentiments of this kind before, otherwise I believe I should have been weak enough to have taken him with me; especially as the Duke desired it much. But it was then too late.¹⁸⁴

His distress was such that he was allowed to accompany the party some miles on their journey before returning to town. When Dr Moore describes the incident to Mrs Moore he does not criticise John's initial distress or see it as a cause for shame, but he does commend his recovery as displaying manliness.

He slept with me that night, and we took him with us [as far as] the first post, and after shedding tears on both sides, we parted. The Duke's valet [...] told me, that when we were gone, he cried very bitterly, and after they had tried a little to comfort him, he dried his tears at once, and called for a bottle of the best wine, and treated Mr. Templeton and the servant who was to return with him to Geneva, making them first drink the Duke's health and mine, and then his Mama's and the family. He is a fine manly boy, with the best disposition in the world.¹⁸⁵

John's acceptance of a leadership role in the situation and his organisation of alcoholic reward for the servants show considerable social aplomb for an eleven-year-old. The toasts to his family are poignant indicators of a determination to sublimate distress.

When John travelled back to Britain in 1776, he was not yet fifteen, but he was considered capable of undertaking this journey independently. He had to organise his stay in London, arrange to take up his commission in the British army, purchase uniform, and negotiate with the authorities a preliminary period of leave to travel to Glasgow to see his mother and the family. Foreign travel was a significant marker of status. It gave social cachet to those whose experience went beyond their native land and John's many experiences strengthened his poise and self-confidence.

Religion

It is not clear how John's views on religion were affected by his time abroad, or indeed what they were. He does not reveal this in his correspondence or report on any visits to churches, even when he accompanied the duke and his father to an audience in 1775 with the new pope, Pope Pius VI

¹⁸³ BL 57321, fols 18-21, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773; Oman, *Moore*, p. 21.

¹⁸⁴ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 252, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Avignon, 2 November 1773.

¹⁸⁵ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p. 252, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Avignon, 2 November 1773.

(1775-1799). Dr Moore's tolerant attitude to the papacy could be considered surprising in someone reared in the Presbyterian Church. In *Travels* he describes the former pope, Clement XIV (1769-1774) as 'a man of moderation, good sense and simplicity of manners, who could not go through all the ostentation which his station required without reluctance, and marks of disgust.'¹⁸⁶ When he and the duke were given an audience with Pope Pius VI, he had no hesitation in allowing John to be present. 'Jack who [...] considers himself no longer a boy, desired to accompany us.'¹⁸⁷ Dr Moore considered the traditional etiquette of kissing the Pope's toe 'ludicrous.' The duke was informed that they only needed to bow, therefore they 'all bowed to the ground,' but John 'the supplest of the company had the happiness to touch the sacred slipper.' As a result 'an agreeably surprised Pope' sent a present the next day of gold and silver medals.¹⁸⁸ There is no record of John's impression of this event.

John does not make a practice of referring to God, even in conventional phrases, either in the correspondence dating from this period or at any other stage in his life. Even his Last Will and Testament does not follow the common practice of the time of opening with a declaration of religious faith. He was, like the rest of the family, tolerant of his sister Jane, when for a time she espoused Catholicism.¹⁸⁹ It is most likely that he accepted his father's non-dogmatic approach, and did not reject the existence of God, but that his behaviour was based on notions of ethics and honour that did not depend on religious beliefs, but on right conduct.

National Identity

Dr Moore accepts and uses the term 'English' to refer to natives of Scotland with very few instances of the word British. In *Manners*, when describing John's presentation at the Austrian court in 1775, he calls him 'a young English gentleman.'¹⁹⁰ He is more precise about the term 'Scots' or 'Scotch' when he is discussing perception of nationality. He reports in *Manners*, for example, that in Vienna, in reply to a question from the veteran Jacobite, George Keith, the duke replied that he still considered himself a 'Scotchman.'¹⁹¹ As part of a discussion in *Travels* on

¹⁸⁶ Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 21, Letter XLVII.

¹⁸⁷ Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 50, Letter XLIX.

¹⁸⁸ Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 49, Letter XLIX.

¹⁸⁹ National Archives, PRO probate 11/1371, 13 November 1801. In his will Dr Moore mentions Jane's Catholicism saying he is 'convinced' his sons will 'redouble their attention and kindness to their sister.'

¹⁹⁰ Moore, *Manners*, II p. 605, Letter LXXXII.

¹⁹¹ Moore, *Manners*, II p. 258, Letter LXXVII.

Scots who leave the country to settle elsewhere, Dr Moore states that the ‘Scotch cultivate and improve the arts and sciences wherever they go.’¹⁹²

It may be argued that Dr Moore had no very strong objections to the term ‘English’ being applied to Scots for several reasons: that the term British was not in general use in Britain; that in continental languages ‘English’ was a blanket term for any inhabitant of the British Isles; and that in his published works it would be the accepted norm understood by his readers and the usage they would follow. His sense of the unity of the two countries is strong and his approval expressed poetically, using metaphor and pathetic fallacy to support the union.

London [...] is now, in some measure, the capital of Scotland, as well as of England [...] Nature herself by separating them from the rest of the world, and encircling them with her azure bond of union, seems to have intended for one.¹⁹³

Evidence from John’s later life would indicate that he held similar views, seeing no conflict between considering himself a Scot, but often using the term English and England, rather than British and Britain,

Patronage

Dr Moore was always alert to the advantages of having the support of powerful people and vigilant in identifying opportunities to advance the interests of his offspring. Although ability, vocational skills and personal qualities were important, advantageous contacts were to be cultivated as a means of securing positions. Dr Moore was very aware of the benefits of forging good relations with influential people and quite frank about using their influence to promote John’s career. Writing to Baron Mure from Vienna in 1775, Dr Moore includes a list of potential patrons and well-wishers they have met on their travels.

The Duke's friendship will be of use to advance [John], besides some English here, who must have considerable influence in Britain, and have a great partiality to the boy, and their countenance may be of use to him; so I hope he may do well. The marks of attention he has met with in Germany from people of the highest rank are enough to turn so young a creature’s head but I am happy to be able to tell you that they have not had that effect. He is fully sensible of his real situation and the necessity of acquiring useful accomplishments.¹⁹⁴

Dr Moore obtained John’s first commission through Hamilton influence, acknowledging+ in a letter to the duchess in June 1775 ‘the steps Your Grace has taken.’¹⁹⁵ In August 1775, whether through genuine confusion or deliberate exaggeration, he assured her that John was sixteen, the minimum age for a commission in the army, although he would only become fourteen in November

¹⁹² Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 350, Letter LXIX.

¹⁹³ Moore, *Travels*, II, p. 354, Letter LXIX.

¹⁹⁴ NLS 4946 fol. 203, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Vienna, August 1775.

¹⁹⁵ Argyll, *Letters*, p. 387, Dr Moore to Duchess of Argyll, 12 June 1775.

1775. ‘Your Grace may now declare Jack to be sixteen, as he is actually turned of 15 and in his sixteenth year.’ Although he utilised patronage, however, Dr Moore believed the influence should be mobilised to support those of merit: ‘I am fully convinced if you saw the boy you would not be displeased to patronize him on his own acc[oun]t and independent of the good will [which] I have every reason to believe your Grace bears me.’¹⁹⁶ John’s rise to eminence in the British army was a measure of his talent and commitment to his career, but his father’s guidance made him aware of the power structure of British society, where patronage influenced progress.

Modes of Transport

There is an educative value in the mere act of travelling. Places are no longer names on the map, but locations which are experienced. People of all kinds are encountered. Negotiations have to be made. Delays are encountered. Impressions are formed. From the outset, John would have become aware of different modes travel, from public transport to travelling in great style. His journey to London would probably have been by public transport, by coach and carriers, although no details of this are given in the correspondence. In 1772 there were regular coach and ferry links from London to Geneva; it was a popular destination for British travellers and London newspapers carried advertisements from Swiss carriers offering passenger transport and carriage of goods to Geneva, usually with a departure once a month and seats for eight passengers in each carriage.¹⁹⁷ The duke’s party, however, had private coaches for all of their journeys. Indeed their departure from London was delayed until the special travelling coach being built for the duke was ready.¹⁹⁸ Departures of the nobility for Geneva were impressive enough to be reported in the newspapers. In March 1772 it was reported that ‘the Duchess of Northumberland set out for Geneva with a great retinue.’¹⁹⁹ On the main journeys undertaken, the duke’s party was substantial. The most striking example of this is in the journey from Austria to Italy where, as noted above, the duke’s party had to postpone their departure as the Archduke of Austria was making the same journey and two such

¹⁹⁶ Argyll, *Letters*, p. 408, Dr Moore to Duchess of Argyll, 29 August 1775.

¹⁹⁷ *Daily Advertiser*, 25 March 1772, ‘James Mievill a Carrier advertised he would treat with Gentlemen and Ladies who are inclined to go to Geneva, Switzerland, Italy or places adjacent. He has at Calais good coaches and able Horses and intends to set out very soon for the above places. Parcels taken for the said Places, and best Usage for the Travellers &c at reasonable rates.’ Similar advertisements appear on 14 April 1772, Issue 12888 and 8 May 1772, Issue 12909.

¹⁹⁸ Oman, *Moore*, p. 7; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, April 1772, 8 May 1772.

¹⁹⁹ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Tuesday, 31 March 1772;

retinues would tax the accommodation en route.²⁰⁰ They were also able to make faster progress, when desired, by travelling throughout the night, without stopping to put up at an inn.²⁰¹

The extent and variety of this experience would have stood John in good stead for a lifetime of travel that saw him soldier in many of the countries of Western Europe, America, the Caribbean, and North Africa.

Conclusion

The strategies adopted in the education of John Moore between 1772 and 1776 display willingness to experiment with alternative models of education, to provide a package of information, skills and useful experiences more suited to the individual and his needs than that offered by a formal grammar school curriculum. The list of benefits expected from the Grand Tour can be applied with some confidence to John Moore. He had developed expertise in several modern European languages. He knew something of the laws, customs and political structures of the major western European states, their relationships with one another and their foreign policies. He had matured into a confident youth, whose behaviour pleased his parents, his peers and other adults, including those in socially powerful positions. That he had visited the major cities, sites and ‘wonders’ of western Europe, seen and even met many prominent people, was not merely a personally enriching cultural experience, but also provided the basis for confidence in dealings with others in later life, particularly the officer corps of the British army. To be confident in all company, not just in the company of relations, acquaintances and familiars, was one of the prized potential effects of travel. This was one of John’s highly desirable attributes. Crucially he had acquired the self-confidence to form his own opinions and to defend his views and values.

He does not seem to have succumbed to the moral temptations that were perceived by so many as endangering impressionable young men on the Grand Tour. His extreme youth, his character and his father’s strong influence were the most likely factors in preserving him from these dangers. His economic situation was also relevant. Dissipated behaviour was to some extent a luxury available only to the affluent. John’s financial dependence on his father combined with Dr Moore’s horror of gaming and strong disapproval of extravagance put these out of the immediate question, but there is no evidence that John felt the lure either of gambling or ostentation. His father was aware of the damage that could be done to John’s character by indulgent treatment from the duke and others. He took care to stress to John the difference in circumstances between himself and the

²⁰⁰ Moore, *Travels*, I, pp. 6-8, Letter I.

²⁰¹ Mure, *Family Papers*, p.263, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Venice, 31 October 1775.

duke. John, however, showed no sign of either envying the duke or wishing to emulate his behaviour.

Chapter Six: Letter Analysis

I suppose my Brothers are going every day to the post-office, and Jeanie prophesying every morning at breakfast [that there will be no letter] I will endeavour, as seldom as I can, to make *them* return and *her* prophecy unsuccessful; but nevertheless you never must depend upon hearing from me regularly.¹

Writing to his mother in 1777 from Minorca at the start of his army career, John Moore gives an insight into the importance the Moores attached to letter-writing, the eager expectation, disappointment or happiness of the recipients and the obligation felt by the sender to maintain vital family links.

It is highly unlikely that John Moore had written any genuine letters before arriving in London in February 1772. Most of his extended family lived in Glasgow, at an easily accessible distance from his home. When the family was on summer holiday in Galston, Ayrshire, twenty-five miles from Glasgow, messages are more likely to have been oral, as Dr Moore certainly travelled between the two locations.² Therefore the earliest letters, dating from 25 February 1772, show John's efforts to harness previously learned penmanship skills to a new task. Unlike artificial letter-writing assignments, this had the real purpose of maintaining communication with his home, family and former school-friends.

This chapter continues to address the question of what Scots 'on the receiving end' of education in the eighteenth century thought about the experience, using detailed source analysis of evidence from John Moore's letters from 1772-1776 to contribute to our understanding of the child's view. The letters of John Moore are particularly valuable historical sources as examples of the work of a young person from this period, because they were largely produced fairly free of adult intervention, where coaching or correction could have enhanced the accuracy of the finished product and skewed the content. Dr Moore's repeated mention that John's letters were 'all his own Composition' shows the importance he, and perhaps Mrs Moore, attached to this independence.³ Although Dr Moore critiqued the letters before dispatch, there is no doubt he was honestly trying to allow John freedom of expression and to encourage him to exercise it. Analysis of the letters includes consideration of his potential influence on content, when this is relevant.

Fifteen letters survive from John's tour across Europe with his father, seven in manuscript and eight in printed versions in Carrick Moore's *Life* or Oman's *Life*. Five date from 1772 when he was ten, three from 1773, one from 1774, three from 1775, none for the period of travel in Italy, and three

¹ Carrick Moore, *Life*, II, p. 272.

² Argyll, *Letters*, pp. 334-5, Dr Moore to Duchess of Argyll, Galston, 29 June 1771.

³ BL 57321, fols 1,2, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, London, 4 March 1772.

for the period from September to October 1776 when he returned to Glasgow, although he is known from references in other letters to have written more. They are all written by himself, and therefore give a clear indication of his educational progress over these years. In addition twenty-eight letters survive from Dr Moore to his family over the same period, and provide an adult view of the same events. In the following section John's letters are considered chronologically, beginning with those written from London in 1772, then examining the letters from the period abroad and finally a seminal letter written from Glasgow on his return in 1776. The aim is to trace John's increasing maturity and self-confidence, as evinced by his ability to express himself through the medium of letter-writing. The criteria used to evaluate form and content are indicated in the discussion of each letter, but there are no contemporary standards against which eighteenth-century educationalists judged student progress in creative and transactional writing, as opposed to ability in handwriting skills, nor is there any modern work on eighteenth-century children's writing similar in scope to this case study, so criteria have been devised specifically for their suitability to this situation. No attempt has been made to identify differences between eighteenth-century standards of grammatical and spelling accuracy and those of the present day, since the main concern is John's ability to communicate his ideas and since in any case neither syntax nor spelling had been standardised fully during this period. The length of the letters is considered, as this is a marker of John's progress in extended writing, as is the structure of individual sentences within the letter. When sentence structure and variety are examined, the method is descriptive, noting when simple, compound and complex sentences are used, but with the assessment criterion that an ability to use a variety of structures to suit the purpose of the letter and the intended recipient marks a progression in maturity and style. A similar approach is taken to vocabulary and word-choice and where appropriate certain key expressions have been checked against standard eighteenth-century usage such as one might find in Johnson's Dictionary and where appropriate the Edinburgh Encyclopædia Britannica (1768-71). The analysis is of course by no means exhaustive, but may serve to illustrate both the progress made by John and the success or otherwise of his father's educational programme.

John's correspondence was mainly addressed to his mother, but the inclusion of messages to his siblings and grandmothers show they are intended for the whole family. He also wrote full letters to his brothers, James and Graham.⁴ To date no letters to his sister Jane have surfaced, nor has a letter he is known to have written to his school-friend, 'Pate' [Peter] Murdoch, to which Dr Moore refers in August 1772.⁵ Letters John received from both James and Graham have survived, but speculation about the dates and content of other letters relies on internal evidence in Dr Moore's replies. For example in 1772 Dr Moore acknowledges receipt, 'by the last post [of] a letter

⁴ BL 57321, *Sir John Moore Papers* and CUL Add 9503 contain the main letters from this period.

⁵ BL 57321, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 16 August 1772.

composed by Janie, Jamie, yourself,' and asks Mrs Moore to 'address part of [her letters] to Jack because it pleases him.'⁶ John does not refer in any of his letters to having received messages from his mother. The restricted space which he was given for his correspondence might have been one factor for the omission, particularly in the earliest letters. The convention of referring to letters received is a skill that must be learned and, at least initially, John might not have been taught to do this. If, as was likely, he was able to read at least some part of Dr Moore's family letters, he would certainly have become aware of the convention, but since Dr Moore acknowledged receipt of family letters, duplication may have been thought unnecessary and wasteful of valuable space.

Five of John's letters from this period are included in James Carrick Moore's *Life*, where the main purpose is to provide a brief biography of Moore's childhood and cosmetic corrections are less significant.⁷ However they can skew the letters as sources of information about John's educational development. The examination of letters in this chapter is based on their manuscript form, where available, although where relevant, printed versions are compared and discussed. Some letters do not exist in manuscript but only in printed versions.

Some consideration must be given to the physical production of the handwritten letters, as the materials themselves and the skills necessary to manipulate them can influence the outcome, particularly where the correspondent is young and inexperienced in letter-writing. In addition to composing his letter, the eighteenth-century writer had to be able to cut and keep sharp a quill nib to make the ink flow smoothly and to use powdered pumice to prevent the ink soaking in, both vital to achieving regular handwriting.⁸ John's letters, produced before the introduction of metal nibs in the nineteenth century, would have demanded considerable manual dexterity.

Good handwriting was generally recognised as an important social skill well before the eighteenth century. In 1691 John Locke, in his capacity as a tutor to the Furley family, had paper specially printed and an expensive template made, costing £15.15s, to teach them handwriting.⁹ He explained his methods in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* published in 1693. 'The way to teach him to Write, without much trouble, is to get a Plate graved, with the characters of such an hand as you like best.' For the Furley children, Locke had the letters of the alphabet engraved, and a series of twenty four proper names, many from the Furley family. The children could use these to

⁶ BL 57321, fol. 22, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine, [July 1773].

⁷⁷ Carrick Moore, *Life*, pp. 249-251, 260-1, 264-272.

⁸ Tamara Plakins Thornton, *Handwriting in America: A Cultural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 14-15. The general information about eighteenth-century practices applies equally to Europe.

⁹ Thornton, *Handwriting*, p.3; James L Axtell *The Educational Writings of John Locke*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp.263-64.

become efficient in mechanical movements necessary to write well: 'let several Sheets of good Writing-Paper be printed off with Red Ink, [...] he has nothing to do, but to go over with a good Pen fill'd with Black Ink, which will quickly bring his Hand to the formation of those Characters, being at first shewed where to begin, and how to form every letter.'¹⁰

It is not clear what method was used in Glasgow to teach good handwriting, but there is ample evidence that penmanship was a skill valued by the Moore parents. It is a theme in two 1773 letters, when Dr Moore compared the brothers' skill. 'I am pleased beyond expression at Jamie's hand of write - it is far better than Jacks and I am convinced he will have one of the finest hands in the world if he will take a little care which I dare swear he will do for he always was an obliging sweet fine boy.'¹¹ John's enclosed letter shows he had absorbed this attitude, 'you may tell Jamie that I was quite ashamed when I saw his letter so well wrote.'¹² His father's criticism had greatly distressed him. Dr Moore wrote that John 'was so struck with Jamies write which to be sure is much superior to his own that he burst out crying.'¹³

In the early letters, from 1772, Dr Moore ruled the part of the paper for John's use to help him keep his handwriting regular, but by August 1773 John had mastered this skill and could fit 22 lines on a page and twelve to fourteen words on a line, giving him more scope for description and self-expression. The letters are physically uniform, on sheets of good quality paper measuring 37cm by 22cm. Generally one sheet of paper is folded in half to make four pages, three for the body of the letter. The central section of the fourth page contains the address and remaining space is used for post scripts. The paper is folded to display the address. Space constraint is particularly relevant to John's correspondence, as the length of John's letters was determined by the area his father gave him to fill. His ability to manipulate contemporary writing implements and control the size of his lettering also directly affected the number of words he could fit into the allocated space.

It is not known whether at any stage John would have had access to any of the multitude of books published in the eighteenth century with advice on letter-writing. Eighteenth Century Collections Online lists at least sixty-nine titles, or different editions of the same title, for the period 1700-1772. Some include the word 'young', or a similar term, in their title, for example John Gignoux's *Epistolary Correspondence Made Pleasant and Familiar: Calculated chiefly for the Improvement of Youth*, published in 1759, but it was not till 1783 that 'Mrs Lovechild' published a book specifically aimed at children, *Juvenile Correspondence, or Letters Suited to Children from Four to*

¹⁰ Thornton, *Handwriting*, p.3.

¹¹ BL 57321 fol. 22, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine, [n.d. July, 1773].

¹² BL 57321 fol. 25, John Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine, 13 August 1773.

¹³ BL 57321 fol. 25, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine, 13 August 1773.

above Ten Years of Age.¹⁴ The approach of these books is to give sample letters for a wide variety of occasions, which could be used as self-help or presumably within writing courses. Gignoux gives sixty letters, which are also translated into French, ‘for the benefit of those who are learning that polite and universal language.’¹⁵ He also gives brief introductions to letter-writing rules, including layout, grammar, spelling, style.¹⁶ John’s letters show no sign of having been based on model exemplars. One readily available way for Dr Moore to teach John good letter-writing skills would have been to give him access to some parts of his own voluminous correspondence. There is evidence that he sometimes allowed John to read letters he had received and what he had written, even if these dealt with serious financial matters like the crash of the Ayr bank. Dr Moore first heard the news of this in August 1772 and wrote to his wife, ‘poor boy he cried bitterly this afternoon when he read [about events in Glasgow, including a suicide].’¹⁷ Even limited access to Dr Moore’s correspondence would have provided John with stylish examples of the etiquette of letter writing, polite salutations and valedictions, how to create a tone suitable to the purpose of the letter, the circumstances and the relationship with the addressee.

¹⁴ John Gignoux, *Epistolary Correspondence Made Pleasant and Familiar: Calculated chiefly for the Improvement of Youth*, (London: Edward Dilly, 1759); Mrs Lovechild, *Juvenile Correspondence, or Letters Suited to Children from Four to above Ten Years of Age* (London: John Marshall, 1783). This book prints three sets of imaginary letters between children of four, six, seven and ten years of age, recommending that children first be encouraged to dictate letters.

¹⁵ Gignoux, n.p.

¹⁶ Gignoux, pp. i-xiv.

¹⁷ BL 57321 fols 16,17, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, Saturday 9 August 1772.

Letter 1: London, 25 February 1772 BL 57321 fol 3

3

Dear Mama

We came here yesterday, I went and saw King George's Palace and the Queens and saw herself hurling in her coach and the Guards riding after her. My love to all my dear Brothers and Friends from your Dutiful son. My Dear James

I thought you would be gladd of a lines from Johnny as well as me accordingly you have above not a bad specimen he is very cheerful and happy and gives no manner of trouble. We came to London on Monday afternoon I did not stay abroad but he was impatient so I follow'd him to take a Ramble under a Guide. This morning I went to Argyle's house where I was

Figure 2: Letter – John Moore to Mrs Moore, London 25 February 1772, ©BL

John's first letter home, although undated, can be identified as 25 February 1772 from internal evidence and Dr Moore's handwritten postscript, 'London, Tuesday night', the day after the Moores arrived in London.¹⁸ The next is dated London 4 March 1772, setting a pattern of regular correspondence every ten days or so.¹⁹ Eight double lines have been ruled off for John, after which

¹⁸ BL 57321 fol. 3, John Moore to Mrs Moore, London, 25 February 1772; BL 57321 fol. 1, John Moore to James Carrick Moore, London, 4 March 1772.

¹⁹ BL 57321, fol. 1, John Moore to James Carrick Moore, London, 4 March 1772.

Dr Moore begins his letter. John's 42 words are carefully spread across the page, so that the letter takes up all but half a line of the allocated space. It is very carefully written; he has already learned to join the letters in a cursive flowing style; the script is large and regular, with ornate capital letters. It has no date, address or signature, but has a clear salutation and closing sentence.

In the limited space available John chooses to tell his mother about his sight-seeing activities. There is no account of their journey, or of his feelings. Below the letter Dr Moore explains that John's letter has been written on his father's instructions. 'I thought you would be glad of a line from Johnny as well as me.' Dr Moore adds information about John's mood and behaviour. 'He is very chearful and happy and gives no manner of trouble.' John's effort satisfies his father; it is 'Not a bad Specimen.' The term 'specimen' reveals how this and subsequent letters were regarded as showpieces, not just as written communications of news and views. Dr Moore explains how his workload leaves him limited time to supervise John personally. 'We came to London on Monday afternoon. I did not stir abroad but he was Impatient so I allowed him to take a Ramble under a Guide.' This 'ramble' in London is an important stage in the development of John's independence. He is now a traveller; guided in his sightseeing around the new location by an employee. Dr Moore's letter also indicates what is most likely a slackening of domestic routines like bedtime. Showing signs of haste in his handwriting, Dr Moore concludes: 'That monkey Jack has kept me so late it is near twelve the first bell rings. Adieu, Yours while I breathe, JM.'

Although the Dr Moore stresses that John is 'happy' there is no confirmation of this in John's letter, but neither is there any suggestion of distress at being separated from his mother and the rest of the family. He records having seen the palaces without further comment. The brief description of having seen the Queen 'hurling in her Coach [and the] Guards riding after her' is more lively; it is a well-chosen detail, likely to interest and please his mother and any other readers of the letter in Glasgow; it captures the speed and the spectacle of the incident neatly; it is also interesting that it records John's first glimpse of British monarchy in action, including the protective role of the military. The end of the letter, with its messages of love, shows John's affection for his family and his desire to maintain links with his brothers and his friends. His choice of the word 'dutiful' is more ambiguous. It may just be a phrase he has already learned as a valediction appropriate for children to use in letters to their parents; it could have been suggested by his father; or, more contentiously, it could conceal an undercurrent of resentment at the arbitrary way he has been treated by his parents in removing him from home. In the letter from December 1772 discussed below he uses 'obedient and affectionate' and later tends to end with only assurances of affection.²⁰

²⁰ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p.249, John Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 7 December 1772.

Letter 2: London, 4 March 1772 BL 57231 fol. 1

The next manuscript has narrower ruling and John has fourteen lines to fill with a selection of information about his activities since arriving in London. John addresses it to his brother James and again he does not date or sign his part of the letter. At 132 words, it is three times as long as his first letter, an indication that John can reduce his handwriting to include more detail in a similar space.

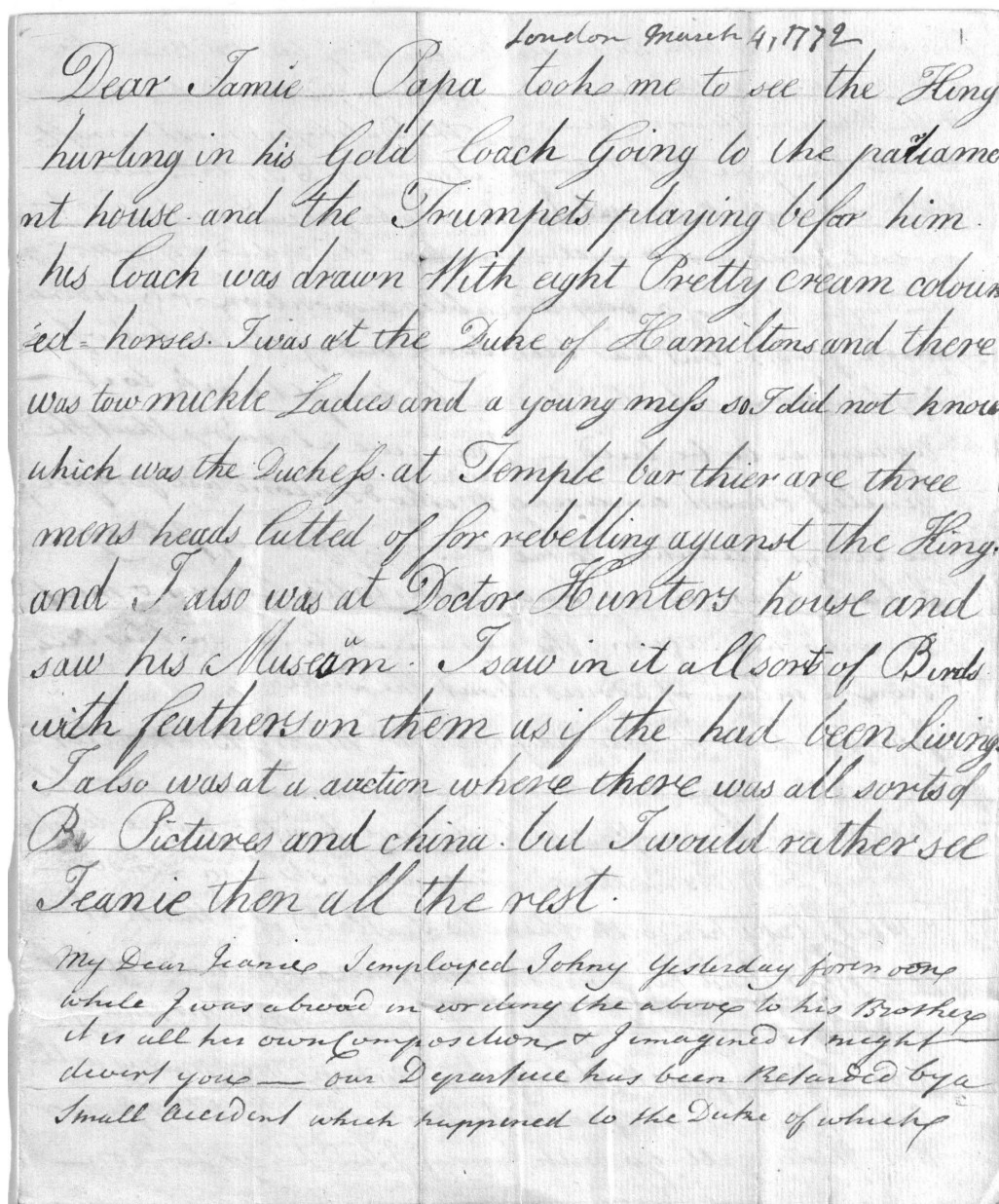


Figure 3: Letter – John Moore to James Moore, London 4 March 1772, ©BL

The handwriting is large and well formed with artistic capital letters. The salutation ‘Dear Jamie’ is unpunctuated and the letter starts on the same line. John uses the whole of each line and flows ‘parliament’ and ‘coloured’ into the next line. There are signs of self-correction, ‘r’ and ‘u’ written

above 'parliament' and 'museum' respectively, showing he is aware that a letter-writer should observe spelling conventions.

The version in Oman's *Moore* has significant editing; paragraphing has been added and selected punctuation has been altered.²¹ However some of the alterations are not straightforward amendments. The phrase 'Cutted of' has been changed to 'Cutted Off', thus correcting a spelling error, retaining a grammatically wrong past tense and adding a superfluous capital letter. The printed letter has become an adult's construct of a child's letter, using 'mistakes' to make it appear to be an accurate representation of the original, an example of how the child's version is obscured by adult intervention.

From the manuscript version it is clear that although John uses only two full stops he has a basic grasp of sentence structure and style. A mixture of simple, compound and complex sentences is used, though not punctuated. Similarly, although there is no paragraph division, topics are grouped logically. Although modern convention would condemn 'was' for plural subjects as ungrammatical, this was common eighteenth-century usage. Apart from the Scots word 'mickle' English vocabulary is used.²²

The description is effective. Graphic word choice includes 'hurling' in its primary meaning of rushing or dashing. There is a measured insertion of descriptive adjectives, 'gold,' 'pretty,' and 'cream-coloured'. As the intended recipient is his nine-year old brother, the simple style is appropriate, whether or not it was deliberately adopted for that reason. The five scenes are conveyed economically but vividly and would be likely to interest James. In contrast to the first letter, John's emotions are also clearly conveyed, most strikingly in the homesickness of the final sentence. One interpretation of this is that he dismisses these sights and would rather be back in his family home, if 'Jeanie' refers to Moore's servant Jeanie Higgins, as Oman states. Equally, it could refer to his wish to push on quickly to see his sister Jane, whom they were to meet at Calais. In either interpretation he rates people more highly than the sights of London.²³

The experiences, however, have a distinct educative potential. The king's destination is parliament, a public display of the constitutional nature of his power. The brief dramatic sighting of the king precedes the evening at Argyll House, a chronological co-incidence perhaps, that is a precursor of an awareness of social hierarchy. There are signs of a perceptive distinction between

²¹ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p.11.

²² It is not possible to say with any certainty what John meant by this word. The DSL gives it as an alternative spelling for 'meikle' meaning large, or 'adult' but the OED gives an eighteenth century proverbial usage where it is an antonym meaning 'little'.

²³ Oman, *Moore*, p.10.

the person and the rank: the king has been observed displaying symbols of power and wealth, which make him immediately identifiable, unlike the Duchess, whom John cannot differentiate from the other ladies in the company. The next topic shows John has some understanding of the contemporary concepts of loyalty and legality. The display of the decapitated heads of participants in the Jacobite rising is reported: the men were 'rebellious' and the punishment for treason was death. Carrick Moore records that Dr Moore, as a fifteen-year-old, had seen the Jacobite army at the siege of Stirling in 1745. He might have, therefore, have delivered some historical or personal information about the Jacobites, but if he did so John does not record this.²⁴ The theme of the section, in fact, is death, as the first experience is linked with the deceptively lifelike appearance of the birds in the museum.

The powerful conclusion is not only evidence of homesickness; it also contains a value judgement which is a significant indicator of character and morality. To see the medical, scientific, natural history and artistic objects in the both the museum and the auction may be educationally worthy, but John values people above expensive inanimate objects, even when these are curiosities. It is not possible to say whether John is reflecting standards he had already picked up at home, or whether his experiences have caused him to come to this conclusion. He is frank about his emotions; he does not flatter his younger brother by saying he misses him most of all. He makes no unselfish effort to reassure readers by concealing his emotions. He conveys no sense that he is enjoying the activities and he expresses no dutiful filial gratitude at being taken on such an adventure. Although John is acquiring knowledge and amassing experiences he shows no appreciation of the educative value of this.

²⁴ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p.10; Oman, *Moore*, p.10; Walter Thornbury, *Old and New London*, (London: Cassell, Peter and Galpin, 1897), i. pp.22-31. Although Oman states that the decapitated heads were of Scottish Jacobites, they were English Jacobites. The heads were blown down in a storm on 31 March 1772, soon after John saw them, and never replaced.

Letter 3: London, 12 April 1772 BL 57321 fol. 5

5

Dear Mama I was at whitehall When
 King Charles the First slept all night
 and next morning there was a scaffold put
 up to the window and King Charles went
 up and there he was Beheaded; Jamies
 would maybe think that he would be
 trying to make his escape as I thought too
 but Papa says that he thought it was below
 a King to Fly. ask at Jamies if he hasyt
 the cornelias nepos and tell us also if Gra
 ham is as comical ~~ryer~~ as he was- and how
 Franck Likes the school and if Charles is in
 Good health and Give my compliment to Jack & Pe^{ter}

Figure 4: Letter – John Moore to Mrs Moore, London 12 April 1772, ©BL

In this letter, dated 12 April 1772 by Dr Moore, John has space to write 117 words on a page with thirteen lines of single ruling. Dr Moore explains that he has ‘desired Johnny to fill it up’ which perhaps explains John’s habit of literally filling the lines to the edge of the paper, even when a word has to be split. His father does not leave margins either, but John has not yet learned to manipulate the length of word to the space available, or to split words at syllable divisions. There is no address, just ‘Mrs Moore’ so it is obviously part of a larger packet of letters, whose main recipient will deliver the family letter. Dr Moore gives an insight into how fatiguing letter-writing

is. 'I am weary weary after writing these three hours.' He reports how this workload affects his time with John, who 'really beheaves in a very manly Manner, never complains.' John does not report any of this, but confines himself to reporting one main excursion with his father. He addresses the letter to his mother, but breaks off to address his younger brother directly, and at the end of the letter it is clear his main thoughts are of his brothers and his friends, Jack and Peter Murdoch.

Technically the letter displays similar strengths and weaknesses to the previous two. The story of the execution of Charles I has captured his imagination. He and his father have obviously discussed the king's behaviour on the scaffold and John has been influenced by his father's interpretation of the events. The detail of how the king 'slept all night' portrays the king as calm and courageous. John would have expected an attempt 'to make his escape' so there is no unthinking admiration of this type of stoical bravery. He has absorbed his father's interpretation of the dignity proper to royal rank in this extreme situation, to try to escape is 'below a king' but his direct address to James shows he would like to discuss this with his brother.

The remainder of the letter shows his continuing concern to maintain links with his brothers and his friends. It is also the first time John mentions educational topics. Frank aged five might well have something interesting to reply to this easy question about school. The question of whether James 'has got the cornelius nepos,' is ambiguous. It could simply be asking whether James has reached the stage at school where the class is studying the Roman historian Cornelius Nepos in Latin, which, as was seen in Chapter Three, appeared on the second year curriculum of Glasgow Grammar School. If John had started at eight he would have known the text and that his brother who was one year younger might now have started it. Therefore there could be an element of showing off his superior knowledge, but it might be asking whether James is doing so well at school that he has won a class prize. Copies of this book were regularly given as school prizes by the Town Council, with the prize bookplate of Glasgow Grammar School.²⁵

John has tailored his questions to fit each his brothers: James, whom Dr Moore described as 'one of the most studious boys I know,' is asked about his studies; the fun-loving Graham's 'comical' behaviour is remembered; starting school would be an important stage for Frank. For two year old Charles he can only think to ask about his health, but the question is poignant when it is realised that one of John's earliest memories might have been of the death at three in 1764 of an elder

²⁵ <http://www.rarebookstudio.com/fulllist.htm> [accessed 21 June 2014]. Examples offered on-line by antiquarian booksellers include copies of the book with the Glasgow Grammar School prize-label 'awarded to Robert Pollok [...] signed by Alexander Bradfute 1784' and 'a prize bookplate of the Glasgow Grammar School, signed by James Gibson 1796'.

brother, also called Charles.²⁶ The fact that he poses questions indicates that a return correspondence has been established and that he expects replies, although the absence of these letters means there is no information about the answers to his questions.

Letter 4: Paris, April 1772 BL 57321 fol. 10

Figure 5: Letter – John Moore to Mrs Moore, Paris, April 1772, ©BL

In his first letter from France John gives no information about the journey or the sights. He records when they arrived, showing that he is paying more attention to the dates of the journey and the passage of time. Dr Moore has marked 10 single ruled lines for John and in the footnote which is visible at the bottom of the page he stresses how it is John's own work, completed in his father's absence. 'Before I went out this afternoon I desired Jack to write a line to you and the above is his production.' Although there is no reason to doubt this freedom, the internal evidence of the letter shows how John is influenced by his father's views. Some of the vocabulary probably echoes his father's comments about his education. John seems to accept that he has been 'idle' and promises to 'be a good Scholar at Geneva.' He is anxious to please, assuring his mother that he will work hard and that he will not become spoiled by contact with the duke. Dr Moore had obviously communicated to John his concern that the duke might be a bad influence, but the situation called for delicate handling, as John would have to be respectful and well behaved towards the duke, but to obey his father. Despite the limited space, John concludes with greetings to family and friends.

²⁶ NLS Mure of Caldwell, p.336, Dr Moore to Alexander Mure, 25 December 1777. Three Moore children were called Charles, the eldest son, born and died 1755, their fourth child (1760-1764) and their tenth child (1770-1810), who survived infancy. Their second son, born and died in 1757, had also been called John.

Letter 5: Geneva, 7 December 1772, JCM p. 249

An important stage in John's educational attainment is when he sends his first letter in French to his mother in December 1772.²⁷

Ma chère Mama,

Je vous écris en François, et Jeany vous traduira ma lettre en Anglois. J'aime beaucoup Genève parceque j'entends le François assez bien à présent et j'ai un grand nombre de camarades François, Allemands, et Genevois, aussi bien que des Anglois; et j'ai fait connoissance avec beaucoup de familles ici, qui ont beaucoup d'amitié pour moi. Papa est très satisfait parceque je m'applique assez bien au Latin, au François, et à l'écriture; et je suis résolu à faire tout mon possible, pour que ma chère Mama n'ait point de raison de rougir pour moi. Faites mes amitiés à ma chère sœur, à mes frères, et à mes parens, et à tous mes camarades, particulièrement à Peter et Jaques Murdoch.

Je suis, très, très chère Mama, votre obéissant et affectionné fils,

JOHN MOORE.'

My dear Mama

I am writing to you in French and Jeany will translate my letter into English for you. I like Geneva very much because I am hearing [learning] French quite well at present and I have a great number of French, German and Genevan friends, as well as English; and I have made the acquaintance of many families here, who are very friendly towards me. Papa is very satisfied because I am working quite well at Latin, French and writing; and I am resolved to do my very best, so that my dear Mama will have no reason to blush for me. Give my compliments to my dear sister, to my friends and to my relatives, and to all my friends, particularly to Peter and Jack Murdoch.

I am dear dear Mama, your very obedient and affectionate son,

JOHN MOORE

In many respects this letter is less informative about John's attainment as it is far less likely to have been written unaided, and it is impossible to determine the degree of adult intervention or technical help he might have received, apart from potential corrections made when transcribed for printing. The manuscript version which Oman consulted is not included in either the British Library or Cambridge University Library collections.²⁸

²⁷ Carrick Moore, *Life*, p.249, John Moore to Mrs Moore, 7 December 1772.

²⁸ Oman, *Moore*, p.641, notes10-17.

The letter shows a higher degree of sophistication. Complex sentence structure predominates: there is only one compound sentence and there are no simple sentences in the body of the letter. All of the information is conveyed in a single paragraph. The use of, '*ois*' instead of '*ais*' and '*parens*' rather than 'parents' accords with eighteenth-century convention.²⁹ Grammatically the letter uses present, past and future tenses correctly; the subjunctive and imperative are employed appropriately; and many features of French expression have been included.

The letter is addressed to his mother. Although one interpretation of 'Jeany will translate my letter into English for you' is that Mrs. Moore will need her daughter Jean for this, Mrs Moore's likely knowledge of French has been discussed earlier and it is more probable that John wishes to give Jean an opportunity to display her knowledge of French to the family. The purpose of the letter is to reassure; tone and content achieve this effectively. John's reasons for enjoying Geneva are that he can understand the language and has lots of friends, of many different nationalities. He is working hard at both Latin and French and at writing. The concept of filial duty is strong. He has gained his father's approval by hard work and is determined to do nothing that would make his mother 'blush' for him. Although the salutation is a formal one, the importance of obedience and affection are evident in the main body of the letter. He has made new friends, but he wants to make it clear that he still cares for his family and his friends at home. It is less than a month from his eleventh birthday, but he does not mention it. If he still feels strong homesickness, he has suppressed it.

Considerable progress has been made educationally. Whether or not the letter is all his own work, he can communicate effectively in correct and idiomatic French. The sparkle of the first letter is absent. It may be unrealistic to expect it under these conditions. However, part of the price of the progress has been to weaken the engaging childlike lack of inhibition.

²⁹ Gignoux, n.p. French translations of exemplar letters.

Letter 6: Geneva, 14 February 1773 BL 57321 fol. 20.

My dear Mama
 The Duke papa & M^r. Thuiller went to take a jaunt in France
 about three or four months ago and left me at Geneva, but the
 Duke gave me a guinea before he went away, & bought me
 a knife at Marseilles just like that papa sent to Jamie &
 Graham but a little bigger. Give my love to my sister and brother
 and Grande mothers friends & relations. I will ~~write~~ write you
 more another time but I believe my father won't have room
 to finish his letter. I am your most affectionate son
 John Moore

I left Jack by himself that he might write what he pleased
 & in his own stile - to be sure poor fellow he has not been
 bright and I have been laughing at the staleness of the
 above production till poor Johnny was on the point of
 crying so to make up matters I have invited him to sup
 Remember

Figure 6: Letter – John Moore to Mrs Moore, Geneva, 14 February 1773, ©BL

This short letter a year after John left home shows how his communication is still restrained by being allocated space in his father's correspondence, but John's busy life may also be a factor in its brevity. Dr Moore initially expects to send the letter with only a formulaic greeting, 'Jack sends his compliments to all the family - he is immensely handsome and a sensible fine fellow liked by everyone,' but John who had 'just now come in' could give his own greetings and news. 'I shall let him write two words for himself.' He now calls John 'Jack' perhaps an indication he is known as Jacques in French-speaking Geneva. The expression 'two words' reflects the little space left and the resultant message is only ten lines in careful handwriting. However his father criticises the content. 'I left Jack by himself that he might write what he pleased and in his own stile.' The results do not meet Dr Moore's criteria for a good letter. He condemns its 'staleness' and also what he considers space wasted on, 'all that stuff about Grandmamas and your brothers and Sisters and freinds and Relations.' Dr Moore indicates more interesting topics John might have mentioned. 'The Duke has given Jack a prodigious fine hat [...] ordered without my knowledge or I should have prevented 2/3 of the lace - but Jack finds no fault with this. I asked why the devil he did not inform his brothers that he was going to spend his guinea on them for he has kept it for that purpose.' But although John is distressed that his father [...] laughed 'at the staleness of the production till poor Johnny was on the point of crying,' John is now confident enough of his decisions on content to justify these to his father, 'Jack gave me a good answer - because I would

rather send them the thing without bragging beforehand.’ John also displays considerable stubbornness in continuing to mention those at home in letters, not only indicating how much it meant to him to keep these links, but also perhaps a more sensitive perception than his father had of how much it would mean for example to his grandmothers that he remembered them. The tone of both the salutation and valediction to his mother is warm. The introductory topic harks back to three months previously when he was left alone in Geneva, a sign perhaps that this memory is still raw and that despite his busy life he still misses home.

Letter 7: Chatelaine, 13 August 1773 BL 57321 fol. 25

Chatelaine Aug. 13-1773 ²⁵

My Dear Mama

I am ashamed to show you my Writing before I can Write as well as Jamie and I don't believe that I should have done it if it was not that Mr Kennedy is going to Scotland and Papa told me to Write a Letter by him, but for the future I shall take all the pains possible. I learn just now the Latin Writing, & Arithmetick, you may tell Jamie that I was quite ashamed when I saw his letters well wrote. I work a great deal now and ^{my} Master told Papa that he was very much contented with me. I rise every morning at five o'clock ~~except~~ the sundays and thursdays which are two holy days. There was a Prince and two or three Princes here about a week ago the Genevois gave them a Ball and a party upon the Lake I was invited to the party upon the Lake, & I amused myself a great deal there. There was a vessel filled with men dressed like Turks who ~~who~~ attack'd the Prince's Vessel they fired canons at each other & the Vessel ^{in which} I was (w^{ch} pretended to be from Malta) came up & Relieved the Prince and took the Turks prisoners. The Duke gave me a mother of pearl Knife mounted with Gold when I came first here, I now send it to Jamie to show him that I have no malice tho' he can write better than me. Papa sends one to Graham & Frank my Compliments to my Grandmothers & Relations and comrades. I ever am my Dear Mama your dutiful son John M

Figure 7: Letter – John Moore to Mrs Moore, Chatelaine, 13 August 1773, ©BL

By 1773, although the letters are still to some extent joint productions, with John having only a section available to him, he is taking more responsibility for their despatch and ultimate delivery. In a letter from Chatelaine in August 1773, the first page, the date and the address are all in John's handwriting. He writes 284 words in 23 lines. After apologising for his handwriting 'I am ashamed to show you my Writing before I can write as well as Jamie,' he provides a good insight into how letter writers were pressured by their need to take advantage of any opportunity to have a letter carried to its recipient: 'Mr Kennedy is going to Scotland and Papa told me to Write a letter by him.' His opening is grammatically stylish, a sophisticated compound-complex sentence, blending clauses with assurance. His shame over the aesthetic shortcomings of his handwriting has been overridden by the urgency of ensuring he had something ready to dispatch, although he does not undervalue the importance of penmanship and promises that future letters will be better written.

After his first apologetic sentence, the bulk of John's letter is taken up with an account of his regime, his schooling and his activities in Geneva. He then sends messages to family and friends and information about presents they will receive. The whole breadth of the paper is used to cram in as much detail as possible, with words split when the end of the line is reached. He has corrected omissions by inserting letters and words above the lines though any errors made do not hinder communication. Although he makes spelling mistakes, like 'holaydays' these are largely phonetically based with a hint of French orthography in the words 'juste' and 'comarades' which he corrects by crossing out the 'a' - although for it to have been accurate French he would need to have needed to spelled it 'camarades.' His sentences are sometimes correctly punctuated and sometimes comma-splicing takes place, particularly when he becomes more involved in describing the action in the mock battle.

His final five lines are largely concerned with maintaining links with family and friends. He returns to the issue of handwriting. He seems genuinely concerned that it should not affect his relationship with James and there is fraternal humour in his remark, 'I have no real malice, tho he can write better than me.' The dispatch of a personal gift also shows John's eagerness to maintain James' goodwill. From his description it is a costly item a 'mother of pearl Knife mounted with Gold.' He is honest in disclosing that he had been given it as a present from the duke. His penultimate sentence might be interpreted as dutiful remarks that he had been trained to include, but, given his father's normal non-interventive practice, there is good reason to believe that they are in fact his own idea and not written at his father's instigation. He takes time to include a complimentary message to James on his skill, 'his letter so well wrote.'

His tone betrays nothing of the distress Dr Moore reported John had shown on receiving the letter from James. He may have noticed his brother's superior penmanship independently and been upset at his own shortcomings. But it is more likely that Dr Moore used it as an opportunity to spur John into paying more attention to this socially important skill, by fostering a spirit of competition. In either case the letter provides an instance of John becoming trained to control and to some extent

conceal his emotions, in situations where it would be inadvisable or inappropriate to commit them to writing.

Letter 8: Chatelaine, 27 October, 1773, JCM p.250

One important development in John's letters to his siblings is when he begins to adopt an advisory tone, adopting the role of mentor. It is first evident in this letter, written in both English and French.

Dear Mama — It always makes me very happy to hear that you and Jeanie, and my brothers are well. I believe this is a very healthy climate; at least the Duke and Papa, and I, have always been in good health since we came here. The Duke and Papa live in a vineyard, and I am with them twice a week, and get as many grapes as I please. I am very sorry we cannot send them to you.

I apply pretty much, but find the Latin more difficult than the French. I am at the writing and arithmetic school, and Papa has learned me geography so nicely, that I know every part of the world. An English gentleman here made me a present of a fine set of mathematical instruments. They are of no use to me yet, but I hope they will be of use soon. I am trying all I can to make myself good for something. I will do whatever I am fit for, and Papa and you please.

Compliments to my Brothers, and tell them to apply well, for without talents a man is despised when he comes abroad. I have seen some English that were ridiculed by everybody, though they were rich, because they knew hardly anything but nonsense.

Faites bien mes compliments à ma chère soeur. Elle est bien heureuse d'être toujours auprès de vous. J'espère qu'elle fait tout son possible pour vous soulager et vous amuser pendant l'absence de notre cher Père, c'est le seul moyen d'être aimé du monde ou content d'elle-même. Adieu, ma tres chère Mama. Je suis tout à vous,

Jack Moore

Make my compliments to my dear sister. She is very fortunate to be with you always. I hope that she is doing all she can to comfort you and amuse you while our dear Father is absent. It is the only way to be loved by the world or happy with yourself. Adieu my very dear Mama. I am completely yours

After describing his health, school progress and attitude in rather formal language, he acknowledges his father's good teaching. He goes on not only to advise his brothers to work hard, but to justify this by describing the adverse social results in adult life, 'without talents a man is despised.' His warning that 'some English were ridiculed by everybody, though they were rich' challenges any assumption that wealth confers automatic respect. A key phrase is 'I have seen.' This indicates his belief that his additional experience qualifies him to give guidance about their attitude towards study and learning. His message in French to Jane reinforces her role as a support and comfort to her mother, and he justifies this in social and personal terms, it will make her 'beloved' by others, and she will achieve happiness, thus showing John has accepted, perhaps absorbed from his parents, a traditional view of the role of females.

Letter 9: Kassel, 29 December 1774, Oman p. 28

The next letter, found only in Oman's *Life*, dates from the German section of the tour. It is some 240 words long and has not been transcribed in full here, but analysed line by line. A strong theme is the opportunity to acquire vocational education for his proposed military career. The strength of his father's influence is evident. 'I shall do all I can to profit by the good occasion which I have of being abroad with my father and try if I can make a good soldier.' German 'will be of great use [as] an officer, especially if I am sent to Germany, which is by far the best country to learn the art of the Military.' He is diffident about his intelligence and unsure whether it can be improved by his father's efforts, 'I am very sure Papa does all he can to make me clever, and if I don't turn out good for something it will not be his fault.' He is more confident about his work ethic and his ability to cope 'when [he is] an officer'. A criticism, which emerges more strongly later, particularly in Letter 15, discussed below, is the disruptive effect on his education of travelling, 'at Franckfort my father put me into a pension to learn German, but [as we] did not stay long enough there I have learned but little. [At] Brunswick, I shall do all I can to learn it very well.

His attitude to letter-writing is positive, but it is still something that requires parental permission. 'I wish you will allow my brothers and sisters to write a line or two sometimes to me.' He displays an intense longing for greater contact with his family and home. For John, letter-writing is a vital way of remembering his family, since he is aware that his memories vary in strength. 'I can never forget my dear mother, but it is very odd that I can hardly remember Frank and still less Charlie, and I remember Graham with his large black eyes, better than Jamie or Jeany, though I remember their faces too very well, and also Jeany Higgens.' Despite his father's strictures about space he includes the wider circle of family and friends in his conclusion. 'Give my love to them all. The Duke and Papa send their compliments to you. Make my love to my grandmothers and all friends. I shall always, my dear mama Remain your dutiful son Jack Moore.'

Letter 10: Hanover, 22 May 1775 JCM p. 9

Only an extract from this letter survives in Carrick Moore's *Life*, where the content is exclusively vocational. It contains brief information about meeting Field-Marshal Sporken and learning the 'Prussian exercise [to] fire and charge five times in a minute.' John has learnt to include evaluative detail in his letters to back up his assertions. Sporken is described as 'a fine old soldier with grey hairs, [who] has been in many battles. John's self-evaluation is positive. In training he and the duke were 'pretty alert' and made enough progress to fire 'thirty times each the last day of our exercise.'

Letter 11: Vienna, 21 October 1775 JCM p. 260-1

John wrote letters to both James and Graham on 21 October 1775, in French to James and in English to Graham, both only found in extract form in Carrick Moore's *Life*. John acknowledges a letter from James, which does not survive, but John's comment on his pleasure that James was not writing on instruction, but because he wanted to, shows John valued genuine letters. The letter first describes selected activities, being presented at the Austrian court and attending balls. The second concerns his educational progress. The choice of French might indicate that James had written partly in French, and at least indicates James has been learning French in Glasgow and John is confident he will be able perhaps to understand his letter without difficulty or benefit from working to translate it.

Je vous suis obligé, mon cher Jamie, de votre letter [...] elle m'a fait autant plus de plaisir, que ça venoit de vous même de m'écrire. J'ai été présenté à l'Impératrice et à l'Empereur; pour la première, elle s'appelle Marie Thérèse. Je ne l'aurois crû si fameuse, si on ne me avoit pas dit. L'autre est tout- à-fait gallant homme; il a été très poli vis-à-vis de mon père; ils ont quelquefois de longues conversations ensemble.

J'ai été à plusieurs balles masquées, où on s'amuse beaucoup; mais aussi je m'applique aux choses utiles cinq ou six heures par jour, parceque je suis persuadé que notre cher cher père sera content de voir nous autres tous roides morts que bêtes.

Adieu, cher Jamie

JOHN MOORE.'

I am obliged to you dear Jamie for your letter [...] it made me all the happier because it occurred to you yourself to write to me. I was presented to the Empress and the Emperor; as regards the first she is called Marie Theresa. I should not have thought she was so famous, if I had not been told. The other is a very gallant man; he has been very polite to my father; they sometimes have long conversations together.

I have been at several masked balls, where you have a very good time; but I also apply myself in useful occupations for five or six hours a day; because I am convinced that our very very dear father would be happy to see us [stiff/stone] dead rather than stupid.

Adieu, dear Jamie

JOHN MOORE

John's reaction to the Empress 'I should not have thought she was so famous, if I had not been told' is similar to his comments on the Duchess of Argyll, discussed in Letter 2 above. In both instances he is struck by how they are indistinguishable from others, despite their status. Although he is having a 'good time' he is anxious to reassure James that he is continuing to work hard at 'useful occupations.' He is spurred on by a desire to please his father, which he expresses very emphatically in his final dramatic assertion that his father would rather see them dead than stupid. His use of 'our' and 'us' shows that he aligns himself with his siblings and there is an implicit acceptance of his moral obligation to set a good example to his brothers.

Letter 12: Vienna, 21 October 1775, Oman, p.33.

Only a fragment of this letter to Graham exists, printed in Oman's *Life*, and some of the material has been discussed in the context of John's political education in Chapter Five. Here John tells Graham, 'I am pleased my dear boy, that you wish to be a sailor.' The tone is very much that of an adult elder brother to a younger sibling. His pleasure that Graham has chosen to join the navy is at least partly because it forges a link between them. 'I hope that, in some years after this, you and I will thrash the Monsieurs, both by sea and land.' He expects that eventually Britain and France will be at war, so that these career choices will give them the opportunity to fight for their country. He also shows some awareness of the volatility of European alliances. 'But I hope we won't make war with the Spaniards.' His reason, however, 'the Spanish ambassador is the best and kindest man I ever saw,' confronts the problem of knowing and liking potential enemies.

Letter 13: London, 16 September 1776 JCM, p. 265

The large gap in the surviving letters between October 1775 and September 1776 means that a significant period had passed, in which John had amassed many more potentially educative experiences. He had reached a stage where Dr Moore expected him to be self-reliant and confident enough to travel independently from London to Glasgow and to arrange the details of his accommodation in London and his entry into the army. A six hundred word extract from this letter is printed in Carrick Moore's *Life* and shows that when he is freed from the restraints of space John has developed into a highly competent letter writer. He has apparently written already to his father from Calais, although this letter does not survive. John reports his progress in finding accommodation in London and how he had 'delivered [...] packets, which [he] got safely out of Dover.' He had made an appointment to see General Hervey. He has found time however to discuss his brother James' career prospects with his uncle James Simson, now based in London, who told him, 'it was impossible for him to be of any service to [James] but that when he could, he would be very glad [to help].' However, John is desperate to get home. 'I will not stay a minute longer here than I have business to do, so I think the best way of directing to me will be to Scotland.'

Letter 14: London, 19 September 1776 JCM, pp. 267-27

Three days later, however, John wrote again from London, an even longer, 1000-word letter. He had seen the agent for the 51st regiment in London and been advised to go to Glasgow before reporting for duty. 'He told me that I should keep myself quiet till I [returned from Glasgow] because the General was a strict man, and would send me off.' John's rejection of this advice shows his sense of honour and self-belief. He was undaunted by the prospect of an interview with

the general, a result perhaps of his extensive experience of meeting those in authority, and was confident of his persuasive powers. 'I knew very well that a man could not refuse me that favour [...] I had not seen my mother for almost five years.' He had told the General he would 'be obliged to him if he would allow [him] to spend three weeks or a month with her [...]' His confidence was justified. 'The General told me by all manner of means to see my mother.' John's social poise had also established a good rapport with his commanding officer who 'would be very happy whenever I did him the pleasure to call upon him.' John, now a confident traveller, set about arranging and completing his journey to Glasgow.

Letter 15: Glasgow, 3 October 1776 CUL Add MS 9808/1/4

John Moore's most important letter dealing with the subject of education dates from October 1776. The manuscript of this five page letter is given in Appendix 3. He wrote from Glasgow before leaving to join his regiment in Minorca.³⁰

It was with considerable self-assurance that John set about the task of reporting to his father on the progress of his four brothers. The resultant document, close on 1500 words long, is a remarkable commentary on contemporary education from a fourteen-year-old's point of view.³¹ The original manuscript, previously in private ownership was acquired by Cambridge University Library in 2009 and has not been the subject of historical comment before this thesis.

In the letter John contrasts his education with the settled experience of James and Graham in Glasgow. Although John's purpose was to fulfil his father's request for information on the progress of his younger siblings there are many comments which go beyond the remit and display his general beliefs on education, its role in the formation of mature adults and its link with successful careers. It deals first with a comparison of his own and his siblings' experience, goes on to consider and evaluate the parental role and warns that too much parental indulgence or excessive pressure to study endangers the child's character and health.

John takes his father's request extremely seriously and produces a report which, in some respects, was likely to be uncomfortable reading for Dr Moore. He shows significant self-confidence in undertaking the task, not hesitating to comment critically where he sees fit, even if his reservations are unfavourable to his father's methodology. Although he takes care to soften his tone with humour, John's final judgement is that his brothers' education has produced better results than his own, given the starting point of comparatively equal innate ability, aptitude and application. He

³⁰ CUL Add 9808/1/46 John Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 3 October 1776.

³¹ CUL Add 9808/1/46 John Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 3 October 1776

ascribes this qualitative difference in his brothers' education to his mother's influence and to the effect of consistent instruction.

His self-confidence is evident in his opening lines, where he makes it clear that he intends this to be an honest analysis. His opening summary is positive. 'Thank God for having four of the finest boys in Scotland. I don't say this to flatter you, but because it is the plain truth.' However he ascribes this to his mother's success as an educator and compares his learning unfavourably with his brothers' erudition. 'You must confess that you have been fairly beat by my Mother with regard to the education of Children for she had 4 on her hands, & you have had but one, & I can assure you that there's a great difference between them in point of knowledge.' He dismisses, with a touch of humour, the possibility that his shortcomings stem from inferior intelligence. 'I have too great an idea of myself to impute my own ignorance to my own natural dullness, tho' perhaps everybody else will.'

Perhaps, his regret that he had not shared in the common experience of the Glaswegian schoolboy of the time makes John dismiss too easily the benefits of his learning. Despite having an unparalleled experience of the geography of contemporary Europe, personal acquaintance with many influential figures, fluency in French and many other skills, John uses the term 'ignorance' to describe his own state. When we analyse what content he could have perceived to be lacking, the main gap would have been in Latin grammar and the classical texts, which formed the sole curriculum at Glasgow Grammar School in the two years he had missed and in the first year at Glasgow University. In adopting this view John displays a conventional respect for ability in the classics as a criterion of a good education. He also displays a belief in the importance of maternal influence in the education of the family and an acceptance of the view that the mother's role was crucial to success. Whether or not John, educated in Rousseau's home city, Geneva, would have any knowledge of his educational theories, it is clear that he his views echo this tenet of Enlightenment ideology.

It has already been argued that John undervalued the benefits of his education. His father had now demitted his responsibility for the duke, but was clearly unwilling to return to his former career as a physician in Glasgow. John was alarmed at his father's suggestion that twelve year old Graham might now become his father's travelling companion, a course of action that John considered likely to spoil Graham's education and his character. He makes a two-pronged attack on the plan.

I am perfectly persuaded that if you had, he would have been ruined, because in the first you would have been so delighted with his drollery & cleverness that you would have allowed him to be free with you, which would be perfectly sufficient to ruin him.

The first objection is based on his knowledge of his father's character and calls into question his father's ability to exert enough discipline to manage a lively, intelligent and entertaining boy,

described in 1773 by Dr Moore as ‘a wit and a scholar.’³² Dr Moore’s anti-authoritarian methods had proved successful with John, who had developed habits of self-discipline and ‘strong application’ as his father told Baron Mure in 1775.³³ However John would have observed that Dr Moore had more difficulty with the duke over whom he had less control. John argues that over-familiarity is a mistake in handling someone like Graham: ‘the only security you have with him is to keep him at a distance if possible.’ This is an interesting theory and indicates that he had been giving thought to a crucial question for an army officer, how to exert authority. How he had developed his ideas is unknown, but in the family situation he believes his father’s inability to resist Graham’s charm would work to the detriment of his education. His second point is that his father would not be able to provide a coherent programme of studies: ‘you would take him away from his Studies and give him a smattering of everything without a perfect knowledge of any thing.’ The implication is that John believes he knows less than his brothers and that the ‘smattering’ of knowledge that he has accumulated is superficial. This however we may judge to be another example of John undervaluing the extent and depth of his knowledge.

John argues forcibly that a university education would have intrinsic merit for his brothers. Although he does not mention it, both James and Graham had already matriculated at Glasgow University. Enrolment records indicate that James started in 1774 and Graham in 1775.³⁴ John expresses concern that Dr Moore is trying to push his fourteen-year-old son James too early into the world of work: ‘My Mother [...] agreed with me that you was always wanting your children to[o] far on.’ He feels James is under too much pressure to study and that this is detrimental to his health: ‘he has many headaches, because he studies so much.’ He acquits his mother of responsibility, although she has enforced a rigorous regime: ‘my mother makes him study 8 hours a day, much against her will.’ His recommendation is that James is allowed ‘to Remain at least another two years at Glasgow.’ He points out that even then ‘he’ll be going out sooner than people generally do.’

John’s perception of the paternal and maternal role here is that although it is his mother who is placing these demands on James, she is acting at his father’s instigation and therefore he is culpable. Maternal supervision of education, untrammelled by paternal interference, therefore, could produce healthier, happier and better educated offspring. He does not consider the possibility that the pressure might be at least partly self-induced by James because of his studious propensities

³² BL 57231 fol. 19, Dr Moore to Mrs Moore, 14 February 1773.

³³ NLS 4946 fol. 203, Dr Moore to Baron Mure, Vienna, August 1775

³⁴ Addison, *Matriculation Albums*, p 108, James Carrick Moore 1774/ 3430, Graham Moore, 1776/3643

and his desire to succeed. In his ultimately chosen field of medicine James went on to win the *Lyceum Medicum Londinense* prize in 1789.³⁵

John goes on to express severe doubts about the use of patronage and influence to enhance career prospects. This attack on patronage might be considered surprising, but it shows an independence of mind and a willingness to challenge his father's actions. He is aware of his father's tendency to use personal contacts to advance his children's prospects and is distrustful of this. 'I don't doubt that with your's and your friends interest you could get [James] pushed on at present.' However his objection is not merely to the principle of sponsorship; but is based on ideas of honour and merit. John argues that a recipient of patronage would be ashamed if he knew that he did not deserve this advantage and that others more worthy were excluded in his favour: but do you think it would be an agreeable sensation for him afterwards to think to himself, here am I raised by interest only and there is twenty under me who really deserve to be raised but can't for want of that which I have had so much of.' He acknowledges that James could be advanced in this way, but argues that he would be adversely affected by the dishonour. 'I think if he has the feelings of a Horse that thought would take away all the pleasure which he otherwise might have from an elevated situation.' This diatribe perhaps indicates John's distaste for a system he was powerless to resist but that he felt militated against merit and promoted mediocrity.

John also valued a broad education which enabled flexibility in future career choice. Both Dr and Mrs Moore had clearly imbued their sons with a respect for their parents' wishes and desire to please them and, in fairness, Dr Moore did pay attention to his sons' career preferences. However John dismisses some of his father's suggestions forcibly, particularly the idea that James should go to the East Indies as lawyer: 'for example you was desirous that Jemmy should be with my uncle, or you was saying you would find some place for him where he would make his fortune (I suppose a Writer in the East Indies).' His objection shows he believes careers should fit the character and that 'Jeamy tho far more advanced for his age than any boy I ever saw is no more fit for being the latter than for flying.' Although James was only one year younger than he was and had some impressive qualifications John argues that he should acquire a more general education before starting on a career:

consider, Papa that he is only a boy of fourteen, an age at which many boys are yet at the Grammar school, & he has an excellent hand of write, very good Arithmaticien, good latin scholar, and I am told pretty good at Mathematicks, for you know I don't know them sufficiently to judge, but he is not yet perfect at any of them.

³⁵ James Moore, *A dissertation on the process of nature in the filling up of cavities, healing of wounds, and restoring parts which have been destroyed in the human body*, (London: Richardson, 1789).

Further general education would, he contends, avoid the danger of young people being trapped in an inappropriate or unsuccessful occupation, chosen by them at a too early age or chosen for them by their parents.

And another thing Papa if you give your children an education which will only serve them in case they continue to be what they have without much thought chosen when young, you chuse for them in a manner for in case they were to change their minds or be obliged by circumstances to change, they would have no resource.

Graham at twelve had already expressed a preference for the navy, although he had considerable academic ability and could have made a success in other fields. ‘Graham desires much to be a sailor, but is affraid to confess it because he does not know whether you like it or not.’ However John considers that even if Graham is allowed to pursue this ambition he would benefit from a period at the university in that it would enable him to be more successful in later life.

I beg you dear Papa to allow him to continue for several years at the College if you intend that he should be anything great, for he is the Cleverest of the family [by] far, and so if you chuse he should only be a Captain of a ship you may send him [off] now, but if you intend that he should be that which he may with the greatest ease, that is to say an Admiral you should give him the best education possible; I am sure he may be an Admiral if people Attain these posts by true merit.

The words ‘if’ and ‘chuse’ indicate that John is sceptical of the promotion system and its freedom from external influence. His belief that such positions should be decided on merit rather than patronage is consistent with his earlier remarks and his estimate of Graham’s potential accurate, as he did reach admiral rank and became senior lord of the Admiralty in 1818.³⁶

John displays a maturity of observation in identifying the particular complexities of these two brothers. Both were able, intelligent and dutiful, keen to please their parents. However their characters were different and this had to be taken into consideration. James was earnest and anxious. ‘Poor Lad he is the best natured fellow in the world & the most diligent, affraid to disoblidge my mother in the least triffle he has been a great consolation by all accounts to her; there’s not one in the family that would study near so much.’ Graham was more difficult to control. He was expert in using humour to achieve his ends or evade disfavour.

whenever my Mother pretends to be Angry, he cracks a joke and then you know after that it is all over. But with all that he’s the best natured fellow in the World, whenever he sees that my Mother is realy in earnest he leaves of his jokes and my Mother tells me that this was the only hold that she had with him, for if he had been at the same time ill natured it would have been impossible.

John is impressed by Graham’s extensive knowledge of heroic literature, clearly a personal taste that he has pursued by private reading. However John perceives very great dangers, if Graham were to become too aware of his own charm and ability to manipulate others.

You have no conception of what a fine fellow he is, every thing strikes him in an extraordinary manner and every Idea that goes into his head comes out plump again. There is not a Hero in the Greek or Romand History with whom he is not perfectly acquainted, his

³⁶ J. K. Laughton, ‘Moore, Sir Graham (1764–1843)’, ODNB.

conversation causes many a blush to rise on my face I can assure you. In short you would be the ruin of him, because you would find him so pleasant that you would make him sensible of what he is. It is impossible that he will not be something great, either a great Rogue or a great man.

Graham's taste for heroic literature was maintained throughout his subsequent naval career. His journal includes copies he has made of his favourite poems from Burns, dramatic speeches from Shakespeare and extracts from history books, for example Hume's *History of England*.³⁷ These provided him with examples of honour and many of the values he espoused and which he applied to his own behaviour. John's analysis of Graham is perceptive and shows an ability to read character. The aspiration to greatness is important. In the Moore family it is not enough to succeed; it is important to excel. He argues that how Graham is treated will be influential in deciding whether the outcome of his education will result in a good or an evil man, indicating a belief that education and upbringing could determine moral behaviour. Personality, aptitude and application would determine potential for 'greatness.' However his interpretation of the concept of 'greatness' is free from ethical conditions: a rogue could be 'great' but would not be an asset to society or a desirable human being. It was vital therefore to avoid this outcome and identify treatment and training that would avert it.

Neither of the younger brothers, Frank and Charles, is old enough for a full appraisal. Frank, aged nine is 'too young to be much spoke of,' but John is able to report positively. He has already achieved some academic distinction as 5th dux in his class at Glasgow Grammar school. His manners are good: he is 'genteeler' than Graham. His nature is loving and compassionate: he is 'the kindest hearted fellow that can be.' Despite the brevity of the analysis, it contains information on ability, upbringing and character, the factors John clearly considers most significant. On Charles, aged six, he is more perfunctory, adopting the patronising tone of a much older brother, but giving a positive judgement on his nature and his potential. 'Charly is a very lively little gentleman and I believe will be likewise an uncommon kind of a youth.' Even here the choice of the term 'uncommon' indicated that exceptional achievement was the Moore criterion for success. Jane was not part of the remit but John does mention her, showing an awareness of his father's worries about his daughter and a desire to reassure him. 'Jenny is much Improven in her manner.' He admits she 'is not very well looked, poor Girl' but he thinks this is less important than character, 'the more you know the better you like her [which] is not the case with most people.' His summing-up is pithy and stylish: 'in short Papa I dare say that taking all in all you have the finest family in Europe; & I don't know anybody that deserves it more.' It is a measure of his trust in the freedom that his father has given him to express his honest opinion that he has felt able to be so forthright. The compliment with which he ends is a graceful acknowledgement of his father's exertions to raise and educate his family.

³⁷ CUL, Add MS 9303/1, *Journal of Sir Graham Moore*, n.p.

The standard of letter-writing that John had reached by the age of fifteen arranged is illustrated when his letter in October 1776 is placed beside that of fourteen-year-old brother James. Direct comparison is neither possible nor fair. The brothers' situations were quite different. John is writing to a father who has been his constant companion for four years and who has encouraged him to think for himself and express himself honestly. James has not seen his father for this length of time and has produced the kind of beautifully written show letter that his father has praised in the past. Mrs Moore records that John did not write till the next post because he had 'been chatting to me all the time.' The thoughtful content of the letter he did write shows, however, that he had used the time to come to a considered judgement about his own and his brothers' education and to enter into a genuine dialogue on the issue.

Two Letters: A Visual Comparison

John Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 3 October 1776 CUL Add MS 9808/1/4

James Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 29 September 1776 CUL Add MS 9808/1/3

Figure 8: Two letters, ©CUL

Add 9808/1/40

Glasgow Oct. 3. 1776

N^o 4

Dear Papa

Thank God for having four of the finest boys in Scotland I don't send this to flatter you, but because it is the plain truth you must confess that you have been fairly beat, by my Mother with regard to the Education of Children, for she has had it on her hands, & you have had but one; & can assure you that there is a great difference ^{in your favour} in point of knowledge, I have too great an Idea of myself to impute my ignorance to my own natural dullness, tho' perhaps every body else will, you are squashing Papers of getting your own about you, I am perfectly persuaded that if you had, he would be contented because in the first year would have been delighted with his school & a Librarian that you would have chosen to be to go with you, which would be perfectly sufficient to ruin him, because the only necessity you have with him is to keep him at a distance if possible, & the next place you would take him away from his studies, & give him a smattering of every thing & without a perfect knowledge of any thing, I beg your pardon dear Papa, I take the liberty to speak to you freely with to you, as even to find fault with any thing that you could do so, but you told me to tell you my own sense, private opinion of about your family, & I take the liberty to include into that personification, to tell you freely my sentiments on every thing in general & you'll tell me whether they are just or not, I do suppose that this is the only

Add 9808/1/3

Glasgow Sept 29 1776

Dear Papa

Jack arrived here two days ago and has made us the happiest people in the world I am very sorry that he will be so very short a time here. I have been reading close at Mathematics this Summer, and I hope to be ready for Mr Williamson's second Class before the College sits down this Winter. I am to attend the private Latin and Mr Anderson's experiments and four hours at Arithmetick. Dear Papa when will you return? we only want your company to make us completely happy

I am your very affectionate son
James Moore

The only way to learn is. My mother & me had the other night a little conversation by curiosity, she asked with me that you was always wanting your children to go on, for example you are desirous that James should be with my uncle, or you was saying that you would find some place for him when he would make his fortune (I suppose a Writer in the East Indies) James tho' is by far more advanced than for his age than any boy I ever saw, is no more fit for being the latter, & than for going, my mother makes him study 8 hours a day much against his own will, for she says that he has many bad habits, or because he studies so much, consider Papa that he is only a boy of fourteen, an age at which many boys are but yet at the grammar school, & he has an excellent hand of write, very good Mathematician, good Latin Scholar, & I am told pretty good Mathematician, for I have known I don't know them, to judge, but he is not yet perfect at any of them, tho' as he is the best nature'd fellow in the world & the most diligent, afraid to disoblige my Mother in the least trifles, he has had a great consolation by all account to her, I wish not on the family that would study near so much; He read the four letters, I am a favor you have to take their movements rather more frequently; you should allow James to remain at least other two years at Glasgow, & then he'll be going out sooner than people generally do, I don't doubt but what with your & your friend's visit that you could not but be pleas'd on, but do you think it would be an agreeable conversation for him after he was to think to himself, I am assured by content only, & there is twenty words more who really desire nothing to be said but can't get content of that which I have had so much. I think of he has

Conclusion

Despite John's criticisms of his own education, which he judged had left him inferior to his younger brothers in knowledge of mathematics, the classics and literature, it is important to note its achievement, in producing a highly articulate young man secure enough in his own judgement to pronounce confidently on such a range of topics, with a clear ethical code of behaviour, an appreciation of the strengths and weaknesses of others; and an interest in applying his reasoning and persuasive powers on their behalf.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The aim of the thesis has been to contribute to our knowledge of secondary education in eighteenth-century Enlightenment Glasgow, with special reference to the views of parents and children; and in the process, explore the extent to which available source material allows us to refine and correct some widely-held assumptions about the quality of Scottish education in a rapidly growing city such as Glasgow. The gap in our knowledge of these elements of the history of education in Scotland, reviewed in Chapter One, focussed on a number of key issues, including basic reading skills and the claims made for the achievements of the post-Reformation system in delivering social mobility and cohesion, because it enabled talented poorer males to access higher education and to be educated alongside those of higher social rank. It was shown that modern historical study has been mainly concerned with examining basic literacy standards and scrutinising the historiography of assertions of the general excellence of Scottish education, but that secondary education has not been subjected to the same scrutiny. It also noted that the source material available for detailed study is not as good as one might wish since there is considerable geographical variation in records of secondary educational provision. Glasgow Town Council and church records for this period say little about education. The primary source material about the Moore family provides a hitherto unexplored opportunity to expand our understanding.

Chapter Two examined the records relating to educational thinking in Enlightenment Scotland, and noted that at Glasgow University there was an intellectual engagement with the subject of education, which was informed by the work of European and Scottish thinkers. The lecture notes and the published work of Thomas Reid were examined to identify what systems of education were discussed at Glasgow University and in public lectures. The publishing history of the books Reid mentioned in his lectures was used to establish that these were available in Glasgow. Although it cannot be proved that these ideas were a direct influence on those citizens of Glasgow who, as parents, were choosing how to educate their children, the existence of a market for books on education and an audience for public lectures indicates that engagement with education went beyond the university into the community.

It was noted that this was part of a Europe-wide movement for improvement and reform that challenged the traditional classical curriculum and called for the introduction of more useful subjects at the secondary stage of education, including instruction in writing in the native tongue, modern languages, mathematics and science. Although the Church played a key role in the provision of education throughout Europe, there were differences in the relationship between Church and State and the attitude of the various Church denominations to education. As a Presbyterian country, Scotland benefitted from the parochial school system established and supported by the church, but opinion within the church was split on the extent to which self-education, which literacy made possible, was to be encouraged, since it reduced church control of

the content and could lead to free-thinking. Within the Moore family the range of attitudes was represented, in the legacy of Mrs Moore's father, Professor John Simson whose rational attitude to theology had been a step too far for the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and led to his removal from his teaching post at Glasgow University and in the narrower religiosity of Dr Moore's mother, Marion Anderson. Dr Moore's rejection of his mother's restrictive attitude to literature, and his perception of the gloomy brand of religious observance in Glasgow, may have led to a belief that his eldest son John would do better in a non-religious educational environment.

Both in secondary schools and in universities, it seems, a number of different and contradictory forces were at work and significant controversy evident. In secondary schools, the mechanisms for reform in Scotland did not depend on state intervention but were at the discretion of local authorities, who controlled the grammar schools. Within Scotland there were examples of openness to curricular reform in, for example, Perth and Ayr, but Chapter Three demonstrated that Glasgow Town Council did not respond to calls for the establishment of an Academy to provide an alternative to the traditional Latin-based curriculum of Glasgow Grammar School. The failure of Glasgow Town Council to take any action is not explained by any source material, but some conjectures can be made. One potential reason was the close relationship between Glasgow Grammar School and the University, which had an interest in ensuring that the school provided a supply of scholars able to cope with the university curriculum. There is no evidence that the Church of Scotland, a force for primary education, opposed curricular change at secondary level, but nor did it actively advocate reform and the success or failure of such attempts seems to have relied on the strength of local opinion and the openness of individual Town Councils to initiate or support reform. The Church had an interest in scholars aiming to become ministers or schoolmasters, so in this respect would be likely to favour the classical curriculum. The comparatively affluent background of the pupils in Glasgow Grammar School meant that even if they did not intend to pursue a career needing a university education, their families saw merit in their spending sometime at university, since it would enable them to interact with a wider range of people in later life. The contrast between this inactivity compared to the openness of other Scottish towns to curricular reform could be explained by other factors like the quicker turnover of teaching staff than in Glasgow, so that these Town Councils were able to appoint staff to deliver a reformed curriculum, but as Glasgow Grammar School was a much sought after post, appointees stayed for life, so that it was harder to initiate reform. Smaller towns, like Ayr or Perth, would also be unable to support as thriving a private sector in supplementary education and therefore their Town Councils would be more liable to favour the incorporation of a wider syllabus into the school timetable. Thus there is scope for further research into the reluctance of Glasgow Town Council to effect change, either by widening the grammar school curriculum or by establishing an alternative school. Further research into the tactics of Town Councils in Scottish university towns, compared with other areas would be beneficial in examining what in this thesis can only be conjectural.

Historical coverage of secondary education in Glasgow has hitherto been severely limited, concentrating on the institutional structure of Glasgow Grammar School, with sparse coverage of the part played by the private sector in supplementing curricular provision for males at Glasgow Grammar School, in the education of females and in vocational courses. All of the available general histories of Glasgow, manuscript material in Glasgow University, Town Council and Kirk Session records and newspapers in the Glasgow City Archives have been scrutinised for information about education at this period and significant gaps have been discovered, so that the thesis relies on scrutiny of the evidence from 1760-1776 issues of the *Glasgow Journal* and *Glasgow Courant* to show how the private sector was the only channel for delivery of educational subjects other than Latin and that there was a flourishing demand for these. The limitations of this method lie in the selective and incomplete view such advertisements present, as they record only what was offered by those choosing to advertise. It may underestimate the number of successful private establishments, since there could have been some which did not advertise because courses were full, or it may overestimate the provision, as it is hard to gauge how many were attracted by the advertisement and whether the courses took place. They are, however, sound evidence of a thriving demand for supplementary education in both useful subjects and social accomplishments, which is indicative of a culture within Glasgow where these are valued. Thus it is argued that parents' requirements for their children were not completely satisfied by the provision available from Glasgow Grammar School, but that the availability of supplementary and alternative education could have weakened support for curricular reform. Although the curriculum at Glasgow Grammar school was severely restricted there is no evidence that if it had been broader this would have changed the Moore parents' strategy, although it would have been interesting to know if they and many other parents in Glasgow would have deserted the Grammar School in favour of an Academy, if one had been established.

Although this chapter has added to our knowledge of education in Glasgow during the period 1760-1776, and has included female education, which has hitherto been omitted from historical study of the topic at this time, it has done so in a limited way. The courses offered in advertisements and information from the primary source material of Joanna Baillie about the curriculum of boarding schools in Glasgow show that although traditional accomplishments such as sewing were on offer, there were also examples of the encouragement of expressive arts like drama. The two significant occasions when the Moore parents looked beyond Glasgow for the children's education are dealt with more fully below, but they act as a bridge for our understanding of the relationship between what was on offer in male and female secondary education in Glasgow and parental reaction to this, in that they provide two instances of rejection of what was on offer in Glasgow .

Chapter Four began the case study of the Moore family, showing how the Moore parents were concerned to procure education that fitted the needs, abilities and aspirations of individual children but of course within the strict parameters of parental expectations, which included what we would

regard as premature entry into work or tertiary education. In Glasgow the cohort of Grammar School youths who finished their secondary schooling around thirteen were assumed to be ready to begin university or to enter employment, where specific vocational skills would be learned. Dwyer's work on the concept of adolescence in eighteenth-century Scotland has argued that although the terminology differed from modern usage, the issue of the appropriate age and stage for education and entry to work featured in debates in the contemporary press. This debate is reflected within the Moore family, with Dr Moore particularly concerned to accelerate his sons' embarkation on careers, while John and Mrs Moore challenged the wisdom of this, and John in particular supported additional non-vocational education before entry on a career. Unfortunately we only know Mrs Moore's views through the filter of John's description of the situation he found in Glasgow, but she seems to have shared her husband's belief in the virtue of application, but with reservations about the dangers of excessive study and the possibility of compulsion in his desire to propel his sons early into careers.

Dr and Mrs Moore took advantage of the variety of provision within Glasgow, but where existing provision did not meet these needs they were prepared to adopt innovative strategies. The first parental decision of the Moores, to reject the various educational options in Glasgow concerned their eldest daughter's schooling and their choice of a Catholic convent in France, is unusual, given the availability of such options in Scotland. In the European context the question of female education was becoming more relevant and topical by the 1770s, but Scottish thinkers like Fordyce and literary figures like Smollett rejected the boarding school option as delivering superficial instruction and inculcating shallow values, whilst the maternal contribution to family education was promoted. The lack of material on the subject in the family archives means that no further examination can be made into the contrast between this radical decision and the traditional role which Jane went on to play in family life as the economically dependent, stay-at-home unmarried daughter and sister. In this thesis her convent schooling can only be noted as a sign of the Moores' preparedness to look beyond Glasgow for the education of their children and a precursor of the more carefully documented education chosen for their eldest son John. Thus two of their sons completed a traditional education at Glasgow Grammar School and went on to study at Glasgow University, James to complete a medical training and Graham to leave after two years of study for a naval career. The decisions behind these choices are recorded in family correspondence, where different options are discussed, and the existence of this information is due to the highly unusual absence of Dr Moore and John during a five year period, when John, James and Graham were in secondary education and deciding on careers. The information is not complete as education was only one of many topics of discussion in the letters and not all letters have survived, but as a body of evidence of a Glaswegian family's views on education it provides a full enough picture to identify the issues that influenced their decisions.

The Moore family horizons stretched beyond Glasgow. This was shown in how the acquisition of fluency in modern languages, particularly French, was particularly important to the Moore parents and the actions they took to achieve this. Their daughter spent five years in France at a convent school and their eldest son, was removed at ten years of age from Glasgow Grammar School to complete his education abroad under the supervision of his father. The extraordinary blend of factors involved in John Moore's education from 1772-1776, described in Chapter Five, precluded its being replicated, or turned into a general system. It is unlikely that when it was decided to take John out of school there was a clear idea of how long the tour would last and probably Dr and Mrs Moore initially expected John would return home within a year. That they were prepared to take this step, however, shows that they did not consider the education he was receiving at Glasgow Grammar School as of paramount importance. It has been argued that John might not have been making satisfactory progress in Glasgow, either in his studies or behaviour and that neither the curriculum nor the method of enforcing discipline through corporal punishment suited his learning style.

Nevertheless many key elements in John's learning experiences, while travelling and living abroad, detailed in Chapter Five, were influenced by Enlightenment values. The child's character was taken into account and harnessed to achieve educational progress in a curriculum where age, stage, aptitude and ambition were acknowledged. Delivery of such a curriculum, however, required a high degree of parental involvement in the details of his education - what, when and how he should study - rather than entrusting key decisions on curriculum and methodology to educational establishments and professionals. Although Dr Moore deprecates his efforts as having provided John with a 'miscellaneous' education, his input as a tutor and supervisor of John's studies was successful, as evidenced in the progress shown in the correspondence studied. In Glasgow his siblings were locked into a system where there was no such flexibility and less opportunity to learn through observation and experience.

John's letters, studied in Chapter Six, give a valuable insight into a young person's ideas on his educational progress, and his views on the contrast between his education and that of his brothers. His letters from Germany show that he appreciated the opportunity to acquire skills relevant to his immediate circumstances and future career. However when he returned to Glasgow he contrasted his education unfavourably with that of his brothers, whom he said knew more than he did, although he felt he was not significantly less intelligent than they were. This judgement must be treated with caution since he did not expand on the subject or engage in any self-reflection on his own knowledge and skills and how he had learned them. He argued he was not as well read as Graham, but this was a result of Graham's personal reading, particularly of heroic literature, not part of his formal education. There is no evidence of significant gaps in John's education and comparison of the letters of John and James show John had achieved a far greater standard of maturity and self-expression than his brother James, who was only a year younger. It is not clear

whether he failed to appreciate this or, as is more likely, whether he ignored it as irrelevant to his main topic of analysing his brothers' progress and likely careers, and persuading his father that a premature exit from university into careers would be harmful to them.

On general educational topics, the letters give a valuable insight into the young person's point of view. The need for a strong work ethic was a major theme, both in his self-evaluation and in the advice he gave to his younger siblings. He prized useful knowledge, particularly in his case skills that would benefit his military career, although he also valued the traditional Latin grounding that his brothers had received and that he lacked. Some of these beliefs show strong parental influence but he had developed an ability to think for himself and this included a confidence in his own judgement which allowed him to challenge his father's beliefs on the appropriate age for transition from education into work. Although he was preparing to start his military career just before becoming fifteen, he had developed a general theory of education that did not favour too early an exit into work. He argued that a more extended education could be crucial in allowing flexibility of career choice and achieving maximum advancement in the career chosen. In practice a good education would allow the upwardly-mobile sons of professionals to seek promotion on merit, rather than through patronage. They could choose from a wider range of careers with greater ease, and could change direction more easily.

The focus of the thesis has been to give a family point-of-view of education. It has shown what the parental values were in this family and the various methods Dr and Mrs Moore adopted to put these into practice. It has also gone some way towards showing the extent to which these values were shared or challenged by their children and the extent to which the women in the family were not able to make their own judgment prevail on key issues. No general conclusions can be drawn from this particular case about prevailing parental or adolescent views on education, but although atypical in many respects, it is likely that certain features of the Moore family views were part of the cultural norms of Glasgow at this time. Education was perceived as having both practical and intrinsic value, as a means of acquiring useful vocational and social skills and as a gateway to personal enrichment and an appreciation of culture. It shows that in Enlightenment Glasgow there were parents and children who applied the principles of reason to their philosophy of education and employed these in practice to encourage ambition and social aspiration. These were constrained within traditional bounds of middling-sort respectability. Social deference was still important and although this included due deference to patrons and a pragmatic acknowledgement of the power of patronage, to this was added self-confidence, a belief in self-worth achieved through effort, ability and education.

The decisions of the Moore parents show that they were not complacent about secondary education in Glasgow or convinced that it afforded their children the opportunity to develop their talents to the maximum. Dr Moore in particular was concerned to inculcate in his sons an ambitious attitude to their future careers. This meant broadening their horizons beyond Glasgow, where they could

have settled into parochial mediocrity in careers that failed to give personal satisfaction. This was a fate which he may have felt had overtaken him, before he was given the opportunity to travel in Europe with challenging and lucrative employment that gave him enough material to develop a second career as a writer. The plans of education for their children would support the argument that either during the period of their secondary education, or soon after, it was considered important that they should gain experience of other countries and cultures.

This thesis has shown the extent to which parents of wealthier professional status in Glasgow felt able to make some markedly adventurous choices in respect of their children's education. Dr Moore may have been exceptional in his double role both as tutor to a young nobleman on the Grand Tour, and as a father trying to promote the vocational training of his own son. But the evidence presented in this thesis suggests that educational pathways in a growing city such as Glasgow were anything but pre-ordained. The scope for individual initiatives was enormous. Whether Dr Moore got it right, in terms at least of John's education, was clearly a matter of some discussion. But despite the gaps in the evidence, we are left in no doubt that for this family, at least, the quality and range of the existing educational provision in Glasgow left room for further experimentation.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Moore Family Tree

Moore Family Tree

Consanguinity Version

Relationship terms based on
Sir John Moore (1761-1809)

Great Grandparents

John Anderson
1636-1710
Lord Provost of
Glasgow
Rev Patrick Simson
1628-1715
Mod Gen Ass
m.2 Janet Peadie
Rev James Stirling
Margaret Dunlop

Gt Gt

Grandparents
Rev John Stirling
Rev Adam Simson
1594-1642

Grandparents

Rev Charles
Moore
1680?-1736
m.
Marion Anderson
Rev John Simson
1667-1740
Prof Theology
Glasg.University

Great Aunts & Uncles

Rev John Stirling
1654-1727
Principal of Glasgow
University 1701-27
Anna Simson

First cousin twice removed

Margaret Paisley
m. Rev. Robert
Carrick

Parents

Dr John Moore
1729-1802
Jean Simson
1735-1820

Uncles Aunts

(Dr John Moore
had 5 & Jean
Simson had 13
siblings)
Marian Moore
m. Rev Dr William
Porteous

First Cousins once removed

Robert Simson
1687-1768
Professor of Maths
Glasgow University
Thomas Simson
1696-17
Professor of Medicine

Second cousin twice removed

Robin Carrick
c.1760-1821
partner Ship
Bank left James
Carrick Moore
his fortune

Siblings

Jane 1758-1843
John 1761-1809
James (Dr James Carrick Moore)
1762-1860
Graham (Admiral Sir Graham
Moore) 1764-1843
Francis
1767-1854
Charles 1770-1809
Died in infancy
Charles 1775; John 1757
Charles 1760-1764
Marion 1768; Hamilton 1772

First Cousin

Charles Macintosh
1766-1843
Chemist & inventor
waterproof fabrics

"Distant kinsman"

Tobias Smollett
1721 –1777
novelist

Source

Glasgow City Archives CITY 644 BOX 19 Vol 1 13, 14

Appendix 2: Mrs Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 29 September 1776

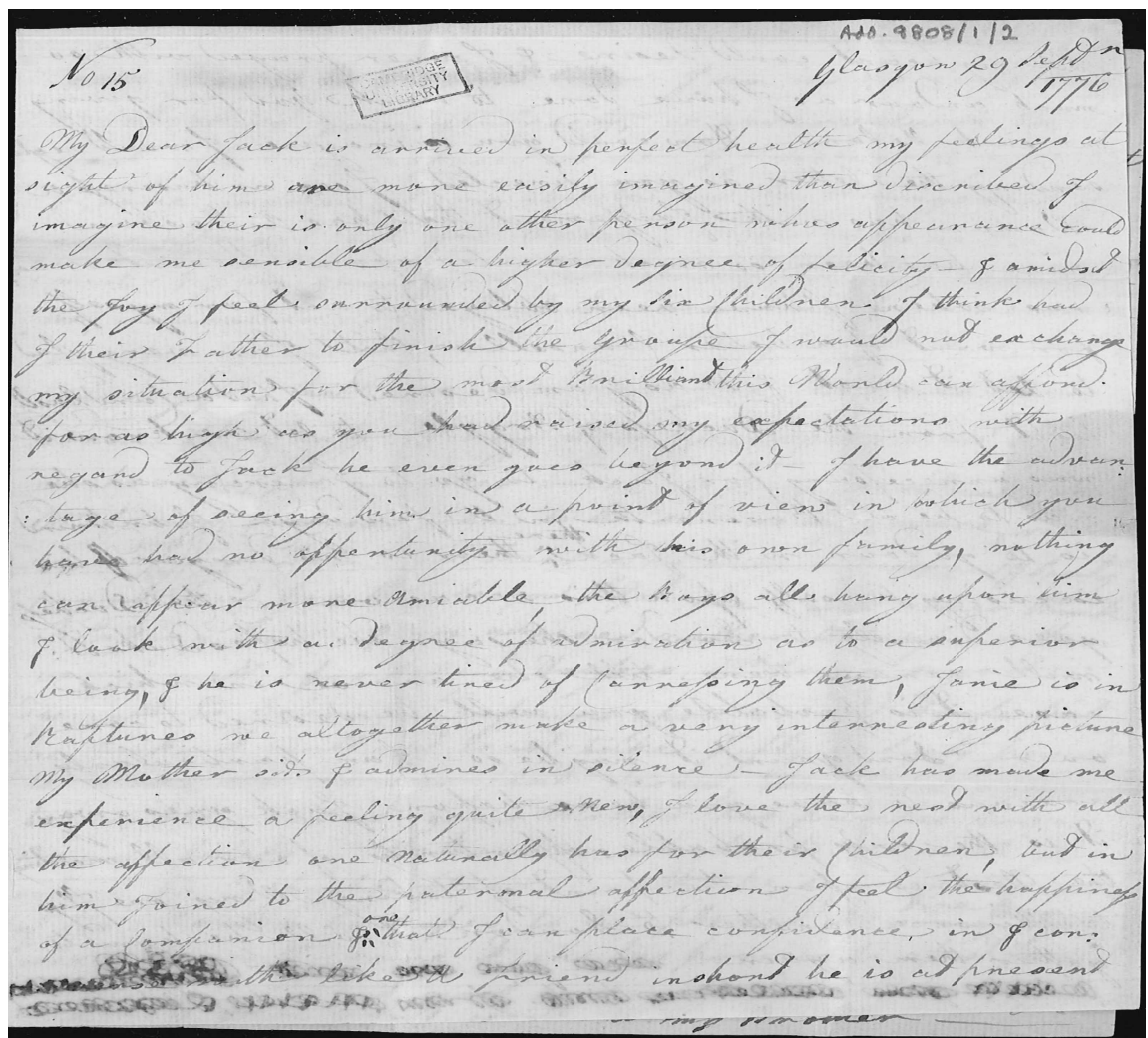
Appendix 2: CUL Add Ms 9808/1/46 ©CUL

My Dear Jack is arrived in perfect health my feelings at the sight of him are more easily imagined than discribed of- imagine their is only one other person whos appearance could make me sensible of a higher degree of felicity – if amidst the Joy I feel surrounded by my Six Children I think had I their father to finish the Groupe I would not exchange my situation for the most Brilliant this World can afford for as high as you had raised my expectations with regard to Jack he even goes beyond it – I have the advantage of seeing him in a point of view in which you had no opportunity- with his own family, nothing can appear more Amiable - the Boys all hang upon him & look with a degree of admiration as to a superior being, & he is never tired of caressing them. Jamie is in Raptures we all together make a very interesting picture. My Mother sits and admires in silence – Jack had made me experience a feeling quite new, I love the rest with all the affection one naturally has for their Children, And in him Joined to the paternal affection I feel the happiness of a companion & one that I can place confidence in and consult like a friend in short he is at present all my heart could desire & I never prayed with so much ardour as I have done to thank God for giving me such A Son – How could you imagine I would neglect sending the letter as you Directed – I see no business a Woman has with Judgement that has A Husband mine has been as much as much exerted upon different occasions where I have been obliged to act for myself for want of a better Counsellor, that I am very glad to let it rest & do as I am desired – I had a Card last night from the Duchess of Argyle to let me know it was unnecessary for Jack to go to Inverary as she was to be at Roseneath in a few days – John Baird is to go down with Jack there their [both words in text] is no danger of his excusing himself on this occasion – the Duchess goes directly to London she says she hopes Duke H will remain there till she arrives in which case it is probable you will be desired to come over – Lord grant it may be so - I am particularly anxious to have you here before Jack goes away it is the only probable oppertunity of our all meeting the nest is upon the point of taking Wing one flys to Minorca another to London. It will be hard to gather them again [erasure] I am in no danger of overlooking your generosity, or undervaluing the trust you have reposed in me - & I declare to you that I have exerted all my abilitys in the Management of your affairs – but you know I never was an Oeconomist & I am sure you did not expect it, I have all the inclination for it at the same time I am sensible how many calls their is upon me, but it is a particular gift that one can no more command than sense or beauty or any other accomplishment – we have made another trial to roup these House. Mr Craig advised them to be sold as they were, ra[ther] as repair them but their was only a Hundred and Sixty pounds bid for the Second flat we

could [never]r think of taking that – I am advised rather to repair them very well for letting \houses. Mr Craig says it is difficult to Estimate repairs upon an old House but he thinks it will at least take fifty or Sixty pounds to make the second flat desent, the third is in tolerable order your Mother has painted three rooms lately – My Brother wrote to me with Jack whom he is highly pleased with he says in the course of Six months he hopes to be placed in some line where he will have it in his power to assist Jamie that he wishes it most sincerely I would be obliged to you if you would write to my Brother.

I could not find it in my heart to leave Jack so long as to write even to you – he has been chatting to me all the time which must apologise for blots and interlines – he will write himself next post

I have just got a letter that Mary Morthlam is greatly worse and such I read they will not get her home. It is such an account that had it come before I began my letter I should not have been able to write to dayMthis has come as an alloy to my happiness it is next to losing one of my own family but my poor Sister is what afflicts me farewell My Dear[no name signed]



Appendix 3: John Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 3 October 1776,

Appendix 3.1: CUL Add Ms 9808/1/46; © CUL

Add. 9808/1/46

Glasgow Oct. 3. 1776

No. 4

Dear Papa

Thank God for having found of the finest boys in Scotland
 I don't say this to flatter you, but because it is the plain truth,
 you must confess that you have been fairly beat, by my Mother
 with regard, to the Education of Children, for she has had 4 on
 her hands, & you have had but one; & I can assure you that
 there is a great difference, ^{between them.} in point of knowledge, I have too
 great an Idea of myself to impute my ignorance to my own
 natural dullness, tho' perhaps every body else will, you was
 speaking Papa of getting Graham over to you, I am perfect-
 ly persuaded that if you had, he would ^{now} be <sup>per-
 suaded</sup> be-
 cause in the first you would ^{now} be so delighted with his doc-
 -trine & a liberality that you would ^{now} allow him to be to free
 with you, which would be perfectly sufficient to ruin him,
 because the only security you have with him is to keep him
 at a distance if possible, & in the next place you would take
 him away from his studies, & give him a smattering of every
 thing, & without a perfect knowledge of any thing, I beg good
 pardon dear Papa, if I take the liberty to speak so very free with
 to you, as even to find fault with any thing that you could
 do, or ^{say} but you told me to tell you my own ^{own}
 private opinion of about your family, & I take the liberty
 to include into that person's part, to tell you freely my senti-
 ments on every thing in general & you'll tell me whether
 they are just or not, for I suppose that this is the only

Appendix 3.2: John Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 3 October 1776,

CUL Add Ms 9808/1/46; © CUL

The only way to learn. My mother & me had the other night a little conversation by ourselves, she agreed with me that you was always wanting your children to far on, for example you was desirous that Jeremy should be with my uncle, as you was saying that you would find some place for him when he would make his fortune (I suppose a Writer in the East Indies) Jeremy tho' he is far more advanced than for his age than any boy I ever saw, is no more fit for being the latter, & than for being, my mother makes him study 8 hours a day, much against his own will, for she says that he has many head lakes, or because he studies so much, considers Caspa that he is only a Boy of fourteen, an age at which many boys are but yet at the Grammar school, & he has an excellent hand of write, very good Arithmetician, good Latin Scholar, & I am told pretty good Mathematicks, for though I don't know them ^{sufficiently} to judge, but he is not yet perfect at any of them, possibly he is the best nature'd fellow in the World & the most diligent, afraid to disoblige my Mother in the least trifle, he has been a great consolation by all accounts to her; There is not one in the family that would study near so much; The rest tho' fine fellows, I can assure you chafe to take their Amusements rather more frequently, you should allow Jeremy to remain at least other two years at Glasgow, & then he'll be going out sooner than people generally do; I don't doubt but what with your's & your friends interest you could get him ^{as much} but pushed on, but do you think it would be an agreeable sensation for him afterwards to think to himself, I am I caused by interest only, & there is twenty under me who really deserve passage to be raised but can't for want of that which I have had ~~as~~ so much. I think if he had

Appendix 3.3: John Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 3 October 1776

CUL Add Ms 9808/1/46; © CUL

the feelings of a Horse that that ^{is} thought alone would take
 away all the pleasure which he otherwise might have from
 an elevated situation; And another ^{thing} Papa if you give your
 Children an Education which will only serve them in case
 they continue to be what they have without much thought
 is chosen when young, you choose for them in a manner
 for in case they were to change their minds or be obliged by
 circumstances to change, they would have no resources.
 Graham desires much to be a sailor, but is afraid to confess it
 because he does not yet know whether you like it or not, he's a very
 good scholar, he has the greatest admiration of you, of any
 person I know, he said the other night that he would receive with
 Pleasure ten rials upon the Burnbo if ~~that~~ every day if that
 could make your come back; whenever my Mother pretends to
 be Angry, he cracks a joke, & then she laughs, & you know after
 that, all is over, But with all that he's the best natured
 fellow in the world, whenever he sees that my Mother is real-
 ly in earnest he leaves of his jokes, and my Mother tells me that
 it was by this ~~means~~ ^{hold} only that she has ^{had} ~~been able~~ ^{with the} to ~~bring~~
 him, for if he had been at the same time ill natured I
 would have been impossible. I beg of you Papa, to allow him
 to go to continue for several years at the College if you
 intend that he should be any thing great, for he's the dearest
 of the family besides, & so if you ^{should} be only a Captain
 of a Ship you may send him of now, but if you ^{be} ~~intend~~ ^{to} ~~be~~
^{the} ~~more~~ ^{shall} ~~be~~ ^{with} the greatest ease that is to say an Admiral
 you should give him the best Education possible; &

Appendix 3.4: John Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 3 October 1776

CUL Add Ms 9808/1/46; © CUL

I am sure he may be an Admiral if people attain these posts by true merit. You have no conception of what a fine fellow he is, every thing strikes him in an extraordinary manner & every Idea that ~~comes~~^{goes} in to his head, comes ~~flurrying~~ out again, there is not a Hero in the Greek or Roman History with whom he is not perfectly acquainted, his conversation causes many a blush to rise on my face can assure you in short you ^{would} see the ruin of him if you was to live with him, because you would find him so pleasant that you would ~~be~~^{grow the him} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~to~~ ^{as} ~~himself~~ what he says. It is impossible that he will not be some thing great, either the greatest Rogue, or a great man, as for his person he is very genteel and rather taller than Scamy, but however Frank is Gentler than him. Frank is too young yet to be much spoke of, but it is enough to say that he is ~~as~~^{as} Sus, & the Shrewdhearted fellow that can be, Charley is a very lovely little Gentleman, & I believe will be likewise an uncommon friend of a youth. Scamy is much Improv'd in her manners, but is not well look'd poor Girl, the more you know the better you like her it is not the case with most people; In short I dare say, that taking all and all, you have the finest family in Europe; & I don't know any body that deserves it more.

Ms^{rs} Baird who came the other day from Inverary told me the Dutchess had come to Saver's Boscworth yesterday where she will remain 8 days, as she knows of my arrival in Scotland she told ms^{rs} Baird to bring me along with her, we are to go on the 6th of this month. I am glad to hear Cape that there is a great probability of our meeting here, or at least in London.

Appendix 3.5: John Moore to Dr Moore, Glasgow, 3 October 1776

CUL Add Ms 9808/1/46; © CUL

Add 9808/1/46
 It seems I'll be obliged to leave this in a short time, because
 the Officers have been grumbling ~~up~~ upon account of my
 being absent longer than what is allowed. The Dutchess
 told Mr Baird that to be sure they will not grumble
 quite so ^{much} upon her account, but yet she'll have a good
 deal to do, to settle matters. I have been taken so much
 up that with speaking of my Brothers, that I have not
~~had~~ had time to tell you that the Duke made me a
 present of a £100, w^{ts}. I have put into the Bank here
 till you tell me how to dispose of it, my departure from
 the Duke was most affecting I'll never forget the last words
 he told me farewell dear Jack I'll never forget you, it was
 pronounced with a degree of tenderness w^{ch} can hardly be
 expressed in writing. Farewell dear Papa for I am monstrous
 tired, perhaps you are no less.
 ever your most Affectionate
 Son,

J Moore

P.S. My friend Peter Murdoch has got a commission in
 the Army & is going to join it at New York.

Glossary

Schools

Academy, an educational establishment. In eighteenth-century Scotland calls for academies were based on the model of dissenting academies in England and the introduction of a science and modern language based curriculum.

Adventure School, a private school, run as a private venture.

Burgh School, a school within a burgh, maintained and run by the town council.

Charity School, a school funded by charitable donation, often a legacy, to provide pupils with a free education.

College, a university, an older term derived from the link with a Collegiate church in medieval times.

English School, a school teaching reading and English grammar and writing, rather than Latin.

Grammar School, a school teaching Latin grammar and texts in the eighteenth century

Gymnasium, a secondary school in Germany or Austria, with a classical curriculum.

Hospital, a charitable institution for the poor, sometimes incorporating a school, as in the case of Hutcheson's Hospital Glasgow and The Town Hospital Glasgow.

High School, a secondary school which became fashionable in the nineteenth century. Glasgow Grammar School changed its name to the High School of Glasgow in 1834.¹

Public School, In Scotland a school open to the public, in England an exclusive private school.

Realschule, a secondary school below a *Gymnasium* in Germany or Austria, with a more vocationally based curriculum.

Vernacular School, a school teaching the native language as opposed to Latin, thus English school and in other European countries the language of that country.

Other Terms

Doctor (1), a teacher at a grammar school in eighteenth-century Scotland. At Glasgow Grammar School a doctor was an under-master.

Doctor (2), the head teacher in an English public school.

Dominie, a Scottish schoolmaster.

Encourage, to fund, or partially fund (often by the Town Council).

Encouragement, a grant to support instruction by a private teacher.

Matriculate, matriculation, an optional procedure for university students, in the eighteenth century, only required of students in the Faculty of Arts intending to graduation or to vote in the Rectorial Election. Many students did not take the full course necessary for graduation, although for those intending to teach graduation was highly desirable.

Master, a male teacher, who had attended university courses and usually was a graduate.

Provost, (Lord Provost), chief magistrate of a Scottish burgh, similar to an English mayor.

Rector, (1), head teacher of a school.

¹ Ashmall, *High School of Glasgow*, p.172.

Rector, (Lord Rector), (2) someone elected by the students every three years in Scottish universities, who is responsible for chairing the governing body of the university. William Mure of Caldwell (Baron Mure) 1718-1776 was Rector of Glasgow University 1753-1755, 1764-1767.

Schoolmistress, a female teacher a non-graduate, as university education was not open to females

Tutor (1), a privately employed teacher, usually to instruct one pupil, or a small number of pupils.

Tutor (2), a legal guardian of orphaned children under Scottish law.

Visitor, a magistrate, councillor, or university representative, responsible for visiting schools to inspect standards of teaching and scholars' performance.

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Note

In references to the works of Sir John Moore (1761-1809) and Dr John Moore (1729-1802) titles are used to clarify authorship. The success of the travel writing and novels of Dr John Moore meant they ran into many editions. No single edition is widely available for *Travels and Manners* which are written as letters. Therefore, in footnotes, references to these works include the letter's roman numeral to facilitate finding them in other editions.

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