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Presbyterianism and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century  
Glasgow. A Study of Nine Churches

Peter L. M. Hillis

Ph.D., University of Glasgow, 1978

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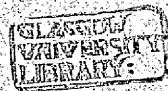
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### Acknowledgements

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I should like to thank the Rev. I. A. Muirhead who has supervised my research during the past three years and whose guidance has been invaluable in the writing of this Thesis. I am also indebted to Mrs Manchester of Baillie's Library who helped obtain the biographical information on church members.

Last but by no means least I should like to thank my mother who had the unenviable task of checking the rough drafts of this Thesis and Mrs Blythe O'Driscoll who so ably did the typing.

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### Abbreviations

B.C. Barony Church.

B.L. Baillie Library.

C.S.C. Cambridge Street Church.

D.M. Deacons' Minutes.

E.H.R. Economic History Review.

G.C.M. Glasgow City Mission.

G.H.S.C. Great Hamilton Street Church.

G.P.C. Govan Parish Church.

G.S.S.U. Glasgow Sabbath School Union.

G.U.L. Glasgow University Library.

G.U.D.L. Glasgow University Divinity Library.

K.S.M. Kirk Session Minutes. Thus C.S.C.K.S.M. stands for

Cambridge Street Church Kirk Session Minutes.

M.L. Mitchell Library.

M.M. Managers' Minutes.

M.S. Missionary Society.

Nat. Lib. National Library.

R.S.C.H.S. Records of the Scottish Church History Society.

S.H.R. Scottish Historical Review.

S.R.O. Scottish Records Office.

St. S.C. St. Stephen's Church.

U.P. United Presbyterian.

W.S.C. Wellington Street Church.

### Introduction

Writing in Past and Present in 1964 Henry Pelling commented:

"The influence of the Churches on the working class in nineteenth century Britain is a subject which has long aroused sporadic interest among political and social historians, but which has apparently lent itself more readily to hasty generalisation than to detailed investigation for its own sake." (1)

In the English context such works as K.S. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England, E.R. Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City, Hugh McLeod, Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City and Thomas Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780-1850 would perhaps satisfy Henry Pelling's demand for "more studies" about the relationship between the church and the working class "dealing with particular cities and regions". However, in Scotland there has been very little work done in this area. This is surprising when one considers the importance of church history in any overall history of Scotland. One notable exception to this omission is A.A. MacLaren's book, Religion and Social Class, The Disruption Years in Aberdeen.

In his book Dr. MacLaren analysed the social composition of kirk sessions belonging to the Free Church and the Church of Scotland in the years following the Disruption. The Free Church sessions were dominated by the aspirant middle class whereas the eldership in the Church of Scotland was primarily composed of the well established middle class. Friction between these two groups, according to Dr. MacLaren, was an important cause of the Disruption of 1843. From this middle class dominance of kirk sessions Dr. MacLaren assumed that working class adults were not members of, and did not attend church but through the

mission work of churches, in for example day and Sunday Schools, many working people were provided with the means of retaining a tenuous link with the church. This mission work of presbyterian churches stemmed from a belief that Christianity would eradicate many of the current evils, including crime, intemperance, poverty and violence which the middle class saw in society.

This thesis attempts to analyse the relationship between several presbyterian churches and the wide variety of social groups, in particular the working class, in Glasgow in the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s at two levels. Firstly at the congregational level, were working people members and office-bearers of these churches? Secondly, at the level of missionary work, was the church successful in reaching out to those who did not go to church? In these two areas an attempt will be made to see whether any differences arose between the Church of Scotland and various non-established churches. The evidence will suggest that Dr. MacLaren was wrong to assume that the social composition of a kirk session was representative of the congregation and that the fear of social unrest was only one motive force behind mission work. The Victorian concept of Christian duty was of equal if not greater importance.

Chapter 1 analyses the economic changes in Glasgow during the industrial revolution. The social consequences of this process are also discussed.

Chapter 2 considers how the church, as seen through the eyes of one man, Thomas Chalmers, reacted to these changes. The following chapter attempts to discover whether the church was suitably equipped to implement the policies which Thomas Chalmers propounded.

Chapter 4 analyses the factors leading to several of the eighteenth and nineteenth century secessions from the Church of Scotland and

offers some tentative suggestions as to the social make up of these churches.

The social composition of several presbyterian churches at the administrative and congregational level in mid-nineteenth century Glasgow is discussed in chapter 5.

Chapter 6 is concerned with the mission work of these churches, with the exception of the Barony Church, and attempts to measure the influence of Thomas Chalmers in this field.

Norman MacLeod's influence on the mission work of the Barony Church and his formative role in shaping the nature of future social theology forms the basis of chapter 7.

Clearly, to try and study the relationship of churches and 'people' in every church in Glasgow would, due to the numbers involved, require several Ph.D. theses. Furthermore, such a topic of research would come up against a serious practical problem in the form of inadequate source material. There are denominations, for example, the Congregational Church, which have records but these do not contain the kind of information which would permit such a study. Fortunately, most presbyterian denominations did record the necessary facts in baptismal registers, kirk session, and where relevant managers' minute books, church magazines and communicants' roll books.

However, it does not follow from this that every presbyterian church can be studied since the necessary records must still be in existence. A cursory glance through the CH2 and CH3 catalogues listing the records held by the Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh shows that there are very few churches where all these records have survived to this day. The position is further complicated by the fact that not all churches belonging to the Church of Scotland have complied with the



General Assembly's request that their records should be sent to the Scottish Record Office. The situation at present is that many records are in Edinburgh, some remain in church buildings in Glasgow while others are in a variety of places including the attics of ex-session clerks. The reading of church records is a relatively easy task compared to finding them.

As a result of the problems of source material, the choice of churches was somewhat arbitrary since it was restricted to those churches which still possessed the necessary records. For this reason Barony, Govan, St. George's and St. Stephen's Parish Church were chosen to represent the Established Church. The non-established churches were Cambridge Street, Wellington Street, Great Hamilton Street, St. Stephen's and St. Enoch's. Passing reference was also made to Lansdowne Church.

The Barony Church was formed in 1625 when the Cathedral Parish was subdivided into three; Outer, High and Barony. The latter's congregation worshipped in the crypt of the Cathedral until 1800. A famous description of this crypt church appears in Sir Walter Scott's book Rob Roy. In 1800 a separate church was built next to the Cathedral and in the 1880s a new church was built in MacLeod Street. Here the church has remained to this day. Between 1851 and 1872 its minister was Norman MacLeod.

The history of Govan Parish Church goes further back than the seventeenth century as its origins lay in the monastery of St. Constantine founded in Govan in the sixth century. After the Reformation a new church was built but this was replaced by a new building in 1762. In 1826 a new church was erected and again in 1888 when the present day church was constructed. From 1821 to 1874 the minister was Matthew Leishman.

St. Stephen's was a more modern church than either Barony or Govan as it was built in 1836 as part of a programme of church extension in Glasgow. In 1843 its minister, Dr. Andrew King, and his congregation left the Church of Scotland for the Free Church. They continued to worship in the original building until 1848 when they were forced to build their own place of worship. This church in New City Road was opened in 1850. It was not until 1851 that St. Stephen's Parish Church was re-opened. St. Enoch's was also a Free Church and it was formed by those members of St. Enoch's Parish Church who 'came out' in 1843. Between 1843 and 1874 their minister was James Henderson.

St. George's Parish Church was built in 1807 and its founding members were many members of the Wynd Church who were living in the then west end of the city and who desired a church nearer their homes. The church was built in Buchanan Street and from 1822 to 1843 the minister was John Smyth. He went to St. George's Free Church in 1843 and was replaced by James Craik who remained the minister until 1870. Today the church, which still occupies the building erected in 1807, is known as St. George's-Tron.

Cambridge Street and Wellington Street Church were both United Secession Churches until 1847 when they became part of the United Presbyterian Church. Wellington Street Church was built in 1792 in Cheapside Street in Anderston. In 1827 it moved to Wellington Street, from which it took its name, and in 1884 the present building was built in University Avenue. The Rev. John Mitchell was the minister between 1793 and his death in 1844 when the Rev. John Robson was ordained as minister. Cambridge Street Church was opened in 1833 but in the 1860s some of its members and the minister, John Eadie, left to found Lansdowne Church in Great Western Road.

Great Hamilton Street Church belonged to the Reformed Presbyterian Church, a denomination whose origins lay in the seventeenth century religious disputes over the National Covenant. After the 1688 Settlement



The Rev. Dr. John Eadie minister of Cambridge Street and Lansdowne  
United Presbyterian Church. This sketch appeared in the 'Bailie' on  
the 20th of May 1874.





many Covenanters remained outside the newly established Church of Scotland eventually forming the Reformed Presbyterian Church. At first it was organised along loose and informal lines since its members met in groups, later known as Societies, which were scattered throughout Scotland. Gradually these Societies amalgamated into separate congregations. One of those met at Sandyhills but as most of its members came from Glasgow it moved into the city in 1790. A building was purchased in King Street, Calton, but in 1819 the congregation moved to Great Hamilton Street. Although the church merged with St. Luke's in the 1960s the old building in Great Hamilton Street, now London Road, is still standing and it houses the printing business of D. McVicar and Company. In 1839 William Symington was inducted as the minister of Great Hamilton Street Church and on his death in 1862 he was replaced by his son, also William, who remained the minister until 1879.

Notwithstanding the arbitrary method of choosing these churches they were evenly spread throughout Glasgow thus representing a large geographic area rather than one particular part of the city. The area covered by these churches is expanded when some of the districts in which they undertook missionary work are considered. This is clearly shown on the map on page 8. Although Govan Church lay outside the city of Glasgow itself, its parish covered much of the area south of the Clyde as, for example, in Kingston the church ran a day school.

Given that these churches possessed adequate records, a problem arose over what source to use to discover the social status of church members. There were two choices, the communicants' roll book or the baptismal register. Very few of the former for the mid-nineteenth century remain in existence while those that could be found lack detailed



Location of Churches and Missionary Areas



Key

1. Great Hamilton Street Reformed Presbyterian Church.
2. Green Street Mission. (Run by Great Hamilton Street Church.)
3. Barony Parish Church.
4. Barony Mission.
5. St. George's Parish Church.
6. St. Enoch's Free Church.
7. St. Stephen's Parish Church.
8. St. Stephen's Free Church.
9. Cambridge Street United Presbyterian Church.
10. Maitland Street School. (Run by Cambridge Street Church.)
11. Wellington Street United Presbyterian Church.
12. Bishop Street School. (Run by Wellington Street Church.)
13. Picadilly Street School. (Run by Wellington Street Church.)
14. Cheapside Street School. (Run by Wellington Street Church.)
15. Finnieston Street School. (Run by Wellington Street Church.)
16. Lansdowne United Presbyterian Church.
17. Kingston School. (Run by Govan Parish Church.)
18. Govan Parish Church.



information. A name often without an accurate address or any occupation was listed but this does not give enough basic information to trace the individual in other sources. Fortunately baptismal registers usually did record name, occupation and address.

The major problem in using baptismal registers revolves around the strength of the parents' commitment to the church. Did the people listed in these registers only attend church to have their children baptized or was there a deeper and stronger relationship?

In the non-established churches those parents who wanted to have their children baptized were required to be communicant members of the church. (2) Thus parents who were not members of the church had to join the church before their child could be baptized in church. The procedure for non-members wishing baptism for themselves or their children in the Free Church was as follows:

"Persons who ask for admission to the privilege of Baptism or the Lord's Supper, without having been previously in full communion with any congregation, are subject to the examination and observation of the Kirk-Session with respect to their qualifications. Without any inquisitorial minuteness, their outward conduct may be judged of, through the observation of the Minister, or one or more of the Ruling Elders. If there be nothing in what is thus seen decidedly inconsistent with their profession, and fitted to subject the parents to Church censure, and if no charge against them be brought before the Session, it is not competent for the Session to reject them merely on account of what the Minister or any Elder may conceive to be the state of their minds, unless their profession or their knowledge be defective. If, upon the recommendation of the Minister or otherwise, the Kirk-Session are satisfied with the qualifications of the applicants, in that case, and in that case only, they are called upon to admit them to the use of sealing ordinances, and to appoint the addition of their names to the roll." (3)

Once on the church roll communicant members were expected to attend church regularly. Failure to comply with this obligation, and or suspicion of any misconduct, could mean the postponement of the baptism of the child.

In the session minute book of St. Stephen's Free Church in August 1847 it was recorded that;

"The Moderator stated that having been applied to by William Keir residing in Burnside Street, for the baptism of twin children, he had declined to dispense that ordinance to his children till the Session should have an opportunity of satisfying themselves as to his attendance on public ordinances, and the general regularity of his conduct: he being one whose case had attracted the special notice of the Session in lately revising the Communion Roll."

William Keir was then called in to appear in front of the session and he admitted that he had not always attended church and that "he had been in a state of intoxication". Two elders were appointed to make further enquiries. (4) Eight days later they reported favourably on his conduct and he was accordingly absolved from the scandal and his children were subsequently baptized. (5)

This necessity of regular church attendance prior to baptism gave rise to the following incident in Young Street Free Church as recorded by the minister, the Rev. W. Murray MacKay, in his diary:

"May 15. This morning I preached with more freedom than hitherto, and I trust acceptance. In the afternoon I had my first Baptism. A rather unpleasant incident recurred in connection with it. Mr. Barr, with the other Elders present in the forenoon, came round after service and protested against one of the parents (whose name had been intimated) receiving Baptism for his child, on the ground that he had not been at church in the forenoon. I sent two of the Elders to call on the man, with the result that he got Baptism. The two children were Robert Lawson and Violet Leitch. Father, bless these little ones, the first I have baptized." (6)

Therefore, before having a child baptized in the presbyterian churches outwith the National Church the parent or parents had to be members of the church who had faithfully fulfilled the obligations thereof.

The situation in the Church of Scotland was complicated by the fact that up until the civil registration of births, deaths and baptisms in 1855 all inhabitants of a parish had to register the birth and baptism of their child with the parish church. Hence parochial baptismal registers, in theory if not in practice as many refused to have any dealings with the Established Church, contain the names of numerous people who were not members of the Church of Scotland. Members of the particular parish church were included in these registers but it is impossible to distinguish them from non-members. In 1855, however, the legal obligation to register with the Church of Scotland was removed and parish churches then began to keep separate baptismal registers for their members. At a meeting of Barony Church kirk session in May 1855 it was decided "that a Register Book of Baptisms be got, and that the entries therein shall commence on Sabbath the 3rd of June 1855. That all Baptisms whether Public or Private which have been administered to the children of the Members connected with the congregation of the Barony Church by the Rev. Norman MacLeod the pastor or any Clergyman officiating for him when absent, shall be entered in a uniform manner in the said Baptismal Register". (7)

In all the churches listed above the parents entered in baptismal registers were church members. From the premise that procreation was not the monopoly of one class, combined with an analysis of these registers over a period of five to ten years, it is reasonable to assume that baptismal registers provide an accurate insight into the overall social make up of the congregation.

Nevertheless, taken by themselves baptismal registers as a guide to an occupational breakdown of a congregation have to be treated



warily. Very often the entry in the column 'employment' or 'profession' is misleading. In December 1851 one Thomas Struthers had a child baptized at Cambridge Street Church. He was described as a "warehouseman". At first sight this suggests that he was an unskilled worker labouring in a warehouse. However, on checking the Post Office Directory Thomas Struthers was listed as a partner in the firm of Richmond and Struthers, cabinet makers, upholsterers and carpet warehousemen, dealers in French and English paperhangings, 96 Buchanan Street, carpet factory 97 Port Dundas Road. Therefore, the impression given in the baptismal register about Struthers' status is far removed from the reality. To ensure an accurate classification of individuals every entry in the baptismal register was checked against other sources including the Post Office Directories, burial registers, the Burgess Roll and membership roles of the various craft associations. The identification of elders and managers was an easier task as their names, addresses and sometimes occupations were listed in the relevant minute book.

Church magazines provided much of the source material for the chapter based on the other half of a church's life, that is, its mission work. These magazines contain a wealth of information about day and Sunday Schools, city missionaries, Dorcas Societies, Mutual Improvement Societies and a wide range of other charitable organisations. The major difficulty in using church magazines is finding them. Few have been transferred to Edinburgh. Some remain in the church concerned while others are kept in the houses of church members. The Barony Church Magazines are held in the Mitchell Library. Fortunately I was able to obtain the magazines of every church which produced them with the exception of Great Hamilton

Street Church. Libraries, ex-session clerks and the church building proved fruitless, but another possibility were the papers of W. J. Couper, historian of the church and the Reformed Presbyterian Church in general. He quoted from church magazines in his history of the church thus he may have had them in his house, and although he died many years ago his son lives in East Kilbride. This son said that on his father's death all his papers were burnt. We will never know the extent of this loss.

For a wider view of the church and its work, denominational magazines, records of the General Assemblies, magazines of interdenominational charities such as the Glasgow City Mission, and biographies were consulted. In addition, the Scottish Guardian, a Glasgow ecclesiastical newspaper representing at first the Church of Scotland and after 1843 the Free Church, was an invaluable source for a church view of religious and secular affairs.

The chapter dealing with the work of Thomas Chalmers was largely based on William Hanna's biography of Chalmers and the Select Works of Chalmers. Donald MacLeod's biography of Norman MacLeod provided much of the information contained in the chapter on Norman MacLeod and the Barony Church's mission work. Unfortunately, no trace could be found in libraries or after contacting surviving relatives of Norman MacLeod's Journals which are quoted extensively in his biography.

The notes at the end of each chapter and the bibliography give a more detailed outline of all the sources which have been consulted.

Notes

1. Henry Pelling, "Religion and the Nineteenth-Century British Working Class". Past and Present, No. 27, 1964.
2. See Rules and Forms of Procedure of the United Presbyterian Church. (no author), (Edinburgh, 1890), p.5; The Practice of the Free Church of Scotland. (no author), (Edinburgh, 1886), p. 16-17, and A Book of Ecclesiastical Government and Discipline of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. (no author), (Paisley, 1832), p. 14.
3. The Practice of the Free Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 17.
4. St. S. K.S.M., 11/9/1847.
5. Ibid., 19/9/1847.
6. Rev. W. Murray Mackay, Leaves From a City Pastor's Diary. (no date), p. 19.
7. B.C.K.S.M., 30/5/1855.

Chapter 1

Glasgow. A Tale of Two Cities?

A hundred years ago! as in a dream,  
All things have changed along the human stream!  
The thousand roaring wheels of traffic pass  
Where the maids spread the linen on the grass,  
The mighty ocean liners, outward bound,  
Heave o'er the spot where windmill sails went round,  
The haystacks of the Trongait, where are they?  
Where the green meadows which produced the hay?  
Who were the last fond lovers (who can tell?)  
That kissed beneath the alders at Arn's Well?  
The ancient merchant in his scarlet cloak,  
Great wig, and silver buckles, if he woke  
From his archaic slumber, would he know  
Th' Havannah of a century ago? (1)

These lines illustrate the dramatic change which occurred in Glasgow and the surrounding area between the closing decades of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. The city was transformed from a small rural-cum-trading centre to the industrial heartland of Scotland and by 1851 a Glasgow minister, Robert Buchanan of the Free Tron Church, claimed with justification that Glasgow "is now the second city of the greatest empire in the world". (2)

One of the outstanding features of this change was its speed. Writing about Govan in the 1845 New Statistical Account Matthew Leishman, the parish minister, painted an idyllic picture of a small rural village where the main occupations were farming, handloom weaving, and salmon fishing in the Clyde. Describing the same area in the 1790s William Young, who spent his childhood in Govan, noted that the water in the Clyde could be drunk without any ill effects and porpoises appeared at the Govan ferry "so pure was the water". (4)

The deepening of the Clyde alongside the introduction of ship building yards and textile factories in the 1850s and 1860s transformed Govan into a thriving industrial centre far removed from Leishman's "veritable sleepy hollow". (5) Had the merchant quoted in the opening poem lived in Govan in the 1790s, or even in the 1840s, he would not have recognised the area in the 1880s.

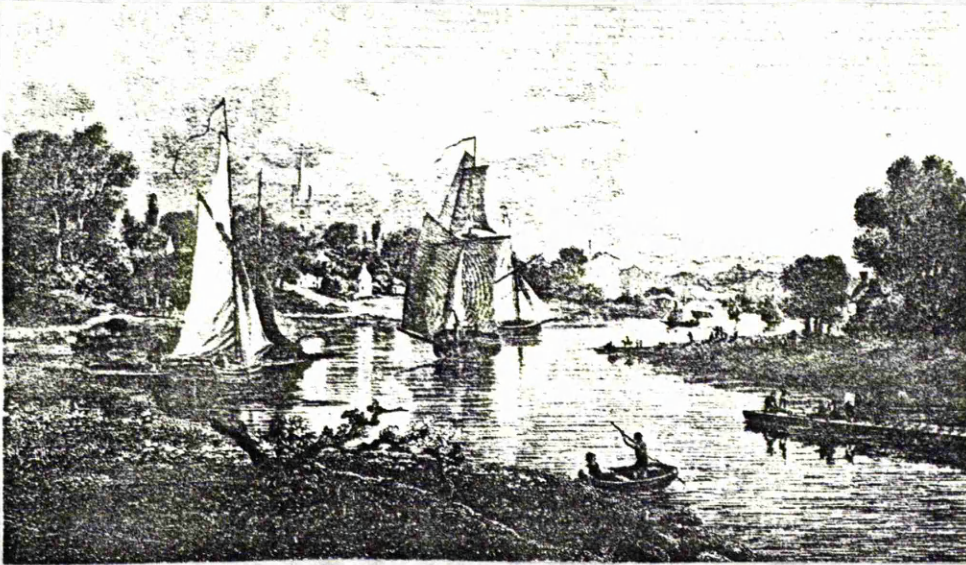
Of Glasgow as a whole the claim that it was the second capital of the Empire largely rested on its size and industrial strength. The city's growth in size can be seen in the rapid increase in population from 48,832 in 1780 to 147,197 in 1819. Through immigration and a falling death rate the trend continued with the total standing at 202,426 in 1831. (6) This figure represented approximately 8% of Scotland's population. An analysis of the main occupations in which the city's population was engaged shows the dominance of manufacturing industry especially cotton and allied trades. One consequence of this situation was that Glasgow became a predominantly working class city. In 1831 it was calculated that the working class accounted for approximately 80% of the population. (7)

The origin of Glasgow's pre-eminence as an industrial city lay in four interrelated developments centred around the city; her role in overseas trade, notably the entrepot tobacco trade, the expansion of land and sea communications, the concentration of textile production in the area and finally the rapid growth of heavy industries.

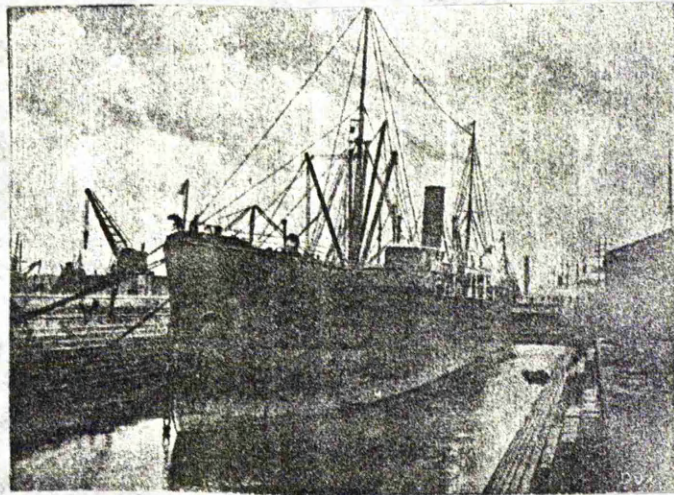
The tobacco trade followed by expanding trading relations with such areas as Canada, India and China led to a growth in shipping using the Clyde so providing an incentive for the deepening of the



The Changing Face of Govan



Govan from the east, 1830



East End of  
Govan, 1905



View looking  
west from  
Govan Parish  
Church, 1978

river. From 1770 onwards the river was dredged and widened, a process taken in hand by the Clyde Trustees in 1809 who were authorised to deepen the waterway until it was nine feet deep at neap tides between Glasgow and Dumbarton. By 1830 vessels drawing 15 feet of water were harboured at the Broomielaw.

The ships docking there came from distant lands and ports nearer home. Communications by sea to such areas as the Highlands, Ireland and Liverpool had existed for many years but they were greatly expanded and improved by the development of steam engines. The success of Henry Bell's Comet opened a new chapter in sea transport which no longer had to rely on the fickleness of the wind. In 1815 a steam ship connection was established between Glasgow and Rothesay and with Campbeltown in 1816. In 1818 the steam ship Rob Roy sailed to Belfast so inaugurating an Irish connection. One year later a service was begun to Liverpool. The provision of cheap and regular communications from the Highlands and Ireland to Glasgow was of vital importance in aiding the movement of Highland and Irish labour into Central Scotland and Glasgow in particular.

Oceanic voyages presented more problems than the shorter journey 'doon the water'. Larger and stronger ships driven by more powerful engines were needed and these took time to develop. At first steam was only used as a supplementary power to sail but improvements in the design and construction of iron hulled ships combined with the introduction of the propellor powered by more efficient engines led to a gradual decline of sailing vessels. Steam services were introduced on all the major routes by the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1839 the steam ship India was launched on the Clyde and soon commenced its journeys on the



Cape route. In the same year the Cunard Company was formed to transport the mail to America by steamship, and by the 1840s, as the firm's name suggests, the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company was running regular steam ship services to and from Canada. (8)

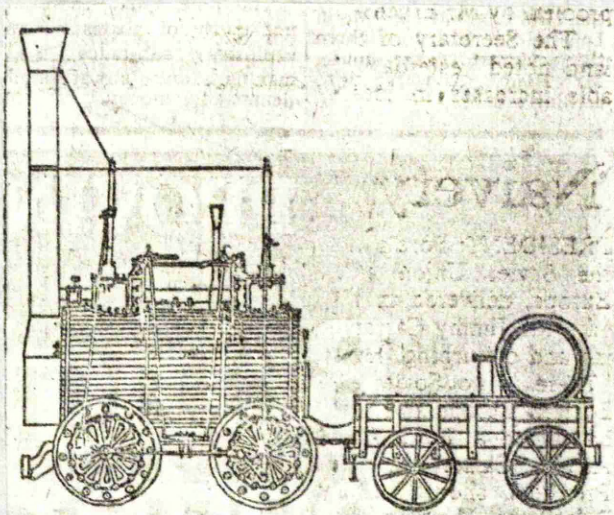
Glasgow became not only an important centre for overseas communications but also the focal point for a rapidly growing system of internal communications in the form of canals, roads and rail. This expansion was a necessary prerequisite for industrial growth as many of the rich mineral fields of Lanarkshire would have been untapped had it not been for the canals and later the railways which opened them up. Much of the impetus for these improvements came from the tobacco lords and the traditional Scottish landowners. Both wanted to exploit the wealth lying beneath their estates while for the tobacco lords such a process ensured a regular supply of raw materials to their industrial concerns. Thus Andrew Stirling, a tobacco lord and owner of property under which lay much of the Monkland Coalfield, was the majority shareholder in the Monkland Canal completed in 1773, with a number of other tobacco merchants as smaller shareholders. (9) The building of the Forth and Clyde Canal in 1790 saw a combination of commercial and landed interests providing the necessary finance. Co-operation was not without acrimony which revolved around the canal's size with the Glasgow interest - merchants and manufacturers who wanted a short shallow canal - against the Edinburgh interest primarily composed of landowners who wanted a long deep one. A compromise of a medium depth canal emerging at Grangemouth was eventually reached. (10) It was not long before a similar clash of interests emerged on the political scene but its result was less clear cut than a canal. Other canals linked the coal and iron fields of the Coatbridge-Airdrie area with Glasgow



and the Union canal joined up the Forth and Clyde canal with Edinburgh. Of less economic importance were the Crinan and Highland canals, but as with shipping to the Highlands these canals aided Highland emigration to Glasgow.

Canals had a short lifespan as an efficient means of transport since they were slowly but steadily superseded by railways. The death knell of canals was first rung by the successful opening of the Stockton and Darlington railway. For William Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, the bell tolled for a more dramatic and sudden death, but his fatal accident on the Stockton to Darlington line could not halt the rapid development of railways. In 1826, one year after the inauguration of the Stockton line, Monkland and Kirkintilloch were joined by rail. The Kirkie line, as it was known, linked the Monkland collieries with the Forth and Clyde Canal. From this date on railway development proceeded apace: in 1826 the Garnkirk line was opened in direct competition with the Monkland Canal, in 1842 Glasgow and Edinburgh were linked, in 1841 the Glasgow, Paisley, Kilmarnock and Ayr line was opened, and in 1848 rail services to Carlisle were started. The line to Ayr, so it was claimed, would not only "intersect a busy industrial area, but it would provide a convenient route via Ardrossan, for passengers going to and coming from Ireland... Campbeltown and Liverpool". Moreover, "a railway to the sea coast of Ayrshire would enable sea bathing visitors to reach it with certainty in about 1 hour in place of their spending as at present from 5 to 8 hours in an uncertain and tedious voyage". (11) As this line brought the Irish to areas of the city which the middle classes found increasingly distasteful it transported the more prosperous Glaswegian out of his city for a holiday in the more healthy environs of the Clyde coast.

The First Locomotive on the 'Kirkie' line





While canals were being constructed only to be rendered inefficient by the railways the road system was being expanded. Although it was not realised at the time road transport would in the future threaten if not replace the railways as the largest transporter of people and industrial goods. A series of local Turnpike Acts passed between 1750 and 1844 provided the administration and finance for new and improved roads. Roads between Edinburgh and Glasgow were upgraded as were communications between Glasgow and Lanarkshire, Ayrshire and further south to Carlisle. In addition, roads within Glasgow were improved but not to the satisfaction of one citizen who complained that "... no later than yesterday (the Lord's Day), what a scene did Sauchiehall Road and the crossing at Buchanan Street into Cathedral Street present? It was like a dangerous navigation, and with all the care and delay which parties could render, it was sad to see ladies and children, not to speak of gentlemen, bespattered (if any conveyance happened to pass), or compelled at all events to move along with feet damp with mud...." (12)

Canals, roads and railways were built primarily in response to industrial growth and it was this process which dramatically changed the face of Glasgow. Much initial industrial development stemmed from overseas trade and contemporaries were fully aware of the role played by traders and notably the tobacco lords. In 1812 the Merchants' House stated that Glasgow was indebted to those who had carried out the America trades not only for "the extension of commerce" but also "for the establishment and for a considerable time, the support of its manufactures, now so highly advantageous to this kingdom at large". (13)

Much Glasgow merchant investment in industry stemmed from the nature of the trading system whereby European consumer goods were exchanged for tobacco. Colonial stores were stocked with iron, leather, rope and textile goods and it proved cheaper to manufacture these products than buy them elsewhere. Consequently merchants were dominant in the Glasgow rope and sail cloth industry, and of the three malleable ironworks in eighteenth century Scotland, the two situated in the Glasgow area - the Smithfield and Dalnottar firms - were financed by tobacco lords. After this investment it made sound commercial sense to secure supplies of raw materials. Therefore, in 1781 the Muirkirk Iron Company was partly set up by the same merchants who controlled the Smithfield and Dalnottar ironworks. Other merchants had interests in brewing which led them into investments in bottle works and from there onto coal mining. (14)

Merchants were also prominent in establishing what later became known as the 'staple' industries of textiles, coal and iron. Some merchants invested in the early linen, bleaching and chemical works. John Glassford, for example, had interests in the Glasgow Cudhear Works and the vitriol works at Prestonpans while "the extensive textile printing industry in the Vale of Leven was begun in 1770 solely on the initiative of William Stirling...." (15) Stirling was a tobacco lord.

We have already touched upon merchant investment in coal mining but it was more extensive than has been suggested. Many merchants owned estates and exploited the mineral resources lying beneath the ground. The development of a transport system meant that these fields were now put in contact with their markets of glass works, iron foundries and other industries which relied on coal as a source of

power. Other merchants took a stake in coal companies and the Dunlop and Houston families were largely responsible for the development of the Gorbals and Govan coal fields.

The role of commercial interests in the development of the iron industry was less prominent. Of nine pig iron firms begun between 1799 and 1830 only three had colonial merchant investment. A more important source of revenue was from English manufacturers who moved North partly in search of secure supplies of bar iron as foreign import prices rose. (16) Merchant investment in the cotton industry was of a similarly low level.

The growth of the cotton industry in Glasgow was dramatic. In 1819 there were 52 cotton mills belonging to Glasgow firms in Scotland but twenty five years later there were 192 mills in Scotland employing 31,000 workers. All but 17 were situated in Lanark and Renfrew. In Glasgow alone almost one third of the employed population was involved in the manufacture of cotton. Production was concentrated in three main areas; Anderston, Bridgeton and Calton. Henry Houldsworth's mill, which was situated in Cheapside Street in Anderston, was perhaps the most famous cotton factory in the city. Glasgow was an ideal city to site the industry since the Clyde combined with a strong shipping industry meant that the raw material could be brought to the heart of the city and the final product could be easily exported. The subsidiary industries of bleaching and dyeing were, as has been noted, already in existence. They were located in the Port Dundas and St. Rollox areas. Cheap coal was available brought from the Lanarkshire mines by canal and later rail and the growing population provided a ready supply of labour and an expanding market.

It has been claimed that the expansion of the cotton industry resulted from colonial merchants switching their money from tobacco to

cotton after the American War of Independence. (17) T. M. Devine has shown, however, that merchant investment was not of major importance to the expansion of the industry. Moreover, such investment as there was, was occasioned by the desire to diversify into other industries and long antedated the American War. (18)

The final development which helped transform Glasgow into a major industrial city was the growth of heavy industries. The foundation for expansion had been laid before 1830 with the establishment of coal and iron industries but the 'take off' occurred after this date. The full potential of the iron industry was not realised until the invention by Neilson of a hot blast furnace which allowed the utilisation of local blackband iron stone and coal. William Baird at Gartsherrie was the first producer to use the process but the number of firms and furnaces soon grew. By 1853 Lanarkshire had 75 furnaces in blast producing 442,000 tons per annum. This was three times the amount produced in 1835.

Hand in hand with the development of iron production went the growth of the malleable iron industry to supply the needs of factories, railways and shipbuilding. In Glasgow iron works were soon set up in the wake of the expansion of iron production with such firms as the Glasgow Iron Company, the St. Rollox Company, the Phoenix Company and the Lancefield and Parkhead Forges.

A large part of the iron industry's production went into shipbuilding. Before the closing decades of the eighteenth century shipbuilding had been of little consequence in the Glasgow area as the industry had been confined to building small vessels for fishing and the coastal trading routes, with the North American colonies supplying the larger boats. The origin of the industry as we know it

today lay in the development of the engineering trade which was primarily concerned with manufacturing land and marine steam engines. Names like James Watt, Robert Muir and James Cook immediately spring to mind as leaders in the engineering field. Herein lies the genesis of the tradition that many Scots, and Glaswegians in particular, had innate engineering gifts. How often is someone with a West of Scotland accent cast as the chief engineer in films centred around ships?

Glasgow's importance as a trading centre, combined with the availability of the materials, notably iron and engines, necessary for shipbuilding, made it an obvious area to set down construction yards. In 1816 Robert Steel and Company and R. and A. Carswell established yards at Greenock. The industry gradually moved up river and in 1841 Robert Napier, the owner of the Lancefield and Vulcan foundries, set down a shipbuilding yard at Govan. Between the periods 1826-1830 and 1836-1840 there was a dramatic increase in launchings on the Clyde from 22 (2,591 tons) to 53 (11,030 tons). (19) The shipbuilding industry in turn stimulated many other industries including iron making, malleable iron works, rope and later steel. Although the prospects for the shipbuilding, iron and engineering industries appeared limitless to Victorian Glasgow, the over dependence upon them in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century narrowed Glasgow's economic base to a dangerous degree. The collapse of the shipping market in the 1920s and the 1930s sent shock waves through many other industries and it could be argued that Glasgow is still counting the cost of this over reliance on heavy industry.

Without the provision of the necessary finance few of these developments would have taken place. Here the banking system played a leading role and its growth closely followed industrial expansion. Once again the mercantile families were prominent as they helped to establish many banks; the Dunlops and Houstons were dominant in the Glasgow Ship Bank as was John Glassford in the Thistle Bank. The growth of banks continued in the nineteenth century but the trend was for national banks, for example, the Commercial Bank of Scotland, to be formed with branches in Glasgow instead of local banks. As with banks, the opening of the Glasgow Stock Exchange in 1844 facilitated investment in industry.

Other professions and institutions characteristic of a capitalist and industrial city showed the same rate of growth. One only has to compare the number of people listed in the Post Office Directories as engaged in such occupations as accounting, surveying, insurance, stock broking and trading between any two periods to see this increase. For example, in 1834 there were 62 accountants, 17 surveyors, 37 ship and insurance brokers and 258 commission merchants and agents in Glasgow. In 1850 the equivalent figures were 126, 26, 72 and 424. In 1845 there were 19 stock and share brokers but by 1850 this figure had increased to 70. Most of these professions were situated in what is today the centre of the city around Queen Street, Buchanan Street and West George Street. Further west were the residential areas of Blythswood and Garnethill. Embracing the business and commercial centres in a horseshoe shape were the industrial areas of Port Dundas, St. Rollox, Bridgeton, Calton and then round by Anderston and the Clyde to Govan.

For many in the business and manufacturing classes commercial and industrial growth led to increasing wealth which was reflected in



the mushrooming of a host of subsidiary industries to cater for their needs. Booksellers, silversmiths, watchmakers, piano makers, food and wine merchants, milliners and dressmakers all experienced a dramatic growth in the early nineteenth century. Other manifestations of this wealth were the growth in educational facilities, for example, Anderson's University and the many private schools for the middle class. The development of the Hillhead area for middle class housing was another example of this newly acquired wealth. Although increased prosperity was the rule rather than the exception for the middle class the spectre of bankruptcy, with the concomitant loss of social status, loomed over many families.

Some sought Divine intervention to ensure continued financial success. In his autobiography Dr. McNair Wilson, grandson of Robert McNair Wilson the minister of Maryhill Parish Church, recollected that as a child he and his sister had asked their anxious looking father, "what he would like to happen, and he told us - A rise of 2/- cwt. in sugar. That night Willie, Mollie and I added a fervent petition to our prayers that the hoped for rise might take place, and continued to make the same supplication night and morning during several weeks. Judge of our distress when we were told by our mother, to whom we had confided the great secret, that things had changed completely and that what our father now needed was a fall of 2/-. We didn't pray about prices any more after that, indeed we all expressed personal apologies to God". (20) In reality there was very little protection against the vagaries of the market economy and fortunes were often lost faster than they had been made. Nevertheless, as a result of these economic changes new dynamic middle class groups appeared in society who were soon to demand political rights which brought them into conflict with the old landed-merchant hegemony.

Glasgow played an active role in the campaigns in favour of the reform of Parliament. Over 40,000 people attended a meeting at Thrushegrove in 1816 called to protest against the wastefulness of the late war against France, the restoration of the Bourbons in France and the corrupt system of representation in Britain. When the first Reform Bill of 1831 was defeated in committee a public meeting was held to protest against this vote. Estimates of attendance ranged from the conservative Glasgow Herald's 100,000 (21) to the reform press's 200,000. (22) A variety of other groups added their voice to the growing clamour in favour of reform. On the 6th of December 1830 the Merchants' and Trades' House both petitioned for reform. On the 15th of December the Incorporation of Weavers also petitioned and three days later a public meeting was held under the chairmanship of the Lord Provost. (23)

Denied political rights although they contributed a large share of the country's new found strength and wealth, the new moneyed middle class were the most active in pressing for reform. Those attending the Thrushegrove meeting included,

"John Russell a respectable manufacturer in Glasgow, John Ogilvie, china merchant in Jamaica Street, John McArthur, ironmonger in Argyle Street, Benjamin Grey, shoemaker in Nelson Street, William Watson, manufacturer in George Street, William Lang, printer in Bell Street and John MacLeod, cotton spinner in Tureen Street, all moving in the respectable middle ranks of society." (24)

In terms of occupation the committee formed to frame the rules of the Political Union, an organisation formed in 1831 to press for reform, consisted of "five manufacturers, three newspapermen, two grocers, two tea dealers, one stationer, one doctor, one bookseller, one operative turner, one of independent means, and four whose occupations are unknown". (25) In December 1831 the same organisation elected six

office-bearers who were James Turner (tobacconist), A. G. Spiers (cotton manufacturer), Thomas Atkinson (bookseller), John Ure (occupation unknown), James Wallace (tea merchant) and Alexander Hedderwick (brewer). (26)

The obstacle to the fulfilment of their objectives was the aristocracy who, so the reformers claimed, corruptly monopolised political power and misgoverned the country. It was only through an extension of the franchise that many people's right to vote could be exercised and abuses in the political system rectified. The Thrushgrove meeting passed the following resolution which summed up the reformers' criticism of the existing political structure:

"That it is the decided conviction of this meeting that the grand and primary cause of all the evils under which the country suffers is the radically defective and corrupt state of the representation in the Commons House; and that it is solely in consequence of this that the people have been deprived of their legal share in the government of the country, that they have lost all constitutional control over those who should be guardians of the public purse, that they no longer possess any security for the enjoyment of their legal rights, liberties and privileges, that their property has been placed at the mercy of a corrupt and usurping Borough Faction, and that Ministers through the preponderating weight of an undue influence have been enabled to prosecute these iniquitous measures which have at length brought the country to the verge of ruin." (27)

As the Scots Times in March 1830 stated in a leading article against the undue influence of the aristocracy in returning M.P.s via rotten boroughs the remedy for the country's malaise was to remove the influence of the aristocracy and give more people a greater say in the running of the country. It thundered:

"The same illegitimate power is known to pervade everything connected with government, poisoning every measure with the taint of corruption, interrupting the free and natural motions of the political machine, and threatening in time totally to destroy the balance of the Constitution. It is this monstrous influence, openly exercised in the teeth of the law, that controls ministers and counteracts their best intentions - that prevents anything like reform or amelioration of our institutions - that supports every abuse - that creates monopolies - that perpetuates large military establishments - that refuses to reduce taxation - that levies a tax of millions on the bread of the people in the shape of the corn laws - and, in short, that is the fruitful parent of every venal, odious, and worthless feature of our political system. Until the Constitution be purged of the canker, we see no remedy for the political abuses and no end to the enormous expenditure that presses upon the industry and exhausts the resources of the country." (28)

The Reform Bill of 1832 was the first step in a long process which saw the gradual but steady erosion in the power of the ancient régime. As we shall see this conflict between 'old' and 'new' revolving around the aspirations of the new middle class also spilled over into the religious sphere. However, Glasgow, as we have seen, was a predominantly working class city but the economic and social advantages of industrialisation were less obvious to this class than to the middle class.

The primary concern of most people is their standard of living. In the context of the present day preoccupation with employment, prices and wages, it is tempting to see standard of living in these narrow terms. In reality it covers a much wider range of circumstances including housing, education, religion, conditions of work and leisure activity. Few would deny, however, the importance of wages and prices in determining one's overall situation and these two factors have been largely concentrated upon in the well worn debate about the standard of living in early nineteenth century Britain. Generalisations over

national trends have proved misleading due to regional variations and recent research has focused on local studies, including one of Glasgow. (29)

Three tentative conclusions were reached for Glasgow was real wages for skilled workers showing a modest increase between 1810 and 1831 but little or no improvement for unskilled workers. For example, in 1810 a Glasgow blacksmith would on average have earned 2/6d a day and in 1831 2/10d, whereas a labourer's income was 1/10d and 1/6d, respectively. A clear case of declining economic status was that of the handloom weaver.

At first the introduction of cheap labour, mainly Irish in origin, into weaving created a labour surplus and wages consequently fell. This was quickly followed by the introduction of power looms which reduced weaving from a skilled craft to an unskilled occupation. Wages fell even further and by 1851 they stood at 5/8d a week compared to 13/6d in 1825. (30) From being the aristocrats of labour the handloom weaver fell to the position of the urban poor as the following description shows:

"John Harrup works in a back damp earthen floored shop, and sleeps in a miserably dirty garret in the same building; no bedstead, scarcely any furniture. Earns on average 6/- per week, out of which he pays all his loom expenses, more than 1/- per week. He is twenty five years of age, his wife twenty one; one child; likely soon to have another. He is thin, pale, hollow cheeked, and looks half starved. He works from five to nine now, and often longer in the winter. Solemnly assures me that he never takes thirty minutes to all his meals during working hours...." (31)

His situation, as other similar descriptions illustrate, was not atypical and it was hardly surprising that, as we shall see, the weavers' reaction to their plight often was a violent one.

Surprisingly little has been written about the life style of skilled workers in early nineteenth century Glasgow. This has perhaps resulted from the preoccupation with conditions, especially housing, of the urban poor. The whole ambit of working class life, but notably the neglected area of the artisan is worthy of research but the impression gained from reading contemporary and later commentaries reinforces and widens the division between skilled and unskilled workers noted in wage levels.

Partly resulting from his greater income, the artisan lived in higher rented and better furnished accommodation than the cartor or labourer. The McLean household is one example;

"Mr. McLean, spinner, now in work, seven children. Eldest, Henrietta, aged seventeen, a piecer, 6/6d a week, now at home to wash up her things. Two brothers also at factory; one at 4/6d per week. All, with father, in good health. Mother delicate, but never worked in a factory. Very nice parlour, with clock, mahogany bookcase, table, chairs, etc. Small collection of well bound books. Large kitchen and ordinary eating apartment. All the children read and write. Miss McLean's manner and dress highly respectable." (32)

Furthermore, the family diet included "flesh meat three or four times a week" and sometimes tea and coffee. The McLean household presented a very different picture from the Harrups but there were others even worse off.

Sally O'Hara was a widow with two children who lived in a one apartment house off the High Street. Her only income was earned by gathering rags during the day and then selling them at night from which she made 1d or 2d. This was supplemented by the wages her children earned at the mill. The apartment was a mere six feet wide, ten feet

long and seven feet high and "damp clay" was nature's carpet. There was "no table, no chair, no stool, not an article of furniture, but some broken crockery..." and "the children sleep with her on the wooden bedstead, which is a fixture; not a vestige of blankets, but a little loose straw; not one particle of food in the house, but a small roll which she was eating.... The children get no meat in the house...." The writer concluded his description by commenting that "the hovel in which she lived was unfit to shelter a human being... and the crowded neighbourhood renders the air that encircles and visits this wretched abode most pestiferous and deadly". (33)

But bad as Sally O'Hara's living conditions were there were others who had no house at all - men and women who were rarely employed and whose accommodation alternated between the jail and the streets. The provision of model lodging houses later on in the century helped to alleviate their plight but the system of poor relief operating in the early nineteenth century could not cope with the rapidly increasing numbers. Likewise, education could not keep pace with the upsurge in population. As a result many children, notably from working class districts, did not attend school. In the Gallowgate, King Street, Tureen Street and Calton-Mouth area only 37% of children attended school and only 14% could write in 1848. Scotland's reputation as an educationally advanced country lay in tatters in the east end of Glasgow.

Not only were there differences in housing standards between income groups but diets showed similar variations. The urban spinner's food consumption included "flesh meat", tea, coffee, white bread and butter. Sally O'Hara could not afford meat while the food of one



weaver's family consisted of "porridge, potatoes, and sour milk, when they can afford it". (35) With these living conditions and diet it was hardly surprising that disease and plague swept through the slums like fire through dry grass on a windy day.

The middle class verdict on these slum areas, largely concentrated in the industrial 'horse-shoe' belt, was shown by an expansion of residential areas to the west and south of the city. In terms of housing Glasgow became two cities, one of the rich west end and the other of the poor east end. Often the distance separating the two was not so great as between Hillhead and Calton, since Garscube Road divided middle class Hillhead from the predominantly working class area of the Cowcaddens. In March 1946 Winston Churchill first developed publicly the idea of an iron curtain in Europe, but one hundred years earlier the concept could have been applied to Glasgow. In the north west of the city the iron curtain was Garscube Road which separated, not east and west as is implied today, but the rich and the poor labelled by Disraeli as the "two nations". The iron curtain remains in the Glasgow area to this day although its geographical position has shifted to divide communities such as Lilybank and Newton Mearns.

Speaking of the labouring classes in pre-industrial times, Robert Owen commented that "they were generally trained by the example of some landed proprietor, and in such habits as created a mutual interest between the parties, by which means even the lowest peasant was generally considered as belonging to, and forming somewhat of a member of a respectable family. Under these circumstances the lower orders... became strongly attached to those on whom they depended, their services were willingly performed, and mutual good offices bound the parties by

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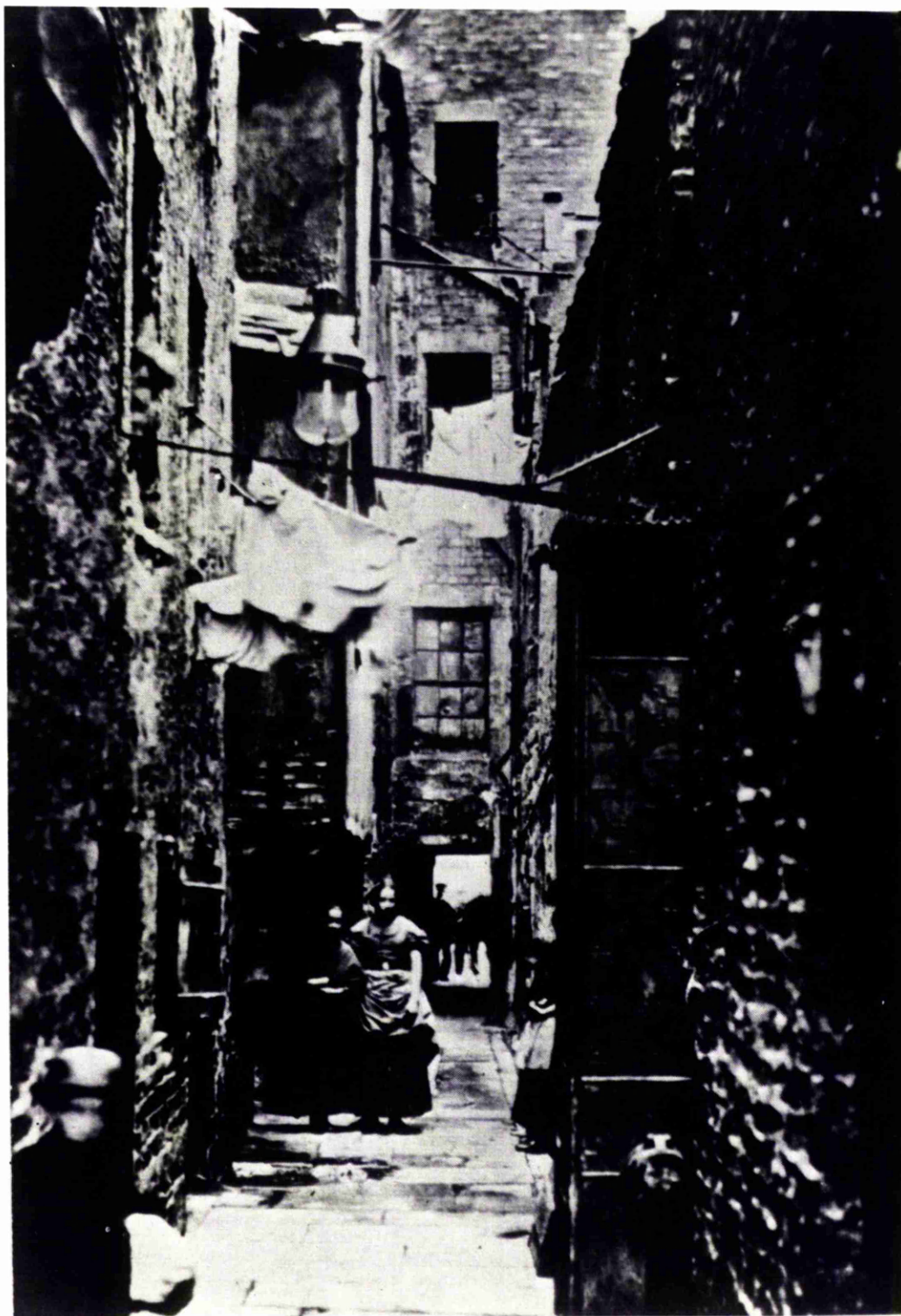
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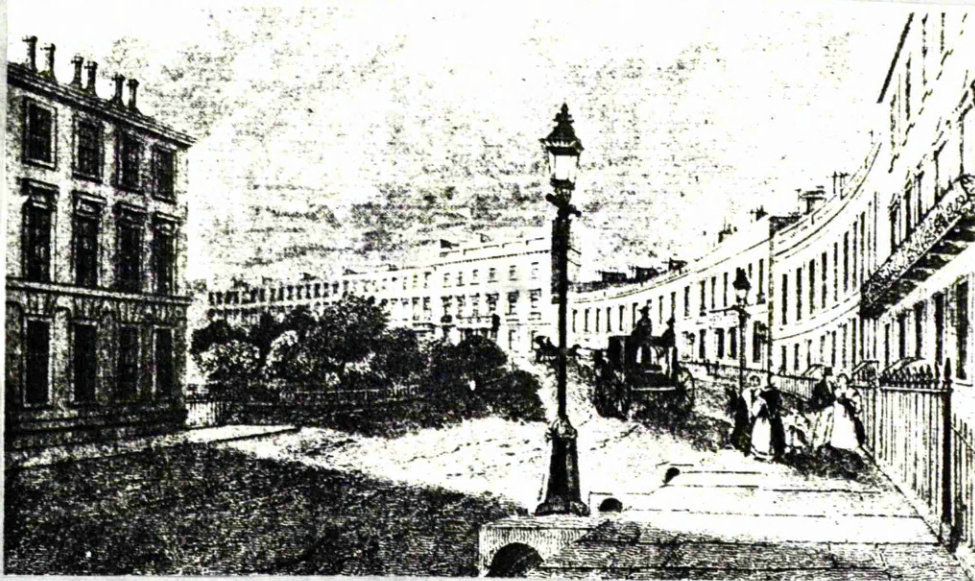
Glasgow, A City of Contrasts



A Glasgow Close in the 1850s



Glasgow. A City of Contrasts



Woodside Crescent in the 1840s

the strongest ties of human nature...." (36) Industrialisation and the advent of the factory system changed the relationship between 'master' and 'servant' who "today labours for one master, tomorrow for a second, then for a third, and a fourth, until all ties between employers and employed are frittered down to the consideration of what immediate gain each can derive from the other....." (37)

Owen was by no means alone in lamenting the passing of the pre-industrial and rural characteristic of community in the new urban environment. Although factories were not the sole employers of labour, as many people continued to work at home or in the older craft workshop, as we have seen the production of cotton in factories alone employed a large part of the workforce. In the factories the traditional close paternal relationship between employer and proletarian was replaced by a less caring and more distant association with often the only link between these two groups being a cash nexus. Hence the growing separation between management and workers evident in housing was also apparent in the work place.

Disraeli's concept of two nations was, however, too simplistic a picture for Glasgow since there were many, skilled workers in particular, who were neither rich nor poor. Although they lived in the industrial areas of the city their living conditions were relatively good vis-à-vis the Sally O'Haras of Glasgow. Differences also appeared in the working environment of skilled and unskilled workers. Many artisans worked in the traditional small industrial unit where hours were shorter and the surroundings less detrimental to health than in the new factories. Factory employees, it was claimed, "compare their conditions with that of the small class, comparatively speaking, of labouring artisans...who, they say work only from six to six...but what do they think of the



numerous classes of operatives...who work hard from twelve to fifteen hours a day to earn a bare subsistence...." (38)

Many Victorian consciences were shocked by the exploitation of child labour in factories where children of nine years old worked a 12 hour day from Monday to Friday and 9 hours on Saturday. Moreover, the environment in which they worked often contributed to serious illness and near fatal accidents. The temperature in Henry Houldsworth's cotton factory ranged between 64 and 74 degrees and the children were described as being "thinly dressed". A twelve hour day was commonplace yet the same employer could claim that he had "never heard of the children being fatigued with their work". John MacDonald, the manager of a power loom weaving factory in William Street, said that the smell in the web dressing room was "disagreeable to strangers, and the room's temperature was estimated at over 80 degrees. William King, a boy of 16 who had worked in this room, stated that his "feet swelled up sometimes, owing to the heat of the room...." (39) King's situation could be multiplied by the many thousands who worked in factories while the injuries and loss of health sustained through such labour were horrific. Sir David Barry was the medical member of the 1833 Commission into the Employment of Children in Factories and he examined several people who had worked in cotton factories in Glasgow. The following is his description of one George Miller, a power loom dresser, aged thirty two;

"At dressing five years; heat of working rooms from 70° to 90°. General debility, loss of appetite, and exhaustion, particularly in the morning; slight herpetic eruption in hands and legs; loss of appetite; flesh falling away." (40)

Bearing in mind these injuries and the hours worked by children, it is hard to disagree with one historian who has stated that "...the



exploitation of little children, on this scale and with this intensity, was one of the most shameful events in our history". (41)

But perhaps the greatest division between artisan and labourer was one of attitudes towards life. For the former this was centred around his desire for respectability and jealous defence of his status. These showed through in the forming of Trades Unions with their dual purpose of providing the benefits of a Friendly Society, including the guarantee of a 'decent' funeral rather than the pauper's grave, and protecting the members against the encroachments of employers and unskilled workers into their trade. The weavers were a living example of the vulnerability of skilled workers to these threats, a situation highlighted by a strike in the weaving industry in 1787 claimed by Glasgow District Trades' Council as the first recorded industrial strike in Glasgow. (42)

The strike was centred in Calton with the renowned Calton weavers playing the leading role. Their reputation was largely based on their antinomian and intemperate behaviour illustrated in the following contemporary folk song recently popularised by the Corries Folk group:

The Calton Weaver

I am a weaver, a Calton weaver,  
And I'm a rash, and a rovin' blade;  
And I've got money in my pocket,  
And I'll go and try the rovin' trade.

As I gaed down through Glasgow city,  
Nancy whisky I chanced to smell,  
I gaed in and sat down beside her,  
For it's seven lang years since I loved her well.

The more I kissed her the more I loved her,  
The more I kissed her the more she smiled;  
Till Nancy whisky, O Nancy whisky,  
Till Nancy whisky had me beguiled.

'Twas very early the next morning,  
Finding myself in a strange bed,  
I tried to rise but was not able,  
For Nancy's charms they held my head.

I called the landlady into the parlour,  
And asked her what was to pay;  
Thirty shillings is the reckoning,  
So pay me quick and go away.

It's I pulled out a purse with money,  
And to her the reckoning I paid down;  
I paid to her thirty shillings,  
And a' that remained was a single crown.

As I gaed down through Glasgow city,  
Nancy whisky I chanced to smell;  
I gaed in and drank four and sixpence,  
And a' that was left was a crooked scale.

Do I regard one single sixpence,  
Or will I lay it up in store?  
I'll go back and hae another gill  
It will help me home to work for more.

Then I'll go back to my old master,  
So merrily I'll make the shuttle fly,  
For I'll mak' mair at the Calton weaving,  
Then ever I did in a rovin' way.

So come all ye weavers, ye Calton weavers,  
Come, all ye weavers, where'er ye be;  
Beware o' whisky, Nancy Whisky,  
She'll ruin you as she's ruined me. (43)

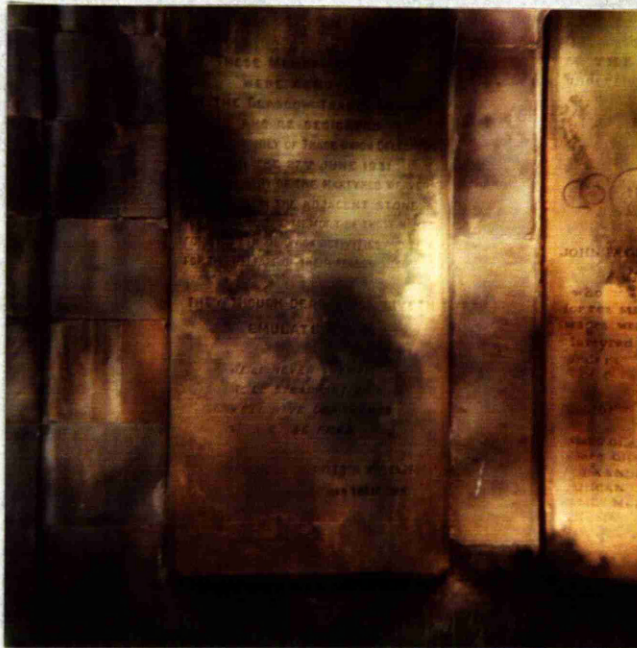
The background to the strike was a decision by the employers to reduce payments for the weaving of muslin. In response the weavers, at a meeting on Glasgow Green in June, declared that no work would be done for the reduced wage. Blacklegs were, however, prepared to work, a willingness that brought them into violent confrontation with the strikers. The dispute and associated violence, including some outbreaks of machine breaking, continued throughout July and August but in

September events reached a climax. On the third of the month a large crowd of weavers assembled at the east end of the Gallowgate but they were met by the Lord Provost and magistrates who had come to disperse them. The authorities were greeted by a fusillade of stones and beat a hasty retreat. After this temporary victory the weavers decided to march to the Cathedral but unknown to them the magistrates had called in the 39th Regiment of Foot to restore law and order. The groups clashed at the corner of Barrack and Hunter Street with the result that three weavers were shot dead and three others mortally wounded. Two of those who died were buried in lair 83 in Calton cemetery.

Following these shootings the strike leaders, James Granger and Henry McIndoe were arrested but only Granger was sent for trial charged under common law with rioting and forming illegal combinations. He was acquitted of the latter charge but was found guilty on the former for which he was sentenced to be whipped through the streets of Glasgow by the chief executioner and then banished from Scotland for seven years.

The graves of his fellow strikers buried in Calton cemetery remained unclaimed until 1825 when two Calton weavers, James McLeish and John Jaffray organised a fund for a memorial in the form of a headstone over the grave. Several other Calton weavers were buried in the same lair including James Granger who returned to Glasgow after his period of exile to live on to the age of seventy five. The story is not yet finished as in 1931 the grave was rededicated by Glasgow District Trades Council and renovated in 1957. The cemetery and grave in Green Street can be visited today although vandalism has led to the locking of the gates. To gain access a high wall and some barbed wire have to be carefully negotiated.





The grave of the Calton weavers who were shot on the  
2nd of September 1787. The text of the inscriptions  
on the stones is given on the next page.

These Stones Were Erected Here By The Glasgow District  
Trades Council In The Year 1957.

These memorial stones were  
renovated by the Glasgow  
District Trades Council and  
re-dedicated by an Assembly  
of Trade Union Delegates  
on the 27 June 1931 To the  
Memory of the Martyred  
Weavers named on the  
Adjacent Stone and also  
to the Memory of those named  
for their Trade Union  
activities and zeal for the  
welfare of their fellow  
workers.

THEY THOUGH DEAD STILL  
LIVETH EMULATE THEM.

WE'LL NEVER SWEERVE  
WE'LL STEADFAST BE  
WE'LL HAVE OUR RIGHTS  
WE WILL BE FREE.

This is  
the Property of the weaving Body  
under the charge of the five  
districts of Calton

Erected by them

To  
the Memory  
of

John Page, Alexander Miller

And

James Ainsley

who at a meeting of that body for  
resisting a reduction of their  
wages were upon the 2 September  
1787 Martyred by the Military  
under orders from the Civic  
Authorities of Glasgow firing  
upon the multitude.

Also to the Memory of their  
brethern in trade viz

James Granger

James Gray

Alexander Meggat

Duncan Cherry

James Morton

Thomas Miller

John Jaffray

Of these the... distinguished for  
their zeal in behalf of their trade.



This defeat of the handloom weavers at the hands of the authorities, employers and other workers was the first step in the rapid decline of their economic status. It was also one of many outbreaks of violence in Glasgow, especially in the east end, in the early nineteenth century. The best known is the Bread Riot of 1848 which will be discussed below. Of less renown are the disturbances of 1811 and 1812.

These were not confined to Glasgow as they coincided with nationwide unrest including the most serious outbreaks of Luddism to date in England, notably around Nottingham. Charlotte Bronte's book Shirley gives one part of the English background while for Glasgow Peter MacKenzie narrated a contemporary account of events.

Peter MacKenzie was perhaps one of the most famous personalities in nineteenth century Glasgow. He was a lawyer by profession but his reputation was largely based on his sympathy with those wishing reforms in the political system. He became the editor of the Reformers' Gazette, a newspaper which was not afraid of vociferously publicising any failings of both Church and State. He also wrote four volumes of reminiscences of Glasgow which relate, at times very amusingly, both major and minor events in Glasgow. These ranged from the trial of Thomas Muir, a Glasgow advocate, who was sentenced to fourteen years exile at Botany Bay for his part in the Scottish Conventions of the 1780s, to a legal case involving two Glasgow citizens, Mr. Shanks and Mr. Pinkerton residents of St. Andrew's Square, who both claimed the ownership of a canary. The latter case was settled out of court when "some villanous cat or other...smuggled itself into Mr. Pinkerton's house, and killed...poor old dicky without compunction". (44) When

Peter MacKenzie



This sketch appeared in the Bailie on 10/6/1874

Peter MacKenzie's Reminiscences of Glasgow are used in conjunction with newspaper reports, it is possible to build up a fairly accurate picture of events in the late 1810s.

Once again the weavers played an active role in the agitation. The high cost of bread combined with falling wages reduced the weavers to a state of impoverishment. Peter MacKenzie described their condition in the following terms; "starvation, lean and gaunt, was visibly depicted on the countenances of almost the whole of those suffering Glasgow weavers in the year 1812". (45)

Although these hardships were not confined to their area it was the Calton weavers who were most active during the unrest, and one Calton weaver, Andrew McKinlay, was put on trial for treason. To protect their trade from dilution and wage cutting, combinations were formed and in 1812 a strike was called. In an attempt to break the power of these combinations the authorities employed spies one of whom, Alexander Richmond himself a weaver by trade, managed to obtain a copy of what later became known as the 'Treasonable Oath'. It ran as follows:

"In the awful presence of God, I Andrew McKinlay, do solemnly swear, that I will persevere in my endeavouring to form a Brotherhood of affection amongst Britons of every description, who are considered worthy of confidence: and that I will persevere in my endeavours to obtain for all the people of Great Britain and Ireland, not disqualified by crimes of insanity, the elective franchise at the age of twenty one, with free and equal representation, and annual Parliaments: and that I will support the same to the utmost of my power, either by moral or physical strength, or force, as the case may require. And I do farther swear that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall induce me to inform on, or give evidence against any members collectively or individually, for any act or expression, done or made, in or out, in this or similar societies, under the punishment of Death to be inflicted on me, by any member or members of such societies. So help me God, and keep me steadfast." (46)

These oaths were used widely by illegal combinations and political societies in an attempt to secure the solidarity and loyalty of their members. In the context of the war against France, national unrest and a strike in Glasgow the thought of secret oaths, which appeared to threaten the political structure of the country, being administered had a dramatic effect on the Town Council. "This alleged oath", wrote Peter MacKenzie, "embodied on that paper, petrified the whole of them and drove reflecting judgement almost completely out of their heads at the time". (47) It was dispatched to Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, and, according to MacKenzie, it was enough to "justify the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act". (48)

This may have been an exaggerated claim for the impact of the oath on the Government but during his speech on the debate over the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act the Lord Advocate said;

"That oath was administered to many hundreds of individuals in the city of Glasgow and its neighbourhood....Believing therefore that the conspiracy was widely extended in Scotland, and not confined to Glasgow, he never delivered a more conscientious opinion than that the passing of the present Bill was necessary to prevent the effusion of the blood of the citizens of this country. The whole mass of the population was so contaminated, that if a riot were to commence, it would be impossible to see what might be its termination." (49)

In Glasgow the authorities decided that action should be taken against the strikers and political societies and the leaders of both were arrested. They included Andrew McKinlay who was held in an Edinburgh prison since Glasgow jails were not considered secure enough from possible attacks. He was charged with treason and his trial gives a fascinating insight into the legal standards of the day. The main prosecution witness was one John Campbell and in order



to persuade him to give evidence the Solicitor General and the Depute Advocate offered him bribes including the promise of money and a free passage to the Continent after the trial. When this was made public during the trial the prosecution's case collapsed. "What infamy! What diabolical villany!" was how Peter MacKenzie described the Crown's tactics. Nevertheless, without leadership the weavers' strike collapsed and once again they had failed to halt the decline in their economic status, and their descent into poverty continued inexorably.

Other workers, such as the cotton spinners, were now successful in maintaining their status but often only at the cost of others. The spinners' fierce defence of their status brought them into conflict with employers and workers alike who, in the latter case, wanted entry into the lucrative craft and were prepared to work when the spinners were on strike. For one blackleg, as strike breakers were called, his activities during the 1824 spinners' strike had terrible consequences. In his evidence to the 1824 Select Committee on the Combination Laws, James Corkindale, a surgeon at the Royal Infirmary, stated that one "Charles Cairney, a cotton spinner, came under my care.... He had... got a large quantity of sulphuric acid dashed in his face, as he thought by a fellow workman. The acid was spread over the whole right half of his head from the nose to the nape of the neck. The effect produced was a deep sloughing, or mortification, by which the half of his face, and the half of the scalp, became an ulcerated surface, thick patches of mortified parts falling off in succession. The right eye was completely destroyed, and the right ear one day dropped off with the dressings, an entire putrid mass". (50)



Whatever the cost, the safeguarding of their status provided the wherewithal for the skilled workers' previously noted better food and housing when compared with the urban poor. Higher wages per se did not lead to improved living conditions since they also reflected an attitude of mind. This revolved around many artisans' desire for respectability and emulation of middle class values. This desire was reflected in the home and equally so in education. Education was highly valued by itself, but it also afforded the chance of advancement in job and social status. The variety of educational institutions either set up by or attended by artisans from schools and Mechanics' Institutes up to Glasgow University were manifestations of this wish to 'get on'. (51) Even the Glasgow Chartists saw the role of Chartism as a rather didactic one; "We may not be producing great effects on the Government, but we are forming a character for the people which they have never before possessed - making them intelligent by instruction, and moral by inculcating the principles of total abstinence". (52) Many Chartists and other labour leaders recognised that for any advancement to be made towards a new form of society through organised political activity a more sophisticated level of education and life style was needed than that which existed in many working class areas of Glasgow. In short, the working class had to be made more 'respectable'. Others saw the aim of respectability being satisfied within current social, political and economic hierarchies and although the heroic tale of rags to riches was an oversimplification it was not a myth since, as we shall see when studying the office-bearers in several churches, it was possible for someone to rise from being an employee to the status of employer.

The improved circumstances of the artisan contributed towards a lively and colourful social life which is often neglected as narrators

paint a bleak and depressing picture. One example of the often effervescent leisure activities was the Penny Wedding. It was a common sight in the east end where one could see "forty couples walking from the colliers' houses to Monteith Row to get the knot tied, the women dressed in white muslin and the men in blue or wine coloured coats with brass buttons, and tall hats.... After the marriage they marched back the same way, but a halt was made at Barrowfield Toll, and two men were selected to run the broose to Lister's public house, and by the time the company arrived there the two men were waiting with a bottle of whisky each, and the company drank to the health of the new married couple". (53)

But beneath the skilled workers were those who had neither the means nor the desire for respectability, the porters, carters and labourers who were badly housed, ill educated, casually employed, poorly paid and many demoralised by the environment. In times of economic depression, when both jobs and food were scarce, the pressures increased to an intolerable degree and they boiled over into violence. This is what happened in 1848.

1848 was a momentous year in European history with revolutions and unrest in many countries. Glasgow did not escape untouched. The late 1840s saw a period of economic depression in Glasgow and by February 1848 it was calculated that there were between 13,000 and 15,000 people unemployed. (54) Bread was scarce and even where it could be obtained the price was high. Cholera raged through the city and by March 1849 it had claimed approximately 3,800 victims. (55) With passions inflamed by Chartism and whisky a meeting was held at Glasgow Green to press the Corporation into providing more relief but the proceedings quickly turned into a riot. After tearing up the railings

along Monteith Row for weapons some of the crowd rushed along Great Hamilton Street towards Bridgeton while others headed along the Gallowgate in the direction of the Saltmarket. Shops along the route were looted but resistance proved futile as one Mrs. Musgrove soon discovered. Her husband's gun and ironmakers shop at 46 Trongate was attacked and "Mrs. Musgrove offered some resistance to the raiders, but she was promptly bundled into the street through the shop window". (56)

The riot was eventually suppressed although not before the "destruction of a large amount of valuable property from shops, and with great danger and alarm to the peaceably disposed classes of society". (57) As in the 1787 weavers' strike some Calton residents figured prominently in the riots. Of the 64 people arrested, 8 came from the Gorbals, 7 from the High Street, 7 from Calton, 10 from the Gallowgate and Saltmarket, while the remainder were from a variety of other areas. Thirty six of the 64 were employed, 19 were labourers, 10 were weavers, 5 were shoemakers and 2 were employed as cotton spinners. (58) The majority were, therefore, unskilled workers and once again the weavers had been forced into direct action to remedy their grievances.

The riots of 1848 were appropriately called the Bread Riots since the search for bread, which inevitably led to more widespread looting, appears to have been the main aim rather than any ulterior political objectives. The disturbances were not without an amusing side. One youth who had stolen a packet of razors from Musgrove's shop "afterwards became conscience stricken" and returned them. This act was embodied in rhyme:

"Kind men or sir I'll no deny't  
I took your razors at the riot,  
But noo since things hiv a' turned quiet,  
At lang an' last,  
Your articles to you I've hied  
Wi' muckle haste." (59)

Although some weavers resorted to violence in reaction to their declining status others attempted remedies through constitutional means. Parliament was petitioned to regulate some aspects of their trade and especially to fix a minimum price for labour. As a result Select Committees and Royal Commissions were set up which gave weavers an opportunity to state their arguments. This was done in a highly articulate and intelligent manner showing that working people were not always the ignorant boors they were often painted as being. Furthermore, Hugh MacKenzie, a Glasgow handloom weaver, in his evidence showed that employers' and employees' interests were increasingly at variance to one another. Although neither side denied the desirability of increased production, Mackenzie in fact claimed that abundant production was "a blessing to society", disagreements occurred over the distribution of the cake. Employers wanted to get labour at as low a rate as they possibly could, but labour wanted as high a rate of wages as possible. Modern manufacturing techniques concentrated production into smaller units but the weavers wanted a more equitable distribution of work, or property as Mackenzie called it, among the workforce:

"I am clearly of the opinion that the country is at present richer in property than it ever was, that, provided the property were diffused in such a manner as that everyone would get enough, there are now more means for all to live than at any former period, and that all the people, taken collectively have as good means just now as ever they possessed of being made comfortable and happy." (60)

No matter how well thought out were MacKenzie's ideas, they were not implemented and the weavers' slide into poverty continued.

The divisions within the urban work force were compounded by ethnic and religious differences resulting from Irish and Highland immigration. Perhaps the greatest economic and social consequence of Glasgow's industrialisation was this movement of people into the city. Pushed by the harshness of life in Ireland and the Highlands, pulled by the attraction of employment in Glasgow the Irish and Highlanders made their way to the city in the new steam ships and railways. By 1841 it was estimated that there were 44,345 native born Irish people living in Glasgow, a statistic which did not take into account their offspring who considered themselves to be just as Irish. (61)

The Irish, however, only multiplied the strains on housing, public health, education, poor relief and employment in the city. It was in the lanes and the wynds where their presence was felt most since they added to the problem of overcrowding with the resultant detrimental effect on the health of both mind and body. When accommodation in the tenements ran out, the Irish moved into low class lodging houses which became notorious for their deprived and uncivilised conditions. Each apartment in these lodging houses usually contained three beds with the average size of the room being ten feet wide, twelve feet long, and seven feet high. On visiting several houses John Smith, the editor of the Glasgow Examiner, found that "in some of them a number of wretched girls, several of them not fifteen years of age, were in the kitchen waiting for other comers, and in others of them from ten to twenty men and women were all promiscuously congregated in the kitchen... while the 'landlady' was getting the bedrooms ready - and



what rooms! The beds being unequal to accommodate the lodgers, something in the shape of a bed, but which was in reality a little straw enclosed in dirty clouts laid on the floor, with a miserable blanket or two thrown over them, composed the beds of not a few. It is needless to add that the houses, generally speaking, were very ill kept, and the beds still worse. The smell was most sickening, and the air almost deadly to those of ordinary lungs....The stairs to all appearances had not been cleaned since the Flood... and the poor lodgers, it is needless to add, were generally in a state of the most abominable intoxication". (62)

It was not only in housing where overcrowding was accentuated but prisons were put under a similar strain. Hawkie, one of Glasgow's most famous characters, summed up the effects of the Irishman's renowned unlawful behaviour when he commented; "Thae Irishers, we canna' get the use o' oor ain jyles fur them". The Irish aroused much hostility from more law abiding Glaswegians who felt that both their wages and religion were under threat, while the Roman Catholic Church was faced with the immense problem of how to cope with a vastly increased flock. As the century progressed, religious divisions between 'Proddies' and 'Fenians' became increasingly institutionalised with the forming of Orange Lodges and at times the bitter and violent rivalry between Celtic and Rangers. But, however much the Irish placed additional burdens on the city, they provided a reserve of cheap labour, their role in railway construction being perhaps the best known, proving vital for economic advancement.

The interrelated developments in overseas trade, the expansion of land and sea transport, the concentration of textile production in the city and the growth of heavy industries made Glasgow into one of the

foremost industrial cities in the world. For some increased prosperity was the result but for many others their existence was finely balanced between life and death. The gap between rich and poor, epitomised in housing, grew wider while the social services, notably education and poor relief could no longer cope with the rapidly changing surroundings. In industrial relations conflicts grew between and within groups of employers and workers as each struggled to maintain and improve their status. This continuous friction often exploded into violence.

Individuals had to adapt and change in the wake of the new environment and failure to bend with the wind often had tragic consequences. The same was true for the old established institutions which were no longer sacrosanct because they existed, and many emerged in a radically new form at the end of the century. The church was no exception and it was faced with an immense problem of how to redirect its resources from its strongholds in the rural areas to the new urban centres. We must now see, through the eyes of one man, how the National Church met the demands of a new age.

Notes

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4. T.C.F. Brochie, The History of Govan. (Govan, 1905), p. 100.
5. Ibid., p. 94.
6. 1845 New Statistical Account for Scotland. op. cit., p. 129.
7. James Cleland, Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow. (Glasgow, 1832), p. 231. See also appendix table 1, p.274-276 for a detailed breakdown of the occupations in which the population of Glasgow was engaged in 1831.
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9. T. M. Devine, The Tobacco Lords. (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 40 and 42.
10. T. C. Smout, "Scottish Landowners and Economic Growth, 1650-1850", Scottish Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 2. 1964.
11. 1836 Prospectus of the Glasgow, Paisley, Kilmarnock and Ayr Railway Company quoted in Henry Hamilton, The Industrial Revolution in Scotland. (Oxford, 1932), p. 249.
12. Scottish Guardian, 10/11/1846.
13. Quoted in Devine, op. cit., p. 34.

14. Ibid., chapter 3 for a more detailed analysis of tobacco merchants' investment in industry.
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25. Montgomery, op. cit., p. 75.
26. Ibid., and the Post Office Directory for 1830 and 1831.
27. J. Smith, Recollections of James Turner of Thrushgrove. (Glasgow, 1858), p. 42.
28. Scots Times, 6/3/1830.
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31. Royal Commission into the Employment of Children in Factories, 1833, Vol. 1, xxi, p. 42.

32. Ibid., p. 41.
33. John Smith, The Grievances of the Working Classes and the Pauperism and Crime of Glasgow With Their Causes. Extent and Remedy. (Glasgow, 1846), p. 16-17.
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37. Ibid., p. 8.
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39. Report of the Central Board Appointed to Collect Information on the Employment of Children in Factories, 1833, xx, p. 72.
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44. Peter MacKenzie, Reminiscences of Glasgow. 4 Vols. (Glasgow, 1865), Vol. 2, p. 629.
45. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 107.
46. Ibid., p. 114.
47. Ibid., p. 114-115.
48. Ibid., p. 115.
49. Hansard, xxxv, p. 729.
50. Report on the Select Committee on Combination Laws, 1824, Vol. iv, p. 331-332.



51. For a breakdown of the social status of students at Glasgow University see appendix table 2, p. 277.
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53. William Guthrie, "Recollections of Bridgeton", Paper delivered to the Old Glasgow Club, 20/11/1905 in Transactions of the Old Glasgow Club, Vol. 1, p. 79-86.
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55. Thomas Ferguson, The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare. (London, 1948), p. 128.
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## Chapter 2

### Thomas Chalmers

"A Player often changes; now he acts a monarch, tomorrow a beggar; now a soldier, next a tailor." (Donald Lupton)

"Read no history; nothing but biography, for that is life without theory." (Disraeli)

Although Disraeli's narrow view of history is now out of vogue there is one man whom it is difficult to ignore in any church history of nineteenth century Glasgow. This man is Thomas Chalmers.

Chalmers was a man who like an actor played many roles, but with more permanence and less affectation than this analogy implies. His 'parts' included professor and ecclesiastical statesman, theologian and astronomer, preacher and economist. He was also a man of many contrasts; captivating orator, but a dull and repetitive writer, defender of the establishment, yet leader of a movement which almost destroyed a pillar of the establishment, brought up in a rural area of the East of Scotland, yet partly remembered for his work in urban Glasgow. He was a person with such a complex character that it is almost impossible to pin one label on him which would adequately cover all the facets of his personality. This has perhaps led to the variety of appreciations and interpretations of him, both from his contemporaries and later commentators. The following are a few examples of these many assessments.

William Hanna, his biographer, quoted one example of Chalmers' attraction as a preacher. On preaching at the Tron one Sunday evening the church was so full that the doors had to be locked to keep out those who could not be accommodated inside. Their reaction was to break down the doors of the church to gain admittance. If many recognised his

talents as an orator, then others were more sceptical about the content of his speeches and writings. Archibald Alison commented that Chalmers "had no great variety in his ideas...." (1) Later commentators have also been far from unanimous in their appraisals of Chalmers. Rosalind Mitchison has written that "one can see little validity in Chalmers' social thought". (2) Whether his social thought was valid or otherwise Stewart Mechie has claimed: "the inspiration of Chalmers continued to be potent in the social sphere until long past the middle of the nineteenth century". (3) This statement was echoed by Ashton and Young who wrote that "the one centre of thought and influence that did stand out in the seven decades before the founding of the C.O.S. was that of Thomas Chalmers, whose ideas on poverty and visiting had an effect far beyond the confines of Glasgow". (4) The above noted contrast between style and content was also evident in his Astronomical Discourses described by David Cairns as "confident in their splendid and flamboyant oratory and occasionally almost toppling over into the absurd". (5)

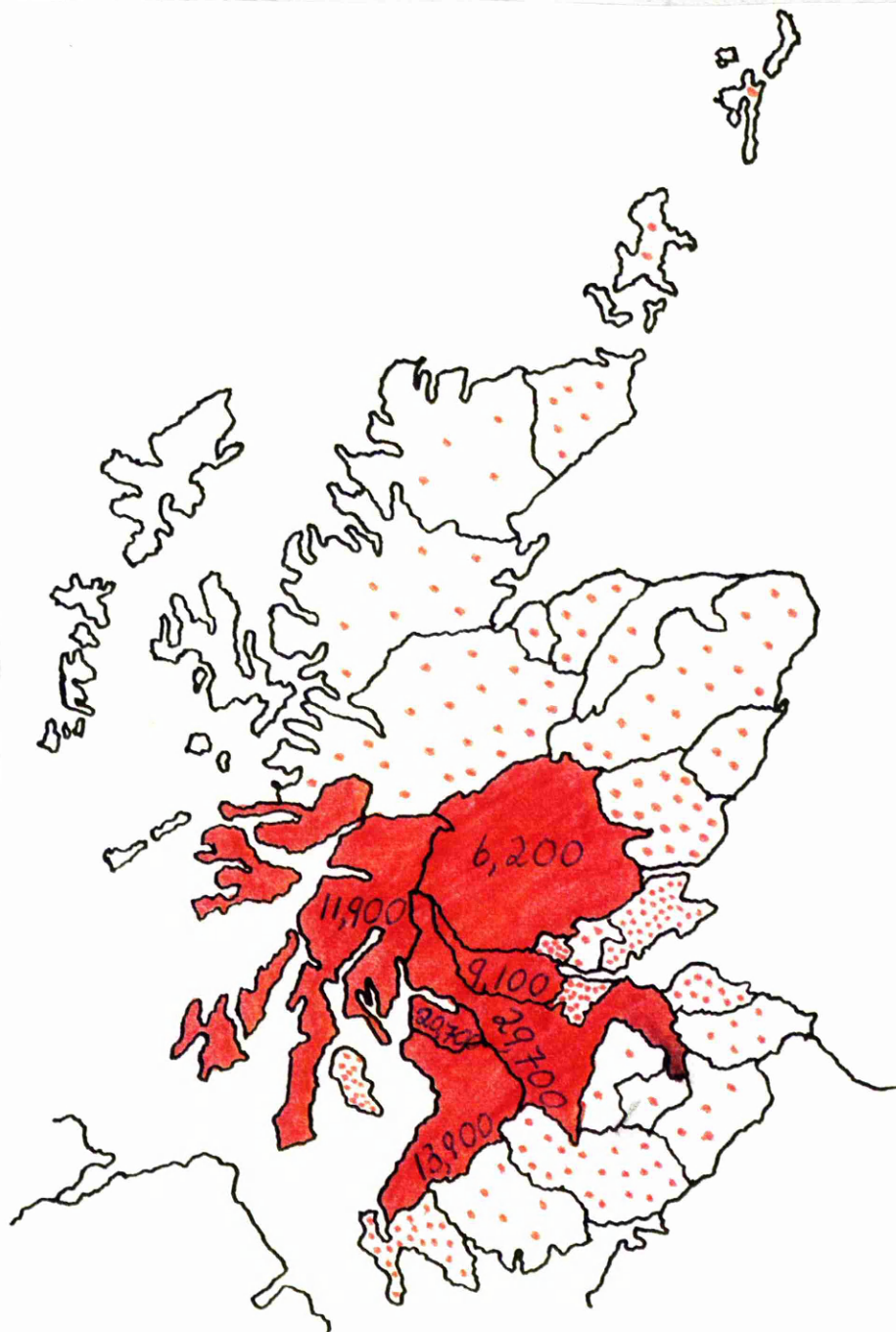
For all these varying estimations, few have challenged Chalmers' influence on the period. His impact was due in part to his leading position in the Established Church and also because he addressed himself to the dominant issues of his day. Chalmers expressed the concerns of many, notably within the middle class, about the condition of society, while also offering a solution to the new problems facing a radically transformed Scotland. He is a classic example of the fact that men often become famous, not because they are ahead of their time, but because they capture the mood of the moment. This Chalmers did and he epitomised the church's reaction to the changes resulting from the industrial revolution. It is these two factors which help to explain his importance.

But what were the dominant issues of the day? To answer both this question and understand Chalmers' solution to society's ills we must go back to his early days.

He was born on Friday the 17th of March 1780 in Anstruther and his family had a long connection with the county of Fife. In 1701 his great grandfather, James Chalmers, was ordained as the minister of Elie Parish. On James Chalmers' death his son, John Chalmers, became the parish minister but he was later translated to Kilconquhar Parish. His second son, James, did not enter the ministry but became a dyer, ship owner and general merchant in Anstruther. On his death his son, John, took over the business. In 1771 John Chalmers married Elizabeth Hall, the daughter of a wine merchant in Crail. Thomas Chalmers was their sixth child and fourth son.

Much of his subsequent thought was influenced by his rural, East of Scotland upbringing. 1780, however, was a year which saw Scotland, not at a milestone, but at a crossroads in her history. The industrial revolution that was to transform Scotland from a predominantly rural to a predominantly industrial country was beginning to 'take off'. Three aspects of this change were of primary concern to Chalmers.

The first of these was the rise and redistribution of population. Closely allied to this was an increase in pauperism which reached its peak during periods of economic depression. In 1755 Dr. Alexander Webster, minister of the Tron Kirk in Edinburgh, calculated the population at marginally over 1.25 million. By 1811 it had increased to around 2 million and in 1840 it stood at 2.6 million. Associated with this increase went a startling redistribution of population away from the rural areas to the urban regions largely concentrated in the Central Belt. Whereas in 1755 this area comprised 37% of the total population, by 1821



Migration into Glasgow up to 1851

(Each red dot represents 100 migrants)

Source, D. F. MacDonald, Scotland's Shifting Population  
1770-1850 (1937), p. 158.



it had increased its share to 47%. The map gives some indication of the scale of the movement of population into Glasgow up to 1851.

The rapid development of industries in, for example, textiles and iron, further solidified this dramatic shift in the social and economic balance away from the land to the towns. This had profound consequences for a church which was geared to a rural society.

Therefore, the size and distribution of population had dramatically changed but the structure of society was also altered with the appearance of new hierarchies. As we saw in the opening chapter in the new towns, especially Glasgow, divisions evolved between and within classes. There were fewer contacts between employee and employer in the factory than in the old paternally run workshops. Within each class conflicts grew between different trades or competing commercial interests. The sense of community spirit attributed to rural Scotland was replaced by a less caring and more ruthless society where fortunes were often won and lost at the expense of others.

Along with class divisions went antagonisms. The more skilled workers turned away from the old lines of communication forming instead their own organisations to protect their interests. As already noted this brought them into conflict with others, employers and workers, whose interests were opposed to theirs. Increasing social unrest which at times manifested itself in violence was often the result. Chalmers was quick to realise this growing friction and separation between the classes in the new towns where "the poor and the wealthy stand more disjoined from each other. It is true they often meet, but they meet more often on an arena of contest than on a field where the patronage and custom of one party are met by the gratitude and goodwill of the other...." (6)

Chalmers addressed himself to these major problems of the age, overpopulation, the growth of pauperism, fears of political revolution and the growing gulf between rich and poor. His solutions, as implemented at St. John's, were the product of many factors of which three stand out. Firstly was the belief that all Christians had a duty to spread the Gospel, secondly there was his rural background and finally there was his view of the new urban areas. He aimed to transplant the old communal values of Scotland into the new manufacturing districts. This forms a strange contrast of solving new problems with old solutions. In this Chalmers was not alone. William Cobbett, Benjamin Disraeli, Robert Owen and many others were constantly looking over their shoulders in an attempt to re-emphasise some of the old values which had been lost in urban Britain.

That, therefore, is the general background within which Chalmers' work in Glasgow must be studied. This study will concentrate upon three of the above mentioned aspects of his policy; the fear of social unrest, growing class antagonisms and the solution to these problems.

As we have seen, Chalmers was born and bred in the East of Scotland. In common with many other inhabitants of this area, he assimilated an East Coast disdain for the West of Scotland. His first impressions of Glasgow did little to enamour him to the West. Eight days after his induction to the Tron Church in July 1815 he wrote to a friend: "I can give you no satisfaction whatever as my liking or not liking Glasgow. Were I to judge it by my present feelings I would say I dislike it most violently...." (7) Three months later, however, he wrote to the same friend: "This, Sir, is a wonderful place...." (8) It is contrasts such as these that make him so difficult to understand. Whatever his feelings towards Glasgow his social policy was shaped by his view of life, particularly working class life therein.

In the Tron and St. John areas of Glasgow he was near one of most militant, and in terms of urban amenities, one of the most deprived areas of Glasgow, the Calton. Life there shocked his standards of decency and order. In post war Glasgow, notably the east end, he saw radicalism, demoralisation and poverty resulting from man's dereliction of his inner self. It was a belief in this relationship between the moral and material well-being of both the individual and society which was central to his policy. He wrote that "so long as the people remain either depraved or unenlightened, the country will never attain a healthful condition". (9) Moral uplift was to be the cure for many of society's ills.

One of his first acts as the new minister of the Tron was to visit his parishioners. He was not impressed. In a letter to Mr. Edie in February 1816 he wrote that "...a very deep and universal ignorance on the high matters of faith and eternity obtains over the whole of the mighty population". (10) This separation of man from God had profound consequences for the individual and society: "We do not need laboriously to search after the evidence of their being without loyalty to God, seeing that we have the overt acts of their disloyalty so palpably before our eyes. The dishonesty, or the malice, or the licentiousness, or the profanation - these are so many visible ensigns of the rebellion against that monarch whose law they so directly and so daringly violate". (11) In contrast with this the man with God would be "...guilty of no one transgression against the peace and order of society. He will be correct, regular, and completely inoffensive". (12)

The Radical War confirmed his worst fears. If he had wanted more evidence about the dangerous state of society then the events of 1819-1820 gave him just that.

The disturbances in Glasgow during 1819 and 1820 should not be viewed in isolation as in England there was general unrest with demands for political reform reaching their peak at the so called massacre of 'Peterloo' and the Cato Street conspiracy. In Glasgow economic depression and high unemployment provided the spark for the confrontation which was to follow. Demands for Parliamentary reform as a first step to wider social and economic reforms reached a new intensity but they fell on deaf ears in Glasgow and elsewhere. Sandy Rodger, a satirical poet, summed up the attitude of the Glasgow authorities to such demands in the following verses:

"Vile sooty rabble, what d'ye mean  
By raising a' this Dreadfu' din?  
Do ye no ken what horrid sin  
Ye are committing  
By hauding up your shafts sae thin  
For sic a meeting?

Vile Black-nebs! Doomed through life to drudg  
And hawk among your native sludge,  
Wha is't gives you the right to judge  
O'siccon matters,  
That ye maun grumble, grunt an' grudge  
At us your betters.

Base Rads! Whose ignorance surpasses  
The dull stupidity of asses,  
Think ye the privileged classes  
Care aught about ye?  
If only mair ye daur to fash us  
By George, we'll shoot ye!

We've walth o' sodgers in the town  
To keep sic ragamuffins down,  
And gin ye duma settle down,  
By a' that's good  
We'll gar the common sewers rin  
Wi' your base bluid." (13)

Such sentiments did little to calm the situation and, fed by spies and agents provocateurs, including the infamous Alexander Richmond, unrest steadily increased. In February 1820, the Glasgow Herald commented that "in this district (Glasgow), according to all accounts, the preparations for violence have lately been carried on with increased vigour, and an opinion very generally prevails that offensive weapons, of one description or another, are largely scattered through the country". (14) Then, on the first of April, the city was thrown into confusion and panic by a proclamation issued by the Committee of Organisation for Forming a Provisional Government. This 'Treasonable Address' as it was described, called for a general strike and rising on the fifth of April to obtain its demands and it was widely believed that French troops would land to help the insurrectionists. On the third of April the Glasgow Herald reported that "we are extremely sorry to state that at no time since the beginning of Radicalism has there been such a general apprehension of danger as within these last ten days in Glasgow and its neighbourhood". (15)

The city was placed under a curfew, troops were drafted in and the Regiment of Sharpshooters guarded public buildings. These included the Royal Bank where "ladies and gentlemen of the city, were actually seen sobbing and crying and wringing their hands and rushing to the Bank to take farewell, through the gape of its iron pillars, of its devoted inmates, ere they might be finally slaughtered". (16)

In retrospect the end of the affair was an anti-climax with the battle of Bonnymuir involving forty or fifty radicals and a party of yeomanry and hussars, and some unsuccessful attempts at an uprising in Bridgeton and Calton. Although the agitation ended on a low key, the leaders of the 'uprising', Andrew Hardie and John Baird, were executed.



We saw in the opening chapter that Calton was the centre for much unrest and both contemporary and later accounts assign to Calton a central role in the Radical War. "The rising of 1820 was much more serious, and many of the weavers of the Calton took part in it", wrote James MacFarlane, a Glasgow historian in 1921. (17) The Glasgow Herald for March 1820 carried the following story:

"Monday, William Stark, Robert Smith and John Primrose, weavers in Calton, were apprehended on a warrant from the magistrate, on a charge of having pike heads in their possession. In the shop of Robert Smith, a gun and pike handle, eight feet long, were found." (18)

In April the same newspaper reported that on the ill fated fifth of the month "the Radicals in Bridgeton and Calton attempted to effect a General Rising; their drum beat to arms, preceded by a flag, the front men carrying pistols". (19)

As has been noted, Calton bordered on Thomas Chalmers' parish of St. John's and in a series of letters to William Wilberforce Chalmers described the scenes of unrest and speculated as to the reasons for this situation. Radicalism, he believed, was an "aspect of infidelity and irreligion, the great majority of the men...having just as little of the profession of Christianity as they have of the substance of it". (20)

Correspondingly, the solution to the problem was that men should reform their habits by means of the Scriptures: "It would bless and beautify that coming period, when a generation humanised by letters and elevated by the light of Christianity, would, in virtue of the higher taste and a larger capacity than they now possessed, cease to grovel as they did at present among the sensualities of reckless dissipation". (21) Christianity was seen partly as a means to the end of an improvement in moral standards. This was to be imparted to the working class through education and evangelisation.

It would be wrong to see the desire to spread the Gospel solely as a reaction to current day problems. An equally, if not more important motive force was the belief that it was every Christian's duty to spread the word of salvation. In a sermon entitled, "On the Duty and Means of Christianizing Our Home Population", Chalmers took as his text the passage from Mark 21, 15: "And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature". Chalmers expanded on this theme by stating that "it is nowhere supposed that the demand for Christianity is spontaneously, and in the first instance, to arise from those who are not Christians, but it is laid upon those who are Christians, to go abroad, and, if possible, to awaken out of their spiritual lethargy, those who are fast asleep in that worldliness which they love, and from without some external application, there is no rational prospect of ever arousing them". (22) He again referred to this obligation in a sermon preached to the Dundee Missionary Society in October 1812:

"When our Saviour left the earth, He left a task behind Him to His disciples - 'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations'. A great part of the task has devolved upon us; for it is not yet accomplished....The propagation of the Gospel is the task which your saviour has consigned to you." (23)

From the beliefs that it was Christ's command to his followers to spread His word and that religion would remove many of society's ills, stemmed Chalmers' wish to see Christianity more widely diffused among the urban population.

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The twin aims of education and evangelisation raised immense practical problems in the towns where there were not enough churches to cater for the increased population. More churches were needed and since people would not provide their own, combined with the obligations

attached to Christianity, they would have to be built for them: "It is vain to expect that by a proper and primary impulse originating with themselves, those aliens from Christianity will go forth on the inquiry after it. The messengers of Christianity must go forth among them". (24) In short, more churches had to be built as a first step to restoring the moral fibre of the people, or to use Chalmers' own words, "...nothing but the multiplication of our Established Churches, with the subdivision of parishes, and the allocation of each parish to its own church, together with a pure and popular exercise of the right of patronage, will ever bring us back again to a sound and wholesome state of the body politic". (25) As with many of his statements, this was repeated on several occasions. One of these was in a letter to William Wilberforce after the Radical War, yet another example of the connection he placed between unrest and "irreligion".

This last quotation is important since it highlights the fact that it was not just more churches that were needed but a new form of administration was to be introduced. 'New' is a misleading word to use here because it was a return to the principle of locality that he wanted to see in the cities. The rural parochial organisation had to be transferred into the towns: "We think that the same moral régime which, under the parochial and ecclesiastical system of Scotland, has been set up, and with so much effect in her country parishes, by a few simple and attainable processes, be introduced into the most crowded of her cities..." (26) This policy epitomises much of what Chalmers said and wrote in that his concepts were not original, but their originality lay in the vigour with which they were implemented and propagated.

The introduction of smaller and manageable parishes would not only increase the impact of education and evangelisation but it would also

help to alleviate another evil, namely the growing gulf between classes in society. We have already seen that Chalmers was quick to recognise this feature but he was not against ranks per se, in fact he thought them natural: "The inequalities of conditions in life are often spoken of as artificial. But in truth they are most thoroughly natural". (27) This situation was not dangerous but alienation was: "The very distance at which the rich keep themselves from the poor, were enough itself to endanger a hostile feeling in the bosom of the latter, and fill them with all rankling and suspicious imaginations". (28) The middle and upper classes had to earn the respect of the working class and in so doing a harmonious rather than a tense society would be created. One way to achieve this was through regular contact between the rich and the poor in, for example, visitation by elders of their districts. If the parish was a manageable size then such contacts would be facilitated.

This idea rested on an interesting and important assumption. He viewed visitation by elders of the poor as one way to bridge the ever increasing gap between classes. This implied that elders would be middle class, or to be more precise, not working class. Chalmers himself recognised this although he did not express it quite so bluntly. Elders were "in general...men of respectable character, though not always taken from the higher or even from the middle classes of society". (29) He also stated that there "is a substantial, though unnoticed, charm in the visit of a superior". (30) "Respectable character" was a prerequisite of eldership which for Chalmers would have ruled out large sections of the working class from serving on the session. When this is combined with the tone of these statements the implication was that elders would not be drawn from the working class. We will see in a later chapter that this was, with only a few exceptions, a reality in several churches later on in the century.

Christian education, as has been noted, was seen as a means to a moral uplift in human character which would in turn benefit the state of society. This was one of the cornerstones of his policy but it was in contrast to much earlier educational thinking which claimed that keeping the people in a state of ignorance was the most effective means of keeping them in check. Chalmers took the opposite view, and in so doing he was in line with many other educationalists. They rejected the old ideas by stating that education, albeit carefully managed, was the most effective check to social unrest. It is worthwhile quoting Chalmers at length on this point:

"It is well that the progress of knowledge is now looked to by politicians without alarm - that the ignorance of the poor is no longer regarded as more essential to the devotion of their patriotism, than it is to the devotion of their piety - that they have at length found that the best way of disarming the lower classes of all that is threatening and tumultuous, is not to enthrall but to enlighten them - that the progress of truth among them, instead of being viewed with dismay, is viewed with high anticipation, and an impression...is now beginning to prevail that the strongest rampart which can possibly be thrown around the cause of public tranquillity consists of a people raised by information, and graced by all moral and Christian accomplishments." (31)

A more detailed exposition of his educational thinking and practice was delivered to the parishioners of St. John's before the opening of the first of their schools. "The education is not given it is paid for", was how he emphasised the fact that the schools were not charity schools. (32) Fees were charged and this stemmed from a variety of motives. Firstly, he believed that education would be more highly valued if it was paid for. Secondly, fees were a sign of respectable independence on the part of parents. This desire to foster respectable independence also lay behind his schemes for poor relief and Savings Banks. Finally, he believed that where "poor scholars are admitted gratis", they were



"marked out by this distinction from the rest of their play fellows". This further increased the gap between the rich and the poor so magnifying class tensions. To avoid this situation every child was charged fees so ensuring that the only inequality between pupils would be the "diversity of talent in personal character". The aim was to attract both rich and poor to the school so reaffirming the democratic nature of Scottish education. Contact between classes would lead to respect between classes and this would have a beneficial effect on society: "A far blander and better state of society will be length come out of such an arrangement. The ties of kindness will be multiplied between the wealthy and the labouring classes...the wide and melancholy gulf of suspicion between them will come at length to be filled by the attentions of a soft and pleasing fellowship". (33)

This was an almost utopian view of education and its effects, but Chalmers also saw the aim of educating the working class in very narrow terms. As with Robert Owen education was to be carefully managed to mould a certain type of character. If the end product was to be very different from Owen's it was no less clearly defined. Owen's objective was to create a character suitable for his millennial vision of a new moral world. Chalmers' intentions were more down to earth since he aimed to produce a personality suited to strengthening existing social hierarchies. The objective was "not to turn an operative into a capitalist; it is to turn an ignorant operative into a learned operative, to stamp upon him the worth and the respectability of which I contend he is fully susceptible, though he rise not a single inch above the sphere of life in which he now moves...." (34) However much such statements may have been aimed at calming middle class fears about educating the working class, this does not detract from the inherent sincerity of Chalmers' statement.

The final packaged products of education were to be Christian, "learned" and self respecting operatives living in a society where class tensions were replaced by a greater harmony of interests. Education was a means to an end, not an end in itself.

In 1819 Chalmers gained an opportunity to implement more fully his ideas when the Town Council created a new parish for him, St. John's. Here personal contact between parishioners was strongly emphasised to counter the divisions and the anonymity of a town district. The population of around 10,000 was divided into twenty five districts with between 60 and 100 families in each. In charge of each district was an elder and a deacon. The elder's duties covered the spiritual and educational needs of the district while the deacon was concerned with material wants by way of administering poor relief. To diffuse Christian values and standards day and Sunday Schools were opened where it was hoped rich and poor would meet. In short, the old paternal and caring community spirit attributed to rural Scotland was transposed into the parish. An environment of human contact between classes, attention and concern was created to produce a harmonious society where mutual respect replaced mutual suspicion.

Up until now only passing reference has been made to poor relief but it was of fundamental importance to the experiment. Chalmers' writings and policy on poor relief have been researched by themselves, while for the purposes of this analysis emphasis has been placed on other aspects of his policy. (35) But since the system of pauper management was so important to the whole experiment any discussion of Chalmers would be incomplete without reference to it.

Thomas Chalmers' scheme of poor relief was based on the premise that people in general could be expected to relieve the cases of hardship.

that were brought to their attention. This premise stemmed from his belief that Christian duty extended beyond spreading the word of God into the field of charity. Christians were obliged to do good with their material possessions, no matter how few those possessions may have been. Those who had should give to those who had nothing "because in so doing, they are like unto God; and to be formed again after His image, is the great purpose of the dispensation we sit under". (36) As "God so loved the world, as to send His only begotten Son into it, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life", (37) so Christians had to make sacrifices in the exercise of their faith.

Chalmers took as his text for a sermon on this point a quotation from Psalm xii.1; "Blessed is he that considereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble." (38) Christians were not only expected to consider the poor but they were also obliged to give material relief on the assumption that the recipient would not squander such aid. To ensure that this latter demand was met, the Christian philanthropist should make himself "acquainted with the object of his benevolent exercises" (39) by regularly visiting the person in need. If Christians acted on these precepts and considered, became acquainted with and helped the poor they could be sure that although their good works "may be recorded in no earthly documents; but, if done under the influence of Christian principle - in a word, if done unto Jesus, it is written in the book of heaven, and will give a new lustre to that crown to which His disciples look forward in time, and will wear through eternity". (40)

From his belief that Christians had a duty to consider the poor, Thomas Chalmers relied on four agencies in his system of poor relief. The first was the self help of the poor themselves if the demoralising

influence of doles was done away with, and if the poor contributed to the poor fund. The second was the help of relatives, and the third was the help of neighbours. Finally, and as a last resort, was the charity of the rich. (41) Chalmers opposed many of the existing schemes of poor relief, especially the Speenhamland system, which he believed discouraged the above four agencies by destroying the self help ideal and fostering idleness.

It fell upon the deacon to implement these ideas in St. John's. His duty when any cases were brought before him was to stimulate the individual to help himself by, for example, gaining employment or through more careful management of his income. If this was unsuccessful then relatives were asked to help and failing this neighbours. Only if all these proved unproductive would the parish fund provide assistance. The deacon's task was to encourage what Chalmers himself described as an "esprit de corps" among the population so that it became a matter of pride that no one should need help from the poor fund. (42) This sense of mutual responsibility, personal dignity and independence was to be reinforced by a variety of other agencies including Savings Banks and education.

The pros and cons of this scheme were, and still are, hotly debated and lack of hard evidence about its effects leaves scope for a plethora of judgements. As we have seen, this is true of the whole spectrum of Chalmers' work.

In this chapter we have been primarily concerned with Thomas Chalmers' response to Scotland's changed pattern of life away from the land towards the towns. Within this broad framework his analysis of the major factors leading to social unrest were considered and these were shown to have been a decline in the moral and religious nature of the

individual alongside greater divisions between the many different sections of society. His solution was to improve the moral worth of the individual and encourage personal contact between classes. The church was to be the vehicle to carry out these solutions. The organisation of mission work was not radically changed but the old parochial system was given a new lease of life, although in much changed surroundings.

But what was his influence on society? Once again he is, or perhaps those who try to study him, are confusing. Many claim that he had an immense influence on social thought and practices far beyond the confines of Glasgow, yet the same people often criticise his ideas. How can someone whose work is so often condemned have been so influential? Perhaps influence is not determined by the soundness of one's arguments. I return to an earlier point. Chalmers was influential because he faced the problems of the period squarely in the face while also powerfully advocating acceptable, practicable, and in many people's eyes, successful solutions. This influence goes a long way to explain his interest to historians but he is of wider interest to the present.

His views on the duty of an elder are relevant to the present day debate about the eldership but of greater importance are his ideas on individual character. Later periods of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century placed their emphasis on the environment, especially economic factors, in the formation of character. Professor Tawney's statement that "the problem of poverty was not a problem of individual character and its waywardness, but a problem of economic and industrial organisation" vindicated Owen's claim that man's character is made for, not by him, as such would have struck a hollow chord in Chalmers. (43) But perhaps Chalmers did have a valid point in stressing individual and

community character since today's improved, but far from perfect environment has not solved society's ills. Even the most highly state run countries give a role to personal character in the formation of the environment, not vice versa. Therefore, in current debates about the nature of society Chalmers has a role to play which makes him a subject worthy of more than merely academic interest.

But we have digressed from our purpose.

Chalmers' influence reached beyond the shores of Britain, one example being the Elderfeld system of poor relief named after the town of its inception in Prussia. The town was divided into a number of districts each under the care of an overseer. These districts were then subdivided and placed under visitors who were responsible for a small number of cases. Before any relief was given, all other possible sources of help, including self help and neighbours, were called on to the full. The parallels with the St. John's scheme are obvious.

Returning to Glasgow Chalmers' influence may be visible at two levels. On the one hand he could have influenced individuals with whom he came in contact. Names like William Collins and Norman MacLeod immediately come to mind. On the other hand different churches may have followed Chalmers' ideas on mission work and organised their schemes along similar lines. In subsequent chapters we shall attempt to see, with reference to this latter point and Norman MacLeod, how far Chalmers' influence did in fact reach.

In this chapter we have been concerned with one aspect of Thomas Chalmers' wide ranging thought, namely, his ideas on society. His views on the urban poor, friction between classes and wider social unrest have been focused upon along with his answers to these problems. These solutions were a combination of backward and forward glances in that he attempted to recreate an old environment in a new situation.



He assumed the role of an indefatigable conductor and with a baton summoned the people to play in harmony once more. The question was, how well placed was the church in Glasgow to put into practice what Chalmers preached?

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24. Ibid., p. 284.
25. Hanna, op. cit., p. 550.
26. Works x, p. 25-26.
27. Works xi, p. 425.
28. Ibid., p. 426.
29. Works ix, p. 422.
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### Chapter 3

#### Glasgow Churches. Their Number, Location and Congregations in the Nineteenth Century

Thomas Chalmers saw the education and evangelisation of the people as the main functions of the church but they could only be implemented if there were enough churches situated in areas of need. Chalmers realised that in the Tron parish at least this requirement was not being met, hence his all important role in the forming of the new parish and church of St. John's. Our interest lies later on in the century when the church, as we shall see, still saw its role as one of education and evangelisation. To fulfil this role a church presence was required where the greatest spiritual destitution was seen to exist. However, in terms of numbers and location it is doubtful whether the church in the middle decades of the century was in a strong enough position to implement the policies which Thomas Chalmers had outlined several decades earlier.

At first sight the growth in numbers of church buildings looks impressive. The table on the following page shows the relative strength in terms of bricks and mortar of the major denominations between 1827 and 1870. The figures show that prior to the Disruption the Church of Scotland was the dominant denomination but by 1850 it had been overtaken by the Free Church. Twenty years later the share of the presbyterian cake was more evenly divided between the Church of Scotland, the Free Church and the United Presbyterians. However, the strength of the church cannot be regarded solely in terms of the number of buildings which it possesses. Of more import is the size of its congregation. Here Horace Mann's Census of Religious Worship and Education which was conducted in 1851 may be of help in determining how many people attended or did not attend church. (1)

Glasgow Churches, 1827-1870 \*

Year	Church	Established	United			Reformed			Roman			Wesleyan		
			Church	Secession	Relief	Church	Presbyterian	Church	Independent	Catholic	Episcopalian	Unitarian	Methodist	Baptist
827	22	-	9	7	-	1	2	1	2	1	-	1	1	
830	22	-	9	8	-	1	2	1	2	1	-	1	1	
835	24	-	9	9	-	2	3	1	2	1	3	4	4	
840	40	-	12	10	-	2	4	2	4	1	2	4	4	
845	26	33	13	11	-	2	4	2	4	1	2	4	4	
850	28	33	-	-	24	2	5	4	6	1	2	5	5	
855	36	36	-	-	28	2	5	7	5	-	2	9	9	
860	39	40	-	-	38	3	6	7	4	-	3	6	6	
865	41	49	-	-	45	5	-	9	4	1	3	9	9	
870	48	53	-	-	48	5	-	11	4	1	6	7	7	

\* Source, Post Office Directory for each year



On Sunday the 30th of March 1851 the number of people attending church for the morning, afternoon and evening services was recorded in Great Britain. In that year in Glasgow there were 129 churches and the total attendance at all morning services was 70,381, in the afternoon 62,075 and in the evening 15,047, making an overall total of 147,503. (2) This figure is misleading by itself since it must be viewed in the context of the total population of 329,097. Therefore, the percentage of attendance to population was 44.8; in other words over half the population did not attend church.

Following the publication of the Census on the 3rd of May 1854 a letter appeared in the Scottish Guardian under the pseudonym of 'Fair Play'. (3) In this letter it was claimed that the Census disclosed "such results as should keep the Free Church and other denominations humble, and stir them up to sustained zeal. The large amount of church room and school room unoccupied, show what multitudes have yet to be gathered in, what a vast amount of religious indifference and neglected education prevails; and what a call there is not to boast, but to labour". If by the "vast amount of religious indifference" 'Fair Play' meant the high percentage of non-church goers then he had based his statement on a misleadingly high figure for church attendance. This exaggeration arose because the Census did not take into account the fact that many people attended two or possibly three services on Sunday. While a student at Glasgow University in the early 1850s Robert Hood, the minister of Muslin Street Evangelical Union Church between 1862 and 1894, "was very busy on the Sabbaths. Besides attending the ordinary services of North Dundas Street Church, forenoon and afternoon, with great regularity, he was a member of a Bible Class held in one of the vestries of the Church.....". (4) Robert Hood and all others who went to more than one service were not counted once but two or three times in the Census.

A second factor which may have falsely inflated the attendance figures was the inclusion of Sabbath School pupils as church goers. There were two types of Sabbath School - the congregational school catering for children of church members, and the district school catering for children whose parents were at best irregular attenders at church. Some indication of the size of this latter group of children was given in the 1851 Annual Report of Glasgow Sabbath School Union where it was stated that 36,809 children were on the roll of all Sabbath Schools. It was estimated that 50% of these children did not attend any church service. Therefore, to include all Sabbath School pupils as church goers in the Census would have given too high a figure for church attendance. This was recognised by the compilers of the Census and those making the returns were asked to distinguish between Sabbath School pupils who attended church and those who did not. The figure of 147,503 for church attendance on Census Sunday only included those Sabbath School pupils who were present at a church service.

We have already seen that Thomas Chalmers believed that more churches were required in Glasgow to meet the demands of the increasing population. The 1851 Census revealed that much needed to be done if its own figure of a minimum of 58 sittings per 100 people was to be met. Although there were 100,574 sittings in all Glasgow churches, as a percentage of population this was only 30.6, or slightly under half the national average of 63.5%.

The Census, however, came in for much criticism both at the time and in later periods. Many people disputed the accuracy of the figures when there was no legal compulsion to make any return. In a letter written in March 1854 to George Graham, the Registrar General of Births, Deaths and Marriages accompanying the Census Report, Horace Mann himself noted that the voluntary aspect of the Census had distorted the real situation:

"In the first place it is necessary to state that the statistics are not complete, and that no means are in your possession of computing the extent of the deficiency. The effect of the instruction given to the enumerators - that the inquiry was a voluntary measure - was much more awkward in Scotland than in England; the enumerators were less careful, after this announcement, to deliver forms, and the parties were less willing to supply the information."

In Scotland as a whole no returns were made for 14% of the total number of churches with most non-returns coming from the Church of Scotland (23.6%) while only 8% of United Presbyterian Churches and 7% of Free Churches failed to co-operate. (5) In Glasgow 17 out of the 129 places of worship did not return any figures for numbers of sittings. Of these 5 belonged to the Church of Scotland, 1 to the United Presbyterians, 2 to the Free Church with the remaining deficiency made up from other smaller denominations.

The failure to attach any legal obligation to the Census, and the corresponding high number of non-returns led many to question its accuracy. John Strang, a Glasgow statistician, spoke for many when he commented:

"That such an inquiry should at all have been entered upon, without Legislative powers to enforce it - at least when it was known that the returns requested were not obligatory on those who were called to make them - appears to me to have been a serious mistake, and calculated rather to distort rather than elicit the truth. Divided as the religious society of Scotland is, at the present moment, into so many powerful sections, each advocating with zeal and activity, its own peculiar dogma, and each party wishful to put forth its power, or conceal its weaknesses, it is not to be expected that the results, under such influences, can be implicitly relied on." (6)

A more recent critic of the Census has claimed that "it required only a little work on the Census figures to reveal that, as they stood at least, they were unreliable...." (7)

These criticisms have, however, tended to hide the two main findings of the Census which most people accepted, although they quibbled over exact numbers. Many laymen and ministers, irrespective of religious denomination, shared a common concern over the fact that, as Thomas Chalmers had noted many years earlier, church attenders formed "a woful minority of our whole population...." (8) Furthermore, all were unanimous in thinking that it was in the working class areas that the highest proportion of non-church goers were to be found. William Collins, founder of the publishing firm of the same name and the Glasgow Church Building Society, conducted a survey into church going in Glasgow in 1836. In the prosperous areas of Blythswood Hill and Garnethill, 74% and 78.5%, respectively, of the population had sittings in a church. In the working class areas of Dempster Street and the north side of Goosedubs the percentages were 2.5 and 9, respectively. (9) Several years later Robert Buchanan, minister of the Tron Free Church, found that in his parish less than 5% of the population had a sitting or were regular attenders at church. He went onto comment on other related aspects of the population:

"The Assembly have heard what a mere handful of the population I have been describing frequent the house of God, but they have other houses of worship in plenty. The god of this world has houses of worship in abundance.... There are 115 places for the sale of intoxicating drinks, spirit shops and cellars, low taverns, flaring gin palaces, and gaudy music saloons, all doing the devil's work as busily as they can. Pawn shops, too, in which bloated spiders suck the blood of their wretched victims, swarm in the place.... Within the same narrow territory, - one sinks from relating the disgusting and sickening fact, there are thirty three common brothels." (10)

Churches were apparently less attractive and one explanation for non-attendance was that the supply of church accommodation had not

kept pace with the rapidly increasing population. Whether or not one accepts Mann's figure of 30.6 as a percentage of sittings to population, should not detract one from recognising that the population had outgrown the number of sittings. Moreover, Glasgow had a lower percentage of sittings to people than any other major Scottish city. The picture is the same no matter which figures one takes from the following table.

Proportion of Sittings to Population in Towns, 1837-1851 (11)

<u>Town</u>	<u>Comm. of 1836</u>	<u>Buchanan</u>	<u>MacLaren</u>	<u>Withrington</u>
	%	%	%	%
Aberdeen	57.6	50.0	47.0	57.6
Dundee	43.5	44.0	44.8	49.8
Perth	47.8	71.0	-	74.0
Edinburgh	48.5	-	40.2	54.6
Glasgow	38.1	22.0	29.5	34.8
Paisley	48.2	61.0	-	65.1
Greenock	58.6	54.0	-	59.9

Robert Buchanan highlighted the church's failure to grow with population when in 1851 he said of the Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow; "Even all the ministers and Churches that have been added during the last thirty years, would not have more than sufficed to overtake the religious destitution which existed in this city twenty years ago". (12)

If in terms of numbers the church was poorly equipped to fulfil the role Chalmers had outlined for it, the geographical location of churches did little to help. We have already seen that the densely

populated and industrial areas formed a horse-shoe around the centre and west end of Glasgow. When most churches in 1842 are plotted on a map\* for that year, it appears at first sight as if they were fairly evenly spread throughout the city. However, when this pattern is related to population it is clear that working class areas were less well endowed with church accommodation than the more prosperous districts. In 1836 the population of Anderston stood at 3,067 but only one church served the community. (13) In contrast, the middle class areas north of Argyle Street, west of Buchanan Street and south of West George Street had fourteen churches. Even in 1870, after the building programmes of the Free Church following the Disruption, and of other denominations in later decades, the picture had not radically changed. In comparing the situation in 1842 with 1870\*, the outstanding difference is the increase in the number of churches from 87 to 204. (14) As in 1842 the working class districts of, for example, Port Dundas, Cowcaddens and south of Argyle Street to the Clyde had fewer churches than the centre of the city or the west end. Although many more churches had been built in Calton, Bridgeton's populace was inadequately provided for. Speaking of the east end in general in 1870 the Rev. James Johnston, minister of St. James' Free Church, commented that more church accommodation was required in this area "where churches are decidedly too few, and the people are too poor to build them without help...." (15)

Contemporaries were not oblivious to the weakness of the church in working class areas, a realisation which gave rise to several movements for church extension. Perhaps the most famous of these was the Glasgow Church Building Society founded in 1834 by William Collins.

\* The maps for 1842 and 1870 are inside the back cover.



Collins was born in October 1789 in Pollokshaws but unfortunately nothing is known about his parents. (16) At the age of 17 or 18 he became a clerk in John Monteith's cotton mill but he soon left there to open a private school in Campbell Street. In Glasgow he became an active member of the church, and in 1824 at the age of 25 he was ordained an elder in the Tron Church. At the Tron he was instrumental in persuading Chalmers to come to the Church. From this point on both men worked closely together in business and church affairs. In 1818 Collins closed his school to open, in partnership with Chalmers' brother, Charles, who later went onto found Merchiston Castle school in Edinburgh, a printing business which continues to this day. Amongst its publications were Chalmers' Collected Works beginning with The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns in 1823. Collins' name is today best remembered in connection with the publishing firm he founded, but of less renown is his role in the Church Building Society.

Collins spent much time visiting the wynds and closes of Glasgow and perhaps under the influence of Chalmers he attributed the degradation and demoralisation therein to spiritual destitution:

"It is well that the temporal necessities of the poor be catered for, but it is an important fact, which ought never to be forgotten, that the largest portion of their temporal necessities and of their physical and social wretchedness originates in their spiritual destitution. To remove the latter therefore is the most direct and certain way of diminishing the former." (17)

Collins, like Chalmers, saw the church as the vehicle to carry out this elevation of spiritual character. In his evidence to the 1836 Royal Commission into Religious Instruction he was asked:

"Q. You have stated that the want of church accommodation and pastoral superintendence is one cause of intemperance, - do you think that additional accommodation and superintendence would of themselves effect a cure in all cases?

A. Yes I do. I believe that the Gospel of the grace of God is mighty to the subjugation of all evil; and if we had plenty of cheap Churches for the people, and a sufficient number of ministers to give effective pastoral superintendence, and to bring the Gospel of the grace of God into every family, it would renovate society." (18)

He, however, realised that the population had far outstripped the existing church accommodation. Starting from the assumption that there should be 60 sittings per 100 people, Glasgow in 1836 was short of sittings for 61,594 of its inhabitants. (19) Many more churches were needed and to this end Collins formed the Society for Erecting Additional Churches, otherwise known as the Glasgow Church Building Society.

The Society's aim was outlined in Rule 1 of its Constitution:

"The object of this Society shall be to, promote the Erecting of Additional Parochial Churches in the City and Suburbs of Glasgow, in connection with the Church of Scotland - chiefly with the view of making a more extensive provision for the religious instruction of the poorer classes of the community." (20)

Its finances were to come from private subscriptions and the State, and with this money it was hoped to build twenty churches in, as Rule 1 states, predominantly working class areas. By 1841 the task was complete and such churches as St. Luke's, St. Stephen's, St. Matthew's, Camlachie, Hutchesontown, Kingston, Tradeston, Stockwell, Wellpark and Chalmers had been built. Nonetheless, the working class areas, as we have seen on the map, were still underprovided with churches. Had it not been for the efforts of the Church Building Society, the situation would have been even bleaker.

As the table on page 85 shows, the event which added most church accommodation in Glasgow was the Disruption which by 1850, taking into account the loss to the Church of Scotland, had led to the building of twenty one new churches. Nevertheless, the maps have already shown that overall the church was still as weak in working class areas in 1870 as it had been in 1842. This suggests that the Free Church did not concentrate its church building efforts in poorer areas of Glasgow. Some members of the Free Church were fully aware of this unequal distribution of its resources.

Referring to the national situation in 1850 James Begg, the famous housing reformer and minister of Newington Free Church in Edinburgh, noted:

"Their (the Free Church) churches were not planted in those dense districts in large cities in which the old Established Churches stood, and it was quite certain that in most large cities those districts had been, to a great extent, practically abandoned by their churches and congregations. There were, no doubt reasons for this, such, for example, as the difficulty of procuring sites, and the expensiveness of establishing churches in these districts, but they ought never for a moment to lose sight of the fact, that whilst they had abandoned the dense centres of population, they had extended their lines, he believed, inconsiderately, into the very thinly peopled and remote districts of the country...."(21)

He concluded his remarks by referring specifically to the position in Glasgow:

"Great as were the evils of Edinburgh....they were nothing compared with the state of Glasgow. Almost all the Free Churches in Glasgow were to be found at the west end of the city, away from the dense masses of the Gallowgate, Calton etc., in the east end, with its crowd of whisky shops and every other means of demoralisation." (22)

It is hardly surprising that this statement drew an immediate response from the Free Church in Glasgow. In a speech to the Free Presbytery of Glasgow, the Rev. William Arnot, minister of St. Peter's Free Church, rejected Begg's criticisms by showing that Free Churches were more evenly spread around the city. Arnot took as the centre of the city the line of Miller Street running through the centre of George Square. There were eleven Free Churches east of that line and twelve west of it. (23)

The subsequent argument between William Arnot and James Begg as reported in the Scottish Guardian became bogged down in what was an acceptable line for the centre of Glasgow, and as a result the debate moved away from the central issue of whether or not the resources of the Free Church were unequally distributed between rich and poor areas. The editor of the North British Mail was in no doubt that they were. He supported James Begg's assertion:

"In the general result of his statements he (Dr. Begg) is decidedly correct. The eastern and most densely populated quarters of the city are perishing for lack of knowledge, which is distributed in the west." (24)

This situation arose, so the North British Mail claimed, because "the ministers of the Free Church, like many more worldly men, have a strong hankering after the fashionable and aristocratic quarters of the city; that the ambition to have a rich and distinguished congregation overtops, in too many instances, the more evangelical desire to preach the Gospel to the poor and needy...." (25) This explanation was too simplistic since, as we shall see in a later chapter, the concentration of churches in the west end resulted from the fact that this area was where many of the more prosperous church members who shouldered the administrative and financial burdens of the church were living.

Further vindication of Begg's claim came in 1851 when the Free Church set up a Committee for Church Extension in Glasgow. Immediate priority was given to four areas; St. John's parish, the Wynds, Anderston and the Gorbals. (26) None of these areas were in what was commonly recognised as the west end while St. John's and the Wynds were, using William Arnot's definition of the centre of Glasgow, in the east end. However, the Free Church could take a small crumb of comfort from the fact that among the presbyterian churches it was by no means alone in its relative weakness in working class areas compared to the more prosperous districts.

Although the church was ill equipped in numbers and location to cater for the needs of working class communities this by itself might not have hindered a working class presence in church. Working people could have attended the churches that were in their areas or travelled to other churches. This leads us on to ask how far was the church a truly catholic body in terms of social class, and, in particular, was it the preserve of the upper and middle classes?

One pointer towards an answer to this question was the 1836 Royal Commission into Religious Instruction. It was set up partly in response to the reaction against the Church of Scotland's committee to appeal to Parliament for State financial aid to endow new churches. Not surprisingly the voluntary churches objected to this plan. A series of meetings attended by ministers and laymen of various non-established churches were held in Glasgow to rally support against any money being given to the Church of Scotland by the State. Central to their protests was a dislike of any scheme to strengthen the Established Church, especially when some of the necessary finance was to be provided from funds to which they contributed through

taxation. At a meeting in March 1835 it was claimed that such financing was "unjust" because "much of the money for building and endowing these churches is to be taken from the National Funds, to which Dissenters, while they support their own form of worship contribute in common with the members of the Established Church." (27) As was, and is often the case in such disputes the Government appointed a Royal Commission to allow a 'cooling off' period and to "inquire into the opportunities of religious worship, and means of religious instruction, and the pastoral superintendence afforded to the people of Scotland, and how far these are of avail for the religious and moral improvement of the poor and working classes, and, with this view to obtain information respecting their stated attendance in places of public worship, and their actual connection with any religious denomination; to inquire what funds are now or may hereafter be available to the Established Church of Scotland, and to report from time to time, in order that such remedies may be applied to any existing evils, as Parliament may think fit". (28)

Our interest lies in the findings on working class attendance at church. To this end ministers were asked to estimate out of their total congregation "how many...are of the poor and working classes, under which last term are comprehended all agricultural labourers, operatives and handicraftsmen, and others of the like condition". (29) Once the replies had been analysed they showed that many churches had a sizable proportion of "poor and working class" members. For example, four fifths of Cambridge Street United Secession Church's congregation were "of the working classes", (30) the working class percentage at Calton Relief Church was 86.9, (31) Barony Parish Church's congregation was "chiefly of the poor and working classes", (32) and 50% of the



congregation at St. Stephen's Parish Church fell into the same category. (33) This picture of the working class forming the largest single category of church members was repeated in most churches. (34) At the same time, however, the Commission found that the majority of working people did not go to church. These two apparently contradictory conclusions can be explained by the size of Glasgow's urban work force. If every church had been filled with working class communicants, this would still have left the vast majority of workers with no church connection.

A more serious question mark, however, hangs over the findings of the Commission; one which revolves around its definition of "poor and working classes". The question quoted above defined them as "agricultural labourers, operatives and handicraftsmen, and others of the like condition", but bearing in mind the diversity of the urban work force this, especially the latter category, was a very imprecise method of classification. The result was that each returnee used his own classification code and no uniform procedure emerged. In a survey into one area of Edinburgh all those who earned under 30/- a week were labelled working class. (35) This wage rate encompassed many in higher social groupings since as late as 1850 the most skilled workers in Glasgow were only earning around 24/- a week, while most people with a weekly income of 30/- would not have considered themselves working class, let alone poor. The commissioners themselves recognised the problem over classification when they commented:

"We endeavoured to ascertain the number of poor and working classes in each parish, but the answers which we obtained on this head were frequently very vague, and the different opinions as to the applications of the term poor and working classes led to much difficulty. We found that when regulated by income, it was in most

cases made to include all who gained less than 20/- in a week, but the most common rule seemed to be to consider all who work for wage, or who are engaged in manual labour, as belonging to these classes. Perhaps the medium income of those to whom the terms have been applied, may be taken as 12/- or 14/- per week, though many have not more than half the latter sum, and many have even less." (36)

Several pages later on the Commission was even more sceptical about its findings. After a series of tables showing the number of poor and working classes attached to Edinburgh churches the report stated that "we regret that they do not afford any very definite information, either as to the numbers or the actual condition of the persons included under the terms Poor and Working Classes". (37) The Glasgow findings were not exempt from the same qualification.

Clearly, therefore, this Royal Commission does not help us to see how broad a spectrum of social classes attended church, since, on its own admission, its findings were not accurate. Moreover, it tells us nothing about other social groupings who were church members. What is needed is a more detailed examination of several congregations before any conclusions can be reached. In a subsequent chapter an attempt will be made at such an examination. To help in this enquiry, it is first of all necessary to analyse the origins of several denominations which will be studied.

Notes

1. Horace Mann, Census of Religious Worship and Education: Scotland, 1854.
2. A more detailed breakdown of the figures is given in the appendix. See table 3, p. 278.
3. Scottish Guardian, 19/5/1854.
4. David Hobbs, Robert Hood, the Bridgeton Pastor. (Edinburgh, 1894), p. 43.
5. Percentages taken from D. J. Withrington, "The 1851 Census of Religious Worship and Education", R.S.C.H.S. Vol. 13, Part 2.
6. John Strang, Report on the Census of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs for 1851. (Glasgow, 1851), p. 30-31.
7. D. J. Withrington, op. cit.
8. William Hanna, Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers. 4 Vols. (Edinburgh, 1849-1852). Vol. 2, p. 550.
9. William Collins, Statistics of the Church Accommodation of Glasgow, Barony and Gorbals Presented to the Royal Commission into the Means of Religious Instruction... Afforded to the People of Scotland, 1836. (Glasgow, 1836), p. 10.
10. Robert Buchanan, "Spiritual Destitution in Glasgow". Speech to the General Assembly of the Free Church 30/5/1851 in Proceedings of the Free Church General Assembly, 1850-1851, p. 304-324.
11. Withrington, op. cit. Buchanan's figure is the lowest since he excluded the Roman Catholic Church regarding it as the "religion not of Christ, but of Antichrist".
12. Robert Buchanan, "The Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow". Speech to the Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow 8/1/1851.

13. Population figure was given in the Royal Commission into Religious Instruction, 1836, Second Report, xxxii, p. 156.
14. Figures taken from the Post Office Directory of each year.
15. James Johnston, Religious Destitution in Glasgow. (Glasgow, 1870), p. 30.
16. David Keir, The House of Collins. (London, 1952), p. 15-16.
17. Fourth Annual Report of the Society for Erecting Additional Churches, 1838.
18. Royal Commission into Religious Instruction, op cit., Second Report, p. 723.
19. William Collins, Statistics of the Church Accommodation of Glasgow, op. cit., p. 18.
20. Second Annual Report of the Society for Erecting Additional Churches, 1836.
21. James Begg, Speech to the Free Church Presbytery of Edinburgh 2/10/1850 reported in the Scottish Guardian, 8/10/1850.
22. Ibid.
23. Scottish Guardian, 18/10/1852.
24. North British Mail, 12/10/1852.
25. Ibid.
26. Proceedings of the Free Church General Assembly, 1852, p. 309.
27. Scots Times, 31/3/1835.
28. Royal Commission into Religious Instruction, 1836, First Report, xxi, p. iii.
29. Ibid., p. 45.
30. Second Report, op. cit., p. 140.

31. Ibid., p. 164.

32. Ibid., p. 128.

33. Ibid., p. 176.

34. See Appendix tables 4 and 5, p. 279-283.

35. Royal Commission into Religious Instruction, op. cit.,  
First Report, p. 292.

36. Ibid., p. 14.

37. Ibid., p. 19.

#### Chapter 4

### The Origins of Seceding Denominations in Eighteenth and Nineteenth

#### Century Scotland

"Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all be one; as thou, Father, art in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." John 17, 20-21.

If this desire for unity as expressed in John's Gospel was to be the aim of all Christians, then the Scottish Church in the eighteenth, and for much of the nineteenth century fell far short of this ideal. The history of the presbyterian church in this period was dominated by divisions within the Established Church, secessions from it, and divisions within the secessions. The task of disentangling the various denominations is a far from easy one as the names, for example, the New Light Anti-Burghers, confuse the historian. Attempts at a diagram of the many groups produce a picture which resembles a map of the London Underground and is as difficult to follow. (1) The first major secession from the Church of Scotland occurred in 1733 with the founding of the Associate Presbytery.

Trouble had been brewing inside the Established Church from the 1710s, but it was not until October 1732 that it finally came to a head when Ebenezer Erskine preached a sermon at the opening of the Synod of Perth and Stirling.

Ebenezer Erskine was born in June 1680 at Dryburgh. His father was the Rev. Henry Erskine, minister of the parish of Chirnside. Henry Erskine's family came from an aristocratic background since he was one of the Erskines of Shielfield in Roxburgh, direct descendants of Robert, third Lord Erskine, who died at Flodden. He was also related



to the Earl of Mar and the Countess of Mar was Ebenezer Erskine's godmother.

Despite his aristocratic relations, Henry Erskine did not escape unscathed from the religious upheavals of the 1660s and 1670s. He was the presbyterian minister of Cornhill a Northumberland village two miles from the Tweed but in 1662 he was ejected from his parish as a result of the Act of Uniformity. He settled in Dryburgh with his brother the laird of Shielfield, and he continued to preach in defiance of the Act of Uniformity. In 1682 he was arrested and after trial sentenced to imprisonment on the Bass Rock. This sentence was later commuted to one of exile from Scotland, whereupon he moved to Carlisle. On the Declaration of Toleration in 1687 he accepted a call to Whitsome, a Parish near Berwick. Several years later he moved to the adjacent parish of Chirnside.

In 1670 his first wife died and he married Margaret Halcro of Orkney. Ebenezer Erskine was their third child. He followed in his father's footsteps as in 1703 he was ordained minister of Portmoak Parish in Kinross-shire. He remained there until 1731 when he was translated to Stirling. Ebenezer Erskine is, however, best remembered, not for his contribution to the stability of the Established Church, but for his leadership of a group within the Church of Scotland who eventually broke away from it to form the Associate Presbytery.

In his sermon to the Synod of Perth and Stirling in 1732, and in many others but notably "The Word of Salvation", he outlined his arguments against his opponents. He did so in the former sermon by referring to the "corruptions" of the Jewish Church at the time of Christ leaving it to the reader "to judge how far such evils or corruptions are to be found in our own day". (2)

He began by attacking the partiality of the rulers in the Jewish Church who "having got the ascendant in the sanhedrim, and other courts, they took care to keep the power upon their side, by bringing in none but men of their own stamp and spirit: and if any man adventure to open his mouth, or testify against their corruptions in principle or practice, presently combinations are formed, plots are laid, and the edge of the Church's discipline which they had grasped, is turned against him as a turbulent person, an enemy to the law and temple...." (3)

In a more direct reference to the eighteenth century, Erskine condemned the system of patronage and its results which had produced a new stamp of minister whose preaching he strongly criticised:

"The new mode of preaching some men have fallen into with their harangues and flourishes of morality, while Christ is scarce named, from the beginning to the end of their discourse, I look on as a plot of hell to throw out the cornerstone, in order to bring us back into Heathenism or Antichristian darkness." (4)

Returning to the early Jewish Church, more criticism was heaped upon its leaders who "though they pretended a great regard unto the holy law of God, and cried out upon Christ and His apostles as enemies to it, yet they narrowed and contracted the sense and meaning of it, confining it merely to the letter, without searching unto its extent and spirituality, which gave occasion to Christ's sermon on the mount". (5) This theological point was expanded upon in his sermon on Salvation. Here he attacked the legalists who believed in a set plan towards salvation. "Hence see how culpable", wrote Erskine, "they are that straiten the door, and hamper the call of the Gospel, saying in effect, if you have not such and marks, it is not to you, it is only upon such

and such terms that it is to you....They contradict the very design of the Gospel, which is the word of Salvation to sinners of all sorts and sizes". (6)

Therefore, these criticisms came under three headings; firstly, there was the theological argument, secondly, there was the bias of the church courts and the third point was the issue of patronage and the nature of ministers appointed by this system.

On the theological disputes W. Ferguson has written that, "at bottom, all turned upon the theme of redemption. Had Christ died to purchase grace for all or only for the elect?" (7) This, however, was not the core of the matter. Neither Erskine nor his principal opponent James Haddow of St. Andrew's University were universalists since they both believed that Christ had died to save the elect. The dispute was over the means of salvation and how this message was to be propagated. Haddow believed that the road for those whom God had marked out for salvation began with abiding by a moral code, then followed repentance of sin and finally salvation through God. Erskine's road to salvation, on the other hand, began with the love of God in man, and then God's grace would produce a reaction against sin. This was Haddow's process turned on its head, but in both cases salvation was only for the elect chosen by God's will and not man's. Erskine also believed in preaching the word of God to everyone but he realised that only the elect would receive and understand the message. The Gospel had to be preached to all, to allow the elect by accepting the word to be saved, the remainder by rejecting it "do justly and deservedly perish". (8) It was Erskine's emphasis on preaching the Gospel to all which confused his contemporaries and later critics into mistakingly labelling him as a universalist. He was not; the Gospel was to be preached to all but only the elect would receive the message and so be saved.

It was these points of universalism, repentance of sin and God's will in choosing the elect which produced the controversy surrounding Professor Simson, the Auchterarder Creed and the Marrow of Modern Divinity.

Erskine, as we have noted, upheld the view that it was God's will rather than man's which determined who was to be saved. This concept of an all powerful God came into conflict with some of Professor Simson's teachings. He was charged with spreading Arminian doctrines which stressed man's free will thus limiting the omnipotence of God, and it was, therefore, contrary to Erskine's views. Simson was brought before the Assembly but it was more lenient towards him than some would have liked as he was merely warned against using ambiguous expressions in the future.

The same leniency was not shown to the Auchterarder Presbytery who appeared before the Assembly charged with spreading antinomianism. The Presbytery had required a probationer to subscribe to some additional articles, one of which was; "I believe that it is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ, and instating us in our covenant with God". In fact, as John Cunningham has pointed out, the article was badly worded and what the Presbytery had meant was "that in coming to Christ we come with all our sins, that by Him we may at once be pardoned and purified, for if we renounced our sins before coming to Christ, what were the use of our coming at all". (9) Nevertheless, the creed crystallised the above noted dispute between Erskine and his opponents over the means to salvation, namely whether repentance of sin came before or after union with Christ. This dispute was aggravated when the Assembly condemned the creed and instructed Presbyteries against using any formula unless approved by the Assembly.

Insult was added to injury when Simson again appeared before the Assembly this time charged with denying the oneness of the Trinity. He was found guilty and was suspended from teaching, but was allowed to retain his salary.

This leniency towards Simson contrasted with the harsh treatment meted out to the Auchterarder Presbytery. There was little doubt in people's minds about the modern parallel to Erskine's attack on the partiality of the Jewish Church's courts. The Assembly continued to apply, what Erskine may have felt were double standards over the Marrow controversy.

In 1718 James Hog republished Edward Fisher's Marrow of Modern Divinity. What might have otherwise passed unnoticed, in the theological context of the period caused a storm within the church. The General Assembly condemned it under four headings including that it preached universal atonement and that holiness was not necessary to salvation. Neither of these criticisms were strictly correct and largely came about because Hadow, in particular, took passages out of context. On the question of atonement the book did not subscribe to universalism but stressed, as did Erskine, the necessity of preaching the Gospel to all. The dispute over repentance was yet another example of the friction between the legalists and Erskine over the means to salvation. However misinterpreted the book may have been, it was condemned by the Assembly and ministers were instructed to warn their parishioners against reading it. Twelve ministers including Erskine objected to this Act but the Assembly's reply was to rebuke and admonish them. It was considered that their offence deserved a much higher censure "yet the Assembly forbears it, in hopes that the great leniency used towards them shall engage them to a more dutiful behaviour in time coming". (10)

The Assembly thought that it had been lenient towards the Marrowmen but they considered that it had been far from impartial in dealing with their theological deviations in comparison with the treatment accorded to Professor Simson. This sense of injustice widened an already serious division within the church.

At the same time as this theological controversy was raging, the church was split over the issue of patronage. The Acts of Union had stated that the "worship, discipline, and government of this Church" should "continue without alteration to the people of this land in all succeeding generations". (11) The Patronage and Toleration Acts were, however, seen as a breach of this undertaking. The Patronage Act, although giving patrons the power to appoint ministers, did allow Presbyteries to fill any vacant charge where the patron made no move within six months. In 1713 the Assembly limited appointment in these cases to elders and heritors.

Erskine and his followers opposed these Acts of Assembly and Parliament in principle, and perhaps more importantly in practice. To them Christ not the State was the head of the church while "the call of the church lies in the free choice and election of the Christian people". (12) Had ministers of their own stamp been appointed the Erskinites might not have objected so strongly, but the result of patronage was the appointment of ministers who had nothing in common with the bulk of their parishioners and whose interests and style of preaching were alien to Erskine. In their sermons morality was emphasised to a greater degree than theology since "the gospel pure and unadulterated" was regarded as "dangerous fodder for their flocks". (13) Their interests which branched into literature, the arts and agriculture were in line with the new enlightenment whereas

Erskine emphasised the more traditional Calvinist attitudes. In terms of social status they were more akin to their patrons than their congregations who must have warmed to Erskine's claim that he could "find no warrant from the word of God to confer the spiritual privileges of his house upon the rich beyond the poor; whereas by this act the man with the gold ring and gay clothing is preferred unto the man with the vile raiment and poor attire". (14) This religious levelling was continually stressed by Erskine. "In the day of the Messiah", he claimed, "beggars are taken from the dunghill and set among princes. This is what is foretold by the prophet David, upon the humiliation of the most high God, Psal. cxlii 7, 8 He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill, that he may set him with princes, even with the princes of his people". (15) With these appeals to the lower strata of society and his attacks on the establishment, both civil and ecclesiastical, it was hardly surprising that it was the lower middle class, upper working class and peasants to whom he appealed. Both A. A. MacLaren and T. C. Smout were therefore correct in sharing the belief that those who left the Church of Scotland were predominantly drawn from "the lower middle class, notably shopkeepers and tradesmen, and from the artisans and peasantry". (16) This was echoed by A. L. Drummond and J. Bulloch who stated that the Associate Presbytery drew its "support from a class which was growing in numbers and wealth, the small tradesmen, the farmers, and the craftsmen". (17) The slightly ironic fact was that Erskine came from an aristocratic background but this, where it was known, mattered less than what he said and did.

These three areas of dispute, theology, patronage and the bias of the General Assembly came to a head with Erskine's above noted



sermon in October 1732. The Erskinites were eventually suspended from the Church of Scotland but they formed their own Presbytery in 1733. It was not until 1740, however, that the members of the Associate Presbytery were deposed from the National Church.

Therefore, we have analysed the origins of the First Secession which were a combination of constitutional, social and theological disagreements. The latter centred around the issue of repentance and means of salvation with this problem being aggravated by its handling in the Assembly. Constitutional controversy revolved around the role of the church while this was exacerbated by the nature of ministers appointed by the patronage system. Erskine's attacks on their social status and his appeal to the 'people' ensured him a strong following among lower social classes.

Up until now we have been concerned with the First Secession since, as W. Ferguson stated, "it grew into the most formidable body of dissent in Scotland" (18) and by 1839 the United Secession Church which was a combination of some later divisions in Erskine's Church had 431 congregations. (19) In spite of later divisions within the secession, the bulk of the groups came together with the Relief Church to form the United Presbyterian Church in 1847.

Four years before this event the Established Church was rocked by another secession. This was the Disruption of 1843. As with the secessions in the previous century, it was the product of many factors a fact which did not escape the notice of James F. Leishman, biographer of Matthew Leishman of Govan, the leader of the 'middle party':

"Probably no professedly religious movement since the Reformation itself, was encouraged by underlying secular and political motives. To catalogue the causes, social, political, commercial, literary and religious, which led up to the Secession of 1843 is beyond our province....The influence of the French Revolution... was felt in all countries. A new moneyed middle class had sprung up which could afford to pay for the luxury of dissent....The passage of the First Reform Bill of 1832 set men's wits to work, and the Church was tempted to follow her secular partner. Every ancient institution was upon its trial, and the Church of Scotland was no exception." (20)

The setting in which the Disruption occurred was one of rapidly changing economic and political circumstances. Economic growth in the eighteenth century provided people who otherwise could not have afforded to maintain their own church with the means so to do and this process was accelerated with the coming of the industrial revolution. In particular this affected the lower middle class who, with the greater wealth produced by an expanding economy, were able to finance their own denominations. This economic factor is often neglected in text books but it is an important one since it provided the secessions with the means for their strong challenge to the Established Church. It not only served as a means but it may also have acted as a cause. Having the wherewithal to do something often encourages you to do it. A modern analogy would be air travel. Does the provision of cheap and fast travel to Spain only act as a means of getting there for a holiday, or is there a causal relationship?

Economic growth was both a means and a cause of the Disruption but added to it were several other factors. A warning shot had been fired over the boys of all establishments in Britain by the French Revolution. This was noted by Gavin Struthers, the historian of the Relief Church, when he wrote:

"The French Revolution shook the nations of Europe to their centre, levelled to the dust the throne of France, and scattered to the winds antiquated modes of thinking on almost every topic. It had a surprising influence upon the progress of religious liberty in Scotland, and with some few drawbacks, was generally favourable to the progress of truth and piety. It caused men to think for themselves who had previously been dreaming away their time, or founding their faith upon certain decrees and canons of their fathers, which were no longer applicable to a new state of society." (21)

It took several decades before some of these aspirations and emotions were translated into reality with the passing of the 1832 Reform Bill. Struthers commented that "the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, produced a considerable change in the institutions of the country.... Monopolies of all kinds, ecclesiastical, civil, and commercial, were now understood to have their days numbered." (22) This prediction about the fate of the Church of Scotland was perhaps understandable coming as it did from the historian of the Relief Church. Over 150 years later the prediction has still not come true but Struthers did catch the mood of the early nineteenth century in his statement. This was a time when establishments were no longer sacrosanct because they existed. The French experience had shown that they could be successfully challenged and the British establishment came under increasing pressure from both within and without.

In this context of a changing economic and political situation, it was hardly surprising that a church so closely allied, as Ian Clark has pointed out, to the political and social establishment should come under attack. (23) The slightly ironic fact was that the most effective attack on the Church of Scotland came from within.

The issue of patronage is often seized upon by historians to explain the Disruption. While the Patronage Act, and the law cases

arising from the conflict between it and the Assembly's Veto Act, were important causes of events in 1843, the dispute over patronage tended further to polarise and aggravate existing divisions in the church. These schisms were broadly between two groups, the evangelicals and the moderates. These headings are somewhat unsatisfactory since they have led to sweeping generalisations about the groups. For example, the charge of moral, as opposed to Gospel preaching is often levelled against the moderates, but "a sympathetic study of surviving Moderate sermons, in their contemporary context, shows a much sharper theological thrust than is commonly supposed". (24) The categorisations, however, do help to illustrate a split within the church over two main issues. Firstly there was the question of what could loosely be called life style, and secondly there was the fundamental debate over the church's role in society.

As their name suggests, the moderates had a more relaxed life style than their evangelical counterparts. The nineteenth century evangelical levelled similar criticisms against the moderate divine as Ebenezer Erskine had fired at some early eighteenth century ministers. Robert Buchanan, who did not wholly approve of the term moderate, calling it "a good name misapplied to designate a very pernicious thing", (25) nevertheless described a moderate in the following terms:

"A moderate divine is one who has a very moderate share of the zeal of God.... A moderate divine is too polite and rational to give any credit to the antiquated divinity of our articles, homilies and liturgy.... He never argues, except when he is

preaching against such fathers of Israel as the pious and lowly Mr. Hallward, and then a moderate divine loses all his moderation. A moderate divine is usually an advocate for card parties and for all assemblies except religious ones, but thinks no name too hard for those who assemble to spend an hour or two in prayer and hearing God's word." (26)

John Mitchell the minister of Wellington Street United Presbyterian Church passed a similar judgment on his Established Church counterpart to that of Buchanan's:

"Declining the active and energetic discharge of the duties of their spiritual and evangelical functions, too many of the pledged servants of the Lord betook themselves to literary study...or to secular concerns. They cultivated connection with the upper classes of society in their parishes, declining intercourse with those of low degree to whom the Gospel is preached." (27)

The evangelical party wanted a return to a more traditional Calvinist life style and ministry in contrast to the enlightened and relaxed image of the moderates. This desire for a more dynamic ministry was also applied to the church's role in a constantly changing world. Many evangelicals felt that the church was too slow to respond to new situations, while the response when it came was at variance with their own ideas. The argument was epitomised in the 1795 debate on missions and later in the Glasgow Church Building Society.

Robert Buchanan commented on the speech at the 1796 General Assembly of the Rev. George Hamilton of Gladsmuir that "to spread the knowledge of the Gospel among the barbarous and heathen seemed to him highly preposterous, in as far as it anticipates, nay, reverses the order of nature. Men must be polished and refined in their manners before they can be properly enlightened in religious truths". (28)

Here was the bone of contention between the evangelicals and moderates.

The former vehemently opposed the moderates who appeared to be placing the Gospel below secular objectives in their parishes and mission work.

Closer to home the problems of urbanisation posed a serious challenge to a rurally orientated church. Buchanan and his evangelical allies, including William Collins, wanted more churches in the cities "to rescue from the ways of sin a population which the rulers of our land have allowed to sink into the lowest degradation...." (29) This aim was hampered by civil restrictions on the Church of Scotland. One of these was an Act whereby ministers of quoad sacra churches were not entitled to sit on church courts. How, asked the evangelicals, could you expect to open new churches if the minister was not treated as an equal?

The dispute over this Act, known as the Chapels Act, was, as W. Ferguson has rightly stated, "not just an example of the supposed Scottish passion for minute controversy over abtruse principles". (30) On the contrary it involved the fundamental question of the church's role in society and its work in spreading the "Gospel to thousands and tens of thousands in over peopled parishes". (31) For an attempt to be made on the latter objective more churches were needed but this was hampered by laws governing the Church of Scotland.

These frustrations with the lethargy of the Church of Scotland grew steadily between 1834 and 1843, until by 1843 many felt that the Established Church could no longer serve as a vehicle to translate their aims into a reality. Therefore, they left the Church of Scotland and founded the Free Church.

We have seen that the Disruption stemmed from a variety of motives. The changing political climate had shown that establishments

could be effectively challenged while economic growth provided part of the means for this challenge. It was from inside the Church of Scotland that a group emerged to pose a threat to its very existence. The arguments between the two parties covered the whole range of how the church could best perform its spiritual and missionary functions. The evangelical alliance opposed the emphasis on cultural, intellectual and social attainments by the moderates. Evangelicals reasserted a stricter life style and gave more prominence to the Gospel in the pulpit and in missionary work. In the latter area a more dynamic approach was needed to meet the problems of industrialisation and urbanisation, but this avenue was hindered by restrictions surrounding the church. Unlike the 1733 Secession, no theological controversy was involved in the debates leading up to the Disruption. We have also seen that the eighteenth century groups appealed to the lower middle class and working class, and we must now go on to analyse the extent to which this remained the situation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. We shall also attempt to study how successful the Free Church was in attracting similar groups.



Notes

1. See appendix table 6, p. 284.
2. Donald Fraser (ed.), The Whole Works of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine. 2 Vols. (London, 1826), Vol. 1, p. 461.
3. Ibid., p. 463.
4. Ibid., p. 470.
5. Ibid., p. 461.
6. Fraser, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 717.
7. W. Ferguson, Scotland 1689 to the Present. (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 116.
8. Quoted in Stewart Meehie, "The Marrow Controversy Revived", Evangelical Quarterly, January 1950.
9. John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, 2 Vols. (Edinburgh, 1882), Vol. 2, p. 249.
10. Acts of the General Assembly quoted in Cunningham, op. cit., p. 255.
11. Quoted in Robert Buchanan, The Ten Years' Conflict. 2 Vols. (Glasgow, 1849), Vol. 1, p. 143.
12. Fraser, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 460.
13. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 117.
14. Fraser, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 472.
15. Fraser, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 589.
16. A. A. MacLaren, Religion and Social Class. (London, 1974), p. 27. See also T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830. (London, 1969), p. 235.
17. A. L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, The Scottish Church, 1680-1843. (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 43.

18. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 124.
19. A. L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874. (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 44.
20. J. F. Leishman, Matthew Leishman of Govan. (Paisley, 1921), p. 104-105.
21. Gavin Struthers, The History of the Rise, Progress and Principles of the Relief Church. (Glasgow, 1843), p. 378.
22. Ibid., p. 469.
23. I.D.L. Clark, "From Protest to Reaction: the Moderate Régime in the Church of Scotland, 1725-1805", in N. T. Phillipson and R. Mitchison, Scotland in the Age of Improvement. (Edinburgh, 1970), Chapter 9, p. 200-224.
24. Ibid., p. 202.
25. Robert Buchanan, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 176.
26. Ibid., p. 176-177.
27. John Mitchell, "Memories of Ayrshire about 1780", in Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, Vol. 6, p. 302-303.
28. Buchanan, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 198-199. See also Gavin White, "Highly Preposterous: The Origins of Scottish Missions", R.S.C.H.S. 1976, Vol. xix, Part 2.
29. Buchanan, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 343.
30. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 308.
31. Buchanan, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 345.

## Chapter 5

### The Social Composition of Selected Presbyterian Churches, circa 1840-1870

#### 1. The Eldership

Despite the many previously noted differences between and within the presbyterian churches, one common thread running through them all was the system of church government and the place given to laymen in it. At the national level a hierarchy of church courts existed in a pyramid shape with the General Assembly at the top, then the Synod followed by the Presbytery, and at the congregational level the kirk session. The kirk session was composed of lay members of the church who when they joined the session became known as elders.

Following the Reformation, the post of elder had been introduced in Scotland and John Knox had outlined the duties attached to this office:

"The Elderis being elected, must be admonisheit of their office, which is to assist the Minister in all publick affaires of the Church, to wit, in judging and decernyng causes, in geving of admonitioun to the licentious lever, in having respect to the manneris and conversatioun of all men within their charge; for by the gravitie of the Seniouris aught the light and unbridillit life of the licentious be corrected and bridillit." (1)

As time progressed, elders became responsible for the educational and spiritual needs of the congregation which covered the exercise of kirk session discipline and the provision, along with the heritors of the parish, of adequate educational facilities.

At the same time as the system of church government was radically changed to allow, through the new post of elder, greater lay

participation this concept was broadened by the introduction of another administrative office comprised of lay members of the church. This was the post of deacon. "The office of the Deaconis", wrote Knox, "is to receive the rentis, and gather the almous of the Church, to keep and distribute the same, as by the ministerie of the Kirk, shall be appointed. They may also assist in judgement with the Ministeris and Elderis, and may be admitted to read in the assemblie yf thei be required, and be fund abill thairto". (2)

Some idea of how these ideas were implemented in the Reformed Church is given in the kirk session minute book of the Canongate Church in Edinburgh. In August 1564 it was recorded that:

"For observing of gud order it is thocht expedient be the hoill kirke that the gait be dewidit into four quarteris, and that thair be two elderis and tuo diokinis for every quarter, bothe to wise(t) the seike, and for the buriallis; and als the diokinis till wp take the puris silver quhilkis gewin wolintarye be faythfull men; and that every on so dilygentlie wait upoun thair awin quarter that non have no excus, alleigand ignorance of quhat place thair aucht to tak heid on." (3)

Deacons in the Canongate Church, and all other churches, never met as an independent body but always with the elders and their main duty was to collect and distribute money for the poor.

However, by the 1800s this office had disappeared as the kirk session had gradually taken over its functions. In the nineteenth century the office of deacon was resurrected first by Thomas Chalmers at St. John's Parish and later by Norman MacLeod at the Barony Church. These were the exceptions as in the majority of cases the kirk session retained its general control over the church and congregation.

We have already discussed the deacon's duties in St. John's Parish but it is not clear why Norman MacLeod reintroduced this office at the

Barony Church. He may have felt that the parish of 87,000 people was too large a responsibility for the kirk session alone to shoulder.

Like their sixteenth and seventeenth century counterparts, the deacons in the Barony Church never met independently but always with the kirk session. At the first combined meeting of elders and deacons in the Barony Church the general rules of this administrative branch of the church were outlined:

"Rule II That the business to be transacted by the Elders and Deacons shall include everything connected with the work or welfare of the congregation, except what the kirk session alone can take cognizance of, such cases of discipline, admission to sacraments and application for the benefit of the Poors' Roll towards a legal proceeding before the Civil Courts.  
Rule III That the Congregational Schemes of Christian usefulness now carried on by members of the congregation shall henceforth be exclusively managed by the Elders and Deacons." (4)

However, the deacons did have three special duties. Firstly, they were expected to attend meetings of elders and deacons, secondly, they superintended over collections for missionary work, and finally they were obliged "to visit all communicants in their District at least once a year along with the Elder or separately if preferred". (5) As these rules and a cursory glance at the minute books show the main work of elders and deacons revolved around organising their church's mission work. Their counterpart in the non-established church was the lay committee responsible for mission work.

Like the Established Church the Free and Secession Church allowed lay participation in church affairs through the offices of elder, deacon and manager. Although the elder's duties were similar in all denominations, the function of the deacon in the Free Church was not

equivalent to his Church of Scotland counterpart. Deacons in the Free Church met with the elders in the Deacons' Court to look after the finances and the property of the church, leaving the kirk session and a separate committee for missionary work to organise the church's outreach into the non-church going areas. As these deacons did not organise their church's mission work they are not to be confused with deacons in the Barony Church. Corresponding to deacons in the Free Church were managers in the United Presbyterian Church who met as an independent court to oversee the fabric and finances of the church.

Therefore, by the nineteenth century the administrative framework of most churches fitted into a similar pattern. In the non-established church, elders and managers, or deacons, shared the running of the church but in the Church of Scotland elders were the sole administrators. One exception to this in the Church of Scotland was the Barony Church where elders and deacons organised mission work.

In this section we shall analyse the extent to which any differences appeared in the social composition of the eldership between the Established and non-established church, and more specifically whether there was a working class presence on the kirk session.

Using the classification code outlined in the appendix (6), the numerous elders were divided according to their social status. The statistics for the individual churches are given in the appendix (7) but for the purposes of this text the aggregate totals for the four non-established churches, Cambridge Street, Great Hamilton Street, Wellington Street and St. Stephen's are shown below:

Total	Found	High	Status	
			Low	Working Class
117	112	67	39	6
	Percentage	57.3	33.3	5.1

These totals accurately reflect the situation in each church since every session fitted into this general picture. The dominant grouping was the high status category. This was followed by the low status elders. The working class came a poor third with all six working class elders falling into category H. Therefore, three features stand out. Firstly, there was a very small working class presence, secondly there was a reasonably high lower middle class membership as represented by the low status category, and the third feature was the superiority of the upper middle class. Within this latter category, section C, the large merchant-manufacturer group, was the most numerous of the four divisions. In Wellington Street Church twenty of the twenty-eight high status elders were drawn from section C.

These statistics, however, hide the most important characteristic of the social composition of these kirk sessions and the one which partly distinguishes it from the Established Church. Within the high and low status groups in the non-established churches, many elders were on their way up the economic and social ladder and saw election to the session as a useful step up this ladder. One illustration of this latter trend was John G. Paton's election to the kirk session of Great Hamilton Street Church.

He was born in Dumfries in 1824 and his father was a "stocking manufacturer in a small way". (8) Although Paton began his working life by following in his father's footsteps and became a stocking manufacturer, he later resolved to enter the ministry. After working as a district visitor and tract distributor at West Campbell Street Reformed Presbyterian Church, he became a city missionary attached to Great Hamilton Street Church. Several years after this appointment,



his ties with the church were strengthened when he was elected to the kirk session. In his autobiography he related some of the motives which encouraged him to accept this post:

"For years now I had been attached to them as City Missionary for their district, and many friends urged me to accept the eldership as likely to increase my usefulness, and give me varied experience for my future work." (9)

Paton partly viewed the office of elder as a means of helping him on his chosen career. While he was working as a missionary he studied for the ministry and he was licensed to preach in December 1851. One year later he left Scotland to become a missionary in the New Hebrides.

John G. Paton was only one of several elders who rose in social status throughout their life and who saw the eldership as a useful stepping stone to higher things. They could be labelled the 'now shoots' or 'aspirant' middle class. The history of two elders clearly illustrates this more general trend of increased socio-economic status. Many Glaswegians of today will recognise one of the names.

Alexander Gilmour became an elder in Cambridge Street Church in the late 1830s. The Post Office Directories for this period listed him as a grain-weigher and store-keeper at Corn Street, Port Dundas. Therefore, he fell into category G. By 1851, however, he had formed a partnership of Gilmour and Roberts, Milton Grinding Works, 132 Port Dundas Road. He lived at 150 Port Dundas Road. This partnership was short lived as in 1859 the firm was Alexander Gilmour and Company, millers and manufacturing drysalers, Milton Grinding Works. Gilmour had by then moved house to Woodside House, North Woodside Road. He now fell into category C. He died in the early 1870s. Alexander Gilmour's history shows, as was noted in the opening chapter, (10)

that there were no rigid class divisions in mid-nineteenth century Glasgow and it was possible for someone to rise from being an employee to the status of an employer. James Daly was another example.

James Daly was an elder in Great Hamilton Street Church. He was born in August 1818 at Rigside near Douglas. The Bailie described his father as a "small contractor on the mail coach" (11) but he was killed when James Daly was still a baby. Daly entered the teaching profession and became a teacher at Muirkirk for £10 per annum. In 1836, however, he moved to Glasgow and joined the drapery firm of John MacIntyre and Company as an apprentice. In the same year he became a member, in line with family tradition, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Great Hamilton Street. Ten years later he left MacIntyre's Company to form the firm of Daly, Spence and Buchanan, wholesale and retail warehousemen, 96 and 98 Trongate. The firm grew rapidly and moved into the drapery business. Daly's social status consequently rose as was illustrated by his move of house from Great Hamilton Street to 125 Grafton Terrace in the late 1840s. It was not until 1870 that he ran the firm alone and it is interesting to note that before this date he had five partners, four of whom were also members of the church, and one was the son of William Symington, the minister. Lack of evidence makes it difficult to evaluate the role played by the church in these partnership. What is clear is that all were members of the church before the businesses were formed, therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the church provided a meeting place where James Daly and his future partners met informally and may have discussed the possibilities of forming their own company. In 1870 Daly's entry in the Post Office Directory described his company as

warehousemen and clothiers, 150 and 152 Trongate. He lived at 148 Randolph Terrace, Garnethill. He died in the late 1910s but his firm continued and today, Daly's, the store which he started, is one of the largest of its kind in Glasgow and is part of the Fraser group of companies.

Both James Daly and Alexander Gilmour were elected to the kirk session early on in their life and afterwards they continued their climb up the social ladder until they became firmly established in the middle class. Their life histories were far from being atypical as the biographical notes of other elders show. (12) Bearing in mind this feature of advancing business and social fortunes along with the reasonably high lower middle class presence, but low working class membership, we must now turn to the kirk sessions of Barony, Govan and St. George's Established Church.

The figures for each church are given in the appendix (13) but the totals are shown below:

Total	Found	High	Status Low	Working Class
87	76	62	12	2
	Percentage	71.3	13.8	2.3

When these statistics are compared to the non-established church, one feature stands out. This is the smaller number of low status elders. The five in Govan may seem to contradict this but of these five, three were school teachers, two within the parish. Govan itself until the 1840s, as discussed in the opening chapter, was a predominantly rural area with its strong rural traditions. One of these, as for much of rural Scotland, was the special relationship between parish church and parish school master when the latter was often the session clerk.



Sketch of James Daly taken from the 'Bailie'. 31/5/1899





This was the case in Govan as William Fulton, the parish school master, was also the session clerk. The close liaison between church and education at an individual level explains the relatively high number of low status elders.

One other statistic stands out and this is the insignificant number of elders from the working class. A possible explanation for this situation will be given below. As in the tables for the non-established churches, stark statistics hide the most interesting aspect of the social make up of these Established Churches' kirk sessions. Elders came either from well established middle class families or they were themselves firmly rooted in the middle class on becoming elders, David MacBrayne's history highlights the former feature and John Donaldson the latter.

David MacBrayne was an elder in the Barony Church. His father was Donald MacBrayne who emigrated from the Highlands to Glasgow in the early eighteenth century. He joined the firm of Adam Good and Company, calico and linen printers in the High Street. He later took over the firm and ran it as a partnership of MacBrayne and Stonhouse. MacBrayne was a founder member of the First Glasgow Chamber of Commerce formed in 1783 which places him among Glasgow's most prominent citizens. He had one son David who is the subject of this biographical sketch.

He began his business career employed by James Leslie and Company, Albion Street. No information regarding the nature of the company appeared in the Post Office Directories but, bearing in mind David MacBrayne's later business activities and his father's firm, it would be reasonable to assume that Leslie's company was a weaving concern. In 1818, however, MacBrayne founded his own weaving company in

Bishop Street. He did not appear again in the Directories until 1830 when he was listed as Barony session clerk. He lived at Barony Glebe. This address was not only because of his church duties but it also resulted from his marriage to Elizabeth Burns, the daughter of Dr. Burns, minister of the Barony from 1773 to 1843. The future careers of these two families makes fascinating history. Dr. Burns' sons, James and George, ran a shipping business to Liverpool, Ireland and the Highlands but George Burns joined up with David MacIver and Samuel Cunard forming a company to transport the mail to America. Out of this developed the Cunard Shipping Line. The Burns brothers handed over their Highland shipping interest to David Hutcheson and David MacBrayne's son who was also called David. Out of this developed the MacBrayne Shipping Company now the nationalised firm of Caledonian/MacBrayne.

Whereas David MacBrayne came from a well established middle class background, John Donaldson was a newer member of the middle class. An elder in the Barony Church he was a watch and clock-maker at 30 Brunswick Court in 1838. After 1838 his business steadily expanded; in 1842 he was described as a watch and clock-maker and dealer in watches and tools, 50 Glassford Street, house, 21 York Street. Ten years later he was a watchmaker, jeweller and goldsmith at 104 Trongate. He lived at 1 Grafton Street. By 1854, the year when he became an elder, his son had become a partner in the firm of J. and P. Donaldson, goldsmiths, jewellers and watchmakers, 68 Argyle Street and 104 Trongate. He still lived at 1 Grafton Street but by 1870 he was living at 15 Ashton Terrace, Dowanhill. He died in the early 1870s. John Donaldson did not become an elder until his business and resulting social credentials had been firmly

established. Had he been a member of a non-established church, in all likelihood he would have become an elder earlier on in his life.

Both David MacBrayne's and John Donaldson's biographers show that the eldership in the Church of Scotland was the mark of a successful business and social career. Consequently, elders were drawn from the well established sections of the middle class. If the term 'new shoots' portrays the elders in the non-established churches, then 'deep roots' describes their Church of Scotland counterparts. One other dissimilarity between the denominations was the difference in lower middle class representation on the respective kirk sessions. As we shall see in a later section, this reflected the situation in the overall church membership. The one feature common to all kirk sessions was the minimal working class presence. We must now attempt to explain this situation.

It is perhaps a statement of the obvious to claim that there only could have been working class elders if there had been working class communicant members. As we shall see in a subsequent section, the classification working class made up the largest single category of church members in every church. Two examples will suffice at present. In a ten year period from 1848 to 1858 56.2% of members, represented by parents having their children baptized, of Great Hamilton Street Church were working class. The working class percentage at the Barony Church between 1855 and 1861 was 59.6. In this context the question which has to be answered is why was the social composition of a kirk session so unrepresentative of the congregation as a whole?

In his book Religion and Social Class, A. A. MacLaren suggested that in the Aberdeen churches one factor which inhibited a working



class presence on the kirk session was the method of appointing or electing elders. (14) In the non-established church elders were elected by all communicants but "the voting procedure was not such as would encourage active working class participation". (15) Those who wished a ballot paper had to apply to elders at the church door on the Sunday preceding the election. The ballot was not secret as all voters had to record their name and address on the ballot paper. A. A. MacLaren went on to claim that, "although there is no evidence of eligible persons being denied a voting list if they sought one, there is reason to believe that many who were entitled to vote refrained from so doing. In one election of elders held in 1855 fewer than 300 participated although there were about 1000 communicants". (16)

In Glasgow the method of electing elders in the non-established churches was similar to the one used in Aberdeen. In the Church of Scotland, however, the system was different since only existing members of session nominated and chose elders. It could be argued that this procedure ensured a monopoly of the middle class on the session since elders would have been unlikely to appoint new office-bearers outwith their immediate social circle. This may have been the case but even in churches with a more democratic system the working class made little headway against middle class nominees. It might be claimed, in line with Dr. MacLaren's theory, that this was the result of the election system. At first sight there is evidence to support this idea.

In an election held in 1850 at Wellington Street Church, twenty two members were put forward as possible elders. Each communicant could vote for six candidates. Assuming that all electors voted for six candidates, only just under 400 communicants voted out of a

possible electorate of around 1,000. In an election for the session of Great Hamilton Street Church in 1844, assuming that all electors voted for their quota of twelve candidates, only one fifth of the electorate exercised their democratic right. The evidence to verify Dr. MacLaren's statement is, however, far from conclusive as it is not possible to test the assumption that all electors voted for the permitted number of candidates. Furthermore, it is impossible to check that all those who did not vote were working class.

In all probability the method of appointing or electing elders did little to effect the session's social composition as very few working class communicants stood for election in the first place. In Cambridge Street Church in 1851, 13 communicants were nominated for election to the session and the occupations for all but two were traced. Of the remaining eleven, none fell into the category working class. A similar paucity of working class candidates was evident in an election in Wellington Street Church in 1850 as the copy of the ballot paper shows. The exponents of the MacLaren thesis might say that the election procedure deterred working class members from standing in the first place. On the other hand it will be shown below that three other factors played a crucial role in giving the middle class a virtual stranglehold on the Kirk session.

List of Persons

Nominated for the Eldership

26th September, 1850

The individual receiving this list, being a Member in full Communion with Wellington Street United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow, will cross the black line (thus +) before the Six Names of those nominated, whom he or she wishes to be elected to the Eldership.

Every Member of the Church is entitled to have a list, and the several Members belonging to, or residing in the same family, will be careful each to provide themselves with one.

The full Name and Residence is required, and ought to be filled in at bottom of list, in the space allotted for the purpose.

Be careful not to mark more names than the SIX, as instructed above; otherwise the list so returned cannot be received in the scrutiny.

Robert Gray, Merchant, 14 Gordon Street, house, 191 Renfrew Street.  
James Horn, Flesher, 126 Thistle Street.  
John Shaw, Hosiery, 36 Argyle Street, house, 424 Argyle Street.  
Richard Mitchell, Cotton Spinner, Greenhead, house, 24 Monteith Row.  
Andrew Paterson, Manufacturer, 17 Virginia Street, house, 16 Cumberland Place.  
William Shaw, at Messrs Campbell and Co., 44 Buchanan Street, house, 54 Abbotsford Place.  
William Harvey, Jun., Distiller, Port Dundas, house, Windsor Terrace.  
Thomas Condie, at Messrs Tannahill and Robertson, Glassford Street.  
James Fraser, Surgeon, 36 York Street.  
Hugh McColl, Jun., Clothier, Glassford Street, house, Grove Street.  
Thomas Hitcheson, Baker, 82 Union Street.  
John Fairley, Merchant, 25 Cochran Street, house, 197 Pitt Street.  
James Taylor, Merchant, Queen Street, house, 19 Rutland Street.  
Alex. Hay, at Messrs Russell and Raeburn, Union Street, house, Cessnock Road.  
John Y. Bogle, Draper, 288 Argyle Street, house, 278 Argyle Street.  
Joseph McClure, Church-yard Warden, Anderston, house, 13 Richard Street.  
William Galbraith, Marble Cutter, 123 St. Vincent Street, house, 202 St. George's Road.  
William S. Fairlie, Agent, Miller Street, house, 134 Garscube Road.  
Francis Watson, Baker, 166 Sauchiehall Street, house, 162 Sauchiehall Street.  
William Morrison, Hatter, Argyle Street, house, 44 Portland Street.  
Robert Hannay, Merchant, Prince's Square, house, 2 Viewfield Terrace, Hillhead.  
David Dunn, Spirit-Dealer, 44 Carrick Street.

Name of the Member voting

Place of Residence

The practical requirements attached to the post restricted the choice to those who had the time to spare. Kirk sessions usually met in the evening around eight p.m. which, in theory, would have allowed time for an artisan to attend. It was, perhaps, expecting too much of someone who had worked upwards of a ten hour day to attend a meeting in the evening. Artisans, however, were able to attend evening meetings of Mechanics' Institutes. The obligations, both formal and informal, of eldership extended beyond attending meetings of the kirk session and these placed additional demands upon an elder's time.

Members of session were often managers and in this case the elder's presence was required at meetings of managers. In addition to these offices, elders and their families were expected to take an active interest in the missionary work of the church which involved a greater sacrifice of time on committees and in the 'vineyard'. Hugh Hart, for example, on top of his duties as an elder in Wellington Street Church was on committees in charge of missionary work, Bishop Street School, the Sabbath Schools and the Library, while his wife was on the committee of the Dorcas Society. James Alexander, an elder at Cambridge Street Church, was also a manager, a missionary director and a Sabbath School teacher.

Furthermore, some office-bearers undertook philanthropic work outwith the bounds of their own church. Alexander Allan was a manager and later an elder in Wellington Street Church. In business life he was co-partner of the Allan Royal Mail Line later known as the Montreal Ocean Steam Company which, as its name suggests, was a shipping company trading with Canada. (17) Alexander Allan, in addition to his duties in his church, was a trustee of Quarrier's

Homes (18) and with his Canadian connections he helped children from Quarrier's Homes emigrate to Canada. He also served on the committee of the United Evangelistic Association, a body formed in 1874 whose object was to "further Protestant Evangelistic work at home and abroad". (19) It ran a wide range of activities including prayer meetings, sewing classes, temperance meetings, breakfast meetings and a service held in a tent on Glasgow Green from which the present Tent Hall in the Saltmarket area of Glasgow takes its name.

The primary duty of an elder was to ensure the spiritual wellbeing of the church members in his district. This entailed regular visitation of those in his charge who were often spread over a large geographic area. Such visitation if carried out as expected was yet another call upon the elder's time.

The vast majority of elders appear to have been conscientious in their duties both in attendance at committee meetings and in regular home visitation. James Mitchell, an elder in Wellington Street Church, earned the following glowing account of his years spent as a member of session:

"The eldership with him was no sinecure. He did not limit its duties to faithful attendance on meetings of session or of committee. He was the right hand of the successive ministers, and, as long as his health allowed, he was a diligent visitor of his district, smoothing the pillow of the sick, comforting the bereaved.... And, as they buried the old man (Mitchell) a little knot of poor women watched the hearse move away, it held the remains of perhaps their only friend." (20)

The obituary of Andrew Aird, who was an elder in Wellington Street Church, claimed that as an elder he had "been a model of diligence and fidelity in the fulfilment of the duty pertaining to the office, particularly in ministering to the sick and those in distress". (21)

Although these reports are somewhat eloquent in their praise, the call upon an elder's time was a major obstacle in the way of a larger working class presence on the session. Those falling into categories H and I had neither the time nor the flexibility of working hours to fulfil the duties of eldership. However, even assuming that artisans and labourers had possessed the time, it is doubtful whether more people from these groups would have become elders for the reasons outlined below.

When we were looking at the social make up of kirk sessions, two trends emerged. In the Church of Scotland, communicants were only appointed to the session after becoming well established in business and social life. Eldership was a reward for success in these areas. In the non-established churches many elders were elected to the session early on in their business life and then progressed to the high status groups. In both cases a certain social and economic status was required before admission to the session was possible. The most striking evidence for this hypothesis is the financial contributions given by elders to the church and its various schemes.

In the economic sphere church members were obliged to contribute as much as they could afford, and sometimes more, to the church. As kirk sessions were composed of the wealthier sections of the congregation, eldership was associated with substantial contributions to the church. William Harvie, an elder in Wellington Street Church, gave £25 in 1847 towards a fund set up to liquidate the debt on the church building in Wellington Street. In 1856 William Aitken and John Donaldson, elders in the Barony Church, gave £5 and £3, respectively, to church funds. In 1862 Thomas Yoclow Stewart, who

was an elder in the same church, gave £11. In Cambridge Street Church, Alexander Gilmour, an elder, gave £5 in 1852 and £3 in 1854 towards home mission work. His colleague on the session, John Ronald, gave £7.10s in 1853 and £4 in 1854 towards the same purpose.

It was not only when once elected to the session that elders expected to contribute generously to the church but before election the financial capability and willingness of the ambitious member to donate money had to have been proven. Thus in the years before a member became an elder it was common to find him giving substantial sums of money to the church. James Alexander, who became an elder in Cambridge Street Church in 1854, gave £2 in 1852 and £1 in 1853 to the home mission fund. James Anderson was appointed to the Barony kirk session in 1857 and one year before he gave £10 to the church funds.

Another indication of the social status of elders was their respectable dress. It is very difficult to discover the type of clothes worn by elders in the 1840s and 1850s but by 1870, as the photograph of Wellington Street Church kirk session shows, most elders were wearing a dark coat with tails. All the available evidence suggests that elders were no less well dressed in earlier periods.

In William Alexander's novel, Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk, the author described the clothes worn by Peter Birse, a candidate for election to the kirk session of Pyketellin Free Church in Aberdeenshire, at a congregational meeting in 1843:



"There had evidently been some pains bestowed on Peter's toilet; he was understood to be arrayed in ecclesiastical black, and, in particular, the upper part of his person was uncommonly carefully done up, with a shirt neck of formidable dimensions and stiffness threatening his ears, and his hair combed into a sort of clerical flatness very different from its ordinary ragged state." (22)

At the meeting he was elected to the kirk session and afterwards his friend Harry Muggart "begged to congratulate Peter on his personal appearance in his 'stan o' blacks', so very suitable to the new dignity that awaited him". (23)

Norman Macleod in his novel, The Starling, depicted Adam Mercer, a future elder, as someone who took pride in his personal appearance:

"At the same minute on each succeeding day of holy rest and worship, the tall, erect figure, with well-braced shoulders, might be seen stepping out of the cottage to survey the weather, - dressed in the same suit of black trousers, brown surtout, buff waistcoat, black stock, white cotton gloves, with yellow cane under his arm, - everything so neat and clean, from the polished boots to the polished hat, from the well-arranged locks that met in a peak over his high forehead and soldier-like face. And once within the church, there was no more sedate or attentive listener." (24)

Therefore, in addition to having to prove his financial ability to serve on the session, the potential elder had to show that he possessed the required respectable clothes. As we shall see in the section on the congregation, lack of suitable clothing was often given as a reason by many working class families as a reason for not going to church. Those working class families and individuals who did attend church either possessed or were given suitable clothes but most could not afford the expensive suits worn by elders.

It would be wrong to assume that in the non-established churches in particular the eldership was solely seen as a means towards greater

Wellington Street Church Kirk Session, 1870



social respectability. Many elders highly valued the office in itself. James Mitchell when receiving an honorary degree of LL.D from Glasgow University stated that "no honour was to him equal to the honour of being an elder in Wellington Street Church". (25) Moreover, most elders, as has been noted above, took the obligations of the position seriously and gave much in both time and money to the church. Such dedication was not commensurate with regarding the post merely as a useful rung in the social ladder.

Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that the economic and social obligations of the eldership were a major obstacle in the way of greater working class participation on the kirk session. It proved almost impossible for most working class communicants to surmount this barrier since they had neither the required social status nor the financial wherewithal to become elders. A carter or a labourer could not afford to give £25 to the church. No matter how democratic the election procedure was, and even if a skilled or an unskilled worker had been allowed to work when and for how long he wished, he still had to meet the social and financial criteria of membership.

Therefore, the kirk session of a non-established church was primarily composed of the up and coming middle class whereas elders in the Church of Scotland had their roots more deeply embedded in the middle class. In both cases the working class was only noticeable by its absence and this resulted from the economic and social requirements of eldership. To what extent a similar situation occurred in the office of deacon or manager forms the basis of the next section.

Notes

1. David Laing (ed.), The Works of John Knox, (Edinburgh, 1848), p. 234-235.
2. Ibid., p. 236-237.
3. Alma B. Calderwood (ed.), The Bulk of the Kirk of the Canaanit, 1564-1567. Published by the Scottish Record Society in 1961, p.5.
4. B.C. Elders' and Deacons' Minutes, 5/1/1854.
5. Ibid.
6. See appendix table 7, p. 285.
7. See appendix table 8, p. 286.
8. John G. Paton, Missionary to the New Hebrides. (London, 1889), p. 4.
9. Ibid., p. 81.
10. See above chapter 1, p. 50.
11. The Bailie, 31/5/1899.
12. See the biographical notes on elders in the appendix
13. See appendix table 9, p. 287.
14. A. A. MacLaren, Religion and Social Class. (London, 1974), p. 122.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Thomas H. Appleton, Ravenscrag. The Allan Royal Mail Line. (Toronto, 1975), see chapter 3.
18. I.G.C. Hutchison, "Politics and Society in Mid-Victorian Glasgow, 1846-1886". Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1974, p. 198.
19. First Annual Report of the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association, 1874.



20. Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men. (no author).  
2 Vols. (Glasgow, 1886), Vol. 2, p. 232.
21. The Bailie, 11/1/1893.
22. William Alexander, Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk. (Edinburgh, 1880).  
p. 176.
23. Ibid., p. 180.
24. Norman MacLeod, The Starling. (London, 1892), p. 10.
25. Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men, op. cit.,  
p. 232.

## 2. The Managers

Although we saw that in his duties the manager or deacon in the Free and Secession Church was not equivalent to the deacon in the Barony Church, in terms of social composition no major differences appeared between the denominations and both can be considered together.

The social status table for deacons in the Barony Church in the period 1852 to 1854 is outlined below:

Total	Found	High	Status Low	Working Class
19	19	18	1	0
	Percentage	94.7	5.3	0

The aggregate figures for Cambridge Street, Wellington Street, Great Hamilton Street and St. Stephen's Church are shown below. The tables for each church are given in the appendix. (1)

Total	Found	High	Status Low	Working Class
110	103	78	21	4
	Percentage	70.9	19.1	3.6

As with the kirk session, one striking feature of the social composition of managers is the small working class presence. Furthermore, there were more low status elders in the non-established churches vis-à-vis the Church of Scotland. These two features were reflected in the managers. In all churches the high status group was dominant with section C the most numerous. In Great Hamilton Street Church fourteen out of the twenty-four high status managers were in section C. The corresponding figure for the Barony Church was fifteen out of

eighteen. Therefore, in three areas there were no differences between elders and managers. Firstly, there was the low percentage of working class office-bearers, secondly, there was the dominance of the high status group and the final factor was the larger percentage of lower middle class elders and managers in the non-established church compared to the Church of Scotland. On examining the situation more closely one important contrast emerges.

Most managers were only nominated for the post after they had proven themselves successful in business or in the professions. Robert Gray was elected a manager in Wellington Street Church in 1854. Prior to this date he had had eighteen years experience in business as a partner in the firm of Buchanan and Gray, commission merchants at 30 Royal Exchange Square. In St. Stephen's Free Church, Henry Constable became a manager in 1853. This followed ten years in business as a commission merchant at 29 West George Street.

The history of the Cochrane family illustrates that in the Barony Church it was unusual for communicants to be made deacons before gaining experience in business life. Alexander and Robert Cochrane were deacons in the Barony Church. Their father was a ship's captain who was drowned in 1820 but Alexander Cochrane took over his father's shipping interests. (2) In 1838 he left this business to form a partnership of Cochrane and Couper, flint-glass manufacturers in Glasgow. In 1843 Couper was replaced by Alexander's younger brother Robert. In 1854, the year when Alexander Cochrane became a deacon, he was living at Glenfield House, Townmill Road.

Robert Cochrane, who also became a deacon in 1854, was a partner in his brother's company and was the owner of a separate business. He commenced his business career employed at the Verreville Pottery and



he gradually worked his way up the firm until he became, in 1846, the managing partner of Robert Kidston, the owner of the company. One year later on Kidston's death, Robert Cochrane took over the business. Subsequently he became one of the most famous pottery manufacturers in nineteenth century Britain and one of his most familiar products to the Victorian housewife was his 2lb jam jar. (3) His business steadily expanded and in 1857 he built a new pottery works in Glebe Street. It became known as the Britannia Pottery which was "one of the largest potteries in the country at that time". (4) While the building was nearing completion a friend asked Cochrane what it was to be. He was apparently rather annoyed at such a question and replied, perhaps somewhat irreverently for an office-bearer of the church; "you may be dammed sure it's no to be a kirk". (5) On his death his sons carried on the Verreville and Britannia Potteries and the site of the former has recently been excavated and can be visited today.

There was no watertight stipulation that deacons had to have many years of business experience. Thomas Dunlop was an exception to the general rule. He became a deacon in the Barony Church in 1854 at the age of twenty two. At this time he was a provision merchant in the Cowcaddens. In the late 1850s his business expanded and diversified into grain dealing and shipping. His son became a partner in the company and in 1864 Thomas Dunlop (senior) was able to celebrate his improved commercial position "by moving his home away from the madding crowd to the select western fringes of the city at 2 Great Kelvin Terrace, Hillhead". (6) His son took over the running of the business which had as its interests the Clan and Queen Shipping Lines. It is interesting to note that the first of the Clan ships was called



A photograph of the recently excavated site of the Verreville  
Pottery Works in Finnieston Street





Clan Macleod, perhaps in memory of the Barony Church's most famous minister. In 1914 Thomas Dunlop (junior) became Lord Provost of Glasgow.

Thomas Dunlop (senior) did not follow the general pattern of church members requiring many years of business experience before becoming a deacon since he was appointed to this post very early on in his life. However, in his appointment as an elder in 1863 he conformed with the general trend in the Church of Scotland as by then he had his roots well established in the middle class.

Unlike elders in the non-established church, managers did not use their post as a step up the social ladder as they were already successful in business and social life before accepting this office. Like the eldership in the Established Church, the post of manager was often the mark of social and financial respectability. The same was true for deacons in the Barony Church.

Managers did not view their office as a bridge between church membership and the kirk session. Of the sixteen people who became managers in Wellington Street Church between 1850 and 1854, ten either had or were to have served on the session. Six were in the former category and four in the latter. In Great Hamilton Street Church William Campbell became an elder before 1844 but he was not a manager until 1854. Alexander Symington, on the other hand, was a manager in 1852 but he did not become an elder until after 1854.

The office of manager in the eyes of the middle class was regarded neither as a means to increased socio-economic status nor to becoming an elder. As with the kirk session, the working class had minimal representation in the managers' court and the explanation for this carries on from what has been said above.

We have seen that men with business experience were usually

chosen as managers. Common sense would suggest that this was natural, bearing in mind the fact that managers dealt with the financial affairs of the church. Speaking of the qualifications desirable in a manager the Christian Journal, a magazine of the Relief Church, wrote:

"From the manner in which some view the secular affairs of churches, they would deal with them on the same principles as they would any other money affairs, and suppose that any one qualified to collect and disburse money for any sort of object, has the requisite qualifications to manage this concern of a church."

The author of this article went on to state that dealing with money placed temptations in man's way and he warned churches "to place in this office (manager) only men of a truly pious, disinterested, and Christian spirit and deportment". (7)

In addition to meeting these criteria the potential manager, like an elder, had to satisfy the financial and time consuming demands of the post. Managers were expected to donate generously towards church funds. In 1852, for example, John Leishman and William Anderson, managers in Cambridge Street Church, gave £4. 1s and £2, respectively, to home mission work. Managers were often involved in other church activities. David Clark, a manager in Wellington Street Church, was on the committee in charge of the church's day school in Cheapside Street and the congregational library. These factors of time and money helped to limit the pool of possible managers to those church members who could afford both. Most working class church members had neither the time nor the financial resources necessary to become a manager.

Therefore, church members required business experience, time and money before they could realistically hope to be raised to the post of

manager. With only a few exceptions these factors restricted managers to the middle class communicants especially those in section C and they explain the almost complete absence of working class managers or deacons.

The middle class held a virtual monopoly of the administrative posts in the church. Differences did appear in the social composition of elders in the non-established churches when compared to their Established Church counterparts. The former were noticeable for the high percentage of up and coming middle class members of session but in the latter case elders were drawn from those who had longer and stronger ties in the middle class. In both cases, however, the economic and social conditions attached to the office excluded most working class members. In all denominations the position of manager was kept open to church members who had proven their managerial capabilities in the professions or in business.

These findings lead us on to ask how representative was the social make up of elders and managers of the congregation as a whole? Are we correct in assuming that because it was unusual to find working class elders, few, if any communicants were working class?

Notes

1. See appendix table 10, p. 288.
2. Donald MacLeod, God's Acres of Dumbarton. (Dumbarton, 1888),  
p. 299.
3. J. A. Fleming, Scottish Pottery. (Glasgow, 1923), p. 104.
4. Ibid., p. 110.
5. Ibid., p. 111.
6. G. Rankin-Taylor, Thomas Dunlop and Sons, Shipowners, 1851-1951.  
(Glasgow, 1952), p. 12.
7. Christian Journal, February 1841.

### 3. The Congregation

"The perplexing mystery of the place (Coketown) was, who belonged to the eighteen denominations? Because, whoever did the labouring people did not." Charles Dickens, Hard Times.

"As I was coming here I saw an empty building, all shut up, where nobody lives and nobody goes: what would you say that house was?"

And a fatal boy replied, "The House of God".  
E. M. Sneyd-Kymmersley, Some Passages in the Life of a Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools.

These two quotations sum up the general impression held by many that as a rule the working class did not go to church. Some of the findings in this section will show that this impression needs modification.

In five non-established churches, Cambridge Street, Wellington Street, St. Enoch's, St. Stephen's and Great Hamilton Street, over 2,500 church members were analysed with a view to discovering their social status. The data for each church is given in the appendix (1) but the figures for all five are as follows:

<u>Total</u>	<u>Pound</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Status</u>		<u>Working class</u>
			<u>Low</u>		
2,663	2,397	457	495		1,445
	Percentage	19.1	20.6		60.3

For three Established Churches, Barony, Govan, and St. Stephen's in the year 1838, the statistics were:

<u>Total</u>	<u>Pound</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Status</u>		<u>Working class</u>
			<u>Low</u>		
1,330	1,296	162	109		998
	Percentage	12.8	8.6		78.6



On studying these tables one figure stands out. By far and away the largest single grouping in every church, hence in the aggregate totals, is the working class category. Although the 1836 Royal Commission into Religious Instruction used different, and in its own eyes doubtful criteria for analysing congregations, the large working class presence which it found in all churches matches these figures above. (2) Therefore, Engels' statement that "all the writers of the bourgeoisie are unanimous on this point, that the workers are not religious and do not attend church..." (3) when applied to Glasgow was too sweeping a generalisation. A more detailed examination of this finding will be undertaken at a later stage. Before this we must turn our attention to the middle class section of the congregation.

As in the kirk session, of those members belonging to the high status group most came within section C in all denominations. In 1850 ten communicants in Wellington Street Church were classified as high status. All but one came from section C. In Govan Parish Church in 1856, 1857 and 1858 every high status member was in section C. Nevertheless, in the non-established churches it was the low status group, shopkeepers, self employed artisans and the like, which outnumbered the high status category. The reverse was the case in the Church of Scotland. Therefore, the non-established denominations had a higher percentage of the lower middle class in their congregations than the Church of Scotland. We have already noted a similar situation in the respective kirk sessions.

In the eldership of the non-established churches it was common to find someone being elected to the session while he was in the low

status group and after several years rising to one of the high status sections. The lives of many church members followed a similar pattern.

John Black of Wellington Street Church had a child baptized in 1851 and the Post Office Directory for that year listed him as a sailmaker at 222 Broomielaw. Seven years later his business had expanded into hemp, wire, rope, sail and sail-cloth manufacturing with premises at 27 Lancefield House. He lived at 5 Royal Crescent. By 1873 he had moved house to 16 Park Terrace and had called this house 'Lancefield'. With the decline of sailing ships his business, which was carried on by his sons, concentrated on steam ships and ran the Glasgow Steam Shipping Company. In 1938 this company amalgamated with Donaldson Brothers, another shipping firm, to form Donaldson Brothers and Black Ltd. (4) This firm is now called the Anchor Line with offices at 14 St. Vincent Place.

In 1847, 1849 and 1851 Andrew Watson, a cooper at 140 Port Dundas Road, according to the 1847 Post Office Directory, had children baptized at Cambridge Street Church. Three years later his business had moved to 171 Port Dundas Road and he was living at 62 Stewart Street. In 1854 his house was at 2 Clifton Grove Street and by 1863 at 17 Windsor Terrace. In this year he was described in the Directories as a cooper and hoop merchant at 171 Port Dundas Road. By 1870 he had again moved house, this time to Edgefaulds House, Springburn.

Hand in hand with increasing social respectability went a move of house to the suburbs and in particular to the west end. John Black was one example which could be multiplied by many other members, especially elders as the biographical notes show. (5) With

this movement of an influential section of the congregation to the west end, many members of Wellington Street Church in particular became more distant in geographical terms from their church. The Evening Times in 1910 commented that "the expansion of the city had quite transformed the locality surrounding the Wellington Street building and the residences of many of its members were at a considerable distance from the church". (6) It was, therefore, hardly surprising that in 1884 the church moved to its present site in the west end in University Avenue. The Alhambra Theatre was later built on the site of the old church in Wellington Street.

If one stands outside the Botanic Gardens and looks towards the centre of Glasgow along Great Western Road, two church spires are visible. The first and the slimmer one belongs to Lansdowne Church and the second spire, which has more of a middle age spread, points up from St. Mary's Episcopal Church. Lansdowne Church was opened in 1863 and it owed its origins to a similar shift in population to the west end as took place in Wellington Street Church.

Some middle class members of Cambridge Street Church were living in Hillhead and the surrounding area by the second half of the nineteenth century (7) and found travelling into Cambridge Street for Sunday worship too much of an effort. A church nearer their homes was an obvious solution.

The idea of founding a new church would appear to have arisen from a discussion between Dr. Eadie, the minister of Cambridge Street Church, and a member of the church who lived in Hillhead. Dr. Eadie had noted that this person had been absent from church on the previous Sunday. The excuse for his absence was, "How could we go, the day was so wet and stormy?" Dr. Eadie then replied, "You must get a church for yourselves there sometime soon". (8)

This is exactly what they did as Dr. Eadie, four elders and "a considerable number of the members" (9) left Cambridge Street Church and founded Lansdowne Church. The fact that the new church was attended by the more prosperous sections of the middle class led to an amusing poem being chalked on the wall of the church before the opening service:

"This Church is not built for the poor and needy,  
But for the rich and Dr. Eadie.  
The rich may come in and take their seat  
But the poor must go to Cambridge Street." (10)

The church cost £12,436 to build and on the opening service £1,231 was collected. These sums of money indicate the social class of the people who attended. Confirmation that Lansdowne's congregation was predominantly upper middle class is given in its communicants' roll book which lists the church's first members who were disjoined from Cambridge Street Church on petition by the Presbytery on the 10th of November 1863. Their names and occupations are detailed in the appendix but they can be classified as follows: (11)

Total	Found	High	Status	
			Low	Working class
33	29	26	3	0
	Percentage	78.8	9.1	0

Despite the comments about the congregation, those who founded the church supervised over the building of one of Glasgow's most attractive churches. It was recently made the subject of an article in the Glasgow Herald which sparked off some correspondence regarding the Church of Scotland's responsibility for its architectural heritage.

The proposed hiving off of a section of the congregation and the loss of their minister caused resentment in Cambridge Street Church.



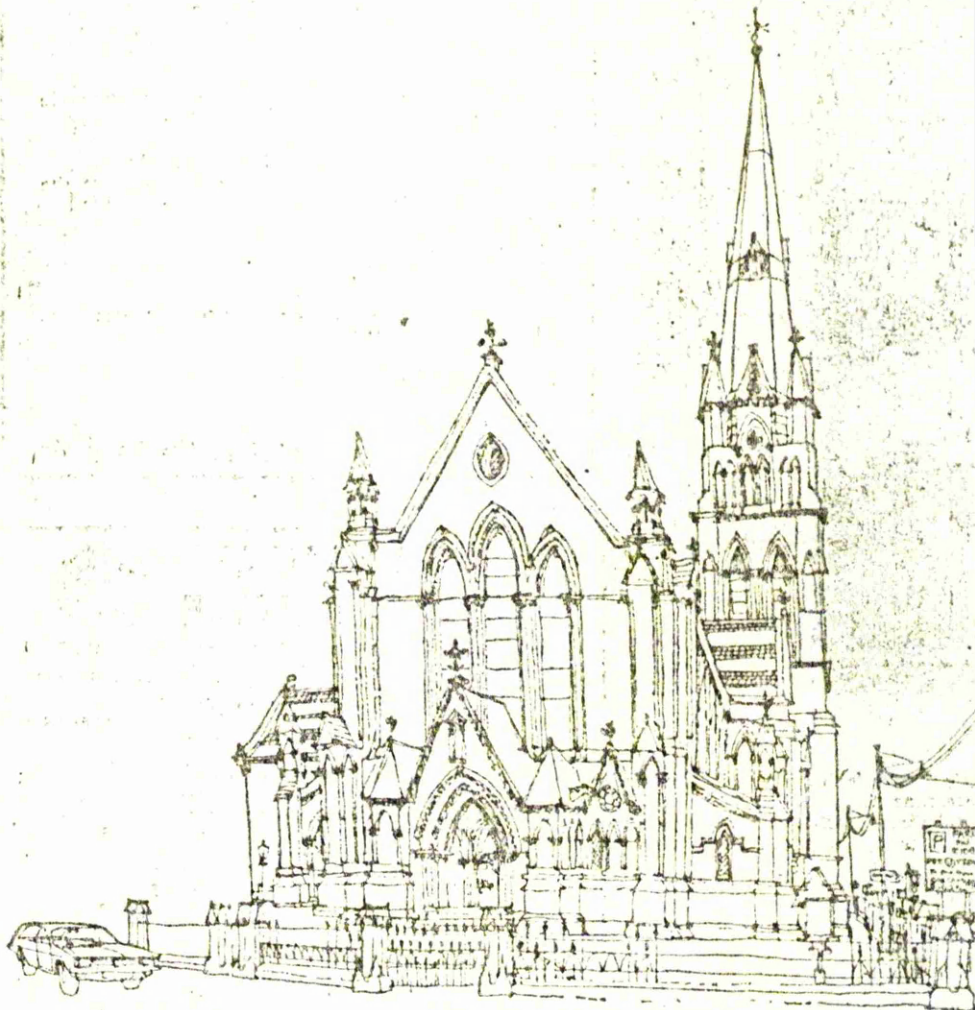
Article on Lansdowne Church which appeared in the Glasgow Herald on 7/8/1976. One of the letters to the Glasgow Herald following this article is given on the next page.

## Glasgow View

By Ro

# Famous Gothic church in need of repair

LANDSDOWNE Church at Kelvin Bridge, famous for its slim steeple (the tallest in the city) was built in 1863 and designed by architect John Honeyman. A Glasgow man, Honeyman practised in a variety of architectural styles; he designed the elaborate cast iron Ca'doro building in Union Street, supervised the restoration of Iona Cathedral, and built the rich Italianate Barony North Church at Cathedral Square in Glasgow. Gothic, how-



ever, was his most assured style.

He was an authority on medieval architecture, and for a time, was the architect attached to Glasgow's

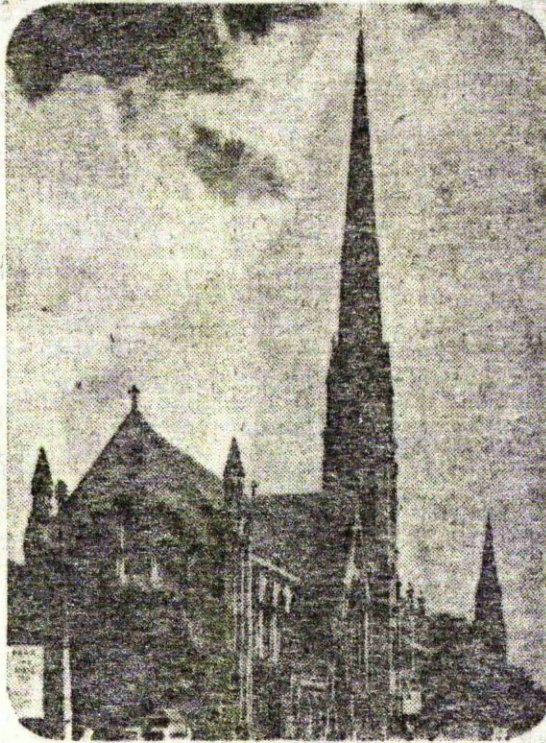
thirteenth century Gothic Cathedral. Lansdowne Church is his best Gothic design which, with the later (1871-84) and adjacent St Mary's Episcopal

Cathedral, dominates the western approach to the city centre.

Unfortunately, while St Mary's (also a Gothic design) was cleaned a few years ago and is



## A church that is 'crumbling away'



Lansdowne Church, Glasgow.

Sir, — While I appreciate Robin Ward's contributions to Saturday Extra I am sure he has his tongue in his cheek in his last sentence about Lansdowne Church, Glasgow, crumbling away.

Priorities are seldom given to Church fabric and there will be a target to meet for the wider work of the Church. Though I have no intimate knowledge of the local situation at Lansdowne, I am fairly certain that this is another case of a dwindling congregation in a depleting

area becoming so thin on the ground that they are unable to carry the burden of a building over 100 years old.

If the community cares enough for this part of its heritage maybe Robin Ward's prod at the congregation may prove a timely one, but many of us feel that it is no part of the Church's work to preserve buildings purely because of their beauty or architectural merit.

Andrew Rolland.

19 Whitton Drive,  
Giffnock.



This was expressed in the managers' minute book, albeit in somewhat muted terms:

"The preses then referred to the numerous newspaper articles which had appeared regarding the new Church proposed to be erected in Great Western Road and particularly to a letter signed by the 'Cambridge Street Committee'. On Messrs William Walls and Cowan stating that this designation had been used inadvertently and would not be repeated the meeting after protracted conversation agreed not to enter into a public controversy on the matter." (12)

However, Cambridge Street Church survived the hiatus which is surprising considering that it had lost many of its richest members. The explanation for its continued existence lay in its situation. Because it was relatively nearer the west end than Wellington Street Church it was able to attract people who could afford to maintain it. This was not possible for churches which were situated nearer the centre of the city and many were forced to move or close, a situation which continues to this day. In his book the United Presbyterian Churches in Glasgow, J. L. Aikman listed eight churches which were formed as a result of the westward movement of population. (13) In the case of Cambridge Street Church the ironic fact was that the church had been founded to cater for the needs of those in the north west of the city. As the boundaries moved further west it lost some members to Lansdowne Church.

In 1970 Glasgow Corporation proved a more potent adversary to Cambridge Street Church than Lansdowne Church as the Corporation decided to redevelop the area around the church. The church was pulled down and a multi-storey car park erected in its place.

Therefore, in the non-established churches there were more lower middle class members than in the Church of Scotland. Moreover, many



communicants rose in social status during the middle decades of the century. In the Church of Scotland the majority of middle class members had their roots firmly set in this class. One such person was John Robertson Irvine. He had a child baptized in the Barony Church in July 1859 and the Post Office Directory for that year listed him as a partner in the firm of Irvine and Bryce, manufacturing chemists and drysalsters, Port Dundas Chemical Works, 128 Bishop Street. He lived at 54 Renfrew Street.

The explanation for this larger lower middle class percentage in the non-established churches, with the exception of the Free Church, lies in their origins. We saw in an earlier chapter that those who broke away from the Church of Scotland were predominantly drawn from groups G and H. One of the most important factors in determining which denomination a person joined was family tradition, and many members of the non-established churches in mid-nineteenth century Glasgow could trace a family connection with their denomination over many decades. James Daly, whose history has already been outlined, of Great Hamilton Street Church is one example. (14) In the obituary of Daniel Taylor, an elder in the same church as James Daly, it was noted that Mr. Taylor came from "covenanting stock on both father and mother's side, they were Cameronians to the bone". (15) This continuing family link with these churches ensured a similarity in the social composition of the congregations over many generations.

With Glasgow's growth as an industrial and commercial city new opportunities appeared for economic advancement and many members of the non-established churches were quick to capitalise on these developments and so rose to the high status groups. By the 1860s and 1870s this had been reflected in their churches which became more upper middle class in make up, and more prosperous as evidenced by

the building of expensive new buildings. In the context of the middle class section of the congregation these churches more closely resembled the Church of Scotland in the 1870s than they had thirty or forty years before.

This hypothesis of family tradition, however, does not explain the relatively high proportion of lower middle class adherents in the Free Churches of St. Stephen's and St. Enoch's. What denomination one's parents attended could not influence the social milieu of the Free Church since it was formed in 1843. As has been noted, the eldership in the non-established churches was partly viewed as a stepping stone to higher things but in the Church of Scotland it was awarded after the stepping stones of business and social life had been successfully negotiated. It may have been that some lower middle class members of the Church of Scotland who aspired for greater status felt this aspiration blocked by the upper middle class monopoly in the administrative offices of the church. One way to circumvent this barrier was to form a new church where the lower middle class would be more powerful. With the greater wealth brought about by the industrial revolution this became a practicable proposition. Moreover, it was from these sections of society that demands for an extension of the franchise and other reforms were increasingly being made. The lack of democratic control over the appointment of ministers and office-bearers in the Church of Scotland ran contrary to these wishes. Power to the people was the call of the day but this was met with the faintest of echoes in the Established Church. Writing in MacPhail's Journal, a magazine which supported the Church of Scotland, one author caught the mood of the times when he tried to explain why so many laymen had left the church:

"A variety of motives... effected men's conduct in such emergencies - the love of novelty - the influence of excitement - the force of example - a certain esprit de corps, or the sentiment akin to it, which attaches one to a particular minister or a particular congregation... above all, the spirit of the age which is emphatically a spirit of aggressive, restless agitation for an increase of popular power." (16)

Without power in the Established Church and possessing the wherewithal to maintain their own denomination many left the Church of Scotland for the more democratic Free Church where the congregation's opinion held a greater sway.

If variations appear in the status of middle class communicants between the Church of Scotland and the non-established churches, then similar differences are visible in working class members. In the opening chapter we saw that the working class could be broken into two distinct groups, skilled and unskilled workers. Categories H and I in the classification code cater for this division. (17) The total of 1445 working class communicants in the five non-established churches can be broken down into 1151 (79.6%) for group H, artisans, and 294 (20.3%) for group I, unskilled workers. The figures for the three Church of Scotland congregations are: (18)

Total	Group H	Group I
998	688	310
Percentage	68.9	31.1

All denominations had a substantial working class presence but the non-established churches had a smaller percentage of the lower working class than the Church of Scotland

As the following description shows, attendance at church required high standards of respectability in dress:

"There is a popular opinion that during the coal-scuttle bonnet period women looked very unattractive. This is erroneous. Women's dress at that time was sweetly feminine and elegant. It was quite a sight to see 'kirk skailin' at what is now Calton U.F., St. Andrew's Parish and Episcopal, St. Enoch's, Greyfriars', the Tron, and St. George's in those days. The matrons of the better class, with their Irish poplin gowns and fine Cashmere or Paisley shawls and Tuscan bonnets trimmed with ribbons, looked very stylish. Their daughters clad in 'Roslins' or other washing materials, with shawls like their mother's, and leghorn bonnets trimmed with light-coloured ribbon bows, would have made the 'tailor-made' girls of our day look almost dowdy." (19)

Contemporaries seized upon the problem of not possessing the Sunday best in an attempt to explain the relative failure of the non-established churches to attract the unskilled worker. In 1849 Mr. Naismith, a city missionary employed by Wellington Street Church, reported that "of all the professedly Protestant families I visit few regularly attend any place of worship on the Sabbath. The general excuse is that they cannot dress like others who go to Church". (20) In 1853 one James McIntyre, a member of Great Hamilton Street Church, was reported to the kirk session for continued non-attendance at church. Thomas Binnie, an elder, was appointed to investigate and in October he reported to the session that "he had waited upon James McIntyre, who plead him that his absence from Church was occasioned by his want of clothes...." (21) McIntyre was subsequently furnished with suitable clothing and "was expected to be able to attend Church". (22) A similar case arose in Wellington Street Church where James Morrison was questioned by the session for continued non-attendance at church. Morrison "admitted that he had absented himself for six or eight Sabbaths continuously from public worship alleging his want of decent clothing". (23) The setting up of clothing societies, Dorcas Societies, as they were called, to provide

clothes for people to attend church shows that it was not only the kirk session but also the ordinary church member who accepted lack of respectable clothing as a deterrent to church attendance.

Outwith the churches which have been studied in close detail the connection between non-attendance and lack of suitable clothing among poorer members was made. In his autobiography of his years spent as minister of the Wynd Church, Dugald MacColl related an amusing story about one of his parishlone's excuse for missing church one Sunday. The person concerned was Sandy Wilson who had "feeble knees and a stammer" according to MacColl. He asked Wilson if he had been ill on the Sunday concerned but the reply was, "Na, na Sir, but a mouse got in-into my box, b-below the b-bed and ate a hole, like a croon piece, in the m-middle of my coat". (24) The coat was soon patched up and Sandy Wilson felt able to go to the Wynd Church the following Sunday. In 1837 William Thompson, a missionary employed by Greyfriars' United Presbyterian Church, claimed that the "poor people do not come to Church on account of the meanness of their clothing". (25)

A London costermonger summed up how many of his class felt on seeing people dressed in their Sunday best coming out of church. The London costers, he said, "see people coming out of Church and Chapel, and as they're mostly well dressed, and there's few of their own sort among the Church goers, the costers somehow mix up being religious with being respectable and so they have a queer sort of feeling about it. It's a mystery to them." (26) Many Glaswegians shared these sentiments.

But if the necessity to conform to respectability in dress discouraged some unskilled workers from going to church then it may

have provided others with an excuse for not attending. However, the issue of dress was only one factor in creating among many unskilled workers a sense of 'not belonging' in the non-established churches.

Pew rents provided an important and a stable source of revenue for the church. By 1854 pew rents in Cambridge Street Church were providing most of the finance necessary for the running of the church and the minister's stipend of £500 per annum. The various educational and social schemes of the church were financed by subscriptions and collections at church services. Up until 1853 quarterly collections had been used to raise the necessary revenue for the minister's stipend and the overheads of Wellington Street Church. In 1853 it was decided that "the whole revenue of the congregation for ordinary purposes shall in time coming be raised from seat rents alone". (27) As a result of this decision the level of seat rents was raised. In general the amount charged for the honour of occupying a seat varied from around 2/- to over one pound a quarter according to the location of the pew.

Payments of seat rents were carefully checked and any member falling behind with his or her payments was quickly called to account. At a congregational meeting of Great Hamilton Street Church in 1814 the following decision was taken:

"The Managers are authorised to petition the Session for the names of all the actual members of the congregation in order to ascertain who do not contribute for the support of the Gospel; and the Managers are further requested to return to the Session a list of the names of those who do not pay for seats in the meeting house and respectfully petition the Session either to pay for them from their funds or otherwise deal with them as they consider most advisable." (28)



Many church members were unable to afford enough sittings for all their family. Fifty communicants of Wellington Street Church with varying occupations were studied in the pew rent books for the 1850s. Middle class members occupied the higher rated seats, with sittings for all members of the family, while working class members rented the lower rated seats but were unable to give all members of the family one seat each. Two individuals highlight this trend: Antony Hamay, a wine and spirit merchant, had a family of four children and in 1855 he 'owned' six seats in pew 21 at 17/- per sitting. In contrast, James Turnbull, a sugar boiler, had five children but in 1852 he could only afford two sittings in pew 17 at 4/6d per sitting.

More evidence to support these figures came in the 1834 Select Committee on Handloom Weaving when James Orr, a handloom weaver, and a member of a non-established church, said that "the pew that I occupy for a sitting is 6/4d in a year. I would require for my family six sittings; that is what I cannot afford". (29) Thomas Paul, also a handloom weaver, told a similar story:

"I am not a member of any denomination just now. I was in the habit of attending the Independents for some time, but, from the depression of wages, it has been completely out of my power and my family to pay for seat rent as I should wish to do." (30)

Some workers could not afford to pay for sittings for all their family but there were many more in Thomas Paul's position of not being able to pay for any at all.

It is true that free seats were provided to allow those who were not able to pay for a sitting to come to church. However, a stigma was attached to these seats since to turn up at church poorly

dressed and then to sit in a free pew was regarded by the working class as degrading. William Collins (31) recognised this fact when he stated that cheap or free pews were "often inconveniently situated, and are cheap merely because of their inferior position. There is also much truth in the statement that these cheap sittings are often placed in a noticeable position, which marks them out as sittings for the lowest grades in society, and hence the poor working man, who may have seen better days, cannot brook to make a descent from his class and his companions, and sink into a level with the avowedly poor and indigent. In his ostensible descent from his status in society there is felt degradation which powerfully operates as a preventive to his taking of these sittings". (32)

From the working class side it was claimed by John Tait, a handloom weaver, that "it accords with my experience, that the working classes generally are enabled to provide themselves with religious instruction, and pastoral superintendence according to their own views of religion and morality, even the purest. This I know of my own knowledge, because, although they are not able to pay for church sittings...yet, rather than occupy sittings gratis, they would accommodate themselves one another with room, or take to the open fields in weather like this....They would rather do this than accept of gratis church sittings". (33)

The 1836 Royal Commission into Religious Instruction recognised that the inability of many working class parents to afford sittings for all their family combined with a dislike of free seats deterred some from attending church. Some witnesses who gave evidence to the Commission stated that "the dislike of the people to occupy low

priced or gratuitous sittings, avowedly set apart for the poor, which in general are such as to make those who occupy them marked and distinguished from the rest of the Congregation, and the inferior nature of the accommodation provided for them, operate in preventing attendance. In confirmation of which they referred to the fact admitted by witnesses connected with other denominations, that while it may not be difficult for a single individual to supply himself with a sitting, a poor man is frequently unable to pay for adequate accommodation for himself and his family. They also referred to the aversion of the poor to occupy seats on sufferance from which they are liable to be displaced at pleasure". (34)

Therefore, although free seats were provided, to occupy them was seen as a degrading experience but pew rents placed church sittings beyond the means of many. The effect of pew rents was cogently expressed by the following poem:

The Poor Christian and the Church (35)

How glorious Zion's courts appear,  
The pious poor man cries:  
Stand back, you knave, you're in arrears,  
The manager replies.

Poor Christian

The genius of the Christian code  
Is charity, humility;

Manager (in a rage)

I've let your pew to ladies, Sir  
Of high respectability.

Poor Christian

And am I then debarred the house  
Where erst my father prayed? -  
Excluded from the hallowed fane  
Where my loved mother's laid?

Manager

Their seat rent, Sir, was never due;  
The matter to enhance,  
As duly as the term came round,  
They paid it in advance.

Poor Christian

The temple of the living God  
Should have an open door,  
And Christ's ambassadors should preach  
the Gospel to the poor.

Manager

We cannot, Sir, accommodate  
The poor in their devotions;  
Besides, we cordially detest  
Such antiquated notions.  
We build our fane, we deck our pews  
For men of wealth and station;  
(Yet for a time the thing has proved  
A losing speculation.)  
Then table down your cash anon  
Ere you come here to pray;  
Else you may wander where you may.

Poor Christian

Then shall I worship in that fane  
By God to mankind given;  
Whose lamps are in the meridian sun  
And all the stars of heaven;  
Whose walls are the corulean sky,  
Whose floor the earth so fair,  
Whose dome is vast immensity:  
All nature worships there.

The purpose of discussing dress and pew rents was to discover why fewer unskilled workers attended the non-established churches than the Church of Scotland. However, there is no reason to believe

that members of the Established Church were less well dressed than their non-established counterparts. Moreover, in all denominations pew rents were charged. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for an answer to this problem. There must have been certain features unique to the non-established churches which discouraged a greater lower working class presence. These were the financial obligations of church membership and, to a lesser degree, kirk session discipline.

Although all denominations charged pew rents, the non established churches placed great stress on the fact that every member had a duty to donate money to the church. There was less emphasis placed upon this in the Church of Scotland, a difference which arose from two sources. The Established Church could rely on state aid for some of its missionary work, notably education. In line with their voluntary principles many non established churches refused to apply for financial assistance from the Government. Furthermore, they were often burdened with debt arising from the necessity of having to build their own place of worship. Notwithstanding the fact that many congregations had a history stretching back into the eighteenth century, their churches were more modern having been built in the 1830s or 1840s. Not so the Church of Scotland where many churches had been built and paid for if not several decades then several centuries before.

In order to finance itself and its many schemes a non-established church was forced to ensure that each member gave money. Indeed, before someone became a member of the United Presbyterian Church he had to promise to "contribute liberally". (36) He or she was never allowed to forget this promise. In a sermon preached in 1840

John Robson, minister of Wellington Street Church, urged members to dig deeper into their pockets to pay for their church's mission work. "The poor as well as the rich", he exhorted, "the man who earns his livelihood by his daily labour or he who inherits his wealth...is equally invited to bear his part in the common concern". (37) Such sentiments were not confined to Wellington Street Church as in 1852 the Annual General Meeting of the Missionary Society of Cambridge Street Church passed the following resolution:

"That this Society believing that it is the duty of all professed followers of Christ to contribute for the advancement of his cause in the earth, are deeply persuaded that, as a congregation, we are greatly at fault so long as any of our members refuse to give to the Lord that which is his due." (38)

Working class members appear to have fulfilled this obligation. In 1847 Alexander Milne, a cabinet maker, gave £1 towards a fund set up by Wellington Street Church to liquidate the debt on the church building. William McKechnie, a carter, and Peter Watt, a blacksmith, gave 1/6d and 1/- respectively to Cambridge Street Church's missionary work in 1852. But in the context of the whole of Glasgow's urban work force these must be seen as the exception rather than the rule since those who struggled to eke out a bare existence had no resources with which to meet these financial requirements.

If one studies kirk session minutes for this period one is struck by the amount of time devoted to members appearing before the session to give account of a wide variety of sins which it was alleged they had committed. Dr. MacLaren cited discipline as the single most important factor in deterring more of the working class



from attending church, and in particular the non-established churches. It was used, he claimed, by the middle class to impose its cultural and moral values on the working class, a process which alienated the latter from the church. (39) But "there was a marked reluctance on the part of the kirk sessions to proceed against individuals of socio-economic status in the community and who lived in respectable residential areas". (40) Discipline was, therefore, an instrument used partially by the middle class to keep a check on working class life. This theory needs radical amending when it is applied to Glasgow.

Middle class members were not sheltered from the watchful eye of the kirk session and it was not uncommon to find "individuals of socio-economic status", including office-bearers, appearing before the session. It is difficult to categorise activities which were regarded as unacceptable as the process was more issue orientated than would conform to any one pattern. Conduct unbecoming to the respected post of elder or manager seems to have been the general rule and this was ambiguous enough to allow consideration of a wide variety of sins from intemperance to doubtful business practices.

In one case the session acted as a marriage guidance service. Andrew Landells was an elder in Great Hamilton Street Church and co-partner in the firm of Landells and Gordon, linen and wool drapers, 118 Trongate. (41) In February 1844 he told his colleagues on the session that "he and his wife were separated, and he requested that the session take up his case which they agreed to do". (42) His wife was then called to appear and she made several accusations against her husband who accepted seven of them including locking her in her bedroom, threatening to leave her, using "abusive language

about her descent" and being rude to her in prayer. (43) The case was considered by the session and in March Landells was suspended from the eldership since "the session agree that it is inexpedient that he exercise his office in the meantime...." (44) A committee of elders was set up to reconcile husband and wife but it had little success until January 1845. By then Landells was prepared to return to his wife who, perhaps not surprisingly, would have nothing to do with him. However, Landells appeared before the session and "expressed repentance for his improper expressions listed at Mrs. Landells in prayer". (45) This satisfied the majority of elders who voted seven to three in favour of restoring him to the eldership. This was not the end of his ordeal since one elder, Hunter Finlay, objected to Landells' readmission. After listening to these objections Landells "thought that his exercising his office in the meantime would not be for the edification of the congregation". (46) He resigned as an elder so putting an end to the saga.

In St. Stephen's Free Church an elder, William Ralston, a coal merchant, was questioned by the kirk session regarding his conviction in the courts for having faulty weights and balances on his coal weighing machine. (47) After taking evidence from several witnesses including William Lyall, inspector of weights and balances, the session "after carefully considering the whole case, resolved to record their regret that Mr. Ralston had neglected to have his weighing machinery legally adjusted but being satisfied that he had erred through ignorance and inattention, they fully acquitted him of the guilt of fraudulent intention, saw no reason to withdraw their confidence from him as an office-bearer of the congregation, but

expressed the hope that in future he would inform himself of the requirements of the law so as to avoid all occasion for reproach. Mr. Ralston acquiesced in the decision of the Court". (48) The not guilty verdict on the charge of "fraudulent intention" coincided with the findings of the civil court.

These proceedings appear to have left William Ralston dissatisfied. No explanation for this was offered in the minutes but he may have been bitter that the case had been brought before the session at all. The slightly puzzling fact is that, as already noted, he "acquiesced in the decision of the Court" at the time. For whatever the reasons, William Ralston expressed his grievances by not attending communion and other services. In December 1855 "the session took into consideration the absence of Mr. William Ralston, Elder, from the recent disposition of the Lord's Supper in the Church, and the irregularity of his attendance at Public Worship since Communion, and also a charge brought by him against the session of unjust treatment in their decision in his case, as recorded in Minute bearing date 18th October 1855, after acquiescing in the same. After long conference and dealing with Mr. Ralston, who was present, he acknowledged that he was wrong in the course he pursued in absenting himself from the Communion, and his irregular attendance at Church since that occasion and also in regard to his charge against the Session of unjust treatment in their decision on his case, further that he had misunderstood the proper mode of procedure in such cases, but he now saw his error, and expresses his regret for what he had said and done. Whereupon the session being satisfied with the acknowledgement of his error, and the expression of his regret, resolved to take no further steps in the business". (49)

Other inquiries involving elders included John Brownlie, an elder in Great Hamilton Street Church, who in 1845 was suspended for being drunk. After apologising for his conduct he was readmitted to the session. (50) Two years later, however, it was alleged that "on Wednesday evening...he along with one of his fellow workmen had gone into a public house, when they had three gills of whisky he felt so much the worse of this as to require assistance home and was unfit for work next day". (51) This time he was not readmitted to the session. (52)

In 1834 it was alleged that the session clerk of Greyfriars' United Presbyterian Church while counting the collection "seemed to be gathering pennies with his right hand, and putting them into his pocket...." On another occasion he collected money in his hand and then "he went to the fire place, as if to spit, and when there put the money into his pocket". (53) As a result of this conduct he was removed from the eldership. (54)

The ordinary middle class communicant was also called to account by the session. The most common case was Sabbath profanation by shopkeepers who did business on Sundays. At a meeting of Wellington Street Church kirk session in 1845 "it having been ascertained that Robert Hillcoat is in the habit of keeping an open door for business on the Lord's Day and having been dealt with on the subject without receiving satisfaction, it was agreed that he be suspended from membership" (55) Hillcoat refused to accept the session's discipline and he left the church. This does not appear to have hampered him in his business career as in 1845 he owned one shop which sold beers and spirits but in 1854 he had four such stores. For Robert Hillcoat church membership was not a prerequisite for business success.

A similar situation arose in Cambridge Street Church when Alexander Tait, a spirit dealer at 168 Cowcaddens Street, was suspended "for selling spirituous liquors on the Lord's Day". (56) A committee of two elders was set up to make further inquiries and in October 1845 it reported that Alexander Tait had "persisted in selling spirits on the Lord's Day and as he and his wife persist in their sinful ways the session agree to drop their names from the role of members". (57) Once again this did not adversely affect his business since in 1859 he was listed in the Post Office Directory as a wine and spirit merchant at 40 Shuttle Street. However, it was from this small section of the congregation that discipline, threatening their financial interests, met its stiffest opposition. Working class members, as we shall see, did not object to discipline so strongly.

Impropriety of conduct in sexual matters by middle class members did not go unnoticed by kirk sessions. In October 1849 Elizabeth Prat appeared before Barony kirk session:

"Compeared Elizabeth Prat residing at 64 Villafield Place, St. James' Road, and acknowledged she had brought forth a child in uncleanness and accused Adam Aitken, jeweller, residing with his father as the person who had been guilty with her and the father of the illegitimate child. She presented a line signed by her law agents, Messrs. Strathern and Douglas no. 67 Miller Street, Certifying, "That in the Action of Filiation and Aliment raised at her instance against Adam Aitken jeweller in Glasgow Mr. Sheriff Substitute Bell found that the said Adam Aitken was the father of Miss Prat's child and discerned accordingly". (58)

James Lamb and John Jack, both elders, were appointed to make inquiries and at the end of October Elizabeth Prat again appeared before the session:

"Compeared Elizabeth Prat who being well reported of by the Elders with whom she had been appointed to converse she was solemnly rebuked by the Moderator and absolved from the scandal." (59)

The interest of this case lies in two areas, firstly the social status of those involved and following on from that the fact that a child was conceived before marriage. The 1849 Post Office Directory showed that Adam Aitken's father was one Peter Aitken, jeweller and silversmith, 96 Argyle Street and 48 Argyle Arcade, house, 90 Argyle Arcade. This suggests that Elizabeth Prat may have been a domestic servant in the household in which case the situation was fairly common. Male members of Victorian households often pursued girls of lower social status, especially their domestic servants, for casual sexual intercourse which gave rise to a great deal of prostitution. (60) The problem with this explanation is that a domestic servant would have been most unlikely, due to the cost involved, to have had a firm of solicitors to represent her. This suggests that she too came from a middle class background. The address given in the session minutes for Elizabeth Prat was a lodging house run by one Mrs. Graham, but Elizabeth Prat's parents may have lodged her there during her pregnancy to minimise their embarrassment. Unfortunately the name Prat did not appear in the 1849 Directory so we have no detailed guide to her parents. In 1854 four people called Prat were listed; such are the problems of working with the Post Office Directories.

Adam Aitken was undoubtedly middle class and the evidence suggests that Elizabeth Prat was of a similar social status. This makes the case unusual since, as T. C. Smout has pointed out, the whole institution of Victorian courtship made it very difficult, even for engaged couples, to get to bed before they got to the altar. (61)



It was not possible to discover what happened to Adam Aitken and Elizabeth Prat after this 'mishap'. They may have been married but Adam Aitken did not appear in any of the later Directories. His father's business was carried on by other sons. Adam Aitken may have died or after his flirtation with Elizabeth Prat he may have been sent abroad. Unfortunately we may never know the whole story.

A. A. MacLaren did make one exception to his rule that many middle class sins went unnoticed. This was bankruptcy. "Any hint", he wrote, "of unsound business practice led to immediate enquiry although here again one suspects that it was not so much the crime as the exposure which was regarded as the sin". (62) This theory either did not apply to Glasgow, or church members, with one exception, were all successful business men. In all the churches which have been analysed only one bankrupt was called to appear before a kirk session. In 1854 John Dunn was called to appear before Wellington Street Church kirk session. It was not possible to identify him positively but in 1853 his business collapsed and the session decided to investigate. The impression gained from reading the minutes (63) was that the session's examination did not spring from any dislike of financial insolvency per se but rather from the fact that John Dunn was accused of 'cooking the books'. Dishonesty not bankruptcy was the sin.

Although the middle class communicant could not rely on the kirk session turning a blind eye to his or her indiscretions the majority of disciplinary cases before the kirk session involved the working class member. This arose in part from the numerical superiority of the working class in the congregation and thus should not be simply seen in terms of one class repressing another.

Moreover, discipline long antedated the times when one could properly speak of a middle and a working class in society and the motives for discipline were as much theological as social since it allowed for public repentance of sin. (64) In the case of an illegitimate birth discipline served one useful purpose in that it made clear to the community and the person involved who was responsible for the child.

The procedure followed in most cases was for the individual to be called to attend a session meeting where he or she was charged with his or her sin. In the vast majority of cases the individual accepted responsibility and was then suspended from church membership. One or two elders were appointed to make further inquiries and if they gave a satisfactory report about their probationer's conduct, after repenting for his or her sin before the session, the individual was restored to church membership. Antenuptial fornication, non-attendance at church and intemperance were the most common sins. Robert Dunn is an example of the latter 'crime'.

The kirk session minutes for Wellington Street Church in November 1843 recorded that;

"Mr. Boyd (an elder) reported that Robert Dunn... had lately on a Sabbath Day been guilty of drunkenness...." (65)

He was suspended from church membership and a committee of three elders was set up to investigate this accusation. Once they were pleased with his conduct he was readmitted to the church:

"The committee reported that they were very much satisfied with the spirit he (Robert Dunn) manifested in recognition of his former sin and the session agreed that he be admonished, and after, intimation given of his restoration to the privileges of a member..." (66)

Cases of antenuptial fornication were usually brought to the attention of the kirk session when the child of this 'immoral' liaison, according to the church, was presented for baptism. If the couple had been married after the child had been conceived or born then this was easy to discover by a simple arithmetic calculation. The session minute book for Govan Parish Church recorded that on the 11th of November 1855;

"Compeared James Campbell Cullen and Janet McGregor, his wife, Govan, acknowledging that they had been guilty of the sin of antenuptial fornication and professing penitence who having been solemnly rebuked and admonished were absolved from the scandal of their sin and restored to the privilege of the Church."

Two Sundays later the following entry was made in the baptismal register:

"Cullen Mary Gordon, lawful daughter of James Campbell Cullen, ship carpenter, and Janet McGregor, Johnston's Land Govan. Witnesses James Knox Margaret McGregor." (67)

Occasionally it was necessary for two kirk sessions to co-operate in a disciplinary case when the transgressors were members of separate churches. In March 1845 Elizabeth George "unmarried and a communicant" with St. Stephen's Church appeared before her elders "and acknowledged herself to be in state of pregnancy. Being solemnly admonished to speak the truth, and asked with whom she had been guilty and who was the father of the child she charged Jeremiah Cochrane, a married man, residing at No. 33 William Street, and as she understood a member of the United Presbyterian congregation in Cambridge Street, as the person who had been guilty with her. She also produced a written

acknowledgement from the said Jeremiah Cochrane in which he certifies saying 'Elizabeth George is about four months going with child with me'. This being a case of adultery, the Session, in terms of the Form of Process, refer the matter to the Presbytery of the bounds, and after a solemn admonition from the Moderator Elizabeth George was cited... to appear before the Presbytery at their ordinary meeting on Wednesday next". (68)

Three days later it was noted that the Presbytery had rebuked Elizabeth George and sent her case back to the kirk session who appointed two elders to make further enquiries. (69) In October they reported favourably on Elizabeth George and she was restored to "Church privileges". (70)

On checking the session minute book of Cambridge Street Church for this period, in May 1848, the following entry was found:

"Mr. William Gilmour reported that Jeremiah Cochrane a member of this congregation had been guilty of the sin of Adultery. The Session agreed to suspend him from the fellowship of the Church and summon him to attend at the next ordinary meeting of Session." (71)

Unfortunately, as fate would have it, the session clerk was absent from the next meeting of session and scanty minutes were taken. These dealt with the forthcoming election of elders and no mention was made of Jeremiah Cochrane. In all probability he did appear at this meeting and was restored to church membership since his case did not appear in any later minutes.

Although the sins of the middle class were not ignored by the kirk session the indiscretions of the working class comprised the majority of cases. Most church members, with the notable exception of those whose financial interests were threatened, accepted the

kirk session's authority. To the outsider, however, it may have appeared as if the church was attempting to impose an alien set of values on its working class members so deterring him or her from joining. But why should this have applied to the lower working class and the non-established churches, rather than the Church of Scotland? Part of the answer lies in the fact that the Church of Scotland was less stringent in its control over the behaviour of its members.

Whereas the non-established church kirk session was primarily concerned with intemperance, non-attendance and sexual immorality the Established Church concentrated on the latter. Between 1840 and 1863 every disciplinary case before Barony kirk session was concerned with sexual immorality except five cases dealing with irregular marriage. Thomas Aird was an example of the former:

"Compeared Thomas Aird, shoemaker, and acknowledged that he and his spouse/who is unavoidably absent at this time from indisposition/had been guilty of the sin of antenuptial fornication. The Session appoint them to converse with Messrs. Samuel Milroy and David Brown Elders who are to report when satisfied." (72)

This the elders did and one month later:

"Compeared Thomas Aird and spouse who being well reported of by the Elders...they were duly admonished by the Moderator and absolved from the scandal." (73)

Between 1840 and 1845 five irregular marriages were dealt with by the session. In a recent article J. S. Marshall described an irregular marriage as a "union contracted by declaration before witnesses, celebrated by someone other than the parish minister, and without proclamation of banns. The celebrator did not have

to be a minister, since the essence of the marriage was simply a promise made before witnesses". (74) Opposition to these marriages came from the Church of Scotland whose ministers held a legal monopoly over conducting a marriage ceremony, but J. S. Marshall claimed that the regularisation in 1784 of marriages celebrated by someone other than a parish minister made the inducement to resort to ministers of doubtful standing weaker "and the number of irregular marriages reported in kirk session records fell off rapidly". At the same time, "the swift increase in the population of the towns...made the attempt to trace and deal with every clandestine marriage extremely difficult, and all attempt at keeping any account of these affairs was abandoned early in the nineteenth century".

If by "early in the nineteenth century" Dr. Marshall meant after 1846, his statement was applicable to the Barony Church since in that year one of the last cases of irregular marriage was considered by the session:

"Compeared Thomas Gordon, labourer, and Janet Finlayson and acknowledged themselves to have been irregularly married about twelve years ago which acknowledgement they made in the presence of the Session. The woman cannot write.

Thomas Gordon.

William Black, Moderator.

"They are appointed to converse with Messrs. John Anderson and Alexander MacDougall who are to report when satisfied." (75)

"The session minute book for Govan Parish Church is missing for the years 1821 to 1856 hence it is not possible to check when this church ceased checking on irregular marriages but in September 1820 it was noted that:



"Voluntarily appeared Henry Duff and Catherine Blair, both of this place acknowledging themselves guilty of an irregular marriage and professing their penitence for the same they were absolved from the scandal of their offence, with suitable reproof and admonition..." (76)

However, in 1842 at St. Stephen's Church an irregular marriage was dealt with by the session:

"Compeared James Scot and Isabella McLaurin and acknowledged that they had been irregularly married of which they produced evidence. They also confessed that they had been guilty of antenuptial fornication. After a solemn admonition addressed to them by the Moderator Messrs. Haig, Hunter and Ralston were appointed a committee to deal with them." (77)

Bearing in mind the criticisms of moral laxity levelled at the Established Church from within and without the more relaxed system of discipline is not surprising. However, there was a more practical reason to explain the difference between the denominations. The size of Church of Scotland parishes - the population of the Barony Parish in 1850 was 87,000 - made it impracticable for the session to attempt to keep a tight reign on the behaviour of even a small part of this total. On the other hand, non-established congregations were more tightly knit communities and the geographic area policed by the session was generally smaller. Therefore, it was both practical and in line with their stricter moral code for their sessions to keep a closer watch on communicants. Sexual immorality was an obvious sin for the Church of Scotland to concentrate upon since it was easily proved and usually came to light, as already noted (78), when the parents wanted a child conceived outside marriage to be baptized. Intemperance and other sins often involved long disputes with the calling of

Thomas Gordon's appearance before Barony Church kirk session.

(See page 184).

Gordon  
v  
Wilkinson  
Marriage

Compared Thomas Gordon  
Lachlan & Janet Wilkinson and acknow-  
ledged themselves to have been irregularly  
married about 12 years ago which was  
legitimate they made in the presence of  
the session. The woman came with

Thos Gordon  
William Black  
Secd.

They are to be appointed to converse with  
Messrs John Anderson & Alexander McDonald  
who are to report when satisfied.

witnesses and it was impossible to check on every case occurring in the parish. The sole emphasis on sexual sins and the more relaxed discipline was, therefore, a reflection of a less stringent moral ideology and the impracticability of policing the lives of so many people.

It would be wrong to assume that Established Church kirk sessions permanently sat steeping in the sexual waywardness of communicants. It was also concerned with a variety of other business relating to the congregation. One interesting entry appeared in the Baxony session minute book in 1853 when the elders considered an "application on behalf of Mr. James Cruickshank Roger...to have his oldest child's name altered from Francis James Cruickshank (already in the Parochial Register as such) and to be entered over again in the said Parochial Register and to be named Francis Robert Wilson. The object the parents had in view was to name this child after its mother's brother who was in India and which he...had specially requested the Parents to do. The Session unanimously agreed to the request...." (79) Here the kirk session acted as the nineteenth century equivalent of the modern Deed Poll.

The factors of dress, pew rents, discipline and financial contributions created an environment whereby the lower working class felt that they did not belong in the non-established churches. Put more simply, they could not afford to go. In the Church of Scotland less stress was laid on money and morals thus more unskilled workers attended.

One way to check this hypothesis is to compare the composition of working class communicants in a congregation which was both Established and non-established. St. Stephen's fell into this category since between 1838 and 1843 it belonged to the Church of

Scotland but in 1843 almost all the congregation and the minister went over to the Free Church. In 1838 80 members were working class with 54 (67.5%) in group H and 26 (32.5%) in group I. Between 1851 and 1865 331 working class members had their children baptized. 273 (76%) were skilled workers but only 78(23.5%) were unskilled.

To ensure that this low percentage of unskilled workers in St. Stephen's Free Church was not an exception, the congregation of Free St. Enoch's was analysed. The figures for working class members between 1844 and 1856 are shown below:

Total	Group H	Group I
132	96	36
Percentage	73.0	27.0

The drop in lower working class members in St. Stephen's after it left the Established Church coincided with tighter discipline and a far greater emphasis on the financial obligations of membership of the new church. This latter point was clearly shown by several entries in the deacons' minute book. In September 1843 "the Secretary brought under the notice of the association the indispensable necessity of an effort being made by the congregation to increase their weekly Sabbath collections...." (80) One year later "Mr. Burns gave in a statement in reference to the congregation's contributions to the Central Sustentation Fund along with lists of Non Subscribers in each district when it was agreed that every exertion should be made to increase our contribution". (81) Further discussions were held about the Sustentation Fund and "it was ultimately agreed that each superintendent should go through

his district, it being very desirable that no member of the Church be left without an opportunity of contributing to this most important Fund". (82)

Before 1844 the session's discipline had not extended beyond dealing with cases of "antenuptial fornication" and illegitimate births but in July 1850 "the attention of the court was called to the conduct of David Thomson, residing at No. 48 Sauchiehall Street, a member of the congregation, who had been seen in May last by several members of the Session and congregation in a state of intoxication, and who being spoken to by them as to the sinfulness of his conduct, had used language unbecoming a member of a Christian Church". (83) This was just one example of an extension of discipline into other areas including intemperance and dubious business transactions. (84)

After 1843 church members were expected to give more money to the church than previously. Moreover, they had to conform to a far narrower moral code. Consequently, there was a fall off in lower working class membership of the church. The interesting fact is that the percentage membership of skilled workers was not similarly effected in St. Stephen's or any other non-established church.

Artisans received a higher wage than unskilled workers hence they had a broader back on which to support the financial burdens of membership. But this does not explain why they did not feel alienated from the church by other factors including dress and kirk session discipline. The answer may revolve around the artisan's desire for respectability and self improvement. The London costermonger quoted above (85) was discouraged from attending church since he associated this "with being respectable" but

"being respectable" was just what many skilled workers strove to achieve. As we saw in the opening chapter, the variety of educational institutions either set up or attended by artisans stand as a testimony to this desire to 'get on'. Church membership may have fitted into this trend. The aspirant middle class viewed the eldership as a means to furthering their economic and social status and it may have been that some artisans saw church membership in a similar light. Speaking of skilled workers in Birmingham, T. R. Tholfsen wrote:

"Respectability was the ultimate goal, for it represented success in his attempt to guide his life by the standards of his social superiors. In this obsessive quest for respectability is to be found the key to the social outlook of the artisan. To that end he bent the full force of his tenacious character, and sought to display all the signs of an inner respectability. He scrupulously adhered to his self improvement imperatives: civility, especially to superiors, decency in dress, decorum in behaviour, purity of speech..." and "diligent performance of religious duties...." (86)

In the context of Glasgow this wish for respectability through church attendance made artisans more amenable to the moral and cultural values expounded by the church via kirk session discipline.

In terms of social composition all congregations were broadly based with the working class comprising the largest single percentage. However, the administrative offices of the church were in the hands of a middle class élite, a situation which resulted from the fact that only men of a certain socio-economic status became elders or managers. This reliance on the middle class was noted by

G. D. Henderson when he stated:

"Nineteenth century Scotland as a whole was very loyal in its Churchmanship, a high value attaching to respectability, and there proved to be room

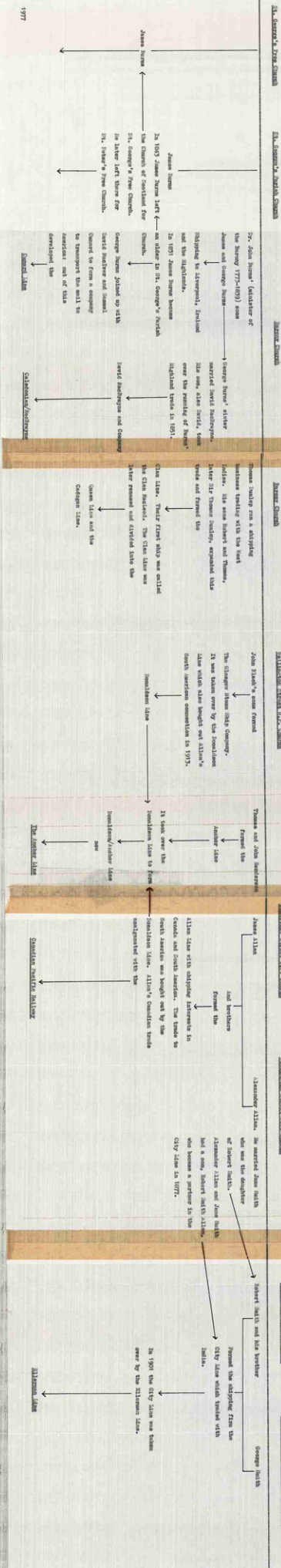


side by side for three thriving denominations, all accepting the same creeds and confessions, the same system of Church government, and the same general practice in worship. The United Presbyterian Church assembled in 1847 was democratic, but not exactly of the people, for it depended to a considerable extent upon the burgesses who had made good in business and who were gratefully liberal, and the Voluntary principle...was greatly stimulated by the unusual ability of its supporters to practise it." (87)

What was true of the United Presbyterian Church also applied to other non-established denominations. Historically the non established churches had a higher proportion of lower middle class adherents than the Church of Scotland but the former were less successful in attracting the lower working class. This failure arose out of the stress they laid on living within strict moral guidelines and the heavy financial obligations of membership. This was where those who saw church extension as a remedy to the more widespread non-attendance at church by the working class made a fundamental mistake. More churches were built, but into them were translated the same features of dress, finance, and discipline thus no significant solution was made to the problem. It was only, as we shall see, when these three obstacles were removed that more unskilled workers attended church.

By way of a postscript it would be misleading to see these churches and others, especially their members, acting as independent and isolated units. We have seen that there was contact in disciplinary cases (88) but these were extended into the social and business sphere of life. For example, the daughter of David Robertson, an elder in Wellington Street Church, married James MacGregor, one time assistant minister at the Tron Free Church in Glasgow and later minister of its Edinburgh equivalent. (89)

The business linkage can be seen in the shipping trade where the Barony Church along with Wellington Street and Cambridge Street Church had prominent shipping families in their congregation. This is shown on the diagram opposite. Whether or not the later amalgamations in the shipping, and other businesses, whose owners were members of different denominations, eased the bringing together of the various churches is a topic worthy of further research. However, in the context of this thesis we must now turn to study whether the differences in the social composition of churches led to variations in their missionary work among the poorer sections of the community.



Notes

1. See appendix tables 11 and 12 p. 289-290 for the figures for the non-established churches and the Church of Scotland.
2. See above chapter 3 p. 99.
3. F. Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England. (Panther ed., St. Albans, 1969), p. 155.
4. Alistair M. Dunnett, The Donaldson Line, 1854-1954. (Glasgow, 1960), p. 102.
5. See Hugh Mart, Robert Harvey, Andrew Mitchell, James Mitchell, Andrew Paterson and William Shaw all elders at Wellington Street Church. Their biographies are contained in the appendix p. 305-358.
6. Evening Times, 7/4/1910.
7. See elders William Cowan, Alexander Gilmour, William Henderson, William Martin, John McDowall and John Stewart. See biographical notes p. 305-358.
8. James Brown, Life of John Eadie. (London, 1878), p. 225.
9. Historical Sketch of Cambridge Street United Free Church and Semi-Jubilee of the Rev. P. Smith. (no author). (Glasgow, 1908), p. 13.
10. Perhaps it is not surprising that the author of this poem remained anonymous but a copy of it appeared in a letter from someone who signed himself J.A.D. to the Glasgow Herald on 14/11/1912.
11. See appendix table 15, 293-294.
12. C.S.C.M.M., 20/12/1861.
13. They were Berkeley, Cambridge Street, Claremont, Kent Road, Renfield Street, Shamrock Street, Lansdowne and St. Vincent Street Church.
14. See above, p. 127-128.

15. Great Hamilton Street Free Church Magazine, March 1890.
16. MacPhail's Journal, Vol. 3. 1847, p. 51-52.
17. See appendix table 7, p. 285.
18. See appendix tables 13 and 14 p. 291-292 for the figures for each church.
19. William Winthorpe, Recollections of William Hammond - a Glasgow Handloom Weaver. (Glasgow, 1904), p. 16.
20. 1849 Annual Report of W.S.C.M.S.
21. G.H.S.C.K.S.M., 7/10/1853.
22. Ibid., 21/10/1853.
23. W.S.C.K.S.M., 18/7/1845.
24. Dugald MacColl, Among the Masses or Work in the Wynds. (Glasgow, 1872), p. 127.
25. 1837 Annual Report of Greyfriars' Church Association for Religious Purposes.
26. Henry Mayhew, London Labourers and the London Poor. 4 Vols. (London 1851-1862), Vol. 1, p. 21.
27. W.S.C.M.M., 28/1/1853.
28. G.H.S.C. Congregational Minutes, 19/12/1818.
29. Select Committee on Handloom Weaving, 1834, x, p. 84.
30. Ibid., p. 176.
31. See above chapter 3, page 92-94.
32. William Collins, Statistics of the Church Accommodation of Glasgow, Barony and Gorbals. (Glasgow, 1836), p. 14.
33. Royal Commission into Religious Instruction, 1836, Vol. 2, xxxi, p. 696.
34. Ibid., Vol. 1, xxi, p. 32.
35. William Hanna (ed.), Select Works of Thomas Chalmers. 12 Vols. (Edinburgh 1854-1857), Vol. xi, p. 313.

36. Rules and Forms of Procedure of the United Presbyterian Church, (no author), (Edinburgh, 1890), p. 54.
37. Sermon preached on 2/12/1840 printed in W.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1841.
38. C.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1852.
39. A. A. MacLaren, Religion and Social Class, (London, 1974), p. 127-131.
40. Ibid., p. 130.
41. See appendix p. 330.
42. G.H.S.C.K.S.M., 7/2/1844.
43. Ibid., 9/2/1844.
44. Ibid., 11/3/1844.
45. Ibid., 3/3/1845.
46. Ibid., 30/6/1845.
47. St. S.C.K.S.M., 11/10/1855.
48. Ibid., 18/10/1855.
49. Ibid., 11/12/1855.
50. G.H.S.C.K.S.M., 5/5/1845.
51. Ibid., 11/5/1847.
52. Ibid., 12/10/1847.
53. Greyfriars' Church K.S.M., 17/6/1834.
54. Ibid., 4/9/1834.
55. W.S.C.K.S.M., 18/11/1845.
56. C.S.C.K.S.M., 9/7/1845.
57. Ibid., 8/10/1845.
58. B.C.K.S.M., 3/10/1849.
59. Ibid., 31/10/1849.

60. See I. A. Muirhead, "Churchmen and the Problem of Prostitution in Nineteenth Century Scotland", R.S.C.H.S. Vol. xvii, Part 3, 1974; and T. C. Smout, "Aspects of Sexual Behaviour in Nineteenth Century Scotland", in A. A. MacLaren (ed.), Social Class in Scotland, Past and Present (Edinburgh, 1976), chapter 4.
61. T. C. Smout, op. cit., p. 56.
62. A. A. MacLaren, Religion and Social Class, op. cit., p. 131.
63. See W.S.C.K.S.M., for 5/9/1854, 23/10/1854, 10/12/1854, 14/12/1854 and 5/1/1855.
64. I. M. Clark, A History of Church Discipline in Scotland. (Aberdeen, 1929), p. 209.
65. W.S.C.K.S.M., 4/11/1843.
66. Ibid., 13/2/1844.
67. Govan Parish Church Baptismal Register, 27/11/1859.
68. St. S.K.S.M., 3/3/1848.
69. Ibid., 6/3/1848.
70. Ibid., 23/10/1848.
71. C.S.C.K.S.M., 3/5/1848.
72. B.C.K.S.M., 27/10/1847.
73. Ibid., 11/11/1847.
74. J. S. Marshall, "Irregular Marriage in Scotland as Reflected in Kirk Session Records", R.S.C.H.S. Vol. xviii, Part 1, 1972.
75. B.C.K.S.M., 25/3/1846.
76. G.P.C.K.S.M., 8/9/1820.
77. St. S.K.S.M., 7/4/1842.
78. See above p. 181-182.
79. B.C.K.S.M., 30/9/1853.
80. St. S.D.M., 11/9/1843.



81. Ibid., 2/9/1844.
82. Ibid., 10/10/1844.
83. St. S.K.S.M., 15/7/1850.
84. For another case of drunkenness see K.S.M., 20/11/1847,  
and 11/8/1847 for a case arising out of illegal business  
dealings.
85. See above p. 165.
86. T. R. Tholfsen, "The Artisan and the Culture of Early  
Victorian Birmingham", Birmingham University Historical  
Journal. Vol. 4, 1954.
87. G. D. Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder. (London, 1935),  
p. 241.
88. See above p. 181-182.
89. Frances Balfour, Life and Letters of James MacGregor,  
(London, 1912), p. 172.

## Chapter 6

### The Mission Work of Selected Churches With Particular Reference to Education

"Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and your Father which is in heaven." Matthew 5, 14-17.

"The highest style of Christianity consists in the closest resemblance to its Founder, and he who feels no interest in the spiritual welfare of others has little claim to be regarded as a follower of the beneficent Jesus. Christianity is the religion of love, not only love of self, not only love of the brethren, but also love of our neighbour, and in the scripture vocabulary that word excludes no one who is bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, so that he who wraps himself up in the selfish enjoyment of his religion knows little of its character, and has imbibed less of its spirit." 1854 Annual Report of Wellington Street Church Society for Missionary and Other Religious Purposes.

The plethora of missionary societies operating in mid-nineteenth century Glasgow would seem to suggest that Christians were not selfishly enjoying their religion but were fulfilling Christ's command to his followers that they should spread the message of salvation. The list of agencies, all of which were open to all Protestants, irrespective of religious denomination, is almost endless; the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society, the West of Scotland Bible Society, the Glasgow Young Men's Religious Tract Society, the Calton and Bridgeton Youths' Auxiliary Association for Religious Purposes, the Society for the Monthly Distribution of Tracts, the Christian Instruction Society and the Glasgow

Protestant Laymen's Association. Many more could be added to the list but the Glasgow City Mission and the Glasgow Sabbath School Union were perhaps the most significant due to their size and longevity. The former is still in operation and, although the latter organisation is extinct, Sunday Schools themselves continue to play an important role in church life.

In addition to these bodies was the work of individual Christians either directly working to sow the seed or writing about the efforts of others. Sir Michael Connal's Spoutmouth Bible Institute is a notable example of the former category. There was no shortage of pamphleteers to criticise or praise these missionary endeavours. John Smith, the editor of the Glasgow Examiner, wrote widely if critically about the church's social theology with his most famous publication being the Grievances of the Working Classes published in 1846. William Logan's The Moral Statistics of Glasgow published in 1864 recorded that much needed to be done, especially in the area of temperance, if the majority of the population were to be converted to Christianity. Some of this work, both collective and individual, will be discussed more fully later in this chapter.

Although Sunday Schools, Bible Societies and other similar organisations had existed in the late eighteenth century, and the opening decades of the nineteenth century, the 'take off' for missionary work occurred in the 1830s and 1840s. Glasgow Sabbath School Union was founded in 1838 and in that year it had attached to it 342 schools, 629 teachers and 12,852 pupils. By 1862 the equivalent figures were 637, 5,725 and 58,021. What appears at first sight to be an impressive growth in attendance at Sunday School between 1838 and 1862 is illustrated on the accompanying

graph. (1) Likewise, Glasgow City Mission, founded in 1826 by David Naismith, showed a noticeable growth with eight agents in 1827 and 55 in 1857. To what extent these growths in numbers meant a real increase in effective religious instruction will be studied in this chapter.

There are three main explanations for this rapid growth of missionary work in the 1830s and 1840s. Glasgow's economic growth led to increased incomes for many who were prepared to give some of their wealth to further the aims of missionary societies. They were encouraged to do so by a volume of literature and speeches showing that all was not well in many areas, notably working class areas of Glasgow. The remedy to the problems of poverty, intemperance, disaffection and crime was to evangelise the masses which gave added urgency to complying with Christ's instruction to spread his word. But as we shall see in the next paragraph, most missionary work was done by individual churches in their locality rather than the larger administrative bodies. Consequently, to gain a full understanding of the motives behind mission work we must look at how several churches saw their function in society.

As has been suggested, such agencies as the City Mission and the Sabbath School Union were primarily formed to co-ordinate and stimulate existing efforts and to encourage new schemes. The object of the Sabbath School Union "... shall be to encourage, unite and increase Sabbath Schools in the city of Glasgow and neighbourhood, and to improve the methods of conducting them by circulating information, and giving currency to useful suggestions".(2) To this latter end a magazine was started in 1849 which contained teaching material on such themes as the Person, Character and



Attendance at Sunday Schools in Glasgow, 1838-1862



Work of Christ, and hints on how teachers could encourage better behaviour by pupils, and more regular attendance. The fundamental point was that, as the stated object quoted above implies, the Union itself did not run any Sunday Schools. This was done by the various churches, thus the impact of Sunday Schools cannot be analysed by reading the Reports and Magazines of the Union, but rather by studying the efforts of several individual churches.

The same was largely true of the City Mission. Its object was "to promote the spiritual welfare of the poor of this city..." (3) The means used to this end was to employ agents to work in given districts. Many agents were divinity students who welcomed the extra income and perhaps the experience gained of conditions alien to many of their own backgrounds. Their duties were arduous since they entailed visiting homes for a minimum of five hours each day from Monday to Friday, distributing Bibles and Tracts provided by the Bible and Tract Societies, holding evening classes and prayer meetings, organising Temperance or Total Abstinence Societies and taking Sunday services in a house or mission station. It was hardly surprising that some agents complained that this work "exhausted their corporeal, as well as their mental powers...." (4)

Although the City Mission directly employed some agents, the money to do so largely came from contributions given by churches. Furthermore, most agents were directly employed by a church and the City Mission's role was reduced to ensuring that there was no wasteful encroachment by one agent on another's district. As with the Sabbath School Union the City Mission was dependent on the

church for its existence, therefore, the work of the city missionary can only be fully understood in the context of the church which employed him.

The work of Christian philanthropists acting either individually or in groups, which often had tenuous if any links with the church is beyond the scope of this thesis. In fact, the work was so extensive that, records permitting, it alone would form a worthy topic of research. It would, however, create the misleading impression that all missionary work was carried on by the church if no mention was made of organisations such as the Spoutmouth Bible Institute.

Sir Michael Connal ran the firm of William Connal and Co. whose interests included ironworks and the West Indian trade. In spite of being a Sunday School teacher at St. James' Church, he felt that much more needed to be done to Christianize the population. It was more than mere coincidence that in late 1848, the year of the revolutions, he founded the Spoutmouth Institute. His running of the Institute could be best described as benevolent dictatorship since he was both genuinely interested in his pupils' welfare and very strict with them. To meet the stated object of his Institute which was "the Religious and Intellectual improvement of Young Men ..." (5) he employed a variety of agencies. These included a Bible Class, a mutual improvement class, courses of lectures, a reading room, a savings bank and excursions to Arran, and to his house, Parkhall, in Killearn.

Another agency which operated outwith the bounds of one particular church or larger co-ordinating body was the Glasgow Seaman's Friend Society. This was founded in 1822 by a committee



of churchmen and laymen "for the purpose of promoting the temporal and spiritual interests of seamen and their families".(6) A chapel and school rooms were built in Brown Street. A missionary was employed to conduct services, teach in the day school and distribute tracts. In addition to these, a reading room in the Shipping Office was open to all comers.

Thus we have seen that there were two parallel strands of missionary work. One thread was the efforts of individuals acting either separately or collectively and here the Spoutmouth Institute and Seaman's Friend Society are two examples. A second channelling of resources was through the church working alongside some organisation which acted as a co-ordinator and clearing house for new ideas. We are concerned with this second area and it has already been noted that to understand the motives which lay behind mission work, and the work itself, we must study it at the level of each individual church rather than the co-ordinating body. This will also help us to discover whether any differences arose between denominations of varying social compositions in the nature of their mission work.

There were very few churches, irrespective of religious persuasion, that did not reach out beyond the narrow confines of their own congregations. In 1852 no Established Church was without a Sunday School. St. Paul's Parish Church, for example, ran 5 schools with 57 teachers and 652 pupils. (7) In total, all Established Churches ran 112 schools with 932 teachers and 8,920 pupils on the roll. (8) John Smith, who has been mentioned above, listed congregational charities connected with twenty-three churches belonging to a variety of religious denominations. (9) This showed

that a fairly typical range of societies was a Dorcas Society, a day school, Sunday Schools, a city missionary, a Christian Instruction Society and various other societies for promoting missionary work abroad. Unfortunately these lists did not contain information which would have allowed a detailed examination of these schemes. Searching for old church magazines is similarly unrewarding as many have been destroyed, but fortunately for the churches analysed in the previous chapter enough records have survived for a general picture to be drawn.

Although each church which has been studied had a substantial working class membership, this total, even when multiplied by the total number of churches in Glasgow, left many thousands, as the City Mission noted, with at best a loose connection with any form of religion:

"No one passing along our streets on the Lord's day, and seeing the crowds of people going to and from the places of public worship, would ever imagine that there were such a vast multitude concealed in the shade, who never enter the house of God, or consider that the Sabbath ought to be observed, and kept holy...." (10)

This fact alongside the more general moral and intellectual condition of the people caused the church much concern. Missionary Societies' annual reports contained numerous descriptions about life in some areas which painted a picture of people living in the depths of vice and sin.

In 1848 Mr. Meiklejohn, a missionary employed by Wellington Street Church, reported that in his area of Anderston there was on "almost every Sabbath morning at an early hour, such a scene of revelling drunkenness, and consequent immorality and profaneness, as would almost lead one to think that the prince of

darkness had fixed his habitation there". (11) John G. Paton, Great Hamilton Street Church's missionary, wrote that he found his district in Calton "a very degraded one. Many of the families said they had never been visited by any minister, and many were lapsed professors of religion who had attended no church for 10, 16 or 20 years and said they had never been called upon by any minister, nor by any Christian visitor. In it were congregated many avowed infidels, Romanists and drunkards living together and associated for evil without any counteracting influence. In many of its closes and courts vice and sin walked about openly - naked and not ashamed". (12)

These two quotations highlight the problem of intemperance, immorality, and irreligion which the church saw in urban society. The fourth sin, and the fourth 'I' was ignorance. "Ignorance is a great obstacle in our way", wrote a missionary, and he continued, "some, as children, have to be taught the simplest truths of the Gospel. An old soldier was found so ignorant of the nature of sin as to assert that he had never committed a sin, unless forced to do so on the field of battle. An aged man could not read, had never heard of the ten commandments, and is now apparently anxious to be instructed." (13)

On top of the degraded condition of the native Scot came the Irish. The antinomian and intemperate behaviour of the Irish was bad enough, but the smell of Irish whisky was a secondary problem to the smell of incense. Many felt that Protestantism was threatened from Rome through Irish immigration thus much effort went into attempts to wean Irish Roman Catholics away from Rome.

The church viewed ignorance, intemperance, immorality, irreligion and Catholicism as the five main areas of concern in

urban Glasgow. The perils inherent in this situation, in particular the four 'I's, were constantly highlighted by all presbyterian denominations. In a sermon delivered in 1821 entitled "The Evils of Ignorance", William Symington, the minister of Great Hamilton Street Church, had already meticulously outlined these dangers.

Firstly ignorance, especially religious ignorance, had a damaging effect on man as a moral being:

"an intelligent and reflective Christian has only to look around among the ignorant of his own city ... to be convinced how degraded the moral sense has become."

Amongst evidence of this was "the little regard paid to veracity among the ignorant" while "the habit of profane swearing affords another example...." It was not only the individual whose moral character was weakened by ignorance but also threatened was the welfare of the people as a whole in society. This threat came in the twin forms of a breakdown of law and order and political revolution. On the former, Symington claimed that "petty theft, burglary and highway robbery" were the products of ignorance. Furthermore, "turning our attention to the more dignified arrangements to which the social principle gives us, the habits of disorder, turbulence and insubordination which prevail among the inadequate, show how necessary is religious knowledge to the peace and good order of society at large".

Apart from outlining one of ignorance's dangers, this final quotation contains Symington's solution to the problem, namely "religious knowledge". If "mankind were properly instructed concerning the moral relation in which they stand to God -- the

infinite majesty and inviolable rectitude of the supreme being - the spiritual nature of the obedience he requires and the awful account which he will demand, how much of that falsehood, profanity and vice of whose prevalence we have been speaking might be prevented". With precise logic he went on to show how this would benefit society:

"Religion is essential to the good of civil society because it is essential to the good of the individuals of whom it is composed. Every religious man is a good man, and no man can be good who is destitute of religion. If, then, society is made up of men, and religion is necessary to make men good, it follows of course that religion is necessary to the good of society."

This causal relationship between man's neglect of his moral and spiritual well-being, and crime, poverty and political instability was stressed on many occasions. In 1846 Wellington Street Church's Educational Association claimed that "ignorance is fruitful with crime" (15) while in 1852 Cambridge Street Church's equivalent organisation stated that were it not for its efforts "hundreds of poor children...would sink into irreclaimable habits of vice". (16)

In 1848, the year of the revolutions on the Continent and riots in Glasgow, the Rev. John Robson of Wellington Street Church proposed a remedy for this malaise which was similar to the one propounded by William Symington. Robson wrote that "the Gospel is the grand, the efficient remedy for social disorder and individual wretchedness. While it supremely blesses the man, it also elevates and ennobles the state. Hence the importance, especially at the present time of immediate, energetic, and enlarged efforts to disseminate its precious truths more extensively, and to take our measures, so that by the divine

blessing upon our efforts Christianity, in all its exalting and holy influence, may pervade the entire body of the people". (17)

Therefore, according to the church, the sins of irreligion, immorality, intemperance and ignorance produced the state of society described by the city missionaries. Moreover, since they were the chief causes of poverty, crime and violence the solution lay in temperance, education and the Gospel. As both Robson and Symington noted, the most important of these was the last as through religion the condition of both man and society would be improved. This helps to explain the great emphasis placed on religion, as opposed to more secular motives, in mission work.

It would appear as if the major force behind mission work was to promote the stability of society and in particular to prevent revolution from the "lower orders". In the context of the unsettled nature of Glasgow prior to 1850 this is an appealing theory and one which ties in with A. A. MacLaren's study of Aberdeen. (18) It is, however, too simplistic a theory and it ignores several other important motive forces.

In urging church members to participate in mission work, ministers and lay committees continually underlined the fact that one of the duties incumbent upon all Christians was to spread the Gospel. It is worthwhile quoting Cambridge Street Church's Missionary Committee at length on this important point:

"From the moment we receive and embrace the Gospel, we become responsible for the conveyance of it to others. We receive the truth not to hide it, but to hold it forth. That such is our vocation we cannot doubt. The honour committed to us is great,

and so is the responsibility that we do not negligently the work entrusted to us. Every man and every woman among us has a duty to perform in this great work, we cannot avoid it. It is our heritage, work to which we are born, and most culpable shall we be if we fail in the task, or not do it well. Besides it is the express command of our blessed Saviour... that we engage in such work; and farther, by it our faith is exercised, active Christian principles are cherished, and a sure means used ... that Gospel light and truth shall continue to prevail among ourselves and our children." (19)

This point was stated, albeit in a different form, over and over again by churches and other missionary agencies. In 1839 West Campbell Street Reformed Presbyterian Church echoed Cambridge Street Church's pronouncement when it claimed that "the Gospel is committed to us as a trust, for the benefit of others, not less than as a privilege for our own highest good. To the utmost limit of our desires, we may appropriate its blessings to ourselves, but in this case above all others, it would be inexcusable to attempt a monopoly. We cannot decline to propagate the Gospel, without incurring the guilt of palpable disobedience to the express command of the redeemer, "Go ye into all the world, disciple of all nations...." (20) The real driving force behind mission work was that it was Christ's command that His followers should spread his word while they were failing as Christians so long as they did not fulfil this duty.

Another important factor in encouraging church members to participate in "sowing the seed" was the conviction that they were doing good. The very fact that they were participating in something was an added incentive since it gave them a sense of purpose and usefulness. These were important feelings in



themselves but they were strengthened by the belief that the person was doing good. Very often this concept was couched in terms which made it sound overbearingly condescending and patronising. On occasions it showed through in a more straightforward and less verbose form as the following quotation illustrates:

"From a retrospect of the past year, your Directors rejoice in the belief that in that period the Society's labours have been prolific of good results, and they think themselves justified in anticipating that, in the year on which we have entered, its operations, by the Divine blessing, will also be productive of much fruit." (21)

How they defined the "good" was partly determined by the needs of the day. One of these, as we have seen, was to improve the moral and intellectual condition of the people which in turn would help to stabilise society. Their view of what was worthwhile was also influenced by the main motive force behind their work, namely the obligation to spread the Christian message. This was a good end in itself while it also had a beneficial effect on the individual and society. In 1855 Cambridge Street Church was disappointed that only 85 pupils had added its school but "if those 85 young ones are educated to read and write, if they are taught to read the Bible, if they are fitted better for the common duties of life, and if, above all they are savingly initiated into an acquaintance with the Gospel, then you not only benefit them, but through them the world in which they are soon to mingle." (22)

This quotation epitomizes the above mentioned dimensions of the "good" with the desire to propagate the Gospel and help both man and society.

Many other factors influenced church members to take up the call and "labour in vineyard" but it is beyond the scope of the historian to comprehend fully every one. In his evidence to the 1836 Royal Commission into Religious Instruction, John Tait was asked:

- Q. Then the comparatively richer classes do not grudge to expend part of their subsistence for the purpose of keeping alive a due sense of religion among the poorer classes?
- A. I believe that their subscriptions are given from mixed motives, but principally from ostentation.
- Q. They do not grudge to gratify that feeling of ostentation?
- A. It appears not, but were it solicited from them in private, I fear their subscriptions would not be so large as they usually appear on the sheet of a newspaper. (23)

There was more than just a grain of truth in Tait's answers since the Annual Reports of Missionary Societies contained the names and the amounts of money given by members. The social prestige value of appearing on these lists may have encouraged members to contribute. This relates to an earlier point when we saw that before someone became an office-bearer he had to prove his social and economic standing. A recognised method was to contribute significant sums of money to the church.

But where does the fear of political and social unrest fit into this picture? As Robson's statement showed, it was used by ministers and lay organisers to shake members out of their lethargy and direct them into giving more time and money. (24) Since those who gave most time and money had much to lose from social disorder, it seems reasonable to assume that this fear was

an active force in encouraging them to dig more deeply into their pockets. It was hardly surprising that, as the graph illustrates, after the troubled years in the late 1840s contributions significantly increased in one church. (25)

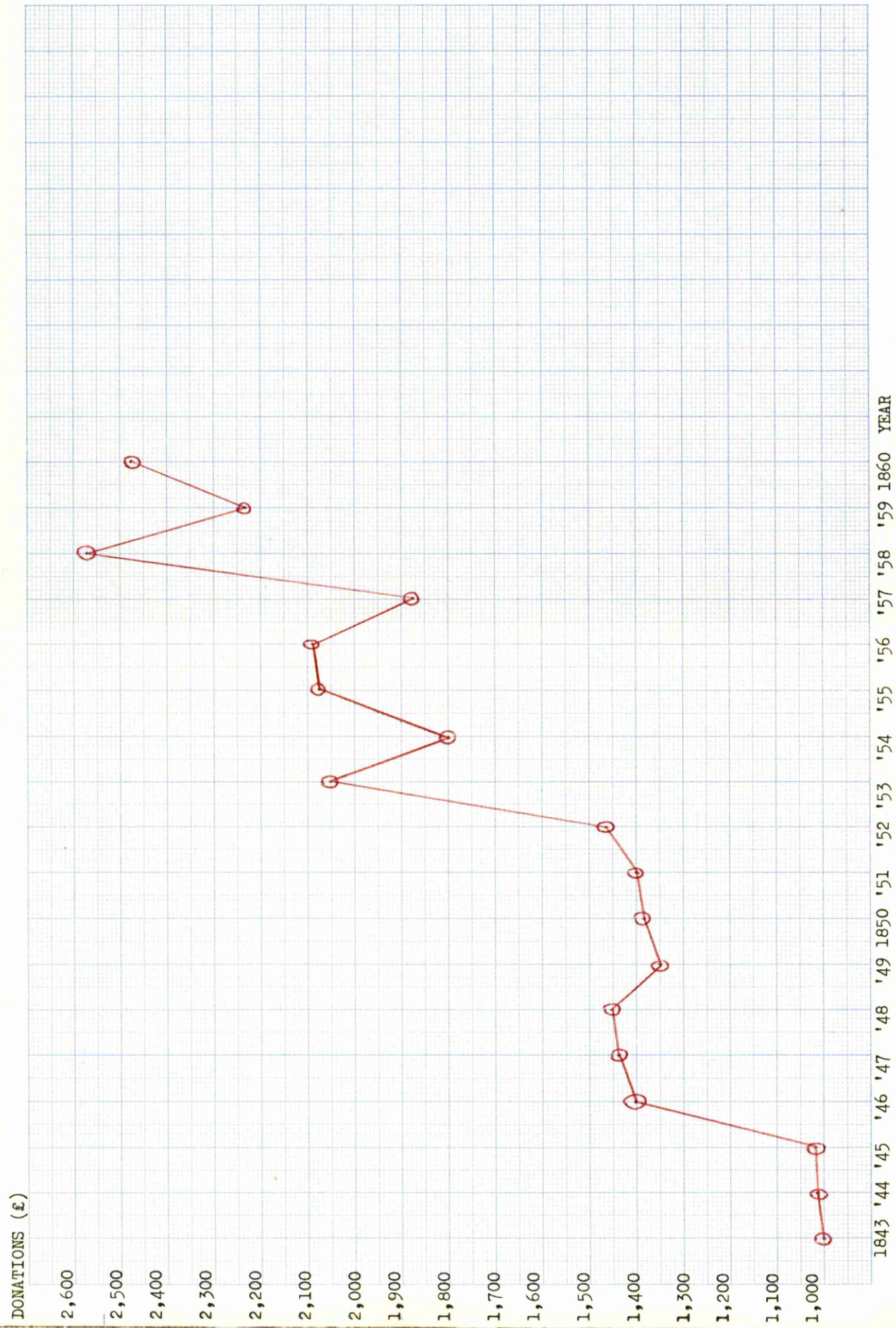
These large amounts of money donated between 1844 and 1858 raise an important point. It was all very well having theories about a Christian's duty and the state of society but without resources there was little the church could do. It was not until many church members became financially prosperous that these resources were provided. This ties in with the preceding chapter when we saw, with special reference to the non-established church, that some members rose up the social and economic scale as the century progressed. By the 1830s and 1840s most congregations had enough members willing and able to finance a social action programme and as a result missionary activity, as we have already noted, substantially increased in these decades.

When a church was short of money, mission work was not undertaken. This happened at St. Stephen's Free Church which did not run a day school or employ a city missionary in the mid-nineteenth century. No explanation for this was given, and although a committee was set up to inquire into the possibility of establishing a day school, it never reported and nothing was done. (26) It was not until the lady members held a bazaar in 1869 that money was raised to finance a city missionary. (27)

In 1848 the House of Lords ruled that the church belonged to the Church Building Society, not the congregation, and the latter was forced to find alternative accommodation. A new church was built in New City Road but this took up money which might otherwise have been channelled into missionary schemes.

Contributions to Wellington Street Church Society for

Missionary and Other Religious Purposes, 1843-1860





Therefore, we have seen that a variety of forces lay behind mission work. Central to these was the obligation on all Christians to spread the Gospel message of salvation and "to consider one another, to provoke to love and good works". (28) In fulfilling this duty they believed that they were doing good by spreading Christianity and helping the individual and society. The fear of political and social unrest gave this work added urgency but it was not the seminal force behind it. If this was the theory behind missions we must now look at how it was implemented in practice.

In every church most resources were channelled into day school education. In 1852 Cambridge Street Church devoted £109 34s. to the upkeep of their two schools. This sum represented 42.7% of total expenditure on home mission work and was 20% more than the second most expensive item. Wellington Street Church regarded their day schools "as the most important part of your home operations". (29) The justification for this emphasis was outlined in the following terms:

"In looking attentively at the aspect of the present times, the hopes of the Christian philanthropists for the future safety and prosperity of our country, for the repression of infidelity and superstition, and for the wider diffusion throughout the masses of the sanctifying and elevating influences of the Gospel, must chiefly rest on the religious training of the rising generation, and it is of the highest moment that benevolent Christian effort should be especially directed to the right education of those who, through the poverty or indifference of their parents, might otherwise grow up in ignorance and ungodliness." (30)

Through preaching the Gospel to those who would normally have no religious or secular education, notably children in or below group I, it was hoped to make them "wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus" and ensure the future well-being of society. (31)

These objectives largely determined the subjects which were taught since "the Christian education of all, from the youngest to the most advanced is the subject of daily care". (32) This was the main purpose of the schools and as such it was given top priority. In addition to R. L., pupils were taught the 3 Rs, with the Bible being the main text book for reading, along with grammar and geography, while girls were taught sewing. These secular subjects were regarded as a means towards reaching the ultimate goal of religious education. "The grand object", wrote one teacher, "contemplated in the instruction of the school ... was not simply to teach neglected children to read, write, sew, etc.; it does this only as a means to an end. While the instructions usually communicated in an elementary school are duly attended to, the knowledge of Jesus Christ, as the Saviour and friend of sinners, is made the grand and constant theme, and is prominently introduced into each day's lessons". (33)

The church had no serious problems in defining the objectives of education and the curriculum but it found itself in a dilemma over fees, and one which was never satisfactorily settled. On the one hand it was felt that that payment for education "would have the effect of cherishing a spirit of self dependence, and impressing on the minds of parents with a just appreciation of the blessings of education". (34) On the other hand it was recognised that there were "not a few cases in which the exaction of any fees, however small, would be equivalent to expulsion, and in this way defeat your benevolent designs". (35) The way out of this dilemma was to offer free or very cheap education in the hope that it would satisfy the Victorian demands for self dependence but "still induce the attendance of the poorest". (36) The effect was that most pupils

received free education or paid 1d a week in fees. In 1848, 285 pupils were on the roll of Wellington Street Church's school in Bishop Street and of these 57 were educated gratis, 192 paid 1d, 12 paid 1½d, 10 paid 2d a week, and the remainder received free education in return for their services as monitors. In 1854 it was noted that of an average attendance of 165 at Springbank School run by Cambridge Street Church, "a small number pay a penny a week, the greater portion, however, are taught gratuitously, being unable to pay even that small charge". (37)

This last statement would seem to suggest that the system of fees did not deter the urban poor from attending. Further evidence to support this claim came from Mr. Brown, the teacher at Bishop Street School, who stated that many of his pupils were "the children of the too destitute to be able to pay...." (38) In the same report he commented on another aspect of his pupils who were "in all stages of progress - rising from a perfect secular education displayed by a Jim Crowism, so adroit as not to be able to rise in class, save by walking on feet and hands, or in going out, trundling down stairs like a hoop - up to as decorous and diligent students of the scriptures, as any one might wish to see".

There were, however, several exceptions to this general system of payment for education. In 1852 Great Hamilton Street Church opened a school in Green Street. Prior to this date the building had been used by the Wesleyan Methodists as a church and before this by William Collins as a school before he moved into the publishing business. (39) Today the site houses Calton Youth Club which is run by St. Luke's Church. The school received three important sources of revenue, from the Ferguson Bequest, a Parliamentary



Grant, and Thomas Binnie (sen.), an elder in the church, who helped defray the cost of purchasing the building. Partly as a result of these 'external' sources of income the church was able to run, in addition to the normal week day school, a Free week day school. Although no literary or statistical evidence was discovered giving details about the pupils, it would be reasonable to assume from the situation in other schools that the offer of free education would have attracted the urban poor.

A very different picture emerged in the cases of Finnieston and Whiteinch Educational Societies in which Wellington Street and Govan Church respectively had an interest. These were interesting if short-lived examples of educational self-help since they were set up by local residents, with help from the church in the area, to make up for the deficiency in educational facilities. Neither school was successful in reaching the urban poor.

Membership of the Finnieston Society was restricted to those who paid 6d per annum. This entitled the member to send his children to the school, but fees of 1d and 2d had still to be paid. It was hardly surprising that, as the table in the appendix shows, pupils were drawn predominantly from the artisan population. (40) Only the relatively well paid worker could afford the fees and subscription. Despite these economic obligations attached to the school, it quickly ran into financial difficulties whereupon the fees were increased. The only effect was to reduce the numbers of pupils from 126 in 1851, to 74 in 1853. Consequently the school's income declined, and when in 1854 the building began to fall down, the school and the society were wound up.

The early history of Whiteinch Subscription School was similar to that of Finnieston School. The former was opened in 1853 in a

building provided free of charge by Mr. Lockhead of Wylie and Lockhead. Even with this concession the fees were fixed at 3d a week, a level which placed the school well beyond the means of the urban poor. William Greenhorne, one of Partick's historians, gave no explanation for this high rate of fees but it may have been that those who formed the Society fell into categories G and H, as in Finnieston, and could afford this fee. (41) Again in line with Finnieston, Whiteinch School, soon ran into financial difficulties which were accentuated by the rejection of its application to the Ferguson Bequest for a grant to supplement the teacher's salary. In an attempt to meet the criteria for a grant a new stone school was built to replace the existing wooden building. Before the new school was completed the Society ran out of funds and in June 1860 the project was taken over by Govan Parish Church.

The new school, designated Whiteinch Sessional School, since it came under the control of Govan Kirk Session, was opened in 1860. Pupils had to pay the fees shown below:

Reading	2/8d per quarter	
Reading and Writing	3/9d " "	
Reading, Writing, Arithmetic,	4/10d " "	
Grammar and Geography		
The above with Maths	5/6d " "	(42)

As Greig and Harvey noted, the charging of quarterly fees ensured the absence of the urban poor who could not afford such relatively large lump sum payments. (43)

We have already seen, however, that by charging no or very low fees, other schools were more successful in attracting the urban

poor but in their wake they brought the problems of irregular and short periods of attendance. In 1850 it was recorded that in the two schools run by Wellington Street Church "during the year 539 scholars have attended for a longer or shorter period, varying from a few days or weeks to 2 or 3 months, while a more persevering class, say perhaps a hundred, have given constant steady attendance throughout the year. This changing fluctuating attendance is one of the difficulties such an institution has to contend with, and renders the duties of the teachers more arduous, and their success less observable". (44) Hugh MacFarlane noted the same problem in his school in Maitland Street run by Cambridge Street Church:

"There is this standing difficulty which we have always to encounter in the school, I mean the constant change of scholars. Although the attendance is numerous there is a continual withdrawal of many (especially boys) from the school, as soon as ever they can earn wages at any sort of employment, their places being supplied by new comers, who just as speedily go in their turn ... it is an evil which pervades all our schools for the poor classes." (45)

MacFarlane's statement contains part of the explanation for this system, namely the attraction of factory employment. A wage packet was more immediate value to a family on the bread line than the child's ability to read or write. In her evidence to the Royal Commission into the Employment of Children in Factories one employee, Elizabeth Brown, commented on how working in a factory had prevented her from obtaining even an elementary education. She claimed "that the long hours at the mills have prevented her from getting her education, so as to be able to write, that the majority of female workers where she is cannot write...." (46) The second major cause

of irregular attendance at school was the mobility of the urban population whereby many people did not remain in one school's catchment area for more than one year.

The effect of attending school for such a short period was that most pupils left school "unable or imperfectly able to read ... or write". (47) Furthermore, this modest achievement was soon forgotten. (48) Several years earlier Thomas Chalmers had commented upon the educational results of the schools in St. John's Parish:

"There are many who have been two or three quarters at school, and have even got as far as the Bible, but when I come to examine them I am struck with their slovenly and imperfect mode of reading, obliged as they are to stop and spell and to blunder on their way through every verse in such a manner as to make it palpable to those who hear them that it had been very little worse for them though they had never been at school at all." (49)

The evidence from many of the schools above would seem to suggest that things were little better in the 1840s and 1850s.

In addition to these problems of attendance, the school building itself was often far from conducive in helping to fulfil its objective.

The following is a description of Kingston School which was run by Govan Church:

"The entrance to the school is mean and offensive. An iron gate with open bars separates the passage that leads to the school building from the street. At the end nearest the school door is an open place with two compartments, one for boys and one for girls, and a common corner for both. It is wanting in everything that can conduce to decency. There is no playground attached to it. The room is so insufficient that the children have to be taught in detachments, one lot being out at play, or at home, or in the streets, while the other is at school. A little chamber off the main apartment helps to accommodate a few boys under a pupil, but it is insufferably hot, in consequence of an adjoining bakehouse whose wall is also the wall of the schoolroom." (50)

Irrespective of the pupil's social class and attendance, it must have been very difficult for any teacher, no matter how dedicated and talented, to make any significant educational advance in those adverse conditions.

Therefore, although the lower working class did attend some schools, they rarely remained there long enough to learn anything of lasting value. In the 1850s and 1860s, however, some schools changed the system of charging fees which gradually squeezed the poor out of these schools. At first it only applied to Wellington Street Church's school in Cheapside Street which ran into financial difficulties. In an attempt to increase its revenue, the fees were raised and charged per subject. Instead of an overall fee of 1d or 2d a week, reading itself now cost 2d a week and the 3 Rs with geography and grammar cost 3d. Although free education was still offered, preference was given to pupils who could pay the full fees. This had the appeal of placing the school on a sounder financial basis, raising its social status, since only those in or above group H could afford the fees, and stabilising attendance, since parents were more likely to insist on their children going regularly to school after paying these fees. The decline in the urban poor's attendance was clearly shown by a drop in those receiving gratis education or paying 1d per week between 1850 and 1857. In 1850 the school had 130 pupils on the roll of whom 20 paid nothing and 90 paid 1d a week: in 1857 100 were on the roll and 19 paid nothing 10 paid 1d but 71 paid either 2d or 3d.

Wellington Street Church's other school in Bishop Street did not get into financial difficulties and was able to continue charging moderate fees. As a result the proportion of lower working class pupils remained constant. This came to an end in 1858 when both schools were amalgamated into one school in Picadilly Street.

This school was a radical departure from the original concept of a day school since it aimed to attract "a better class of children". (51) No explanation for this change was given but it may have arisen in part from a realisation that their previous efforts with the urban poor had failed and that their resources would be better spent on a more receptive section of the community. It may also have been hoped that by attracting "a better class of children" the school's social status would be raised while it would also be placed on firmer financial basis. To achieve the new objective it charged fees ranging from 3d to 6d a week payable on a monthly basis. This put the school completely out of the reach of those in the low income brackets, and although free education was offered, it was not so widely accepted as before. This was hardly surprising when pupils who could not afford the fees had to ask their parents to fill up "printed forms" to give details of their "circumstances". Such means tests were unpopular because they were regarded as degrading, and impracticable since many parents could not read or write. The urban poor were forced out of the school and the remaining pupils were "quite the higher orders of the neighbourhood, being the children of shopkeepers, master-builders, cap manufacturers, engineers, foremen of different works. The high fees attract a better class". (52) The school had achieved its new aim.

This new policy did not apply to all churches as Cambridge Street Church's schools continued to charge low or no fees which ensured the presence of the urban poor. "Very many of the children attending these schools", wrote the 1866 Annual Report, "belong to the poor and destitute, and but for these schools would in all probability receive no education whatever". This statement contains some of the

explanation for the maintenance of this scheme as the church realised that to raise fees would have the effect of driving away those for whom the schools were intended. The schools were successfully financed by voluntary contributions and fees, thus there was no financial justification for raising fees. The level of fees remained the same and the schools held on to children from or below group I well into the 1860s.

We have seen that day schools consumed more resources than any other area of missionary operations. If all churches had broadly similar aims in their attempts to spread the Word to the up and coming generation, then the results were not so uniform. The urban poor were attracted to schools that charged low or no fees but they did not remain at school long enough to learn a significant amount more than when they entered. Some churches, through financial necessity, the desire to raise their school's social and educational status and secure a more regular attendance, raised their fees and charged them on a monthly or quarterly basis. This placed these schools beyond the means of those for whom they were intended. Other churches continued their original policy and did not increase fees but because of irregular attendance educational results were again minimal. In every case, therefore, the church largely failed in its objective of reaching the urban poor with the Christian message through the medium of day schools.

This failure cannot be entirely attributed to the church since fluctuating attendance was a major obstacle in the way of academic progress. Glasgow City Mission came up against the same problem in its day school and as a solution it came to an agreement with some employers so "compelling the parents in their employment, who had



families of school age and were in a position to pay the fees to pay them whether they sent them to school or not. This drastic measure speedily had the result intended". (53) Such a scheme could not be universally applied since many employers relied heavily on child labour and were unwilling to see this cheap supply of labour being siphoned off into schools. It was not until the state took a greater role in determining the course of our lives that irregular attendance at school was partly, but not completely remedied, since truancy remains a large and serious problem today.

Each church ran by today's standards a surprising number of Sabbath Schools open to all comers; in 1855 Cambridge Street ran eleven in various areas in and around the Cowcaddens, Port Dundas district. The church claimed an average attendance of 488 at all eleven schools. Since the schools were staffed on a voluntary basis by church members, running costs were kept to a minimum and education was given free of charge. The supply of teachers was not overabundant with the result that ministers and organising committees were constantly urging members of the congregation to become teachers. As with missionary work as a whole these appeals were made on the basis that it was every Christian's duty to "go ... into all the World and preach the Gospel to every creature. Let them also consider the encouraging words of the Apostle, let him know that he which converteth a sinner from the error of his ways shall save from death and shall hide a multitude of sins". (54) Many of those who became teachers were drawn from the high and low status categories and it was fairly common for an elder, his wife and one of their children to be teachers.

Once in Sunday School the teacher's curriculum followed on from the main aim of the school which was to preach the word of salvation

to everyone. The greatest emphasis was placed on religious education, but progress in this was hindered by illiteracy. Reading and writing were therefore included, but only as a means to furthering religious knowledge. In this area Sunday School was a smaller version of day school.

There was evidence to suggest that it was the attraction of education in reading and writing rather than R. I. which encouraged parents to send their children to Sunday School. A decrease in attendance at one school was "caused by parents taking away children because they were not taught to read". (55) This was an interesting development. Sunday, like day schools, aimed to attract the urban poor, and through offering free education they appear to have been successful in achieving this goal. Since parents withdrew their children because the curriculum was not satisfactory, it suggests that the lower working class was not completely apathetic towards education.

A large question mark, however, hangs over these schools' achievements. One problem which bedevilled teachers was indiscipline. It was more of a problem in the Sunday than in the day school, perhaps because teachers in the former had less training and experience. In one school indiscipline reached such proportions that a girl pupil was expelled "for continuing a wilful disturbance". One result of her expulsion was that "she afterwards induced others to leave the school". (56) Prior to this event the much harassed teacher had had great trouble in controlling his class but this 'walkout' by some of his pupils proved the last straw and he resigned as a teacher.

He may have taken a small crumb of comfort from reading Glasgow Sabbath Union's Magazine which would have shown him that indiscipline

was a problem in most Sunday Schools. The Magazine contained numerous letters from teachers pleading for suggestions on how to keep some semblance of control in their classes. One teacher complained that his pupils laughed during the prayers while "talking aloud, playing, pulling one another and twenty other things, are witnessed by me in my class on Sabbath evenings...." A common occurrence was for one boy "to throw another's bonnet to the other end of the room which usually occasions the following outcry on the part of the owner, 'Do ye see my bonnet? It'll get dirty'. Commanding him to keep his seat he replies, 'I want to get my bonnet', and of course he is not satisfied, nor will he give me any peace, until he gets it...." Events reached a climax when one evening the class arrived before the teacher and he found to his "utter amazement, that the door was bolted.... It was sometime before I succeeded in obtaining admittance". After all this the teacher, with whom it is hard not to sympathise, returned "from every Sabbath evening literally disheartened". (57) The editor's advice to this teacher was that he should temporarily give up teaching to go and observe at a well taught class. He should also read Dunn's Principles of Teaching and then recommence teaching with a small class of four or six.

Not all suggestions were so fundamental as a common method to encourage better behaviour was to offer prizes. In Wellington Street Church "a small ticket shall be given to each scholar who behaves well in school, and who learns his tasks accurately, that on getting eight of these small tickets he shall get a large ticket, and on getting six of these, he shall be rewarded by a small premium in the shape of a religious book". (58)

It was hoped that this scheme would also help to check the more permanent and serious handicap on the schools' work of irregular and short periods of attendance from pupils. We have already seen that this was a problem in day schools. In 1850 Wellington Street Church's Sunday Schools lost 344 pupils while 402 came in for the first time. This was a very high turnover of children and of those who had left "reasons were ascertained in the case of 169 - of whom

4 have died,

3 have left from protracted ill health,

8 from home engagements,

28 from indifference and other insufficient reasons,

53 to join other schools,

2 have become Sabbath School teachers, and

71, or nearly one half, have removed from the locality or left Glasgow." (59)

One of the major causes of fluctuating attendance was, as in day schools, the migratory life style of many within the urban work force. As with indiscipline it affected most schools including the twenty run by Albion and Nile Street Independent Churches. To counter poor attendance and indiscipline they implemented a scheme similar to that operated by Wellington Street Church whereby "small tickets, with a text of scripture upon each" were distributed "as rewards for good conduct, and diligence, a certain number of which, at the termination of a quarter, should entitle to one of greater value..."(60)

The problems continued, however, and common sense would suggest that indiscipline, unstable attendance combined with the fact that the schools only operated for one day of the week seriously limited their

efficacy in the educational sphere. The last factor and the result were recognised by the Glasgow Sabbath School Union when it commented that "it must be obvious, that in regard to those scholars who are reported as not in the habit of attending Church, the whole amount of religious instruction received by them must be considered as limited to the one and a half or two hours on Sabbath evening". This was not enough to counter "the contaminating influence to which they are exposed, not only during the remaining portion of the Sabbath, but throughout the week". (61)

Evening classes were held by the city missionary employed by the church, the day school teacher and the Sabbath School Society. We will consider the first of these categories when discussing the missionary's work in general. As one would expect, evening classes were designed to meet the educational needs of those whose "employments prevent them from attending during the day" and who had received either no, or inadequate education in day schools. (62) Most pupils were teenagers who, without family responsibilities, had time to attend evening classes. Fees were fixed at a low rate in an attempt to attract the unskilled worker with the majority paying 1d or 2d a week.

Unfortunately the only pointer to the social make up of classes was vague statements that those attending were "chiefly young persons at work during the day". (63) This does not tell us whether they were skilled or unskilled workers, but the numbers who paid a small fee, and other who paid nothing, suggests that many pupils were unskilled workers. Moreover, when a skilled worker attended an evening class it was often in a more established organisation, for example a Mechanics' Institute, than a mission school. (64)

Religious instruction was again "an essential and stated exercise" but in addition the 3 Rs and English grammar were taught.

Teachers had more success in putting these subjects across to pupils than in day or Sunday School. More regular attendance and better discipline were cited as two of the reasons for this greater impact. These, it was believed, stemmed from the fact that as the pupils were older they valued education more highly than very young children. Speaking of his class on teacher wrote; "they are very anxious to improve, exceedingly quiet and attentive in general, particularly so when receiving religious instruction". (65) Perhaps this statement presents an over glowing account of a class but of more import was a later report that nearly all pupils could read and write. This was an improvement on the day schools' achievements, where, as the church itself admitted, many left school with little more knowledge than when they entered.

One female pupil valued her education at an evening class so highly that on leaving she wrote to the teacher:

"My Dear Sir, It is with extreme regret that I tell you that circumstances prevent my getting any more to the school. I feel very sorry at this, for the Bible lesson was a source of much spiritual good to me. It is not often that the voice of piety is heard in the mill, and the thought of coming to the school at night has often cheered me. Under your teaching I have felt strengthened, encouraged and refreshed in the divine life. Most gratefully do I thank you for your care and attention to me since I came to the school." (66)

At first even the organising committee questioned "the truthfulness of the writer" but on enquiry it found the letter to be authentic. Whether such letters were honest or otherwise should not hide the fact that evening classes were the most successful branch of the churches' educational operations.

In accordance with Christ's command to spread the Gospel and with a view to ensuring the future well-being of society all churches put most of their missionary resources into education. Naturally enough the aim was to reach the most spiritually destitute who were to be found among the urban poor. Neither day nor Sunday Schools were successful in achieving this goal, a failure which was the result of indiscipline and irregular attendance at both schools, high fees at day schools and lack of teaching time at Sunday School. Low fees and stable attendance at evening classes led to more substantial advances albeit in very elementary subjects. With this one exception the church largely failed in its objective of spreading Christianity through schools to the "physically and morally destitute".

Next to education in order of importance came the employment of city missionaries to work in areas near the church. We have already looked at the duties each missionary was expected to perform, but at the local level the most interesting one was the Sunday services. These were the most successful of all the presbyterian churches' efforts at reaching the urban poor. By circumventing the barriers of discipline, dress and finance the urban poor felt more at home in these services than in a more formal church setting. A moving description of the congregation at one such service ran as follows:

"In the front ranks, and nearest the fire, sat some very aged dames with snow white caps, and many wrinkled faces, and heads bent down with age, and Testaments in their hands with the Bible Society's mark on them. Among them sat an aged man or two with white hair. Behind them were young women, some with bare heads. There, too, sat some mothers in clean but not holiday apparel. There were two blind men sitting by themselves, and near them an old blind woman. On the back seats were the men, some in moleskin jackets. Children were scattered here and there. And there we were, a lowly band, trying to worship the great God, the Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel." (67)



At first, as Glasgow City Mission stated, it was hoped that these services and wider mission work would form a stepping stone to full church membership since "to all, except the very old and infirm, these meetings should be ... only temporary places of resort. For it is the testimony of the Agents, that the acquirement of better feeling, and thereby of better conduct, is soon followed by the means of procuring better clothing and by the desire to attend the sanctuary from which the poor people had wandered...." (68)

In a few cases this hope was realised but these services themselves often formed the nucleus of a new church. Gradually they became more established and it was only natural that they should then celebrate Holy Communion. After this the forming of a separate congregation was an obvious progression. Thus the mission services held by John G. Paton in Green Street formed the basis of Barrowfield United Free Church, now a constituent part of St. Luke's, and the services held by Cambridge Street Church's missionary led to the establishment of Springbank United Presbyterian Church. In the United Presbyterian Church alone in Glasgow in 1900 ten other churches owed their origins to similar mission services. (69)

Relations between mother and daughter congregations were usually harmonious with the former providing premises and money, along with the services of their minister to celebrate Communion in the emerging church. Nevertheless, in the non-established churches in particular a hierarchy of religious services had evolved. Church services were predominantly attended by the middle class and upper working class with Sunday mission services reserved for the lower working class and urban poor. Therefore, one additional explanation for these latter groups' small membership of the non-established church was their preference for

mission services. It was this hierarchy of services which gave rise to the following amusing story. The wife of a visiting minister once hurriedly put on an old raincoat to attend the evening service of the church in Glasgow where her husband was preaching. As she was leaving someone said to her, "We were glad to have you here tonight; but wouldn't you be more at home in the Mission?" (70)

It was not only Sunday services which appealed to many non-church goers but they also attended evening Bible and prayer meetings. John G. Paton gave the following description of one class which "was attended by...the very poorest young men and grown up lads of the whole district. They had nothing to put on except their ordinary work day clothes - all were without bonnets, some without shoes". (71) It is almost impossible to estimate the impact of these meetings on their audience, but the very fact that they were attended by the "very poorest" is significant since it throws further doubt over general statements to the effect that the working class was disinterested in religion.

It is similarly difficult to evaluate the effect of home visitation and Bible distribution. What people did with the Bibles after the missionary had left we may never know but according to Dugald MacColl, the minister of the Wynd Church, some found their way to the pawn shop. (72) Glasgow City Mission noted that in "several cases" Bibles "had been exchanged for the means of purchasing a scanty morsel for the prolongation of existence". (73) The more general failure, highlighted in this last quotation, to meet directly the material needs of the people led to criticisms of mission work. Although by acting as a liaison between such bodies as the Dorcas Society and the Committee for Distributing Coals, the missionary helped to alleviate the physical suffering of some, especially during

winter, this was a very small drop in a large ocean. After describing similar cases of hardship to those of Sally O'Hara described in the first chapter, John Smith, who has been mentioned above, (74) commented that "within a few yards of this abode of destitution are several of the most popular and fashionable places of worship in the city. In the very hearing of the services of these sanctuaries this aged couple are allowed to starve! They are allowed to hear these services, and a missionary is sent to their dwelling to tell them of death which already sits on their countenances, while not one copper reaches them from any Christian society to relieve the cravings of hunger, or to cover their withered limbs; yet Glasgow is a Christian city, and its people are decidedly Christian(?)". (75) At first sight this seems damning indictment of mission work, but it should be remembered that most Christians viewed the causes of the conditions which John Smith described as moral and spiritual waywardness. These they attempted to rectify, and one can but only admire the time, money and effort which they expended in so doing, even although to some contemporaries and most later commentators many of the resources would have been better spent in satisfying material need.

"Strong drink is the monster evil" was how one missionary viewed the problem of drunkenness in his district. (76) He was not alone in holding this view since intemperance was regarded as one of the major causes of the multitude of "sins" attributed to working class life. It was only one of the causes since the other, as we have seen, was irreligion. Therefore, temperance or total abstinence societies could not alone remedy these ills. Christianity and temperance were the solution, in that order. The first stage was conversion which would awaken the person to the sinfulness of his or her ways and a temperate

life style would then follow. Speaking of intemperance, profanity and Sabbath breaking a city missionary stated that "to the best of my power the sword of the spirit is wielded against these, and every other form of iniquity with which I am confronted, believing that this is the great instrument which God (in answer to prayer) blesses for the pulling down of the strong holds of sin and Satan." (77) From this belief stemmed the missionaries' efforts to spread the Gospel and form Temperance or T. T. Societies.

The work of city missionaries was supplemented by Christian Instruction Societies which relied on unpaid agents, who were always church members, to visit homes, hold prayer meetings and distribute Bibles and tracts. Of all the churches studied only Wellington Street had a Christian Instruction Society, but it was never a thriving organisation and it was constantly appealing for more volunteers. The reluctance of people to volunteer may have dissuaded other churches from starting their own Society.

The remaining missionary work in such areas as elders' visitation and Mutual Improvement Societies was largely confined to church members and not the urban poor. The social composition of Wellington Street Church's Mutual Improvement Society is evidence of this. (78) Foreign Missions and the subsidisation of weaker congregations in Scotland were two other fields where help was given but they are beyond the scope of this thesis.

Therefore, we have analysed the motives for mission work, the work of several congregations and the wider framework within which they operated. The work itself stemmed from a belief that it was every Christian's duty to spread God's work among those who were spiritually destitute. In mid-nineteenth century Glasgow this, so the church

believed, was large sections of the working class. Propagating Christianity was Christ's command and was by itself a worthwhile end while it would also help to remove many of society's ills, especially political and social disorder. Consequently, religious education, notably of children, was the central theme. Day, evening and Sunday Schools all operated to achieve this end but with one exception they largely failed. Where day and Sunday Schools attracted and held on to the urban poor, pupils did not stay long enough to be taught even a rudimentary education. Attendance at evening classes was more stable, and more progress was made in elementary secular education. Pupils may have had a reasonable knowledge of the Bible but we will never know how many became Christians. However, the church had fulfilled its duty by sowing the seed even though it recognised that some would fall on barren soil. The seed fell on more fertile ground in the city missionaries' classes and services with the plant finally blossoming into a new church.

One final important point needs to be emphasised. In all this work, Sunday School teaching and the one Christian Instruction Society apart, there was very little human contact between church members and the urban poor. Most of the work was done by city missionaries and school teachers and the congregation's role was largely one of providing the necessary finance.

The theory and practice of Norman MacLeod's work among the working class are often quoted as being different to and more successful than other churches' outreach towards the non-church goer. To what extent these claims are justified forms the basis of the next chapter.

Notes

1. These figures were taken from the Annual Reports of Glasgow Sabbath School Union between 1838 and 1862.
2. G.S.S.U. Annual Report, 1841.
3. G.C.M. Annual Report, 1827.
4. G.C.M. Annual Report, 1828.
5. Andrew Gillespie, Sir Michael Connal and His Young Men's Institute. (Glasgow, 1898), p. 25.
6. Glasgow Herald Year Book, 1913, p. 345.
7. St. Paul's Parish Church Sabbath School Society Annual Report, 1851.
8. Report of the Committee of the General Assembly on Sabbath Schools in Connection with the Church of Scotland, 1852.
9. John Smith, The Grievances of the Working Classes. (Glasgow, 1846), p. 80-99.
10. G.C.M. Annual Report, 1827.
11. W.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1848.
12. W. J. Couper, A Century of Congregational Life. History of Great Hamilton Street United Free Church, 1819-1919. (Glasgow, 1920), p. 81-82.
13. W.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1852.
14. William Symington, Discourses on Public Occasions. (Glasgow, 1851), Sermon 1, "The Evils of Ignorance and Motives for Its Removal", preached on 11/4/1821 in aid of Stranraer Sabbath School Society.
15. W.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1846.
16. G.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1852.
17. W.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1848.
18. A. A. MacLaren, Religion and Social Class. (London, 1974), p. 168.
19. G.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1852.

20. Second Annual Report of West Campbell Street Reformed Presbyterian Church Bible Society printed in the Scottish Presbyterian, January 1839.
21. C.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1861.
22. Ibid., 1851.
23. Royal Commission into Religious Instruction, 1836, Second Report, xxxi, p. 697.
24. See above p. 209.
25. Figures taken from W.S.C.M.S. Annual Reports, 1844-1859.
26. Free St. Stephen's Deacons' Minute Book, 31/3/1845, 5/5/1845 and 30/6/1845.
27. Free St. Stephen's K.S.M., 12/5/1869, 21/9/1869 and 10/11/1869.
28. Greyfriars' U. P. Church M. S. Annual Report, 1858.
29. W.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1853.
30. Ibid., 1852.
31. C.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1854.
32. W.S.C. Educational Association Annual Report, 1848.
33. W.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1847.
34. W.S.C. Educational Association Annual Report, 1851.
35. Ibid., 1846.
36. Ibid., 1845.
37. C.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1854.
38. W.S.C. Educational Association Annual Report, 1847.
39. See G.H.S. United Free Church Magazine for 1879 and David Keir, The House of Collins. (London, 1952), p. 38.
40. See appendix table 16, p. 295.
41. William Greenhorne, A History of Partick. (Glasgow, 1928), p. 80.
42. Ibid., p. 81.



43. James Greig and Thomas Harvey, Report on the State of Education in Glasgow, 1866. (Edinburgh, 1866), p. 140.
44. W.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1850.
45. C.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1860.
46. Royal Commission into the Employment of Children in Factories, 1833, xxi, p. 70.
47. W.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1853.
48. See Mr. McTaggart's evidence in Greig and Harvey, op. cit., p. 145.
49. William Hanna, Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers. 4 Vols. (Edinburgh, 1849-1852), Vol. 2, p. 231.
50. Greig and Harvey, op. cit., p. 57.
51. W.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1861.
52. Greig and Harvey, op. cit., p. 55.
53. A Short History of Glasgow City Mission, 1826-1926. (no author), (Glasgow, 1926), p. 19.
54. C.S.C. Sabbath School Society Annual Report, 1854.
55. Minute Book of W.S.C.'s Committee Appointed by the Missionary Society to Organise Sabbath Schools in the First City Missionary's District, 9/1/1839.
56. Ibid., 13/2/1839.
57. G.S.S.U. Magazine, October 1850.
58. W.S.C. Committee for Organising Sabbath Schools, 13/2/1839.
59. W.S.C. Sabbath School Society Annual Report, 1850.
60. Fifth Annual Report of the Committee of Management of the Sabbath Evening Schools under Nile Street and Albion Street Churches, 1814.
61. G.S.S.U. Annual Report, 1850.
62. C.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1852.
63. W.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1847.

64. See my unpublished M. A. Thesis on "Glasgow Mechanics' Institute",  
University of Dundee, January 1975.
65. W.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1849.
66. Ibid., 1849.
67. Ibid., 1846.
68. G.C.M. Annual Report, 1850.
69. They were Alexandra Parade, Elgin Street, Burnbank, Sandyford,  
St. Rollox, Albert Street, Bellgrove, Cumberland Street, Cranstonhill  
and Rockvillia. See Robert Small, History of the Congregations of  
the United Presbyterian Church, 1733-1900. 2 Vols. (Edinburgh, 1904),  
Vol. 2, p. 78-90.
70. A. L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland,  
1843-1874. (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 51.
71. John G. Paton, Missionary to the New Hebrides. (London, 1889),  
p. 59-60.
72. Dugald MacColl, Among the Masses or Work in the Wynds. (Glasgow,  
1872), p. 37.
73. G.C.M. Annual Report, 1828.
74. See above, p. 200.
75. John Smith, op. cit., p. 24.
76. W.S.C.M.S. Annual Report, 1844.
77. Ibid., 1861.
78. See appendix table 17, p. 296.

## Chapter 7

### Norman MacLeod and the Barony Church's Mission Work

As this chapter's title suggests, it was Norman MacLeod who was the force behind his church's missionary endeavours. This contrasted with the non-established churches where lay committees rather than the minister directed and organised the many organisations. Norman MacLeod's powerful personality, and the more exalted position which the Church of Scotland minister enjoyed vis-à-vis his non-established colleague help to explain this difference. Because of MacLeod's dominant role, it is necessary to analyse his ideas on religious and social policies to gain a full understanding of the Barony's work.

His social theology was partly formulated in response to the problems which afflicted contemporary society. In April 1848 he wrote:

"The separation outwardly of society is terrible. Only see the Old and New Town of Edinburgh! What type of British Society! It used not to be so. In the old town and in the olden time families of different grades used to live in the same tenement, and poor and rich were thus mingled together in their habitations and in their joys." (1)

This separation of rich and poor was also evident in the west and east ends of Glasgow. It was a situation which contrasted with his recollection of pre-industrial, but notably Highland society, while it boded ill for the country's future well-being. Alienation led to suspicion and mistrust with these problems being compounded by the increasingly irreligious condition of those who inhabited such areas as the east end of Glasgow. Widening divisions between classes and the growth in numbers of people outwith any contacts with Christianity contributed towards the third problem. This was social and political unrest.

In the Spring of 1848 MacLeod visited Glasgow only to be caught up in the Broad Riots. They brought home to him the dangers that were inherent in the above situation. In the riots MacLeod saw the churches' failure in permitting "the growth of such an ignorant, wretched and dangerous population" who "suggested serious doubts as to the future of the country". (2)

Unlike many others who believed that the sole cause of this and many more of society's ills was a deficiency in human character rather than the environment, MacLeod stressed the latter factor. He recognised that since "through bad feeding, clothing, hard work, etc. there is a retrogression of the species", it was important for the church to "attend to all the wants of the people...." (3)

Therefore, MacLeod saw in mid-nineteenth century urban society four major dangers, namely the growing separation of rich and poor, inadequate provision for religion, material deprivation and violence. We have already noted that other churches placed most emphasis on the second and last factors. Differences also appeared in the respective solutions.

Two themes ran through MacLeod's ideas and actions. Missionary agencies should aim to satisfy the individual's material and spiritual requirements, and secondly, these agencies should help increase contacts between Christians and non-Christians. These were largely the products of his Highland background, his concept of a Christian congregation and his above mentioned analysis of contemporary society. In January 1852 he outlined his ideas in greater detail during a speech delivered at a public meeting for church endowment.

He began by emphasising the duties of a Christian and a Christian congregation:

"A Christian congregation is a body of Christians who are associated not merely to receive instruction from a minister or to unite in public worship, but also to consider one another, and to provoke to love and good works, and as a society to do good unto all as they have opportunity."

The fulfilment of this duty gave the church a central role to play in society. He continued by saying that "we are profoundly convinced that, - apart from, or in addition to, the immense power of the Christian life operating through individuals and innumerable separate and isolated channels - the society of the Christian Church acting through its distinct organisations or congregations... is the grand social system which Christ has ordained, not only for the conversion of sinners and the edification of Saints, but also for advancing all that pertains to the well-being of humanity". (4)

With a view to countering the forces working against these ends, MacLeod employed two agencies. The first of these was increased contacts between Christians and non-Christians. "The true and only cure", he claimed, was "the personal and regular communion of the better with the worse - man with man - until each Christian, like his Saviour, becomes one with those who are to be saved...." Christians, therefore, "whether they be smiths or shoemakers, or tailors or grocers, or coach drivers or advocates" should "remember their own responsibilities... and be personal ministers for the good". (5) While other churches exhorted their members to give money to mission work, MacLeod wanted "living men! Not their books or their money, but themselves". (6) Through personal contacts an atmosphere of "love, meekness and kindness, forbearance and unselfishness" would be built up to replace the gulfs, tensions and growing secularisation of society.

But this was not the whole solution since the church also had to satisfy many of the individual's needs. The church should not merely

confine itself to teaching and preaching the Gospel but it had to "take cognizance of the whole man and his various earthly relationships, let them seek to enrich him with all Christ gave him, let them endeavour to meet all his wants as an active, social, intellectual, sentient, as well as a spiritual being, so that man shall know through the ministrations of the body, how its living Head gives them all things richly to enjoy". (7)

MacLeod's remedy for society's ills was in many ways different to the one propounded by other congregations. Whereas their answer lay in meeting spiritual need, MacLeod aimed to satisfy both this and material requirements. His emphasis upon contacts between Christians and non-Christians to counter the outward and inner separation of society apparently transcended considerations of social class and would therefore have seemed alien to these other churches. They aimed to strengthen and stabilise existing social hierarchies while gulfs in society were to be bridged by such means as tracts, missionaries and schools. The contrast appeared to be fundamental since they accepted the existing social order but MacLeod seemed to reject it, preferring instead a more cosmopolitan community. This leads us on to ask how MacLeod arrived at these conclusions.

Some have claimed that Thomas Chalmers, who lectured to MacLeod at Edinburgh University, influenced his thought. Stewart Mechie, for instance, has stated that "the inspiration of Chalmers continued to be potent in the social sphere until long past the middle of the nineteenth century, and can be traced in the careers of some of his younger contemporaries, Sheriff Watson, Thomas Guthrie, Norman MacLeod and Hugh Miller". (8) Yet where parallels can be found between the two men it is far from clear the extent to which Chalmers was the seminal force.

To begin with, both were very different characters: MacLeod was interested in literature, he liked Glasgow and sympathised with working people. On the other hand, Chalmers' interests lay in science, his attitude towards Glasgow was one of East coast disdain, and he had little sympathy for working people. There were, however, two areas in their social action where similarities existed.

In the organisation of the Barony's mission work on a territorial basis, along with the resurrection of the deaconship, MacLeod appeared to be copying the St. John's experiment. Before seeing Chalmers' influence here it should be remembered that many other churches had organised their mission work along similar lines and in so doing may have influenced MacLeod. Of more import was the purpose of the framework and one common to both men was the desire to increase personal contacts between Christians and non-Christians. Like MacLeod, Chalmers viewed with unease the gulfs in society and considered that one way to bridge them was through such contacts. But let us for a moment assume that Chalmers had never lived and ask whether MacLeod would still have made strengthened relations "between those who were poor temporally and spiritually, and those upon whom God had bestowed temporal and spiritual blessings" one of his policy's cornerstones. The answer in all probability would be yes for the following reason; the influence of Highland society on MacLeod.

He was brought up in the Highland areas of Campbeltown and Skye while his family had lived in Skye for many generations. Although Norman's father moved to Glasgow, his church was the predominantly Gaelic one of St. Columba's. Moreover, he was an ardent advocate of the Highlander's cause particularly during the famines of 1836 and 1846. This earned him the title of Caraid nan Gaidheal (Friend of the Highlands). Much of this Highland background rubbed off on his son.



In a book entitled Recollections of a Highland Parish he related everyday life in the Highlands. One theme which continually ran through the book with the sense of the oneness of Highland society. "The upper and lower classes", he wrote, "were not separated from each other by a wide gap. The thought was never suggested of a great proprietor above...and the people far below looking up to him with envy. On reviewing the state of Highland Society, one was rather reminded of a pyramid whose broad base was connected to the summit by a series of regular steps." (9) The shepherd felt at home in the Laird's house while "the Highland gentleman never meets the most humble peasant without chatting with him as an acquaintance...." (10) In one sentence MacLeod summed up the community spirit which resulted from this:

"The people of every estate were as one family - the knot of kindness tying every heart together, and the friendly eye of the superiors was over us all." (11)

This last quotation captures the origin of MacLeod's conception of how society should be organised. Into urban society he aimed to transpose the clan characteristics of paternalism, human contact and kindness, so that the "knot of kindness" would bind "every heart together" to counter the anonymity, gulfs and tensions of the city population. He may have seen his role as that of a clan chief and this was perhaps reflected in his dominant position in the church.

Earlier we left his attitude to hierarchies in society partly unanswered. These quotations answer it for us. He clearly accepted a structured society but what he rejected was the siege mentality which seemed to pervade each tier of urban society.

This Highland background not only helps us to understand MacLeod's social policy but it also helps to explain the stress he placed on the unity of a congregation. As we have seen, a congregation was a "body of

Christians" and he did much to foster this feeling within the Barony Church. Like other ministers he often spoke of the individual Christian's duty but he also saw the congregation as one family with its own responsibilities "to provoke to love and good works". The clan's characteristic of community was applied to both church and society.

It is more difficult to discover the origins of his beliefs that the church should meet material needs, and in the environment's role in helping or hindering man's progress towards the enjoyment of all that God gave him. He first wrote about satisfying material requirements apparently as a result of his observations of working class life in Dalkeith. (12) No clues were given to explain the genesis of this idea. He was not alone in recognising the importance of the environment's role in the formation of character. Robert Owen was a notable early advocate of this theory. One would hardly expect MacLeod to have been influenced by Owen, nor was any reference made to him in MacLeod's writings. Other churchmen, including Robert Buchanan and James Begg, who worked to improve the environment did not become prominent in this area until well after 1845 when MacLeod was in Dalkeith. The period 1842-1848 saw much debate over Chadwick's reports on public health which may have affected MacLeod, but again there was no reference to them in his biography. A more likely source of this idea was once more the clan. According to MacLeod one of the moral obligations attached to the position of clan chief was to ensure that the basic material requirements of food, clothing, and housing were provided for his clan. MacLeod merely carried this practice into urban society.

Before moving on to discuss the practical implementation of these ideas, one final important factor influenced his work. This was his

attitude towards Glasgow. In reading some accounts of mid-nineteenth century Glasgow, one is often left wondering why their authors continued to live and work in a city they so readily condemned. The truth was, of course, that they usually did not live in the areas they described so graphically. MacLeod had different ideas.

Donald MacLeod recalled that his brother "loved Glasgow, and rejoiced in the practical sense, the enterprise and generosity which characterised its kindly citizens". (13) When sitting in his study early in the morning, Norman would know that six a.m. had struck "by hearing far down below him in the Valley of the Clyde, the thud of a great steam hammer, to which a thousand hammers, ringing on a thousand anvils at once replied...." He never lost his boyhood fascination for boats and down at the Broomielaw he "would wander with delight among the ships and sailors, criticising hulls and rigging...."(14)

In a speech to the 1859 General Assembly he defended Glasgow from unfair criticism. Much of his speech remains relevant in 1978. Glasgow, he claimed, had got such a bad reputation for its weather and morality that "one would suppose...we sat soaking in water all the day, and soaking in whisky all the night, that we were engaged in cheating our neighbours on week days, and on Sabbath day sat sulky and gloomy in the house". His plea was for a balanced and sympathetic view to be taken of Glasgow and in particular of working class life therein. "Let us be fair and honest with the working man", he said, and you would "find him display no tendency to pervert your teaching if you deal with him in a spirit of liberality and in accordance with the laws of God properly interpreted". (15) Here MacLeod's paternalism showed through, but it was a more sympathetic attitude than that held by many church members.

Although MacLeod liked Glasgow, he was aware that it had several unsatisfactory features including widening divisions between classes, material and spiritual deprivation, and violence. These contrasted with his recollections of Highland society and the seminal force behind his work was the desire to translate the cosmopolitanism of clan life into urban society. The church both as a congregation, and in harnessing the talents of individual Christians, was the vehicle to carry out the programme of advancing "all that pertains to the well-being of humanity". This advance was to be through contacts between Christians and non-Christians and in meeting the active, social, intellectual, sentient, and spiritual sides of man's character. We must now consider how these ideas were carried into practice.

The Barony Parish in 1851 provided much scope for MacLeod to implement his ideology. The population stood at 87,000 but totally inadequate provision had been made by the Established Church to cater for its needs. There was only one school directly connected with the church. Resulting from the Disruption four churches stood empty, one of which was St. Stephen's, and some areas had no church belonging to the Establishment at all. It needed someone with MacLeod's dynamism to attempt to alleviate this situation and this may help to explain further his dominant role.

One of his first acts was to reorganise the administrative framework of parochial work. The parish was divided into twelve units each under the supervision of at least one elder and deacon. The duties attached to these offices have already been outlined. As we have seen, Chalmers' influence may have been at work in this reorganisation.

To facilitate contacts between minister, administrator, and congregation, regular district meetings were held. MacLeod had introduced them in Dalkeith and their object was "to afford an

opportunity to the minister, the elders and the deacons of the district to meet with the members of the congregation and their children, in order to communicate and receive information, and to cultivate personal acquaintanceship, and Christian intercourse". (16) These meetings were a practical result of his desire to foster a sense of community spirit in the congregation.

Such a scheme catered for existing church members but our interest lies in the wider missionary work among those who had weaker, if any ties with the church. Macleod divided this into two areas, parochial and non-parochial. The former covered the spiritual, educational and social needs of the parish, while the latter included the Church of Scotland's home and foreign missions. We are primarily concerned with the parochial division.

As in other churches, the greatest emphasis was placed upon education. This, however, raises an important question which also applies to the whole range of parochial work. How far were Macleod's ideas shared by his congregation? Because he played the dominant role in these schemes it is very difficult to answer this question. The only pointer to an answer is a negative one. Had there been any serious differences of opinion between minister and congregation, one would have expected them to appear in minute book or even in public. This happened over the Sabbath controversy, but in relation to missionary work there were no serious rifts between churchman and layman. The latter was quite prepared to help finance and implement his minister's plans. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Macleod's thinking percolated throughout the congregation.

When considering the Established Church's motives in education, it should be remembered that there was a legal obligation on the church

and heritors to provide schools. In the Barony Church this obligation, as has been noted, had not been carried out with much enthusiasm before 1851, but by 1862 MacLeod had instituted the opening of seven schools in various areas.

Legal obligations apart, these schools were a practical result of MacLeod's aim of satisfying some of the five human elements in an attempt to create his ideal form of society. If this appeared to be building castles in the air, some of the other objectives were more down to earth. These may well have had a stronger appeal to the middle class communicant, but this will be more fully discussed at a later stage.

Like Govan's, the Barony's schools were run by the Kirk session. Both churches' schools were classified as Sessional Schools. Unlike the non-established churches, at least until the 1840s and 1850s, the Barony's schools received state aid if both master and school met certain criteria. Once financial help was given, the school was regularly inspected by one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, although in the important areas of curriculum and fees the church was free to act as it pleased.

The curriculum did not differ from the one taught in other schools. R. I. was the central subject but also included was the 3 Rs, grammar, geography, sewing and knitting. The latter two subjects were, naturally enough, for girls only. Fees were charged per subject; a month's instruction in the 3 Rs for boys cost 1/2d while lessons in reading, sewing and knitting over the same period cost girls 1/-. Although calculated on a monthly basis, fees were payable weekly and free education was also provided. It was only granted after careful investigation by the elder and deacon concerned.

The records did not illuminate to a high degree the background of those who received free education. One entry suggests that there may have been two categories; children of workers who had fallen on hard times, along with widows and one parent families:

"Applications for gratuitous education for the following parties were considered and allowed:  
Andrew Donnelly, aged 9 years  
Isabella Donnelly, aged 8 years. Children of James Donnelly weaver residing at 37 Burgher Street.  
Robert Pettigrew, aged 10 years son of Robert Pettigrew weaver 28 Burgher Street.  
One of the children of Mrs. Christie, East Miller Street.  
And William Roger illegitimate child aged 7 years." (17)

Low fees and gratis education ensured that the schools were not placed beyond the means of the unskilled worker and urban poor. A brief analysis of pupils' parental occupations at Bluevale School showed that 37.8% of the "pupils belong to Parents who are tradesmen and mechanics". 62.3% fell in or below category I. (18) Referring to Kelvinhaugh and Bluevale Schools, John Gordon, a H.M.I., reported that "these are under considerable disadvantages, the attendance being irregular, and many of the people very poor". (19)

Gordon's statement pinpoints the problem of irregular attendance which went hand in hand with attendance from these people. In 1855, 912 children attended all the schools but of this total almost 50% had been present for under one year and were soon expected to leave. Furthermore, in the same year one third of pupils had been absent for periods ranging from 26 to 49 days.

Parental apathy towards education combined with the attraction of factory employment were cited as the two main reasons for this situation in the 1855 Magazine:



"The limited period of attendance is occasioned by the indifference frequently manifested by parents to the education of their children, and the facilities afforded in the manufacturing population for the employment of children at an early age." (20)

The result was that most pupils left school without learning the basic skills of reading and writing.

With a view to countering this trend, an attempt was made to interest parents in education through a series of lectures. These appear to have fallen on deaf ears since the problem continued and in 1863 a system of monthly fees was begun. By charging fees a month in advance, it was hoped to encourage more stable periods of attendance. This was the system's sole objective unlike many other schools where it was also aimed at increasing the school's social and economic standing. The Barony's schools were neither in financial difficulties nor was there any pronounced desire to attract a "better class of pupils" as in Wellington Street Church. The Barony Church only wanted to check the wildly fluctuating attendance. The effect was, however, to drive away the very people whom the schools were aiming to attract. Most unskilled workers and many others could not afford the lump sum required and were forced to withdraw their children from the schools.

This change was not confined to the Barony's schools since Govan and Wellington Street Church introduced similar schemes. If the causes were not identical the effect was, since it excluded "from the good schools the children of the lowest orders, many of whom cannot pay more than a penny a week, and who have neither the ability nor inclination to pay a month in advance". (21)

In addition to day schooling, the church ran evening classes. The motive forces behind them were more clearly outlined than in day schools. "We require", wrote MacLeod, "a wider education for our

artisans themselves, so as to train them up to such fixed ideas and habits as may fit them to meet the actual temptations to which they are exposed...." (22) The object of Sunday evening classes was "to endeavour to perpetuate any good impressions which they (the pupils) may have received in the Sabbath Schools, to induce them to form habits of self culture, and to spend their leisure in intellectual pursuits or innocent recreation". (23) Although these classes fitted in with MacLeod's aim to satisfy the intellectual side of man's nature, the temporal advantages accruing from them may have encouraged church members, in line with other congregations, to contribute more liberally.

Evening classes were held by the day school teacher and the Sabbath School Society, but the most famous were the classes held in Martyrs' Church. (24) All three categories fit into broadly the same pattern. No pupils under 18 years of age were admitted which gave the classes the heading Adult Evening Classes. It has been claimed that "the idea of establishing such schools originated with the Rev. Dr. MacLeod..." but this is not strictly true. We have already seen that many other churches were running evening classes before MacLeod came to Glasgow. They took in younger pupils but adults attended evening classes in secular institutions, including Mechanics' Institutes. MacLeod merely joined together these two existing practices in an ecclesiastical environment.

The curriculum offered by all but Martyrs' school included R. I. The latter only taught secular subjects and this was a radical departure from previous curricula which gave religious education top priority. For the origin of this scheme we must go back to MacLeod's first charge of Loudoun. There he gave a course of lectures on geology to the Newmilns weavers. Many had never been to church but

after two or three lectures some began to attend church. From this experience MacLeod believed that the church should first "win" people on "common ground" and then bring them to "holy ground". (26) One suspects that it was MacLeod's personality rather than any innate causal relationship between these areas which encouraged the weavers to go to church. It was hoped, however, that some of those who went to Martyrs' classes would then go on to attend and join the church.

As John Gordon noted, the dominant social grouping was category H; "The male pupils are nearly all engaged in mechanical occupations during the day". (27) Their numerical superiority was the result of three factors. Firstly, the skilled worker often worked a shorter day than his unskilled counterpart and had more time to spare for evening education. Secondly, the unskilled worker could not afford the fee of 3/- a quarter while the third factor was the artisan's desire for self improvement. Education was highly valued per se but it was also necessary for progress up the social ladder. In Barony Street Evening School, architectural drawing was taught to pupils whose object was "generally to fit themselves for practices as draughtsmen". (28) Furthermore, in Martyrs' School many pupils "turned their attainments to good account and improved their social position". (29) Unfortunately the church did not record how many adult pupils were, or became church members. Consequently, we cannot test whether MacLeod won men on both "common" and "holy" ground.

Similarly inadequate information was given for Sunday Schools. Apart from data on numbers of schools, pupils and teachers there were few sociologically interesting facts. For example, in 1853 the church ran twelve Sunday Schools with 105 teachers and an average total attendance of 1,172 pupils. (30) No information was recorded about

these pupils' social status. But if the schools were bedevilled by the same problems as other Sunday Schools, their achievements would have been negligible.

Up until 1863, the day schools did achieve their goal in attracting the urban poor but, because of fluctuating attendance, no real educational progress was made. Far from stabilising attendance, monthly fees drove away many pupils from school. On both counts day schools failed in their stated objective which was to satisfy the intellectual and spiritual needs of the "neglected population". Evening classes were no exception since they primarily appealed to the skilled worker who had the desire, time and money for further education. Although education swallowed up a large part of missionary resources, it was not the sole concern since Macleod aimed to satisfy material and social needs.

With these ends in view, a Refreshment Room was opened at the corner of Garngad and Townhead Road opposite an ironfoundry in St. Rollox. It was hardly surprising that the convener of the committee which ran the room was D. Y. Stewart, an elder in the church and owner of the ironfoundry. Unfortunately the records did not tell if this was only a coincidence, but it would have been more than likely that the main beneficiaries were Stewart's employees. The facilities appear to have been well used since in one day in April 1856 the following quantities of food and drink were sold; 121 cups of coffee, 149 slices of bread, 190 pints of soup and 36 pints of broth! (31) In addition to supplying food, the centre provided a reading room which was open gratis to those taking refreshments.

Although the concept of providing an alternative to the pub was not original, as similar centres existed in Dundee and Edinburgh, this room

was one of the first of its kind in Glasgow. It marked a new departure in the church's social action which had previously concentrated on spiritual needs. His ideas were only gradually accepted as in 1866 Glasgow City Mission spoke for many when it claimed that "we must trace physical degradation and suffering in by far the majority of instances, to moral and spiritual degeneracy; and, if we would lay the axe to the root of the tree, we must strike at the ungodliness which so fearfully prevails...." (32) MacLeod, however, introduced a secular element into mission work and this dimension was to expand dramatically in later decades of the century with some churchmen playing an active role in such areas as housing and sanitation.

MacLeod was first and foremost a minister, and although he was concerned with his parishioners' physical condition, his primary concern was their spiritual well-being. This was ill served by the lack of churches and in an attempt to fill this gap he devoted much of his time to raising money for new churches. In his twenty one years at the Barony he assisted in procuring ministers and congregations for the four vacant chapels and in founding five new churches. (33) By any standards this was a remarkable achievement.

In line with other churches, district missionaries were employed and their duties were similar to those described in the previous chapter. One was to hold Sunday evening services "designed exclusively for people in their working clothes". (34) This design was met and these services often formed the basis of a new church. One example was the services at Kelvinhaugh which led to the founding of Kelvinhaugh Church in 1859. These services lead us on to MacLeod's most famous innovation at the Barony.

In 1857 he began his evening services for working people. The aim was to encourage those who "from poverty or other causes had fallen away from all church attendance". (35) To this end none were admitted except in their working clothes and the services proved an outstanding success.

A newspaper reporter from London gave an amusing account of one service. In order to gain admittance he swapped his normal clothes for a "dirty coat, a dirty white flannel vest, striped shirt, red cravat and Glengarry bonnet". Further cosmetics were needed, as it was only by "pulling my hair down over my brow, and, in the most slovenly manner possible, wiping my nose with the sleeve of my coat,...." that he "passed in". Once inside he found that the pews "were filled with men in their fustain jackets, and with poor women, bareheaded, or with an old shawl drawn over the head, and dressed most of them in short gown and petticoat. Unkempt heads, faces begrimed with labour, and mothers with infants in their arms, gave a strange character to the scene. The police sometimes reported that several well known thieves were present". (36)

The reason for their success in attracting working people, especially those in group I, was that they bypassed the major obstacles to an increased lower working class presence at many normal church services. Without the emphasis on dress, financial commitment, adherence to a foreign set of moral and cultural values combined with a worship catering for their needs, working people felt that they belonged at these services which they made their own.

MacLeod's theory on the transitional relationship between "common" and "holy" ground could not be tested. There was, however, a direct correlation between his Sunday evening services and full church membership. In April 1857 he reported to the kirk session that

"between sixty and seventy" of those who had come to the evening worship "had expressed a desire to remember Christ at the Lord's Supper, and profess faith in him". (37) They had never before been communicants.

By attending evening services some went on to join the church while others formed their own church. This was Barony Mission Church opened in 1855 in Parliamentary Road. The name was later changed to Macleod Church. Its baptismal register gives a clear picture of the congregation's social composition. The full table is given in the appendix (38) but the figures for 1866 are given below:

<u>Total</u>	<u>Found</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Working Class</u>
110	94	0	2	92

The congregation was almost exclusively working class, the two exceptions being clerks. The working class category was fairly evenly divided between groups II and I, with 51 and 41 respectively for 1866.

Therefore, Macleod's evening services were successful in three areas. Firstly, they attracted working people to church, secondly, many went on to become communicant members and, thirdly, others formed their own church.

In the non-established churches we saw that a hierarchy of religious services had evolved. A similar structure of church services was introduced at the Barony but social divisions were less marked. Both church and mission had a relatively high percentage of members from Group I. Moreover, there was a significant movement from mission services to full church membership. This transition was made possible by the less stringent financial and cultural obligations in the Barony vis-à-vis most other presbyterian denominations.



MacLeod made contacts between Christians and non-Christians one of his policy's cornerstones but it is doubtful whether it was successfully implemented. Most work was done by himself, day school teachers and missionaries. Congregational activity would appear to have been limited to Sunday School teaching along with elders' and deacons' visitation. As such, it was no greater than in other churches. MacLeod's congregational meetings may have helped to build up a community spirit within the congregation, but it only made up a very small percentage of the parish population. Herein lay the perhaps insurmountable barrier to the achievement of his aim. The sheer size of the population meant that one congregation could not hope to contact a significant proportion of the whole. Had the parish been a more manageable size then MacLeod's aim would have been more feasible. MacLeod might have made a greater impact had he followed more closely in Chalmers' footsteps by dividing the parish into smaller units.

Norman MacLeod poured a mixture of old and new wine into new bottles in his direction of the Barony's mission work. He attempted to solve the problems of class divisions, irreligion, physical hardship and the resultant social unrest by an amalgam of traditional and novel ideas. His Highland background and his belief that it was every congregation's duty to provoke to love and good led him to stress the importance of increased contacts between Christian and non-Christian. Additional means to satisfy intellectual and spiritual needs were religious and secular education alongside increased facilities for worship. MacLeod would have agreed that man cannot live by bread alone but he realised that material factors influenced man's whole character. The Refreshment Room helped to satisfy one part of the bread of life.

In education the aim of reaching the neglected population was not achieved in day or evening schools. After 1863 the urban poor were forced out of day schools by the monthly payment of fees. Although the lower working class went to these schools, its attendance was too short and irregular for any meaningful educational progress to be made.

One Refreshment Room was a tiny drop in the ocean but much of its significance lay in the direction in which it helped point future resources. The size of the ocean also made MacLeod's wish for a more cohesive society through increased contacts between rich and poor, in both temporal and spiritual terms, remain a dream rather than a reality.

The greatest impact on the non-church going sections of the working class was made by MacLeod himself. Here his evening services stand out as a major achievement while his sympathetic concern for, and defence of working people made him a popular figure. His popularity was illustrated when a minister of a Free Church not far from the Barony was asked to visit a sick man. Before seeing him the minister asked the invalid's wife if her husband was a member of any church. She replied that he was on the Barony's Roll. The minister then asked why she had not sent for Norman MacLeod and she answered; "Weel ye see, sir, it's a very bad infectious complaint, and we didna like Dr. Norman to run any risk, so we called on you". (39)

Notes

1. Donald MacLeod, Norman MacLeod. 2 Vols. (London, 1876), Vol. 1, p. 287. All references from this biography are taken from the 1876 edition.
2. Ibid., p. 283.
3. Ibid., p. 232.
4. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 4, and also Barony Church Magazine, 1852-1853.
5. Donald MacLeod, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 287.
6. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 6.
7. Ibid., p. 8.
8. Stewart Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development, 1780-1870. (London, 1960), p. 154.
9. Norman MacLeod, Recollections of a Highland Parish. (London, 1891), p. 174.
10. Ibid., p. 133.
11. Ibid., p. 346.
12. Donald MacLeod, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 232-233.
13. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 2.
14. Ibid., p. 2.
15. Ibid., p. 90-93 for the text of this speech.
16. Barony Church Magazine, 1855-1856.
17. Barony Church Elders' and Deacons' Minute Book, 30/11/1858.
18. Ibid., 11/9/1854.
19. Barony Church Magazine, 1855-1856.
20. Ibid.
21. James Greig and Thomas Harvey, Report on the State of Education in Glasgow, 1866. (Edinburgh, 1866), p. 140.

22. Donald MacLeod, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 57.
23. Barony Church Magazine, 1855-1856.
24. James Scotland, A History of Scottish Education. 2 Vols. (London, 1969), Vol. 1, p. 302.
25. Greig and Harvey, op. cit., p. 143.
26. Donald MacLeod, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 166-167.
27. Barony Church Magazine, 1861-1862.
28. Ibid.
29. Greig and Harvey, op. cit., p. 149.
30. G.S.S.U. Annual Report, 1854.
31. Barony Church Magazine, 1856-1857.
32. G.C.M. Annual Report, 1866.
33. The new churches which he helped to found were Bluevale opened in 1872, Kelvinhaugh (1873), MacLeod (1865), Port Dundas (1868), and Springburn (1854).
34. Barony Church Magazine, 1857-1858.
35. Donald MacLeod, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 57.
36. Ibid., p. 262-264 for a full account of this service.
37. Barony K.S.M. 9/4/1857.
38. See appendix table 18, p. 296.
39. A. G. Gallant, St. Mungo's Bells or Old Glasgow Stories Runn Out Anew. (Glasgow, 1888), p. 129. Gallant was a pseudonym for one J. R. Russell.

### Conclusion

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, four interrelated developments changed Glasgow from a small rural cum trading centre to one of the foremost industrial cities in the world. The city became the focal point for a wide ranging overseas trade, an expansion of land and sea communications in and around the West of Scotland, the rapid development of the textile industry and finally the growth of heavy industry. In the hope of finding work and money, thousands of people immigrated into the city so putting an unbearable strain on housing and the public services, especially education and poor relief. As profits rose so did the levels of crime, poverty and violence. In times of economic depression those who suffered most took to direct action in an attempt to alleviate their plight. Thus in the years up to 1850 there were regular outbreaks of rioting in Glasgow, particularly in the east end. In response to the conditions in the east end and other predominantly working class areas many middle class families moved to the respectable suburbs situated in the north west of the city.

These changes posed immense problems for the church as it was geared to meeting the demands of a largely rural society. Thomas Chalmers helped the church to adapt to the new urban environment. He attributed many of the evils in society, such as crime and poverty, to deficiencies in human character rather than the environment. Education and evangelisation would make up these deficiencies in character so remedying many of society's ills. However, education was to be carefully managed to fit people for their station in society as it was not meant to provide "operatives" with the means of becoming

"capitalists". The church was to be the vehicle to carry out this programme of education and evangelisation and the reintroduction of smaller units of administration was designed to help in its implementation.

Chalmers believed that every church member had a duty to spread Christianity, as this was one of Christ's commands to His followers, while the transformation in personal character brought about by Christianity would in turn benefit society. Furthermore, the effect of church members going out to non-believers would help to reduce the growing gulf between classes in society.

Chalmers was in no doubt that it was in the poor and working class areas of Glasgow that the greatest spiritual destitution existed and that there were too few churches in these districts to carry out his scheme of moral and intellectual improvement. Therefore, he devoted much of his time to encouraging church extension and one result of his endeavours was St. John's Parish Church.

Education and evangelisation remained the main objectives of the church in later decades of the century but these required a church presence in working class areas where the greatest need was seen to exist. Many recognised that the church was relatively weak in these districts compared to the middle class suburbs and this recognition gave rise to programmes of church extension, notably William Collins' Glasgow Church Building Society.

Despite these efforts, the 1851 Religious Census showed that the church, as measured by attendance at Sunday worship, was not attracting the majority of the population. The impression given both at the time and in later periods was that this non-church going majority was largely comprised of those whom Chalmers and others had

tried to reach, namely the poor and working class. From this many have assumed that the working class did not go to church and that the church was a wholly middle class institution. But was it?

The 1836 Royal Commission into Religious Instruction suggested that a large percentage of every congregation was comprised of the poor and working class. Although the Commission itself was dubious about the accuracy of its figures the detailed breakdown in this thesis of the social composition of several presbyterian churches in the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s has shown that it was correct in its finding that the majority of communicants were working class. However, the picture was not uniform over all denominations.

The Church of Scotland had a higher percentage of unskilled workers than the non-established churches. This was a consequence of the heavy financial obligations, including pew rents and contributions to church funds, and a strict moral code in the non-established churches. The Church of Scotland placed less emphasis on behaviour and money thus more people in group I were members. When the barriers of dress, money and discipline were removed altogether, as in mission services and Norman Macleod's evening services, working class attendance showed a dramatic increase. Although many unskilled workers felt unable to join the non-established churches, artisans did not share these feelings. Their greater income and desire for respectability made the financial obligations of membership and kirk session discipline less onerous burdens.

The eighteenth century secessions attracted the lower middle class away from the National Church and this was reflected in the higher percentage of low status members in the non-established churches than the Church of Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century. But many of



these people seized the opportunities offered by the industrial revolution and by the 1860s and 1870s they had moved up to the high status groups and had moved their houses to the west end. Thus their churches were at an inconvenient distance as they were located nearer the centre of the city but this inconvenience was removed by building new churches in the west end.

This larger proportion of low status members in the congregations of the non-established churches compared to the Church of Scotland was mirrored in the kirk session. As with church members, many elders in the non-established churches were on their way up the economic and social ladder and saw the eldership as a useful rung in the ladder. On the other hand, the Church of Scotland had more members and elders from the high status categories. However, in all denominations the economic and social criteria of the eldership ensured a minimal working class presence on the kirk session.

Although many elders in the non-established churches could be labelled the 'aspirant' middle class, managers were drawn from church members who had experience in business or the professions. Managers were the 'deep roots' but elders were the 'new shoots'.

Despite the fact that the presbyterian churches did attract a sizable number of poor and working class members those who claimed that it was in the working class areas of Glasgow that there was the highest proportion of non-church goers were correct. These apparently contradictory statements are explained by the sheer size of Glasgow's working class population. Even if every congregation had been solely comprised of working class communicants, this would have covered only a small percentage of Glasgow's urban work force. The large numbers of the 'spiritually destitute' gave rise to missionary work in working class areas.

Various general trends emerged from the study of several congregations' outreach to non-church goers. These social action programmes were similar in most churches and they resulted from the belief that it was every Christian's duty to spread the Gospel. In so doing they were working, as Thomas Chalmers had stated many years before, for the good of both man and society. The fear and reality of social unrest gave this latter objective an added stimulus.

The two main methods used to sow the Christian seed were religious education in day and Sunday School, and city missionaries. Secular subjects were included in the schools' curriculum but they were primarily seen as a means to furthering religious knowledge. The Bible was of little use to someone who could not read. Educational results in day schools were disappointing while sociologically two patterns emerged. Some schools, as became increasingly common as the century progressed, became more socially exclusive losing children from or below group I. Fees were increased and were made payable on a monthly basis which placed the schools beyond the income of the lower working class. Other schools did not raise their fees hence the lower working class continued to attend. However, in all cases the educational achievements of most pupils below artisan status were minimal. The majority of children left school to work in the factories long before they could either read or write adequately. The same problems and results bedevilled Sunday Schools. Although education took up most resources, it largely failed to attain its target of spreading religious and secular knowledge among the 'neglected population'.

In all congregations the greatest success story was the Sunday evening service taken by the missionary. Without the obligations of

discipline, dress and financial contributions, labourers and widows alike felt more at home in these services than in a church. A testimony to their impact was that they often formed the nucleus of a new church. Therefore, within the presbyterian denominations church extension in working class areas took two forms. Firstly, there were the efforts of middle class philanthropists, such as William Collins, in building and helping to run the new church. Secondly, there was a 'grass roots' movement where the demand for a church came from the working class, although the initial stimulus had been given by a church from a different area.

For most church members their activity was limited to giving material resources. Only a few, notably Sunday School teachers, came face to face with the problems which the church was attempting to remedy. Here, in theory, Norman MacLeod was the exception. However, when it came down to the practical implementation of his ideas his church was not markedly more successful than any other.

Some aimed to bridge the gulfs in society and preach the Christian message by financing others to do it but MacLeod wanted people themselves to be the missionaries. His concept of increasing the contacts between Christians and non-Christians to create a more united society was largely the product of his Highland background and his view of a congregation's duty.

In education the Barony's schools fitted in with the general pattern of at first attracting, but later losing the lower working class pupils through insisting on the monthly payment of fees. Barony's schools were not immune from pupils attending for short and irregular periods of time. Consequently, success as measured in educational terms was minimal.

MacLeod's Refreshment Room and Sunday evening services in the church were more original schemes. One Refreshment Room was not much but it helped steer mission work in a new direction. Evening services for working people were not a new concept since other churches had organised them in mission stations. MacLeod's originality lay in holding them in the church.

With the exception of the Barony Church, all churches mission work fitted into broadly the same pattern. The disparities manifested in the Barony Church were not due to any differences in the congregation's social composition but the ideas and the personality of its minister Norman MacLeod.

In the chapter on Thomas Chalmers, the question as to his influence was left unanswered. On the direct personal level it has been suggested that other factors than Chalmers shaped Norman MacLeod's thoughts and practices. It is more difficult to be so definite about his impact on the mission work of other churches. The objectives of education and evangelisation were similar, as were the motive forces which lay behind the many schemes. On the practical level parallels can be drawn between the emphasis which Chalmers and later churchmen placed on territorial work. Chalmers' name, however, is rarely if ever mentioned in the records which have been studied. This does not necessarily imply that his inspiration was not felt since it is unusual for people to state specifically how or by whom they have been influenced. Nevertheless, all that we can say is that there were similarities between Chalmers' and these churches' mission work but that direct links cannot be found.

Therefore, although the government of the church was firmly in the hands of the middle class, the congregation had a much broader

social spread with many working class members. Moreover, the church did not ignore those working class families who were not Christians but the church's attempts to influence their lives were largely unsuccessful. In all too many cases the Christian message fell on barren and stony ground.

Appendix Notes

Part 1. Tables

Table 1

Occupations In Which the Population of Glasgow Were Engaged in 1831

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage Population</u>
Clergy, professors, teachers, students, literary persons.	2,659	1.3
Foreign and home merchants and bankers.	1,702	0.8
Surgeons, druggists and chemists.	494	0.2
Writers, law agents, messengers, sheriff and town officers.	629	0.3
Agents, factors and accountants.	544	0.2
Muslin-manufacturers and calenders.	1,319	0.6
Booksellers, stationers and bookbinders.	459	0.2
Compositors, letter-press printers and folders.	573	0.2
Clerks and commercial travellers.	1,753	0.8
Weavers, warpers and winders.	15,217	7.5
Tambourers, darners and clippers.	1,231	0.6
Cotton spinners and steam-loom weavers.	9,856	4.8
Dyers, calico printers, bleachers, starchers and singers.	1,664	0.8
Engravers, block and print-cutters.	359	0.1
Machinists, engineers and mill-wrights.	892	0.4
Brass, iron and type-founders and moulders.	924	0.4
Masons, bricklayers, marble cutters and cause-wayers.	1,552	0.7
Upholsters, cabinet makers, joiners and sawyers.	2,986	1.4
Slaters and plasterers.	584	0.2
Colour-men, painters, plumbers and glaziers.	761	0.3



Occupations cont.

Black, copper and tinsmiths, and braziers and powderers.	1,947	0.9
Ironmongers, hardwaremen and nailers.	474	0.2
Tanners, curriers, boot and shoe-makers and saddlers.	2,715	1.3
Coopers and turners.	497	0.2
Silversmiths, jewellers, watch and clock-makers.	277	0.1
Barbers, hair-dressers and perfumers.	232	0.1
Potters, glass-cutters, dealers in glass and china.	501	0.2
Flax-dressers, rope-spinners, sail and block-makers.	349	0.1
Brush and basket-makers, comb and spoonmakers.	313	0.1
Coach-makers and wheel-wrights.	322	0.1
Tailors, clothiers and hatters.	2,128	1.0
Haberdashers, mercers, drapers, hosiers and glovers.	321	0.1
Milliners, straw hat-makers and seamstresses.	3,093	1.5
Bakers, confectioners and pastry cooks.	1,063	0.5
Fleshers, fish-mongers and poulterers.	456	0.2
Grocers and victuallers.	1,127	0.5
Gardeners, fruiterers, greengrocers and seedsmen.	409	0.2
Warehousemen and supernumeraries.	1,093	0.5
Distillers, brewers and others employed in the spirit trade.	2,913	1.4
Washers, dressers and manglers.	582	0.2
Tobacconists, tobacco spinners, drysalters and soap and candle-makers.	411	0.2

Occupations cont.

Hawkers and dealers in small wares.	1,276	0.6
Waiters in taverns, postboys, hostlers, and grooms.	716	0.3
Furniture brokers and dealers in old clothes.	254	0.1
Colliers, quarrymen, and labourers.	6,614	3.2
Cowkeepers, carters and carriers.	1,487	0.7
Porters and watchmen.	1,254	0.6
Numerous miscellaneous occupations.	6,361	3.1

The total population between 10 and 70 years of age was 143,142.

The total number of occupations listed above, including 8,706 female householders and 8,952 servants, is 103,001. Therefore, there were 40,141 people (28.0 percent of the population between 10 and 70) who were not engaged in any occupation. This represented on average one such person in each family.

The above figures were taken from James Cleland, Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow. (Glasgow, 1832), p. 231.

Table 2

Occupations of Fathers of Matriculated Students at Glasgow University,

1830-1839 (1)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Administration	2.4
Army and Navy	1.0
Church	9.4
* Industry and Commerce	49.9
Law	6.6
Medicine	4.3
Nobility and Landed	6.7
Teaching	2.4
Tenant Farming	14.6
Miscellaneous	2.7

\* The Industry and Commerce group can be broken down thus:

<u>Class</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Middle class	61.1
Working class	32.8
Intermediate	6.3

(1) Source, W. H. Hathew, "The Origins and Occupations of Glasgow Students, 1740-1839" Past and Present April 1966.

Table 3

Attendance at Glasgow Churches on the 30th March 1851 (1)

Denomination	Morning	Afternoon	Evening	Total	% Population
Established	13,953	14,635	1,000	29,588	8.9
Reformed Presbyterian	1,536	1,680	-	3,216	0.9
Original Secession	650	930	145	1,725	0.5
United Presbyterian	15,080	16,649	1,613	33,342	10.1
Free Church	15,651	13,298	3,324	32,273	9.8
Total Presbyterian				100,144	30.4
Episcopal	2,661	1,785	285	4,731	1.4
Congregational	2,981	3,288	733	7,002	2.1
Baptists	930	1,058	535	2,523	0.7
Society of Friends	60	38	-	98	0.03
Unitarians	400	-	400	800	0.2
Wesleyan Methodists	1,600	-	375	1,975	0.6
Primitive Methodists	80	40	120	240	0.07
Glassites	60	96	-	156	0.04
New Church	107	47	89	243	0.07
Evangelical Union	1,550	1,350	-	2,900	0.8
Roman Catholics	12,000	6,000	5,400	23,400	7.1
Apostolics	75	100	-	175	0.05
Latter Day Saints	450	450	400	1,300	0.3
Isolated Congregations	557	631	628	1,816	0.5
Total non-Presbyterian				47,359	14.4
Total attendance, 147,503					
Percentage population, 44.8					

(1) Source, Horace Mann, Census of Religious Worship and Education:  
Scotland, 1854.

Table 4

Proportion of Working Class Members in Congregations of the  
Established Church

Church	Attendance		Communicants	
	Total	Working class	Total	Working Class
Inner High	1,750	1,400	500	340
Outer High	900	"	700	"
College	1,000	50% or 33%	500	50% or 33%
Preaching station	95	95	-	-
Tron	1,300	550	850	less than half
Preaching station	45	45	-	-
St. David's	950	very few	650	very few
Albion	1,600	chiefly	1,200	chiefly
St. George's	1,312	"	975	100
Preaching station	200	200	-	-
St. Peter's	-	-	-	-
St. George's-in-the-Fields	850	-	380	190
St. Andrew's	1,000	few	400	few
St. Enoch's	1,157	-	700	60
Preaching station	50	50	-	-
St. John's	1,450	245	1,080	220
Preaching station	60	-	-	-
St. Thomas'	750	nearly all	300	300
St. James'	1,200	450	1,000	400
St. Ann's	700	nearly all	300	nearly all
Bridgegate	-	-	-	-
Barony	1,600	chiefly	900	66%
Anderston	1,300	700	650	nearly all
Middle Calton	1,150	nearly all	650	nearly all
St. Mark's	1,250	nearly all	300	-

Proportion of Working Class Members cont.

Church	Attendance		Communicants	
	Total	Working class	Total	Working class
St. Stephen's	1,188	500	400	200
Shettleston	620	under 71%	445	322
Maryhill	500	-	300	-
Gorbals	1,400	above 50%	984	50%
Preaching station	15	15	-	-
Kirkfield	1,000	nearly all	450	nearly all
Duke Street (Gaelic)	1,200	nearly all	-	-
St. Columba	1,130	-	-	-
Preaching station	-	-	-	-
West Gaelic	1,400	nearly all	600	nearly all

Table 5

Proportion of Working Class Members in Congregations of other

Denominations

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Attendance</u>		<u>Communicants</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working class</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working class</u>
<u>United Secession Church</u>				
Regent Place	1,300	50%	1,155	50%
Duke Street	791	75%	591	422
Lyceum	450	nearly all	270	nearly all
Greyfriars'	1,470	850	820	500
Campbell Street	1,400	1,100	800	600
Gordon Street	1,500	66%	1,569	66%
Cambridge Street	800	80%	254	80%
Wellington Street	1,100	50%	800	50%
Eglinton Street	800	75%	565	75%
Nicholson Street	950	75%	605	75%

Episcopalians

St. Andrew's	600	200	-	-
Mr. Aitchison's	400	nearly all	-	-
St. Mary's	500	-	300	probably 20%

Independent Relief

Regent Place	135	115	100	nearly all
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Relief

John Street	1,580	66%	900	66%
Campbell Street	1,200	nearly all	650	nearly all
Dove Hill	1,500	62%	-	-



Proportion of Working Class Members cont.

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Attendance</u>		<u>Communicants</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working class</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working class</u>
<u>Relief comt.</u>				
Anderston	1,450	87%	1,050	860
Bridgeton	1,750	nearly all	691	nearly all
Calton	1,500	nearly all	920	800
Tollcross	1,800	nearly all	918	nearly all
Hutchesontown	1,423	nearly all	850	nearly all
<u>Independent</u>				
Old Scotch	500	470	208	nearly all
United Brethern	120	120	70	70
Albion Street	700	75%	90	83%
George's Street	1,300	50%	620	50%
Preaching station	120	120	-	-
Brown Street	200	200	124	124
Nile Street	950	nearly all	1,307	-
<u>Baptists</u>				
Andersonian Institution	58	66%	33	66%
George Street	95	50%	45	50%
Portland Street	275	50%	180	50%
Andersonian Hall	140	nearly all	70	nearly all
George's Place	55	66%	26	66%
Hope Street	550	66%	260	66%
<u>Methodists</u>				
John Street } Green Street } Tradeston }	3,000	nearly all	1,200	-

Proportion of Working Class Members cont.

Denomination	Attendance		Communicants	
	Total	Working class	Total	Working class
<u>Original Burchers</u>				
First Congregation	1,500	nearly all	1,002	nearly all
Renfield Street	1,000	50%	640	66%
Christian Unitarian	460	-	180	60
Christian Congregation	450	nearly all	100	nearly all
<u>Reformed Presbyterians</u>				
Great Hamilton Street	650	nearly all	400	nearly all
West Campbell Street	500	75%	100	75%
<u>Miscellaneous Denominations</u>				
Original Seceders	120	nearly all	81	nearly all
Friends	23	-	-	-
Glassites	-	-	-	-
Roman Catholics	12,500	nearly all	5,000	nearly all
Hebrews	40	66%	-	-
Bereans	-	-	-	-
New Jerusalem Church	120	75%	52	75%
Inkle Factory Lane Congregation	80	70	80	70
Church Presbyterian Congregation	1,500	nearly all	350	nearly all

The above figures were taken from the 1836 Royal Commission into Religious Instruction, Second Report, pages 15-16.

**Table 6**  
 Group membership, 2004-2005, by age group

## Scottish Churches 1733-1850

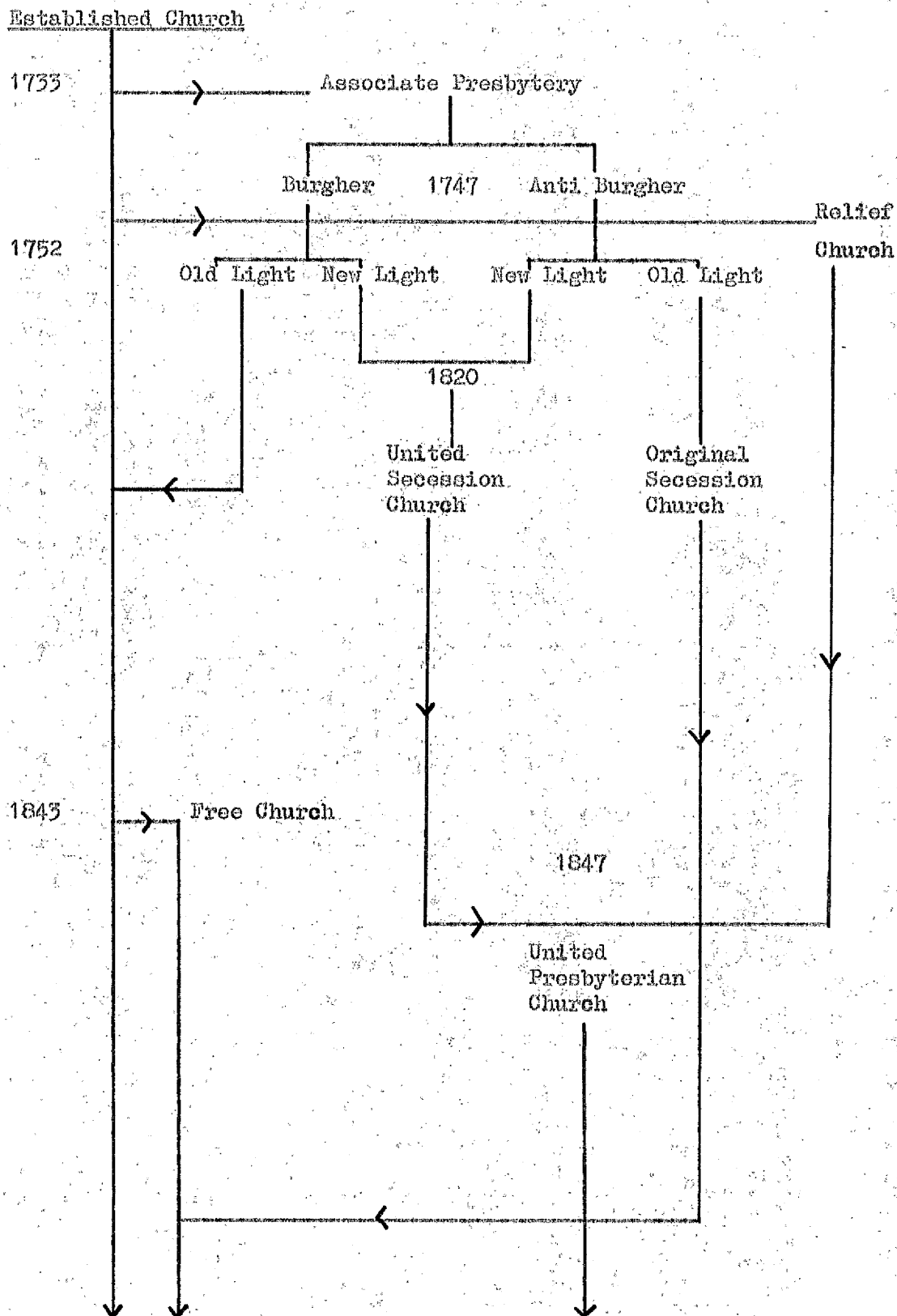


Table 7

Classification Code (1)

- A. Professional Group. (Generally university graduates). 1. advocates, partners in legal firms. 2. professors, lecturers, physicians and surgeons. 3. principals, rectors, headmasters of important educational establishments.
- B. Commercial Group. 1. bankers, bank managers and agents. 2. cashiers, principal clerks, accountants, insurance company managers, brokers and agents, company treasurers.
- C. Large Merchant-Manufacturing Group. 1. suppliers of capital goods, timber etc., construction companies, ironfounders, textile manufacturers, wholesalers and importers, distillers, company managers. 2. suppliers of consumer goods and services catering for the middle class, silversmiths, silk mercers. 3. suppliers of food and wines, grocers, vintners, etc. 4. commission merchants, ship agents.
- D. Retired-Rentier Group. 1. shipowners. 2. landlords, those retired and living on income from rented property, shares or capital. 3. farmers.
- E. Public Servants (I). 1. druggists. 2. local government officials, building inspectors, architects, surveyors, house factors. 3. shipmasters, marine and civil engineers.
- F. Public Servants (II). 1. teachers, divinity students (who were also often city missionaries). 2. clerks, writers.
- G. Small Merchant-Tradesmen Group. 1. shopkeepers. 2. self employed tradesmen, agents living in premises, commercial travellers. 3. foremen, overseers. 4. retired tradesmen and shopkeepers.
- H. Artisans. 1. engineers, boiler-makers, joiners, smiths etc.
- I. Unskilled Workers. 1. labourers, carters, porters, chimney sweeps, ploughmen etc.
- O. Through lack of information the individual could not be classified.

High Status. Groups A, B, C, D.

Low Status. Groups E, F, G.

Working Class. Groups H and I.

(1) This classification code is basically similar to the one used by Dr. MacLaren in his study of Aberdeen Churches. See, A. A. MacLaren, Religion and Social Class. (London, 1974), p. 218-219. However, the code has been slightly modified to meet the requirements of this analysis of Glasgow Churches.

Table 8

Status of Elders in Four Non-Established Churches

<u>Church</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Found</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Status Low</u>	<u>Working class</u>
Cambridge Street	24	22	13	8	1
1844-1854		Percentage	54.2	33.3	4.1
Great Hamilton Street	29	27	14	11	2
1844-1854		Percentage	48.3	37.9	6.8
Wellington Street	41	40	28	10	2
1844-1854		Percentage	68.3	24.4	4.9
St. Stephen's	23	23	12	10	1
1838-1857		Percentage	52.2	43.5	4.3
Totals	117	112	67	39	6

Total Percentages

High Status, 57.3

Low Status, 33.3

Working class, 5.1

Table 9

Status of Elders in Three Established Churches

<u>Church</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Found</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Status</u> <u>Low</u>	<u>Working class</u>
Barony	15	15	13	2	0
1850-1856		Percentage	86.7	13.3	0
Govan	23	18	13	5	0
1856-1863		Percentage	56.5	21.8	0
St. George's	49	43	36	5	2
1841-1861		Percentage	73.4	10.2	4.1
Totals	87	76	62	12	2

Total Percentages

High Status, 71.3

Low Status, 13.8

Working class, 2.3

Status of Deacons at the Barony Church, 1852-1854

<u>Total</u>	<u>Found</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Status</u> <u>Low</u>	<u>Working class</u>
19	19	18	1	0

Percentages

High Status, 94.7

Low Status, 5.3

Working class, 0.

Table 10

Status of Managers or Deacons in Four Non-Established Churches

Church	Total	Found	High	Status Low	Working Class
Cambridge Street	25	25	22	3	0
1844-1854		Percentage	88.0	12.0	0
Great Hamilton Street	31	28	24	4	0
1844-1854		Percentage	77.4	12.9	0
Wellington Street	30	28	23	4	1
1844-1854		Percentage	76.7	13.3	3.3
St. Stephen's Free Church	24	22	9	10	3
1843-1853		Percentage	37.5	41.6	12.5
Totals	110	103	78	21	4

Total Percentages

High Status, 70.9

Low Status, 19.1

Working class, 3.6



Table 11

Social Composition of Five Non-Established Churches

<u>Church</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Found</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Status Low</u>	<u>Working class</u>
Cambridge Street	510	487	76	80	331
1845-1852		Percentage	15.6	16.4	67.9
Great Hamilton Street	705	503	101	119	283
1848-1858		Percentage	20.0	23.6	56.2
Wellington Street	754	720	169	183	368
1844-1854		Percentage	23.4	25.4	51.1
St. Enoch's Free Church	241	237	61	44	132
1844-1856		Percentage	25.7	18.6	55.6
St. Stephen's Free Church	453	450	50	69	331
1851-1865		Percentage	11.1	15.3	73.5
Totals	2,663	2,397	457	495	1,445

Total Percentages

High Status, 19.1

Low Status, 20.6

Working class, 60.3

Table 12

Social Composition of Three Established Churches

<u>Church</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pound</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Status</u>	
				<u>Low</u>	<u>Working class</u>
Barony	332	294	68	50	176
1855-1861		Percentage	23.1	16.9	59.6
Govan	826	809	35	32	742
1856-1864		Percentage	4.3	3.9	91.7
St. Stephen's	172	166	59	27	80
1838		Percentage	35.5	16.3	48.2
Totals	1,330	1,269	162	109	998

Total Percentages

High Status, 12.8

Low Status, 8.6

Working class, 78.64

Table 13

Status of Working Class Parents in Five Non-Established Churches

Church	Total	Working class	
		Group H	Group I
Cambridge Street	331	257	74
1845-1852	Percentage	77.6	22.3
Great Hamilton Street	283	237	46
1848-1858	Percentage	83.7	16.3
St. Enoch's Free Church	132	96	36
1844-1856	Percentage	73.0	27.0
St. Stephen's Free Church	331	253	78
1851-1865	Percentage	76.4	23.5
Wellington Street	368	308	60
1844-1854	Percentage	83.6	16.3
Totals	1,445	1,151	294

Total Percentages

Group H, 79.6

Group I, 20.3

Table 14

Status of Working class Parents in Three Established Churches

<u>Church</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Working class</u>	
		<u>Group II</u>	<u>Group I</u>
Barony	176	100	76
1855-1861	Percentage	56.8	43.2
Govan	742	534	208
1856-1864	Percentage	71.9	28.0
St. Stephen's	80	54	26
1838	Percentage	67.5	32.5
Totals	998	688	310

Total Percentages

Group II, 68.9

Group I, 31.1

Table 15

The First Communicant Members of Lansdowne United Presbyterian Church  
Who Were Disjoined From Cambridge Street Church on Petition by the  
Presbytery on the 10th of November 1863

Allan, James. Partner in the firm James and Alexander Allan, shipping merchants and agents for the Montreal Ocean Steam Company, 70 Great Clyde Street. He lived at 2 Park Terrace. C.4.

Black, Mrs. She lived at 47 Queen Street but no other information about her could be found. O.

Curver, Robert. Manager with the Caledonia Railway, 302 Buchanan Street. He lived at 4 Carnarvon Street. C.1.

Curver, Mrs. Wife of the above. C.1.

Duff, Thomas. Spindle and flyer manufacturer at 10 Muslin Lane. He lived at 27 Hamilton Drive. C.1.

Duff, Mrs. Wife of the above. C.1.

Eadie, Mrs. Dr. She was the wife of the minister. A.2.

Galloway, H. H. Partner in the firm Macgeorge, Cowan and Galloway, writers, 91 West Regent Street. He lived at 15 St. James' Terrace. A.1.

Galloway, Mrs. Wife of the above. A.1.

Guthrie, Robert. A commercial traveller living at 169 Berkeley Street. G.2

Guthrie, Mrs. Wife of the above. G.2.

Hannan, Mrs. James. Wife of James Hannan who was employed by Henry Monteith and Company, calico printers, 11, 14 George Square and 132 Queen Street. He lived at 16 Woodside Terrace and this address suggests that he occupied a senior position in the company. C.1.

Henderson, William. An accountant with the National Bank of Scotland. He lived at 1 Great Kelvin Terrace, Hillhead. B.2.

Henderson, Mary. Wife or daughter of the above. B.2.

Junor, P. B. Agent at the Clydesdale Bank, 90 Trongate. He lived at 8 South Park Terrace. B.1.

Junor, Mrs. Wife of the above. B.1.

Lav, Mrs. She ran a ladies' seminary at 16 Buckingham Terrace. F.1.

Martin, William. Of William Martin and Company, vincey and dress manufacturers, 104 Virginia Place, house, 12 Sardinia Terrace. C.1.

Martin, Mrs. Wife of the above. C.1.

Morrison, James. Partner in the firm of J. and J. Morrison, auctioneers and valuers, 52 Sauchiehall Street, house, Asheraig Villa. C.2.

Morrison, Mrs. Wife of the above. C.2.

MacDowall, Mrs. Anne. Wife of John MacDowall, owner of the Milton Foundry in North Woodside Road. He lived at 2 Park Terrace. C.1.

MacFarlane Mrs. Wife of Alexander MacFarlane, a wine and spirit merchant, 27 St. James' Street, Kingston, house, 30 Kinning Street. C.3.

Russell, Mrs. Wife of Bernard Russell, clothier, 92 Queen Street, house, 8 Kelvin Terrace. C.2.

Steel, Mrs. Wife of James Steel of Clark Steel and Company, paint and colour manufacturers, Hilton Colour Works, 122 and 124 East Milton Street. He lived at 11 Wilton Crescent. C.1.

Steel, Isabella. Daughter of the above. C.1.

Steel, Jessie. She was not related to the above and she could not be traced. O.

Steel, Mary. Possibly the sister of Jessie Steel but she could not be traced. O.

Stewart, Janet E. She could not be traced. O.

Struthers, Thomas. Partner in the firm of Richmond, Struthers and Company, cabinet makers, upholsterers and carpet warehousemen, 96 Buchanan Street and 97 Port Dundas Road. He lived at 5 Oakfield Terrace. C.1.

Struthers, Mrs. Wife of the above. C.1.

Walls, William. Of William Walls and Company, spermaceti refiners and oil merchants, 64 North Frederick Street, house, 11 Hamilton Park Terrace. C.1.

Walls, Mrs. Wife of the above. C.1.

Total	Found	High	Status	
			Low	Working class
33	29	26	3	0
	Percentage	78.8	9.1	0

Table 16

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Parental Occupations of Children Attending Finnieston Street School (1)

Occupation	Total	No. at School	No. of Children in family	Weekly Wage
Boiler-maker	3	4	14	-
Calico Printer	15	24	60	8s to 12s
Captain	1	1	5	-
Carpenter and Joiner	29	46	94	15s to 16s
Carter	3	3	9	8s to 13s
Coal Dealer	1	1	6	-
Dyer	1	1	6	-
Engineer	18	31	61	19s to 22s
Foreman	1	2	3	-
Gardener	3	3	14	-
Glass-Stainer	1	1	5	-
Grocer	3	6	10	-
Labourer	4	6	12	8s to 13s
Malter	1	1	3	-
Manager	1	2	7	-
Mason	3	6	11	16s to 20s
Mill Worker	1	1	5	-
Moulder	1	1	3	-
Pattern-Drawer	5	6	13	18s to 22s
Policeman	1	1	1	14s to 15s
Porter	1	2	4	-
Potter	6	8	18	20s to 24s
Presser	3	6	17	-
Rivet-Maker	1	5	6	-
Sailor	5	6	11	-
Sawyer	1	1	9	17s to 20s
Shoemaker	2	3	8	-
Smith	3	4	7	19s to 22s
Spirit Dealer	3	5	18	-
Tailor	1	1	1	-
Tenter	4	8	20	18s to 20s
Time-keeper	1	2	5	-
Turner	1	1	2	-
Watchman	1	1	2	14s to 15s
Widow	7	11	26	-
Wright	2	3	6	-
Totals	139	214	502	

Major Employers of these Workers:

Watson and McWilliam	Power Loom Weavers
William Smith and Co.	Calico Printers
Robert Barclay and Co.	Ship Builders
Robert Napier and Co.	Engineers
Robert Cochrane and Co.	Potters *
Fulton and Wilson	Iron Forgers
J. and G. Thomson	Engineers
Lancefield Spinning Co.	Cotton Spinners
Neilson and Co.	Engineers and Founders

\* It is interesting to note that Robert Cochrane was a deacon in the Barony Church.

(1) These figures are contained in a report among a bundle of old manuscripts which are kept in Wellington Church.



Table 17

Social Composition of Wellington Street Church's Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society 1851-1852 and 1854

Total	Found	High	Low	Working class
65	26	16	10	0

Table 18

Status of Barony Mission Congregation 1866-1871

Year	Total	Found	High	Low	Working class
1866-7	110	94	0	2	92
1867-8	97	81	0	5	76
1868-9	81	69	0	2	67
1869-70	94	74	0	2	72
1870-71	88	70	0	1	69
Total	470	388	0	12	376
		Percentage	0	3.1	96.9

Status of Working Class Parents at Barony Mission 1866-71

Year	Total	Group II	Group I
1866-7	92	51	41
1867-8	76	42	34
1868-9	67	44	23
1869-70	72	42	30
1870-71	69	46	23
Total	376	225	151
	Percentage	59.8	40.5

Part 2

Names and Biographical Notes of Elders, Managers and Deacons

Elders Serving on Barony Parish Church Kirk Session, 1850-1856

Aitken, William

MacDougal, Alexander

Black, John

Peterson, James

Black, Robert

Rae, John

Callender, William

Stewart, Thomas P.

Donaldson, John

Waddell, John

Jack, John Steel

Young, Samuel

Lamb, James

MacBrayne, David

MacBrayne, Robert

Deacons at the Barony Church, 1852-1854

Anderson, James

Grant, George (jun.)

Brock, William (jun.)

Hill, Robert

Clark, Robert

Horn, John

Cochrane, Alexander

Hutchison, George

Cochrane, Robert

Milroy, Samuel

Gross, Robert

MacKie, John

Dobie, William Henry

Stark, William

Dunlop, Thomas

Stewart, David Yollow

Faulds, Robert

Warren, Thomas

Faulds, William B.

Elders Serving on Cambridge Street United Presbyterian Church Kirk  
Session, 1844-1854

Alexander, Alexander	Martin, William
Alexander, James	Murray, Alexander
Burns, John	McDowall, John
Cowan, William	McInnes, William
Galloway, James	McIntosh, Robert
Gilmour, Alexander	Neilson, James
Gilmour, William	Ronald, John
Gray, Thomas	Sime, William
Hamilton, Andrew	Stewart, John
Henderson, William	Stewart, John
Jamieson, William	Telfer, Alexander
Lennie, William	Turnbull, Robert

Managers at Cambridge Street Church, 1844-1854

Allan, James	Martin, William
Alexander, Alexander	Millar, Matthew
Alexander, James	McDowall, John
Anderson, William	McInnes, William
Cowan, William	Neilson, James
Crawford, Thomas	Ronald, John
Crook, Thomas	Sime, William
Gilmour, Alexander	Steel, James
Hamilton, Andrew	Stewart, John
Hay, James	Telfer, Alexander
Hay, William	Walls, Hugh
Leishman, John	Walls, William
Low, David	

Elders Serving on Govan Parish Church Kirk Session, 1855-1864

Auld, Henry

Barr, Peter

Blair, William

Campbell, James

Cook, Robert

Dewar, John

Donald, James

Duncan, Thomas

Ferguson, George

Fulton, William

Harrison, Joseph

Mabon, William

Millar, David

Morrison, John

Murray, Joseph

McLellan, Duncan

McNee, Duncan

Paisley, Gavin

Powell, Thomas

Reid, John

Scott, George

Weir, William

Wylie, William

Elders Serving on Great Hamilton Street Reformed Presbyterian Church

Kirk Session, 1844-1854.

Binnie, Thomas	Lawson, John	Sage, William
Brown, John	Marshall, William	Taylor, James
Brownlie, John	Miller, William	Taylor, James
Campbell, William	McDowall, John	Taylor, John
Crosbie, Robert	Parker, Robert	Turnbull, Alexander
Daly, James	Pettigrew, William	
Fairley, Matthew	Paton, John G.	
Finlay, Hunter	Ralston, David	
Finlay, R. G.	Ramage, Adam	
Frew, John	Reid, James	
Guthrie, William	Richmond, William	
Landells, Andrew	Sage, John	

Managers at Great Hamilton Street Church, 1844-1854

Binnie, David	Lawson, John	Sommerville, Archibald
Bost, Ami	Lyon, John	Spence, James
Brown, Matthew	Miller, William	Symington, Andrew
Buchanan, Alexander	McCubbin, David	Taylor, Daniel
Campbell, William	Paterson, James	Taylor, James
Daly, James	Reid, James	Wright, Duncan
Easton, William	Richmond, William	
Finlay, Hunter	Robertson, John MacMillan	
Gordon, John	Sage, John	
Henderson, James	Scobie, Walter	
Hunter, William	Scott, James	
King, Daniel	Scott, James	

Elders Serving on St. George's Parish Church Kirk Session, 1841-1861

Biskell, John

Blair, Horatius

Brown, Peter

Brown, Thomas

Buchanan, James

Burns, James

Campbell, Duncan

Church, William

Cruickshank, Matthew

Currie, Archibald

Dickson, John Robert

Douglas, James

Douglas, Joseph

Dunlop, Alexander C.

Forrest, James Rochaid

Frew, James

Fyfe, Henry

Gilchrist, Daniel

Gordon, John

Gourlay, William

Gray, Henry

Hinshaw, Andrew

Kinnear, John Gardner

Kyle, Thomas

Lauchlan, Andrew

Lawrie, James Adair

Monteith, Adam

McBrair, Alexander

McCaul, Malcolm

McCorkle, Archibald

McLavery, Alexander

McNee, Walter

Patrick, David

Robertson, Lawrence

Robertson, William

Seath, Thomas

Snodgrass, George Webster

Smellie, Thomas

Smith, John

Stevenson, Thomas

Stewart, James

Stout, Thomas

Taylor, James

Walker, William

Watson, Thomas

Whytlaw, Matthew

Wingate, Andrew

Wylie, Andrew

Young, Archibald



Elders Serving on St. Stephen's Church Kirk Session, 1838-1856

Clow, Andrew

Dickson, Thomas

Drummond, Alexander

Ferguson, John

Forrest, David

Galbraith, William

Haig, Thomas

Hart, John

Harvey, James

Hunter, John

Leisk, Robert

MacDougall, Alexander

MacFadyen, Joseph

MacFarlane, Archibald

McMurray, James

McNab, Allan

Miller, William

Nicoll, Alexander

Neil, Thomas

Rainey, George Warren

Ralston, William

Rankine, James

Thom, John

Deacons at St. Stephen's Church, 1843-1856

Adam, John William

Angus, George

Clow, Andrew

Constable, Henry

Dickson, Thomas

Durrie, William Henry

Findlay, John

Graham, John

Harvey, Robert

Herbertson, John Thomas

Lindsay, George

Lockhart, John

Milroy, Andrew

Moir, Edward

Montgomery, James

Morrison, John

Murray, John

Paton, John

Paxton, John

Rainey, George Warren

Steel, James

Stodart, James

Tait, James

Thom, John

Elders Serving on Wellington Street United Presbyterian Church Kirk  
Session, 1844-1854

Bishop, Thomas	Fairley, William S.	Orkney, Peter
Boyd, Charles	Frazer, John	Paton, William
Brand, James	Hart, Hugh	Paterson, Andrew
Burgess, Archibald	Harvey, Robert	Robertson, David
Cheyne, Thomas	Harvie, William	Robson, George
Clough, Robert	Horn, James	Shaw, John
Condie, Thomas	Kirkwood, James	Shaw, William
Cunningham, James	Kirkwood, Robert	Thomas, James
Dalziel, John	Millar, Thomas	Williamson, John
Dalziel, Thomas	Mitchell, Andrew	Wilson, David
Dunn, John (sen.)	Mitchell, James	Young, Andrew
Dunn, John (jun.)	Mitchell, William G.	Young, A. K.
Fairley, John	Moore, Alexander	Young, James
Fairley, John	McColl, Hugh (jun.)	

Managers at Wellington Street Church, 1844-1854

Allan, Alexander	Hart, John	Paterson, Andrew
Clark, David	Harvie, William	Paton, William
Clough, Robert	Harvie, William	Robertson, John
Condie, Thomas	Hay, Alexander	Shaw, William
Dalziel, Thomas	Kennedy, James	Stevenson, George
Fairley, John	Mitchell, William G.	Watson, Francis
Finglands, Thomas	Morrison, James	Wilson, David
Frazer, John	Morrison, William	Young, John
Gray, Robert	McColl, Hugh (jun.)	
Guild, John	McEwan, William	
Hart, Hugh	MacLean, William	

Adam, John William. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). Merchant, 23 South Hanover Street in 1834. By 1840 the firm was listed as "Adam Brothers, merchants, Royal Bank Court, house, 1 Royal Crescent". The firm remained the same until 1847 when he was running it by himself. The premises had moved to 25 South Hanover Street and he lived at 20 Windsor Terrace. The entries in the Directories did not change until his death in the late 1860s. C.4.

Aitken, William. (Elder, Barony). The 1824 Directory listed him as a shawl warehouseman at 44 Ingram Street. Six years later his business had expanded into manufacturing shawls and zebra dresses at Ingram Street but by 1834 it had moved to 70 Hutcheson Street and by 1840 to 38 Queen Street. Until 1845 Aitken lived on the premises but in that year he moved to 9 Oakfield Place. His entry in the Directories remained "manufacturer, 38 Queen Street" until his death in the late 1860s but in 1850 he moved house to 20 St. George's Road. This remained his home address until he died. C.1.

Alexander, Alexander. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). In 1844 he owned a general grocer's shop at 152 Sauchiehall Street. He died in January 1848. G.1.

Alexander, James. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). The 1854 Directory listed him as a writer at 33 West Nile Street, house, 206 Hope Street. By 1859 the firm was a partnership of Alexander and Taylor, writers, 51 St. Vincent Street. The firm's premises moved to 230 West Regent Street in 1863 and by 1882 to 194 West George Street. Alexander's home address remained the same throughout the period. He died in 1897. A.1.

Allan, Alexander. (Manager, W.S.C.). Partner in James and Alexander Allan, merchants, 32 St. Enoch's Square, house, 40 Union Street in 1850. By 1859 he had moved house to 21 Woodlands Terrace. In 1870 he was living at 21 Park Gardens and the firm was described as "agents for the Montreal Ocean Steam Company". He died in 1892. C.4.

Allan, James. (Manager, C.S.C.). He was the brother of Alexander Allan, a manager at Wellington Street Church. They both ran a ship and insurance broker business at 40 Union Street in 1847. James lived at 152 Hill Street, Garnethill. By 1854 the firm had moved to 32 St. Enoch's Square and James had moved house to 8 Hampton Court Terrace. In 1863 the firm was listed as "merchants and agents for the Montreal Ocean Steam Co., 70 Great Clyde Street". Seven years later he was living at 2 Park Terrace. He died in 1874. C.4.

Anderson, James. (Deacon, Barony). He first appeared in the Directories in 1845 as at the Govan Bar-Iron Works, office, 37 Glassford Street, house, Rutland Crescent. By 1849 he had become manager of the West of Scotland Malleable Iron Company, house, 88 St. Vincent Street. Three years later he formed his own metal broking business at 11 West Nile Street, house, 7 Canning Place. In 1855 he was listed as an iron merchant and coal-master and by 1859 he owned a country residence at Bogfield, Helensburgh. His business continued to expand since in 1870 he was described as an iron merchant; owner of the Wishaw Coal and Linwood Shale and Oil Works, office, 33 Renfield Street, house, Viewfield, Pollokshaws. He died in the late 1870s. C.1.

Anderson, William. (Manager, C.S.C.). In 1842 he was a partner in the firm of Kerr and Anderson, accountants, 11 Miller Street, house, Springhill Place. In 1844 he helped found the Glasgow Stock Exchange. (See Records of the Glasgow Stock Exchange Association 1844-1898, Appendix 1.) By 1845 the firm was described as "accountants, share-brokers and agents for the Globe Fire and Life Insurance Co., 19 Gordon Street". Anderson now lived at 84 Buccleugh Street. By 1847 he was living at 6 Lynedoch Crescent. In 1854 the firm was the partnership of Kerr, Anderson and Brodie, and Anderson lived at 1 Royal Circus. By 1863 he had moved to Ledcameroch House, New Kilpatrick. This house was one of the first residential houses in the area which later became known as Bearsden. In 1873 the firm was run by the same partners and was described as "accountants, sharebrokers and secretaries to the National Insurance Co., of Scotland, 132 St. Vincent Street". Anderson's three sons also entered the business. B.2.

Ancus, George. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). He did not appear in the Directories but the Session Minute Book described him as a traveller employed by Alexander Mitchell, clockmaker and electro-plater and gilder, 110 Renfield Street. G.2.

Auld, Henry. (Elder, Govan). Muslin-manufacturer, 114 Candleriggs in 1847. He lived at 5 Belgrove Street. By 1850 the firm had become a partnership of Auld, Berrie and Matheson, manufacturers, 22 Royal Exchange Square. Auld lived at Lily Vale Cottage, Govan Road. By 1857 the business had moved to 111 Union Street and Auld was living at Lilybank Cottage, Copeland Road, Govan. In 1870 Auld's son was also a partner in the muslin-manufacturing business. Auld died in the early 1870s. C.1.

Barr, Peter. (Elder, Govan). Shuttle-cord-maker, head of Main Street, Gorbals, in 1840. By 1850 he was listed as a rope and twine-manufacturer, Upper Crown Street, Hutchesontown, house, 22 Bedford Lane. The business remained the same until his death in the early 1870s, but by 1864 he was living at 12 Camden Street. C.1.

Binnie, David. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Son of Thomas Binnie the elder. David entered his father's business and between 1845 and 1873 he lived at various times at seven addresses in Monteith Row or Abbotsford Place. Later on in the century he became an elder. He died in the late 1870s. C.1.

Binnie, Thomas. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). Along with James Daly, Binnie was perhaps the most famous member of the church. He was born in 1793 at Nether Lauchope, the son of a farmer. He soon moved to Glasgow to become an "ordinary journeyman". He then became a sub-contractor in the building trade and finally a mason contractor. In fact, his company built much of the property in the East End, Hutchesontown and Laurieston. During his life he lived on separate occasions at eight houses in Monteith Row or Sommerville Place. He died in 1867. G.2. - C.1.

Bishop, Thomas. (Elder, W.S.C.). In 1834 he was a partner in the business Bishop and Drummond, ironmongers, 15 Main Street, Gorbals. In 1839 the shop was at 45 Crown Street but by 1840 Bishop was the sole owner and the business was listed as "ironmongers, ship-chandlers and flag-makers, 1 Clyde Place and 2 Bridge Street". Five years later both his house and shop were at 6 Clyde Street. By 1850 he had moved house to 9 Dundas Street, Kingston, but in 1866 he lived at 1 Dale Street, and in 1870 at 112 Gloucester Street. Throughout this period the business remained the same being described in 1850 as "ironmongers, ship-chandlers and tin-plate workers". Bishop continued to run the business until his death in the 1910s. G.2.

Biskell, John. (Elder, St. George's). He could not be traced but in 1853 he was transferred to St. Peter's Parish Church. O.

Black, John. (Elder, Barony). In 1840 he was listed at John Donaldson, merchant, 33 Buchanan Street. He lived at 40 Warrick Street. In 1849 he lived at 23 Garscube Place but by 1852 he had become a partner in the firm of Harvey and Black, merchants, 33 Buchanan Street, house, Fernbank, Bishopbriggs. His home address and the business partnership remained the same until Black's death in the late 1870s but in the mid-1860s the firm moved to 25 Bath Street. G.4.

Black, Robert. (Elder, Barony). Between 1849 and 1859 he was listed under the Bishopbriggs section of the Directory as a farmer at Laigh Kenmure. By 1859 he had either moved or renamed his farm Miltonbank Cottage. He remained at Miltonbank Cottage until his death in the early 1880s but his son carried on working the farm. D.3.

Blair, Horatius. (Elder, St. George's). In 1825 he was a partner in the firm of H. and W. Blair, writers, 37 Brunswick Place. Three years later the partnership was Blair and Fullarton but by 1831 he was running the firm by himself. He lived at 41 Howard Street. Between 1841 and 1859 the business moved from Brunswick Place to Morrison's Court, Argyle Street, to 62 St. George's Place where it remained until the 1890s. In the same period Blair lived on separate occasions at 303 St. Vincent Street, 3 Rutland Crescent, Greenbank House in Govan Road and 6 Victoria Terrace, Dowanhill. Due to ill health he resigned from the session in November 1872. A.1.

Blair, William. (Elder, Govan). Partner in the firm of Blair and Hamilton, sewed muslin-manufacturers, 19 South Hanover Street, house, 1 Nelson Street, Tradeston in 1840. By 1847 he was running the firm alone and it had moved to 37 Glassford Street while he lived at South Eldon Place. Three years later Peter Blair had become a partner and the firm was listed as "gingham, pullicate and zebra-dress manufacturers, 37 Glassford Street". By 1856 he was living at 7 Crown Street. He moved to Stonehaven in the early 1860s. C.1.

Bost, Ami. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). According to the Communicant's Roll Book he was the "son of a Calvinist Clergyman of Geneva" which explains the foreign nature of his name. He began his business career in Glasgow employed by K. W. Kirkland and Co., merchants, 54 Miller Street. By 1848 he had formed his own company of metal brokers and commission merchants, 135 Buchanan Street, house, 52 Cambridge Street. In 1850 he was living at 52 Rose Street, Garnethill, and by 1860 at 4 Rochester Place. He died in the early 1860s but the company was carried on by his son. C.4.

Boyd, Charles. (Elder, W.S.C.). In 1826 he owned the firm of Charles Boyd and Co., soap-makers, Clyde Street, Anderston. Six years later he lived at Allan Place, Douglas Street and by 1839 additional business premises had been opened at 74 Clyde Street. In 1845 the company was listed as "oil-merchants and candle-manufacturers, 72 Clyde Street and 20 Hutchinson Street, house, 357 St. Vincent Street". He died in the late 1850s. C.1.

Brand, James. (Elder, W.S.C.). Shawl-manufacturer, 16 Brunswick Lane, house, 58 Taylor Street, in 1838. By 1846 the business had moved to 9 Cochran Street while Brand lived at 80 North Frederick Street. He died in the early 1850s. C.1.

Brock, William (jun.). (Deacon, Barony). His father began his business career as a victualler at 296 High Street but by 1850 he was listed as a provision merchant at 296 and 70 High Street, house, 298 High Street. His son William Brock (jun.) became a partner and the business moved into grain dealing. In 1859 they were described as "grain merchants, 88 Hope Street" and by 1863 William (jun.) was living at 4 Crescent Place, Sauchiehall Street. Seven years later his address was 6 Ashton Terrace, Dowanhill, and he remained at this address until his death in the 1910s but the firm is still in operation today. C.3. - C.4.

Brown, John. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). He first appeared in the Directories in 1852 under 67 Cumberland Street, Laurieston. No occupation was given until the following year when he was described as a hosier and shirt-maker, 8 Candleriggs, house, 67 Cumberland Street. The business premises remained at the same location until his death in the late 1890s. On three occasions between 1856 and 1873 he moved house, from Cumberland Street to 16 Cleland Street, to 179 Crown Street and finally to 73 Abbotsford Street. C.2.

Brown, Matthew. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). He first appeared in the Directories in 1859 as the owner of a shawl and calico-printing business at 20 Ingram Street. No home address was listed until 1867 when he lived at 87 South Portland Street. He stayed at this address until his death in the late 1880s. By 1870 he owned a country house at Saltcoats. The company remained the same until 1873 when Brown was listed as a merchant at 87 South Portland Street. His occupation did not change before his death. C.1.

Brown, Peter. (Elder, St. George's). Of Peter Brown and Co., merchants, 67 Virginia Street, house, 1 Richmond Street in 1818. His home remained at this address until 1840 when he was living at 1 Adelaide Place. Four years later his son, also Peter, was a partner in the business and both father and son lived at 2 Montagu Place. By 1850 the firm had moved to 21 Bath Street. Although Peter Brown (sen.) died in November 1855, his son became a partner in the firm of Brown and Bain, commission merchants, 51 St. Vincent Street. Peter Brown (sen.) joined St. George's Free Church in 1843. C.4.



Brown, Thomas. (Elder, St. George's). Between 1838 and his death in the late 1870s he was an accountant at the Canal Office, Port Dundas. During this period he lived at 90 Cambridge Street, then at Ebenezerfield, Craighall Road, and finally 204 Dumbarton Road. He joined St. George's Free Church in 1843. B.2.

Brownlie, John. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). He could not be traced in the Directories and no occupation was given in any of the church records. In 1851 he left the church for the new church in Cumberland Street. This church later became Renwick Free Church. John M. Robertson in his book The Rise and Progress of Renwick Free Church, (Glasgow, 1887), gave Brownlie's occupation as a smith living at 11 West Tarbet Street. He was not a member of the Incorporation of Hammermen. H.

Buchanan, Alexander. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Partner in the firm of Daly, Spence and Buchanan, drapers, 96 Trongate. He lived on the business premises until 1852 when he moved to 30 Monteith Row. He continued the partnership with Daly and Spence until 1860 when he formed his own company of general drapers at 97 and 99 Trongate. By 1864 he had added additional premises at 101 Trongate and was living at 2 Canonbury Terrace, Garnethill. He died in the late 1860s. C.2.

Buchanan, James. (Elder, St. George's). Between 1816 and his death in December 1857 he was listed as a merchant with James Findlay's firm of merchants situated in Queen Street. They later moved to 31 Dundas Street and 170 Buchanan Street. Buchanan lived at Woodlands House until the 1850s when he moved to 1 Greenvale Place. In 1843 he joined St. George's Free Church. C.4.

Burgess, Archibald. (Elder, W.S.C.). Glazier, 140 Commerce Street, Tradeston, in 1824. He lived at the same address. In 1827 the business moved to 26 Commerce Street and remained there until 1840 when it was at 38 King Street, Tradeston. By 1845 it was back in Commerce Street at number 42. He died in the late 1840s. G.2.

Burns, James. (Elder, St. George's). He was born in June 1789 the third son of the Rev. John Burns, minister of the Barony Church. With his brother George, James Burns became a produce merchant in 1818. They later moved into the shipping trade with interests in Ireland, the Highlands and Liverpool. They later joined up with Samuel Cunard to form a company to transport the mail to America. It was out of this

firm that the Cunard Shipping Line grew. James Burns died on the 6th of September 1871. In Glasgow he lived at Fife Place and later at 224 St. Vincent Street. He also owned Bloomhill Estate at Cardross. In 1843 he joined St. George's Free Church but he later went to St. Peter's Free Church. D.1.

Burns, John. (Elder, C.S.C.). He could not be traced. O

Callender, William. (Elder, Barony). He was first listed in the Directories in 1838 as a teller with the Royal Bank of Scotland, house, 215 Hill Street. He remained as a teller in the Royal Bank until he died in the late 1860s. During this period he lived at a variety of addresses including 7 Bloomfield Place, Hillhead, 9 Windsor Street and St. Kilda Lodge, Dowanhill. B.1.

Campbell, Duncan. (Elder, St. George's). He could not be traced. O.

Campbell, James. (Elder, Govan). He could not be traced. O.

Campbell, William. (Elder and Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). The baptismal register listed him as a clerk living at 5 Richard Street. He was not entered in the Directories. P.2.

Cheyne, Thomas. (Elder, W.S.C.). James Mitchell in his book Annals of Wellington Church, (Glasgow, 1877), gave Cheyne's occupation as a warehouseman. The Elders' District Roll Book for the late 1830s gave his address as 91 Crown Street but there is no entry for him in the Directories until the late 1850s. In 1859 he was listed as a clerk at A. Walker and Co., ironmongers Old Post Office Court, 116 Trongate. He remained in the same occupation until 1870, while he lived at 114 Hospital Street. F.2.

Church, William. (Elder, St. George's). Manufacturer, 36 Candleriggs, house, 1 George Square, in 1818. Ten years later he was listed as of William Church and Co., manufacturers, Smith's Court, house, 3 Blythswood Hill. By 1837 the firm had moved to South Exchange Court, Queen Street, and he was living at Woodside Terrace. Three years later his sons William and James were partners in the firm but by 1854 William (jun.) had become an accountant and secretary for the Scottish Provident Institution. His father continued to run the manufacturing business and by 1861 he was living at 15 Cumberland Street, West. He died in 1862. C.1.

Clark, David. (Manager, W.S.C.). House factor and general commission merchant, 59 Hutcheson Street in 1844. By 1851 he was described as a merchant and commission agent, 20 Union Street, house, 3 Kinning Place. By 1854 he had also become agent for the Time, Fire, Guarantee and Plate Glass Assurance Company while he lived at 10 Franklin Terrace. In 1870 he lived at 27 St. Vincent Crescent. He died in the early 1880s. C.4.

Clark, Robert. (Deacon, Barony). Owner of the firm of Robert Clark and Co., bleachers and finishers, 420 Gallowgate in 1845. In 1852 he was living at 12 Monteith Row and two years later at 4 Sommerville Place. By 1859 the company had moved to South Woodside with offices at 48 Gordon Street and Clark lived at 20 Hamilton Drive, Great Western Road. In 1873 he lived at 55 Hamilton Drive but the company was at the same location. He died in the late 1870s. C.1.

Clough, Robert. (Elder and Manager, W.S.C.). In 1828 he was listed at North Woodside Pottery while he lived with I. Riggs, 26 Candleriggs. By 1834 he had become the manager at the pottery works of Geddes, Kidston and Co. He lived at Lancefield Cottage. Five years later he was the manager of the Anderston Pottery where he remained until his death in the late 1850s. C.1.

Glow, Andrew. (Elder and Deacon, St. Stephen's). Partner in the firm of Andrew and David Glow, wrights, East Milton Street, in 1852. Two years later the business was listed as "wrights and builders, 20 Great Western Road, house, 119 New City Road". In 1858 Andrew moved to New Zealand but David carried on the business and in 1875 he became a member of the Incorporation of Wrights. C.1.

Cochrane, Alexander. (Deacon, Barony). His father was a ship captain who was drowned in 1820 but Alexander took over this shipping business until 1838 when he left to form the partnership of Cochrane and Couper, flint-glass manufacturers, St. Rollox. He lived at Union Bank. This partnership was shortlived as by 1843 Couper had been replaced by Alexander's younger brother Robert. In 1850 Alexander lived at Glenfield, Townmill Road, but the company was unchanged. He died in the early 1870s but the company was carried on by his two sons Archibald and John. The buildings were demolished in 1966. C.1.

Cochrane, Robert. (Deacon, Barony). He was the brother and one time business partner of Alexander Cochrane. Robert began his famous business career as an assistant to Robert Kidston of the Verreville Pottery. In 1846 he became a managing partner with Kidston and also a partner in the St. Rollox flint-glass works which had been founded by his brother. On Kidston's death Robert Cochrane took over the running of the Verreville Pottery. Between then and his death in 1869 he expanded the business by opening the Britannia Pottery in Globe Street, St. Rollox, and purchasing the Garrioch Flint-Mills. Within this period he lived at 9 Elmbank Crescent, then at Overdale House, Langside, and finally 19 Holywood Crescent. On his death his two sons, Alexander and Robert, carried on the Britannia and Verreville Potteries respectively. The site of the Verreville Pottery in Kingston Street has recently been excavated and can be visited today. C.1.

Condle, Thomas. (Elder and Manager, W.S.C.). Mitchell op. cit., gave his occupation as a warehouseman. The Elders' District Roll Book for 1849 gave his address as "c/o Messrs Tannahill and Robertson, Glassford Street". The Directory listed them as warehousemen and general merchants, but Condle did not appear in the Directories. I

Constable, Henry. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). (See advertisement) Commission merchant, 29 West George Street, house, 79 Renfield Street, in 1844. He remained in this occupation until 1863 when he was also listed as "agent for the Scottish Friendly Assurance Co., 83 St. George's Place". He had by then moved house from 16 Lansdowne Crescent where he lived in 1854 to 3 Windsor Street. In 1867 he was described as a commission agent at 104 Hope Street. He died in the early 1870s. C.4.

Cook, Robert. (Elder, Govan). Partner in the firm of D. Cook and Co., engineers and machine-makers, Commerce Street in 1840. In 1854 Robert was living at 27 Waterloo Street, and in 1860 at Woodbine Cottage, Pollokshields. In this year the firm was described as "D. Cook and Co., millwrights, engineers and founders, 100 Commerce Street". Both the firm and his home address remained the same until his death in the late 1870s. C.1.

Cowan, William. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). In 1850 he was a partner in McIntosh and Cowan, accountants and secretaries to the Glasgow Board of the Caledonia Fire and Life Insurance Company. Their office was at





# THE SCOTTISH FRIENDLY LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

INCORPORATED UNDER ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

CAPITAL, £100,000.

## Board of Directors.

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H. CONSTABLE, 83 ST. GEORGE'S PLACE, GLASGOW, AGENT.

THE long experience which has now been attained in Life Assurance transactions, and the growing conviction, justified both by observation and calculation, of the stability of results based upon an average estimate, have lately enabled different Companies to offer a variety of privileges to the Assured, and to share with them a larger proportion of Profits than was formerly thought safe or necessary. Many of these privileges are founded upon sound principles deduced from experience, and result in a benefit to the Assured, without detracting from the solid foundation of the business. Others, which in these days of keen competition have occasionally been put forward, are not founded upon sufficient data, and therefore do not, among reflecting persons, increase the confidence placed in the Institutions from which they emanate.

This firm's agent, Henry Constable, was a deacon in St. Stephen's Church.

64 St. Vincent Street while Cowan lived at Oakville House, Hillhead. The firm continued in this form until the 1860s when McIntosh left, but Cowan continued as an accountant at 64 St. Vincent Street. His home address did not change. B.2.

Crawford, Thomas. (Manager, C.S.C.). Partner in the firm of Crawford and Easton, calenders and packers, 24 Canon Street, house, 31 Scott Street, Garnethill, in 1834. By 1842 another partner had been added and the premises had moved to 16 and 20 Montrose Street. By 1854 the firm had returned to being run by Crawford and Easton with premises at 81 Buchanan Street, 9 Gordon Street and 82 Mitchell Street. Between 1863 and 1866 Crawford's son entered the business and Crawford (sen.) lived at 3 Clifton Place. He died in the late 1860s. C.1.

Crook, Thomas. (Manager, C.S.C.). Partner in the firm Crook and Jones, carpet and general warehousemen, 12 Buchanan Street, house, 3 Viewfield Terrace, Hillhead, in 1850. By 1854 he was running the firm by himself. He died in the late 1850s. C.1.

Crosbie, Robert. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). Storekeeper at 70 Alston Street, house, 73 Norfolk Street, in 1858. He died in the mid-1860s. G.1.

Cross, Robert. (Deacon, Barony). He was a farmer at Huntershill, Bishopbriggs. D.3.

Cruickshank, Matthew. (Elder, St. George's). Between 1832 and his death in 1888 he was listed as at the Sommerlee Iron Company. During this period he lived on separate occasions at 21 Rose Street, Garnethill, 99 Hill Street, and 99 Breadalbane Terrace. These addresses suggest that he occupied a senior position in the company. He joined St. George's Free Church in 1843. C.1.

Cunningham, James. (Elder, W.S.C.). Tartan and shawl-manufacturer, 51 Brunswick Street in 1836. He lived at 407<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Argyle Street. The business remained the same until his death in the late 1850s. C.1.

Currie, Archibald. (Elder, St. George's). He could not be traced in the Directories but in 1853 he moved to St. Peter's Parish Church. The Communicants' Roll Book for St. Peter's described Currie as a clerk living at 34 Abbotsford Place in the 1850s. F.2.



Daly, James. (Elder and Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Best known to Glaswegians of today as the founder of Daly's stores in the Trongate now situated in Sauchiehall Street. He was born in 1818 in Rigside and started work as a teacher in Muirkirk. He then moved to Glasgow and trained as an apprentice draper with John MacIntyre and Co. In 1846 he formed the company of Daly, Spence and Buchanan, wholesale and retail warehousemen, 96 and 98 Trongate. Daly lived at 76 Great Hamilton Street in 1846 but by 1851 he had moved to 125 Grafton Terrace. It was not until 1870 that he ran the firm alone and before this his partners were James Scott, Andrew Symington and James Milwain. In 1870 his entry in the Directory was "James Daly and Co., warehousemen and clothiers, 150, 152 Trongate, house, 148 Randolph Terrace, Hill Street". He died in the 1910s. In the 1890s he moved to Renwick United Free Church where his son, James Fairley Daly, was the minister. F.1. - G.2.

Dalziel, John. (Elder, W.S.C.). Merchant, 43 Brunswick Street, house, 22 Clyde Street, in 1824. By 1832 he was listed as a yarn merchant, 119 Brunswick Street, house, Park Place, Paisley Road. Four years later the business was at 62 Queen Street and he lived at 82 Upper Kingston Street. In 1844 he lived at 84 West Street, Kingston, but the firm was the same. He died in the early 1850s. C.4.

Dalziel, Thomas. (Elder and Manager, W.S.C.). He was a partner in John's firm and like John he disappeared from the Directories in the early 1850s. He also lived at 84 West Street. C.4.

Devar, John. (Elder, Govan). He could not be traced. O.

Dickson, John Robert. (Elder, St. George's). He was a doctor with a surgery at 37 Buccleugh Street in 1849. By 1863 his surgery had moved to 144 Bath Street. He died in the late 1870s. His son, Scott Dickson, born 13/9/1850, was Conservative M.P. for Bridgeton from 1908 to 1915 and for the Central Division between 1909 and 1915. Between 1896 and 1903 he was Solicitor General for Scotland and in 1915 he was made Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland. A.2.

Dickson, Thomas. (Elder and Deacon, St. Stephen's). Partner in the firm of Dickson and Gilkison, cotton-yarn agents, 52 Ingram Street, house, 43 Buccleugh Street in 1848. Two years later Dickson was listed alone as a cotton-yarn agent. He disappeared from the Directories after 1852. C.4.



Dobie, William Henry. (Deacon, Barony). In 1837 he was listed as a merchant at 66 Miller Street, house, 198 Buchanan Street. Eight years later he formed a partnership of Dobie and Anderson, merchants, 46 Buchanan Street, while Dobie lived at 7 Royal Crescent. By 1850 he was running the firm alone which was situated at 98 West George Street. These details remained the same until his death in the late 1860s. C.4.

Donald, James. (Elder, Govan). Grocer, Main Road, Govan, in 1860. Three years later he was described as a merchant, Middleton Place, Govan, house, 1 Napier Street. By 1867 he had moved house to Murrow Park and by 1870 he had moved his business to 240 Govan Road. He died in the late 1870s. C.4.

Donaldson, John. (Elder, Barony). A watch and clockmaker, 30 Brunswick Court in 1838. After 1838 his business steadily expanded; in 1842 it was described as a watch and clockmaker and dealer in watch and tool-clocks, 50 Glassford Street, house, 21 York Street. Ten years later he was a watchmaker, jeweller and goldsmith at 104 Trongate, house, 1 Grafton Street. By 1854 his son had become a partner in the firm of J. and P. Donaldson, goldsmiths, jewellers and watchmakers, 68 Argyle Street and 104 Trongate. John lived at 1 Grafton Street. By 1863 they had given up their shop in the Trongate and by 1870 John lived at 15 Ashton Terrace, Dowanhill. He died in the early 1870s. G.1. - C.2.

Douglas, James. (Elder, St. George's). Between 1853 and 1870 he was described as a ship's husband. He lived at 168 St. George's Road and then at 302 Bath Crescent. He died in the early 1870s. I.

Douglas, Joseph. (Elder, St. George's). He was the Rector of the Normal Seminary at the Normal Seminary at Dundas Vale between 1851 and his death in the late 1860s. During this period he lived at 115 Mains Street. A.3.

Drummond, Alexander. (Elder, St. Stephen's). He only appeared once in the Directory in 1845 when he was listed at 21 Rose Street. Although no occupation was given, the Session Minute Book described him as a clerk. F.2.

Duncan, Thomas. (Elder, Govan). Between 1860 and 1882 he was listed as a farmer at Moss. D.3.

Dunlop, Alexander C. (Elder, St. George's). He only appeared in the 1834 Directory where he was described as of A. C. Dunlop and Co., commission merchants, 62 Buchanan Street. C.4.

Dunlop, Thomas. (Deacon, Barony). In 1853 he was a provision merchant at 231 Cowcaddens Street, house, 96 Cambridge Street, but six years later he formed the partnership of Dunlop and Cook, grain merchants, Madeira Court, 257 Argyle Street, house, 20 Buccleugh Street. By 1864 he had moved house to 2 Great Kelvin Terrace, Hillhead, while in 1870 the company moved to the Corn Exchange Buildings at 5 Waterloo Street. His two sons Thomas and Robert entered the firm which expanded into shipping with interests in the Queen and Clan Lines. It also became agent for Lloyds of London. In 1880 Thomas (sen.) moved house to 3 Alfred Terrace, Hillhead, and he remained at this address until his death in 1863. His sons carried on the firm and in 1914 Thomas became Lord Provost of Glasgow and was knighted in 1918. Both father and son were members of the Incorporation of Bakers. C.3. - C.

Dunn, John (sen.). (Elder, W.S.C.). He ran a furnishing shop at 39 Carrick Street and lived at 32 West College Street in the 1820s and 1830s. The business was carried on by; G.2.

Dunn, John (jun.). (Elder, W.S.C.). The Directories up until the 1870s show that he carried on his father's business which remained at the same address as did his house. John (jun.) died in the early 1870s. G.2.

Durie, William Henry. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). He only appeared twice in the Directories, firstly in 1852 and then in 1853. He was listed as at James Rankine's office, 57 Buchanan Street. Rankine was an elder in the church. No occupation was given for Durie, and this omission, combined with his address at 14 Shamrock Street suggests that he held a minor position in the firm and was probably a clerk. F.2.

Easton, William. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). In 1830 he was a commission merchant at John Street. By 1836 the premises were at 3 St. Enoch's Square and three years later he lived at 197 Buchanan Street. The entry for 1844 described him as a commercial merchant, 68 St. Vincent Place, house, Belize Villa, Govan Road. By 1850 the business had moved to 1 South Exchange Square while he had moved house to 20 Lynedoch Street. He died in November 1853. C.4.

Fairley, John. (Elder and Manager, W.S.C.). In the 1850s he was a commission merchant and insurance agent at 25 Cochran Street living at 197 Pitt Street. By the 1860s he had become an agent for the Liverpool and London Insurance Co. By 1870 he had moved his office to the National Bank Buildings in Queen Street and his house to 15 India Street. Four years later he lived at 40 Lansdowne Crescent. He died in the early 1900s. C.4.

Fairley, John. (Elder, W.S.C.). Of Craig, Urquhart and Fairley, merchants, 55 Glassford Street, house, Gayfield Street in 1837. He died in the early 1850s but the business remained the same until his death, although it had moved to 16 Springfield Court, Buchanan Street, and Fairley had moved house to 27 Union Street by 1838. C.4.

Fairley, Matthew. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). He began his varied business career in 1849 employed by William Snell and Co., gingham and pullicate manufacturers, 20 Ingram Street. He lived at 162 Bedford Street. By 1851 he had his own company of Fairley and Watson, gingham and pullicate manufacturers, 114 Queen Street, house, 60 West Regent Street. In 1859 Fairley was running the business alone but its premises had moved to 1 Royal Exchange Court and his house was at 18 Royal Terrace. The 1862 entry showed that the business had changed as it was described as "commission agents and merchants" and Fairley's son, John, was a partner. By 1870 John Fairley was running the business alone as Matthew Fairley had founded another firm. This was Fairley and Guild, tea merchants, 24 Ann Street. He lived at 105 Breadalbane Terrace, Garnethill. This partnership was shortlived as by the late 1870s Fairley was running the business alone. He now lived at 10 Woodlands Terrace. He died in the late 1880s. C.4.

Fairley, William S. (Elder, W.S.C.). In 1863 he was listed as a dyewood-grinder and drysalter commission agent, 41 Howard Street, house, 201 Kent Road. One year later he was a partner in the firm of Alexander and William Fairley, cotton-waste merchants and mill-furnishers, 55 Charles Street, Calton, house, 134 Garscube Road. By 1875 he had moved house to 24 Royal Crescent but the firm remained the same. He died in the late 1880s. C.4.

Faulds, Robert. (Deacon, Barony). He first appeared in the Directories in 1854 as at David Hamilton and Co., cotton-yarn agents and commercial merchants, 62 Ingram Street. Faulds lived at 207 St. George's Road. He remained with the company until he died in the late 1870s. Within this period he lived at three different addresses on separate occasions; 174 New City Road, 2 Hillhead Place and 10 Kelvin Terrace, Hillhead. These addresses suggest that he held a senior position in the company. C.1.

Faulds, William B. (Deacon, Barony). He does not appear to have been related to Robert Faulds and was not listed in the Directories before 1850. In that year he was described as a writer at 1 South Frederick Street, house, 3 Martyrs Street. Two years later he formed the partnership of Wilkie and Faulds, writers, 46 George Square, house, 30 Parson Street. By 1863 he was running the firm alone which was described as "writers and notaries public, 112 West George Street, house, Rockbank". Seven years later he lived at Westfield House, Ibrox Park and in 1880 he again went into partnership forming the firm of Lindsay and Faulds, writers, 25 Bath Street. By 1886 Lindsay had left and the firm was Faulds and Gibson, writers and notaries public, 25 Bath Street. Faulds died in the early 1900s. A.1.

Ferguson, George. (Elder, Govan). He could not be traced. O.

Ferguson, John. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Partner in the firm of Ferguson and Burns, soap and candle-manufacturers, 37 Hutcheson Street, works, Old Wynd, house, 37 Hutcheson Street, in 1832. By 1834 additional premises had been opened at 242 High Street and by 1837 Ferguson was living at 4 Cambridge Street. In 1845 he was living at 52 Rose Street, Garnothill, and premises had been opened at 86 King Street, Tradeston. In 1848 the partnership changed to become Ferguson and McLaren while Ferguson lived at 64 Buccleugh Street. His son entered the business in the early 1850s while Ferguson (senior) lived at 192 Hope Street. He died in the late 1860s. C.1.

Finlay, Hunter. (Elder and Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Prior to 1862 he was a partner with R. G. Finlay and between 1840 and 1862 he lived at Villafield Place, then at 2 Bellevue Cottage, Garnagadhill, and finally at Bellgray Bank, Springburn. In 1862 he formed his own company of Finlay and Blair, calico printers, 54 Dundas Street. By 1868 he was running the firm by himself and he lived at 11 Windsor Terrace, Hillhead. He died in the early 1870s. C.1.

Findlay, John. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). Graduated M.D. from Glasgow University in 1841 and set up a practice at 43 Sauchiehall Street. By 1844 he was living at 13 Victoria Place, West Regent Street. He died in August 1849. A.2.

Finlands, Thomas. (Manager, W.S.C.). Wine, spirit and tea merchant, 54 Prince's Street and 230 High Street in 1836. Three years later he was living at 51 Charlotte Street, in 1844 at 4 Abbotsford Place and in 1859 at 23 Carlton Place. The business remained the same until 1859 when Thomas' son, John, became a partner and ran the Prince's Street office. Thomas was described as a wine, spirit and tea merchant, Sydney Court, Argyle Street. He died in the early 1860s but John carried on the business. C.3.

Finlay, R.G. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). Partner with Hunter Finlay in R. G. Finlay and Brothers, gingham and pullicate-manufacturers, 30 Montrose Street, house, 9 Hopetown Place. In 1843 he lived at 90 Regent Terrace, and in 1851 at 3 Windsor Terrace, Queenstown, while the business was described as "manufacturers of plaids, ginghams and pullicates, 30 Montrose Street". By 1870 his son was a partner and R. G. Finlay lived at 10 Granby Terrace, Hillhead. He retired from business in the late 1870s but his son carried on the company. C.1.

Forrest, David. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Ship and insurance broker, 52 Union Street, house, 75 Renfield Street, in 1834. Three years later he was also described as a commission agent while he lived at Hopehill House, North Woodside Road. By 1843 he had become secretary to Clyde Marine Insurance Co., 147 Queen Street. He died in the late 1840s. B.2.

Forrest, James Rochaid. (Elder, St. George's). He was a lieutenant in the Royal Navy and Her Majesty's Agent for Emigration in Scotland in the 1840s and early 1850s. He lived at 3 Sandyford Place. He was not listed in the Directories after 1853. E.2.

Fraser, John. (Manager, W.S.C.). Between 1844 and 1875 he was listed as at the Lancefield Spinning Company, 70 Miller Street. In this period he lived on separate occasions at 2 Clifton Street and 16 Royal Terrace. In 1877 he changed his job to become an agent for the Sandyford and Overnewton Branch of the British Linen Company Bank, and a property agent, house factor and insurance agent, 224 Dumbarton Road, house, 16 Royal Terrace. His occupation remained the same until his death in the early 1880s. B.1.

Frazer, John. (Elder, W.S.C.). Manufacturer, 25 Queen Street in 1832. In 1839 he was described as a muslin-manufacturer at 126 Queen Street, house, 213 Buchanan Street. By 1845 he had moved house to 307 St. Vincent Street and he remained at this address until his death in the late 1850s. C.1.

Frew, James. (Elder, St. George's). He could not be traced in the Directories but the kirk session minutes described him as manager of coal and iron works, Possil. C.1.

Frew, John. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). He was not listed in the Directories but the baptismal register listed him as a baker at 262 Port Dundas Road. H.

Fulton, William. (Elder, Govan). Between 1847 and 1872, when he died, he was the parish schoolmaster at Govan. From 1860 he was also the Session Clerk of the Church. F.1.

Fyfe, Henry. (Elder, St. George's). Owner of a weaving factory at 74 Glassford Street in 1853. He lived at 292 Argyle Street. By 1836 the factory had moved to Queen's Court and by 1859 additional premises had been opened at 252 Main Street, Bridgeton. These were known as the Broomwood Weaving Factory. By the late 1840s, Fyfe's son had become a partner in the firm. Between 1838 and the late 1870s Henry Fyfe lived at Regent's Terrace, Stirling's Road, then at 19 Canning Place, followed by 183 Bath Street and finally 129 St. Vincent Street. He died in the late 1870s. C.1.

Galbraith, William. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Measurer, house, Willowbank Cottage in 1838. He remained in this occupation until his death in February 1855. Between 1838 and 1855 he lived on separate occasions at Paterson Street, 24 Pollock Street and 81 Carnarvon Street. E.2.

Galloway, James. (Elder, C.S.C.). He did not appear in the Directories but the Baptismal Register listed his occupation as a missionary. In fact, he was the missionary employed by the church in the 1840s, but in April 1850 he left the church to become the minister of South Ronaldshay United Presbyterian Church. He then moved to Dunning United Presbyterian Church. Robert Small in his book The History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church, 1733-1900 noted that "... Mr. Galloway was from Glasgow where he was in business before entering on his course of preparatory study. For nine years he was city

missionary in connection with Dr. Eadie's Church in Cambridge Street". In 1854 he moved to Sutton Church in Lancashire but he died in September of that year. F.1.

Gilchrist, Daniel. (Elder, St. George's). He was an insurance broker with the firm of James Wingate and Sons, insurance brokers, Royal Exchange Buildings. In 1844 he lived at 104 Eglinton Street. He then moved to 10 Houston Street and later to 284 Bath Street. He died in the early 1860s. B.2.

Gilmour, Alexander. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). In 1841 he was listed as a grain-weigher and store-keeper at Corn Street, Port Dundas. By 1851 he had begun his own company of Gilmour and Roberts, Milton Grinding Works, 132 Port Dundas Road while he lived at 150 Port Dundas Road. This partnership was shortlived as in 1859 the company was "Alexander Gilmour and Co., millers and manufacturing drysalter, Milton Grinding Works, 132 Port Dundas Road". Alexander had by then moved to Woodside House, North Woodside Road. Both the company's and Gilmour's home address remained the same in the 1860s. He died in the early 1870s. H-C.1.

Gilmour, William. (Elder, C.S.C.). He may have been in business with Alexander Gilmour as William's address in the late 1850s corresponded with the address for the Milton Grinding Works, but this could not be verified as no occupation was given in the Directories. O.

Gordon, John. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). He could not be traced. O.

Gordon, John. (Elder, St. George's). In 1845 he was a teacher of English, Geography and History at 57 St. George's Place. He lived at 24 Pollock Place, Paisley Road. He continued in this occupation until he disappeared from the Directories after 1853. F.1.

Gourlay, William. (Elder, St. George's). In 1833 he was a merchant at 131 Ingram Street. Three years later the firm had moved to 8 South Frederick Street and by 1841 Gourlay's son, William (jun.), had become a partner. William (sen.) lived at 82 Hill Street, Garnethill. By 1859 his house was at 115 St. Vincent Street. He died in the early 1860s but his business, which branched out into calico printing, was carried on by his son who in 1882 was living at 3 Windsor Circus, Kelvinside. C.1.

Graham, John. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). He did not appear in the Directories but the Session Minute Book described him as an engineer living at 53 Eglinton Street. He resigned from the Session in July 1849 as he was moving to Langside. H.

Grant, George (jun.). (Deacon, Barony). Owner of a power-loom weaving works at Graham Square in 1830. By 1836 he lived at 21 Whitevale Street and his son had become a partner in the firm. In the late 1840s the factory moved to Broad Street, Mile End. Grant continued to live at Whitevale Street until 1870 when he moved to Westhorn, London Road. He died in the late 1870s but the company was taken over by his son. C.1.

Gray, Henry. (Elder, St. George's). He could not be traced in the Directories but the kirk session minutes described him as a grain-weigher. 1

Gray, Robert. (Manager, W.S.C.). Partner in Buchanan and Gray, commission merchants, 30 Royal Exchange Square, house, 10 Abbotsford Place. The firm remained the same until 1854 when Gray became the sole owner, and he was listed as a broker and commission agent, 98 Fife Place, house, 25 Lynedoch Crescent. By 1859 he had also become the Brazilian Vice-Consulate. He lived at the same address. In 1870 he lived at 20 Elmbank Crescent and his son had become a partner in the business which had moved to 65 West Regent Street. He died in the late 1870s but his son carried on the business. C.4.

Gray, Thomas. (Elder, C.S.C.). In 1844 he was a store-keeper with the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Company at North Queen Street. No home address was given until 1858 when he was living at 92 Renfield Street. In 1863 he was listed as a store-keeper and grain-weigher with the same company but the store had moved to 52 Cathedral Street while he was living at 11 Carnarvon Street. By 1866 the company was the North British, but both the store's and Gray's address remained the same. He died in the early 1870s. G.1.

Guild, John. (Manager, W.S.C.). He could not be positively identified. O.

Guthrie, William. (Elder, St. H.S.C.). The 1854 Directory described him as a bill clerk, Monkland Basin, house, 94 Glebe Street. He died in August 1860. F.2.

Haig, Thomas. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Between 1848 and 1851 when he resigned from the Session, he was listed as an Inspector of Tallow with home-addresses at 52 Market Street, then 184 Crown Street. E.2.



Hamilton, Andrew. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). The 1836 Directory listed him as a victualler at 205 Cowcaddens Street but by 1846 he was described as a victualler and grocer at 170 Cowcaddens Street. In 1843 he was living at 132 Burnside, Garraube Road. In 1854 the business was described as "grocers and spirit dealers, 26 Kent Road". He died in the late 1850s. G.1.

Harrison, Joseph. (Elder, Govan). He could not be traced. O.

Hart, Hugh. (Elder and Manager, W.S.C.). In 1845 he was listed as at Glasgow Apothecaries, 13 Ure Place but by 1854 he owned his own chemist and druggist shop at 18 Argyle Street while he lived at 5 Provanside. In 1863 he had the same business but had moved house to 1 Scotland Street, Lynedoch Crescent. His entry in the 1875 Directory showed that his business had expanded since 1863 as it read, "chemist and druggist, 3 Virginia Street, 18 Argyle Street and 154 Broomielaw, house, 280 Bath Street". He died in the late 1870s. E.1.

Hart, John. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Agent for the National Bank of Scotland, house, 11 Albany Place in 1847. He remained in this occupation until his death in the early 1870s, but by 1855 he was living at 165 Hill Street, Garnethill, and by 1859 at 20 Woodlands Terrace. B.1.

Hart, John. (Manager, W.S.C.). In 1836 he was listed as at W. Dunn's, counting house and cotton-yarn warehouse, 62 George Square, house, 145 Wellington Street. He remained in this occupation until 1844 when he was an agent for the National Bank of Scotland, house, 11 Albany Place. By 1850 he was living at 2 Woodside Place and by 1863 at 20 Woodlands Terrace. He died in the early 1870s. B.1.

Harvey, James. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Surgeon, 41 Cowcaddens Street, house, 55 Rinfrew Street in 1838. By 1845 his surgery had moved to 251 High Street, three years later to 122 West Campbell Street and by 1858 to 4 Kirk Street, Townhead. During this period he lived at 47 Cambridge Street, then at 5 Ronald Street. He died in the early 1860s. A.2.

Harvey, Robert. (Elder, W.S.C.). Between 1836 and 1854 he was listed as a distiller with M. MacFarlan and Co., Distillers, Port Dundas. His house was at Pinkston. By 1854 he had formed, in partnership with his brother, John, a distillery at Dundas Hill, Port Dundas. In 1870 J. and R. Harvey were listed as "Highland Malt Distillers, Port Dundas". Robert had by then moved house to 11 Lynedoch Place. He died in the late 1870s. C.1.

Harvey, Robert. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). He only appeared in one Directory and was listed as "master of engineering and mechanical drawing" at Glasgow Mechanics' Institute, house, 49 West Street, in 1851. F.1.

Harvie, William. (Manager, W.S.C.). Between 1847 and 1863 he was listed as at John Gourlay and Co., Distillers, Port Dundas. He lived at 10 Park Terrace. Although no occupation was recorded, this address suggests that he was a senior member of the company. C.1.

Harvie, William. (Elder and Manager, W.S.C.). In 1844 he was a partner in the firm of J. and W. Harvie, cabinet makers and timber merchants, 75 North Wellington Street, house, 29 Wellington Lane. By 1854 William had moved house to 339½ Argyle Street and by 1870 to 78 Kent Road, but the firm remained the same. He died in the early 1890s. C.1.

Hay, Alexander. (Manager, W.S.C.). In 1851 he was listed as at Russell and Raeburns, coal merchants, 69 Great Clyde Street, house, Wenetta Cottage, Govan. He took over this business and by 1867 owned collieries at Wishaw and Cambuslang. By 1870 another colliery had been purchased at Ferniegair while Hay lived at Kirkland Villa, Bellahouston. He died in the late 1870s. C.1.

Hay, James. (Manager, C.S.C.). Partner in the firm William Hay and Co., (See below under William Hay). In 1842 he lived at 13 Buccleugh Street but by 1847 he was living at 47 Garnethill Street. He died in the late 1850s. C.3. - C.1.

Hay, William. (Manager, C.S.C.). Wine merchant with James Hay at 106 and 110 Candleriggs, living at 109 Hope Street, in 1834. By 1842 the premises had moved to 38 Queen Street and in 1854 the business was described as "distillers and spirit merchants" at Madeira Court, 261 Argyle Street. Hay now lived at 9 Newton Place. In 1863 the firm owned distilleries at Lochgilphead and Glengilp with a warehouse at 36 Douglas Street. Hay's son had entered the business and he carried on the firm when his father died in the late 1860s. C.3. - C.1.

Henderson, James. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Partner in Anderson and Henderson, trunk and packing-box makers, 22 West Nile Street, in 1850. Five years later the firm was described as wrights and builders, trunk and packing-box makers, 13 Waterloo Street and 23 Mitchell Street. In 1863 he was living at 334 St. Vincent Street but by 1864 he had moved to 6 Linden Terrace, Pollokshaws, while the company had opened sawmills in

Scotland Street. In 1870 the firm was listed as "wrights, builders and sawmillers, 77 Scotland Street and 50 Wellington Street". Henderson now lived at Garrowhill House, Baillieston. He died in the 1880s although his sons James and Thomas carried on the business, and like their father they became members of the Incorporation of Wrights. C.1.

Henderson, William. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). He first appeared in the Directories in 1859 at 14 West Prince's Street but no occupation was given. In 1865 he was listed at the National Bank of Scotland while he lived at 48 West Prince's Street. By 1866 he had moved house to 1 Great Kelvin Terrace, Hillhead. He remained at that address until the 1880s, when in 1883 he was described as an accountant at the National Bank of Scotland, Queen's Street, house, Moray Villa, Busby. In 1863 he left Cambridge Street Church to become a founder member and first Session Clerk of Lansdowne Church. B.2.

Herbertson, John Thomas. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). Between 1859 and 1897 he was the Collector of Canal Dues at the Forth and Clyde Canal. His office was at Port Dundas and he lived at 174 Stafford Place, New City Road. He died in the late 1890s. B.2.

Hill, Robert. (Deacon, Barony). In the 1834 Directory he was just listed at 18 Union Street but by 1840 he was with N. Tweedie, writer, 41 West George Street. Hill lived at 20 Union Street. By 1854 he had formed the partnership of Marshall, Hill and Hill, writers and agents for the Family Endowment Society in London, 41 West George Street. The partnership remained in this form until 1870 when the firm became R. and J. M. Hill, writers, 41 West George Street. Robert Hill lived at 134 North Montrose Street. J. M. Hill lived at Shawfield House, Rutherglen. Robert died in 1872. A.1.

Hingshaw, Andrew. (Elder, St. George's). In 1863 he occupied a senior position in the firm of Robert Walker and Sons, manufacturers, 8 Ingram Street. He lived at 40 Abbotsford Place. By 1865 he was living at 4 Kelvingrove Street but his occupation was unchanged. He died on the 5th of June 1868. C.1.

Horn, James. (Elder, W.S.C.). Flesher with premises at 27 Cleland Street, house, Hospital Street in 1854. By 1863 he had opened another shop at 29 Bedford Street but he still lived at the same address. In the 1860s he continued to expand his business and by 1870 he was listed as a flesher and ham curer at 21, 23 and 25 Bedford Street, living at 6 Apsley Place. By 1874 he was living at Gartmore Villa, Cambuslang. C.1. - C.2.

Horn, John. (Deacon, Barony). He was first listed in the Directories in 1840 as at the Garteloss Coal Company, 15 Hutcheson Street, house, 98 Regent Street. Five years later he had formed his own coal company at 52 Virginia Street, house, 5 Whitevale Street. The following year he moved house to 11 Annfield Place and in the 1850s to Gairbaird House. By 1863 his office was at 130 Hope Street and his house was Gillsburn House, Kilmarnock. In the early 1870s his son became a partner in the firm and Horn (sen.) moved house to Leslie Villa, Kilmarnock. The business expanded in the 1870s with the addition of collieries at Kilmarnock. Horn continued to live at Leslie Villa until his death in the early 1880s. His son took over the running of the company. C.1.

Hunter, John. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Between 1834 and 1847 when he moved to Helensburgh he was listed as a cabinet-maker at 48 Bath Street, then at 152 Hope Street, and finally at 4 Little Hamilton Street. G.2.

Hunter, William. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Partner in the firm of Hunter and Marshall, wrights, 57 Cambridge Street in 1853. In 1862 he was living at 82 Hill Street, Garnethill, and in 1864 at 12 Rose Street. By the 1890s his home address was Torwood Villa, Kelvinside, but the company remained Hunter and Marshall, wrights and builders, 103 Cambridge Street. He died in 1903. C.1.

Hutchison, George. (Deacon, Barony). In 1842 he was a partner in the firm of James and George Hutchison, cotton-yarn merchants and commission agents, 12 South Hanover Street, house, 15 Hill Street, Garnethill. By 1847 the business premises had moved to 9 George Square and Hutchison's house to Ashburton Place. In 1854 the respective addresses were 62 St. Vincent Street and 274 Bath Street. By 1870 James had died and the company was George Hutchison and Sons, cotton-yarn and commission merchants, 62 St. Vincent Street, house, 15 West Princes Street. These addresses remained the same until his death in the early 1880s. C.4.

Jack, John Steel. (Elder, Barony). A farmer at Germiston Mains, Springburn. He died in the mid-1850s. D.3.

Jamieson, William. (Elder, C.S.C.). In 1847 he was a house factor at J. R. Laurie, merchant, 1 Nicholson Street. No home address appeared until 1851 when he lived at 13 Surrey Street. By 1854 he had moved to 79 South Portland Street and by 1859 to 37 Cumberland Street. In 1866 he was no longer with J. R. Laurie but was a house factor and insurance

agent at 1 Nicholson Street, house, 33 Cumberland Street. His occupation and home address remained the same in the 1870s. He died in the late 1880s. E.2.

Kennedy, James. (Manager, W.S.C.). Wholesale and retail stationer, 76 Virginia Street, house, 32 Norfolk Street in 1832. By 1834 the business had moved to 115 Ingram Street where it remained until Kennedy's death in the early 1860s. By 1840 he was living in Dundas Street, Kingston, and in 1845 at 3 Abbotsford Place. G.1.

King, Daniel. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). In 1839 he was listed as a vinegar manufacturer at Camlachie but by 1850 his company was described as manufacturing chemists, Camlachie. Four years later the company was listed as Chemical Grinding Works, Camlachie. He did not appear in the Directories for the 1860s or 1870s. G.1.

Kinnear, John Gardner. (Elder, St. George's). In 1837 he was listed at Watson and McWilliam, commission agents, 2 North Court, Royal Exchange. He lived at 137 Clarence Place. Three years later he had his own firm of John G. Kinnear and Co., commission agents, and he was also a partner in the firm of Watson, McWilliam and John G. Kinnear and Co., commission agents, 17 St. Vincent Street. Kinnear remained a commission agent until his death in the late 1860s but by 1850 the partnership was just Watson and Kinnear. Between 1854 and his death Kinnear lived at 16 India Street, then at 4 Park Quadrant and finally at 4 La Belle Place. From 1846 to 1862 he was Secretary of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce. His son, Alexander Smith, born 3/11/1833, became an advocate in 1856 and in 1882 he was made a judge. He entered the first division in 1890 and he remained there until 1913 when he resigned. He was knighted in 1897. C.4.

Kirkwood, James. (Elder, W.S.C.). He could not be positively identified. O.

Kirkwood, Robert. (Elder, W.S.C.). House factor, 11 Miller Street, in 1828. His occupation remained the same until his death in the late 1860s but before then his office moved to 40 Miller Street and later to 33 Buchanan Street. He lived at 3 Bath Street until the late 1840s when he moved to 15 Florence Place, Stanley Street. E.2.

Kyle, Thomas. (Elder, St. George's). Of Thomas Kyle and Co., power-loom cloth manufacturers, Tureen Street, in 1845. By 1853 his son had become a partner in the business which had moved to 196 Cowcaddens Street. Kyle lived at 10 Stewart Street and in 1854 at 55 Rose Street, Garnethill. After 1855 there was no entry for either him or his business in the Directories. C.1.

Lamb, James. (Elder, Barony). James Lamb and Son, wrights, 49 Dundas Street, first appeared in the Directories in 1834. They were wrights long before this date since James Lamb (sen.) became a member of the Incorporation of Wrights in 1806 and his son in 1824. We are concerned with the son. He remained a partner in the business until his father's death in the early 1840s and in 1845 his entry in the Directory ran as follows; "wright and house carpenter, 50 Dundas Street and Stirling Street, Cowcaddens, house, 2 Cleland Testimonial". In 1850 he was described as a wright and builder at 50 Dundas Street and Cathedral Street, house, 39 Rose Street, Garnethill. The Dundas Street premises had been closed by 1852, while Lamb had moved house to 91 North Hanover Street. He remained at this address until his death in the mid-1860s. C.1.

Landells, Andrew. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). As with James Daly, Landells was employed at John MacIntyre and Co., but by 1842 he had his own business of Landells and Gordon, linen and wool-drappers, 118 Trongate. After 1843 he disappeared from the Directories. C.2.

Lauchlan, Andrew. (Elder, St. George's). In 1845 he was described as a civil engineer and land surveyor at 58 St. Vincent Street, house, 122 North Montrose Street. Four years later he was living at 112 Wellington Street. His business and home address remained the same until 1870 when he was living at 1 Victoria Terrace, Dowanhill. He died in the late 1870s. E.2.

Lawrie, James Adair. (Elder, St. George's). His grandfather and father were ministers of Loudon Parish from 1763-1793 and 1793-1838, respectively. Lawrie was born in 1801 and was educated at the Parish School and Glasgow College. From there he went to Glasgow University where he graduated M.A. in 1820 and M.D. two years later. In 1830 he was appointed lecturer in surgery at the Andersonian Medical School. In 1850 he was appointed Professor of Surgery at Glasgow University after his predecessor, Professor Burns, had been drowned following the sinking of the Orion. Professor Lawrie died on the 23rd of

November 1859. In Glasgow he lived at 15 Moore Place, West George Street, then at 18 Brandon Place and finally at 116 Renfrew Street. A.2.

Lawson, John. (Elder and Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). He could not be traced. O.

Leishman, John. (Manager, C.S.C.). As with David Low the Directories did not give any occupation for Leishman. In 1836 he was with Campbell and Crudens, commercial agents, 127 Brunswick Street. By 1854 he was with R. Hastie and Co., merchants, 13 John Street, while he lived at 6 Oakfield Terrace, Hillhead. In 1858 he was in the same company but he had moved house to 3 Royal Circus. He died in the early 1860s. As with David Low, Leishman's home addresses suggest that he fell into either group B or C.

Leisk, Robert. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Merchant, 46 Cambridge Street, in 1850. Two years later he formed the partnership of Leisk and Eaglesham, manufacturers and warehousemen, 14 Canon Street. By 1854 the business had moved to 125 Trongate and Leisk was living at 75 Sauchiehall Street. Four years later the firm changed to Robert Leisk and Son, merchants and warehousemen, 125 Trongate. Leisk now lived at 21 Oakfield Terrace. The firm remained the same, although by 1864 it had moved to 75 East Howard Street, until Leisk's death in the early 1870s. C.1.

Lennie, William. (Elder, W.S.C.). In 1854 under the Maryhill section of the Directory he was listed as a grocer. By 1863 he was described as a grocer and wine and spirit merchant at 194 Main Street, living at 190 Main Street. In 1874 he was a wine merchant and family grocer with the same addresses as in 1863. He died in the late 1870s. G.1. - C.3.

Lindsay, George. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). Between 1847 and 1851 he was listed at 19 Renfrew Street but no occupation was recorded in either the Directories or the Deacons' Book thus he could not be classified. O.

Lockhart, John. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). He did not appear in the Directories but the Deacons' Minute Book described him as a joiner at Rosehall Buildings. He was not a member of the Incorporation of Wrights. He resigned from the Session in July 1849 as he was moving to Tradeston. H.



Lov, David. (Manager, C.S.C.). His occupation was not given in the Directories as in 1842 he was just listed at the Phoenix Iron Works with a house in Hillhead. He remained at the Phoenix Iron Works throughout the period but by 1847 he was living at 50 Garscube Road and in 1854 at 26 Windsor Terrace. By 1866 he had moved to 7 Park Circus. He died in the late 1860s. Although his occupation was not given, his home addresses suggest that he held a senior position in the company. C.1.

Lyon, John. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). He could not be traced. O.

Mabon, William. (Elder, Govan). A wright at 8 Gloucester Street in 1865. In 1870 he was listed as a wright at 14 Gloucester Street. He disappeared from the Directories after 1870. G.2.

Marshall, William. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). Of Marshall and Reid, thread-manufacturers, 12 Maxwell Street, house, 36 Cavendish Street, in 1851. Three years later the company was listed as "cotton and thread manufacturers, 33 Virginia Street, works, Patna, Ayrshire". Marshall now lived at Leven Cottage, Pollokshaws. By the 1860s Reid had left the company and had been replaced by Marshall's son who carried on the business when his father died in the late 1880s. Marshall's home address did not change between 1854 and his death. C.1.

Martin, William. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). In 1837 he was a manufacturer at 28 South Hanover Street living at 77 Renfrew Street. By 1841 the company had moved to 102 Virginia Place while Martin was living at 1 Shamrock Street. No details of the product manufactured appeared until 1843 when the company was described as "gingham and pullicate manufacturers" at 102 Virginia Place. In 1854 the company was manufacturing gingham and gale-plaids at the same address although Martin had moved house to 3 Kelvin Terrace, Great Western Road. In the 1860s and early 1870s the company was listed as "vincey and dress manufacturers" at 104 Virginia Place, but by 1863 Martin had moved to Sardinia Terrace, Hillhead. G.1.

Millar, David. (Elder, Govan). Wright and builder, Pitt Street, house, 78 Brown Street in 1838. By 1842 he had moved house to Albert Place, Kingston. Three years later his son became a partner in the business which had moved to East Howard Street. By 1848 it was situated at 53 Dale Street, Tradeston, and Millar had also become Superintendant

of new buildings. He lived at 13 Eldon Place. His occupation remained the same, although he was also listed as a property valuator, until his death in the late 1860s. Between 1848 and his death he lived on separate occasions at 37 Paterson Street, 37 Morrison Street and 88 Abbotsford Place. C.1.

Millar, Matthew. (Manager, C.S.C.). In 1848 he was principal clerk for Addie and Miller, coal-masters, 107 St. Vincent Street, while he lived at 104 North Hanover Street. By 1863 he had moved house to 97 North Frederick Street. He died in the mid-1860s. B.2.

Millar, Thomas. (Elder, W.S.C.). The 1814 Directory listed him as a grain merchant at Mitchell Street living at 3 Apsley Place, Laurieston. The entries remained the same until the 1840s when he had moved house to Balshagray. He died in the early 1850s. C.4.

Miller, William. (Elder and Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). The Directories between 1848 and 1863 described him as a victualler at 183 Castle Street. He died in the late 1860s. G.1.

Miller, William. (Elder, St. Stephen's). He did not appear in the Directories but the Session Minute Book described him as a divinity student. He resigned from the Session in 1848 but he was not listed in the Fasti of the Free or of the Established Church. F.1.

Milroy, Andrew. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). Mason and builder, 34 Forth Street, Port Dundas, house, 55 Springgrove Place, Grove Street. His entry remained the same until the early 1880s when he died. C.1.

Milroy, Samuel. (Deacon, Barony). He first appeared in the Directories in 1859 as at Peter Rintoul and Co., commission merchants, 26 Gordon Street, stores, 10 Stirling Square. Milroy lived at 25 St. Vincent Street. He remained with this company, which later became a grain merchants, until his death in the late 1890s. His home addresses during this period were 12 Napier Place, then 60 St. Vincent Crescent and finally 11 Montgomery Drive, Kelvinside. These addresses suggest that he held a senior position in the firm. C.1.

Mitchell, Andrew. (Elder, W.S.C.). He was the brother of Dr. John Mitchell the first minister of Wellington Street Church. Andrew was a lawyer and partner in the firm of Mitchell, Henderson and Mitchell, 36 Miller Street, house, 154 St. Vincent Street in 1844. He remained in this firm throughout the 1850s and 1860s but he moved house, first to 4 Blythwood Place in 1850, and then to 20 Woodside Place by 1866. A.1.

Mitchell, James. (Elder, W.S.C.). Better known as Moncrieff Mitchell. Son of Dr. John Mitchell and perhaps the most famous elder of the Church. He graduated M.A. from Glasgow University in 1823 and entered his uncle's law practice. In 1866 he became Dean of the Faculty of Procurators. In the same year he lived at 5 Park Terrace. Although he was Dean for a short period, the law practice carried on and he continued to live at Park Terrace. A.1.

Mitchell, William G. (Elder and Manager, W.S.C.). Another of Dr. John Mitchell's sons but unlike James, William became a merchant. The 1863 Directory listed his company as "calenderers, packers, hot-pressers and finishers 4, 14 Montrose Street". His house was at Glenherback. C.1.

Moir, Edward. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). He was not listed in the Directories but the Deacons' Minute Book described him as an engineer at 25 Grove Street. H.

Montgomery, James. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). He could not be traced but in September 1845 he resigned as a deacon as he was moving to Maryhill. O.

Monteith, Adam. (Elder, St. George's). Partner in the firm of Lamond and Monteith, writers, 60 Ingram Street in 1836. He lived at Athole Terrace, St. George's Road. Five years later he had moved to Hill Street. By 1845 he was running the law practice by himself and it had moved to 72 St. Vincent Street. In 1850 he was described as a writer and agent for the Palladium Life Assurance Society living at 3 Greenvale Place, Woodlands Road. By 1854 the firm had become a partnership of Monteith and Barston, writers, 72 St. Vincent Street. The firm remained the same until his death in the late 1860s. A.1.

Moore, Alexander. (Elder, W.S.C.). Broker at 9 Wallace Street, Tradeston, in 1854. By 1863 his firm had become a partnership to form Moore and Copeland, accountants, house factors and agents for the Royal Insurance Co., 28 St. Vincent Street. He lived at Ashburn Villa, Partick Hill. By 1874 his business partner had changed and the firm was Moore and Brown, accountants and stock brokers, 28 St. Vincent Street. He died in 1884. B.2.

Morrison, James. (Manager, W.S.C.). He could not be positively identified. O.

Morrison, John. (Elder, Govan). Between 1857 and 1860 he was listed as a manufacturer, house, Murrows Park, Govan. In the 1860s he was described as a house proprietor at Brieland Cottage, Copeland Road, house, Murrows Park, Govan. In the 1870s he moved his office to Whitefield Road. He died in the late 1870s. D.2.

Morrison, John. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). He did not appear in the Directories but the Deacons' Minute Book described him as foreman living at 1 West Milton Street. He resigned as a deacon in July 1849 as he was moving to Paisley. G.3.

Morrison, William. (Manager, W.S.C.). Along with his son he ran a hat and cap-makers at 131 Argyle Street, house, 18 Newton Place in 1851. In 1855 he lived at 39 Abbotsford Place and by 1863 the business was listed as "hatters, gold and silver lacemen, army, navy and railway uniform hat and cap-makers, 131 Argyle Street". By 1874 they had also become masonic jewellers and embroiderers, and three years later another shop at 19 Union Street was opened. He died in the late 1880s but the business was carried on by his son. G.1.

Murray, Alexander. (Elder, C.S.C.). House factor living at 4 Grove Street in 1859. By 1862 he lived at 34 Shamrock Street and by 1864 at 119 New City Road. He disappeared from the Directories after 1864. B.2.

Murray, John. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). Agent for the Scottish Widows' Fund and Life Assurance Society, 30 Royal Exchange Square, house, 21 Lansdowne Crescent in 1850. By 1858 he had also become agent for the Travellers' and Marine and Accidental Death Insurance Co., while he was living at 17 Oakfield Terrace. Two years later he had become an agent for a third company, this time the County Fire Office. His office was at 141 Buchanan Street. In 1863 he was just listed as an insurance agent but he continued to live at 17 Oakfield Terrace. He died in the late 1860s. B.2.

Murray, Joseph. (Elder, Govan). Bookseller and stationer, 8 Argyle Street, house, 119 Montrose Street, in 1847. By 1850 the shop had been moved to 100 North Frederick Street and by 1857 to 49 Buchanan Street. Murray lived at 39 Abbotsford Place and in 1860 at Greenback House. He died in December 1863. C.2.

MacBrayne, David. (Elder, Barony). His father was Donald MacBrayne who emigrated from the Highlands to Glasgow in the early eighteenth century. He joined the firm of Adam Good and Co., calico and linen printers, High Street, but he later took over the firm and ran it as a partnership of MacBrayne and Stenhouse. He was a founder member of the First Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in 1783 which places him among Glasgow's most prominent citizens. He had one son David who is the subject of this biographical sketch. He began work employed by James Leslie and Co., Albion Street. No details about the nature of this company appeared in the Directories but, bearing in mind his father's business, it would be reasonable to assume that Leslie's was a weaving company. In 1818 MacBrayne founded his own weaving company in Bishop Street. He did not appear again in the Directories until 1830 when he was listed as Barony Session Clerk. He lived at Barony Glebe. This was not because of his church duties but his marriage to Elizabeth Burns, the daughter of Dr. Burns, minister of the Barony from 1773 to 1843. They had two sons, David and Robert. David founded the MacBrayne Shipping Co., now Caledonia-MacBrayne, and Robert's history is outlined below. Their father died in 1863. C.1.

MacBrayne, Robert. (Elder, Barony). He was first listed in the Directories at 41 St. Vincent Street in 1855. No other details were given but this address was the office of Hugh Niven, a shipping clerk. By 1858 he had left Niven's employment to enter the firm of Black and Wingate, manufacturers, merchants and printers, 9 Royal Exchange Square, works, Kelvinhaugh and Clydebank. He became a partner in the company and remained with it until he died in the early 1890s. Between 1863 and 1890 he lived on separate occasions at Dunard House, Dowanhill Gardens; Househill, Hurler; 4 Lilybank Terrace, Hillhead; and 65 West Regent Street. C.1.

McBriar, Alexander. (Elder, St. George's). Between 1825 and 1840 he was described as an agent at 4 Maxwell Street. During this period he lived on separate occasions at 10 Portland Street, Laurieston, and 24 Abbotsford Place. He died in the early 1840s. C.4.

McCaul, Malcolm. (Elder, St. George's). Between 1833 and 1870 he was listed at John Leadbetter and Company, linen merchants, 77 Queen Street. McCaul lived at 124 Douglas Street. By 1853 he had moved to 15 Royal Crescent and by 1859 to 3 Wilton Crescent. In the 1870s and 1880s he

was described as a merchant and commission agent at 77 Queen Street. He died in January 1891 but in 1843 he joined St. George's Free Church. C.4.

McColl, Hugh (jun.). (Elder and Manager, W.S.C.). Prior to 1850 his father was a tailor at 43 Saltmarket and Hugh (jun.) carried on this business. The entry in the 1854 Directory was "Hugh McColl and Son, clothiers, 32 Glassford Street, house, 20 Hill Place". By 1863 Hugh (jun.) was running the business alone but the premises had moved to 60 Argyle Street, while he lived at 38 South Apsley Place. By 1870 the business had become a partnership of Finlayson and McColl, clothiers, 35 Union Street. Hugh had by then moved house to Auburn Cottage, Pollokshields. G.1. - C.2.

McCorkle, Archibald. (Elder, St. George's). Between 1845 and 1858 he was a carting contractor at 51 Clyde Street, Port Dundas. He was transferred to St. Peter's Parish Church in 1853 but he died in April 1858. G.2.

McCubbin, David. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). An accountant at 85 Queen Street, house, 52 Windsor Terrace in 1850. By 1854 he had also become agent for the Monarch Insurance Co., of London with premises at 146 Buchanan Street, house, 70 Bath Street. In 1860 the firm became a partnership of McCubbin and Johnston, accountants, 140 Buchanan Street, house, 7 India Street. He also had a holiday house, Chirnside Bank, Inellan. The partnership was shortlived as by 1870 he was running the firm of chartered accountants by himself. He died in the late 1870s. B.2.

MacDougall, Alexander. (Elder, Barony). A spirit dealer at 35 Tobago Street in 1828. Nine years later he was described as a wine and spirit dealer at 37 Stevenson Street. In 1853 he appeared as a wine and spirit merchant, 31 Stevenson Street, house, 3 Struthers Street. He died in 1854. G.1. - C.3.

MacDougall, Alexander. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Partner in the firm of Graham and MacDougall, manufacturers, 145 Ingram Street, house, 86 Renfrew Street. By 1846 the firm had become the partnership of A. and A. MacDougall, manufacturers, 127 Brunswick Street. Alexander continued to live at 86 Renfrew Street. He died on the 23/7/1847 but the business was carried on by Alan MacDougall. C.1.

McDowall, John. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). In 1841 he was a partner in McDowall and Robertson, owners of the Milton Foundry, Corn Street, Port Dundas, and McDowall lived at 76 Buccleugh Street. By 1854 he had become the sole owner of the Milton Foundry and he now lived at 250 Renfrew Street. In 1856 the Foundry moved to 142 North Woodside Road and by 1859 McDowall had moved house to 8 Park Terrace. He died in 1862 but his wife continued to live at 8 Park Terrace. The company remained in existence and, in fact, grew, opening a London warehouse at Queenhithe Wharf, Upper Thames Street, by 1870. In 1878 additions were made to the factory costing £5,500 and in 1882 further additions costing £2,200 were constructed. (See J. Hume, Industrial Archaeology of Glasgow. (Glasgow, 1974), p. 159.) C.1.

McDowall, John. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). A wright at 81 Crown Street, house, 76 Rose Street, in 1848. Six years later he was described as a wright and builder at 220 Main Street, Gorbals, house, 21 Roslin Terrace. By 1867 he had moved house to 51 Abbotsford Place and in 1871 his firm was described as "wrights, builders and sawmillers, 220 Main Street". By 1882 his sons had become partners in the business which had expanded to become sawmill engineers and wood-working machinists at Walkinshaw Foundry, Johnstone. By 1885 McDowall was dead but his sons carried on the business. C.2. - C.1.

McEwan, William. (Manager, W.S.C.). In 1840 he was listed as at R. and J. Henderson, merchants and drysalers, 4 South Frederick Street, house, 270 George Street. Two years later he was described as a broker and commission merchant, Royal Exchange, house, 270 George Street. By 1844 he had also become an agent for Vivian and Sons, copper smelters and he was living at 199 Renfrew Street. His business remained the same until the late 1940s when he died but from 1859 he lived at 11 Park Terrace. C.4.

MacFadyen, Joseph. (Elder, St. Stephen's). He did not appear in the Directories but the Session Minute book gave his occupation as a teacher, house, Maitland Street. F.1.

MacFarlane, Archibald. (Elder, St. Stephen's). As with MacFadyen he was not listed in the Directories but the Session Minute book described him as a plasterer. H.



McInnes, William. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). William and his brother Thomas were two of the founding members of the church. In 1841 they ran a joiners and cabinet-makers business at Sawmillfield and owned a cabinet and upholstery warehouse at 51 St. Vincent Street. William lived at 6 North Woodside Street. He died in the early 1850s. C.1.

McIntosh, Robert. (Elder, C.S.C.). He could not be traced in the Directories. The Communicant's Roll Book gave his occupation as a blacksmith at 32 Brown Street. He resigned from the Session in September 1853 as he was leaving Glasgow. H.

Mackie, John. (Deacon, Barony). He was not listed in the Directories before 1857 and in this year his entry ran as follows; "Mackie, John, 61 Mains Street, Blythswood Terrace". He then disappeared from the Directories between 1859 and 1863. In 1863 he was entered at the Portland Iron Works, house, 146 Holland Street. He was also Session Clerk of the Barony Church but he died in 1864. The Directories did not give any occupation beside his name but the Session Minute Book for 25/2/1857 described him as a clerk. F.2.

McLaverty, Alexander. (Elder, St. George's). A doctor with a surgery at 37 Glassford Street, house, 9 Blythswood Square in 1841. By 1851 his surgery had moved to 98 West Nile Street and by 1849 to 188 West Regent Street. He died in the early 1850s. A.2.

MacLean, William. (Manager, W.S.C.). Owner of William MacLean and Co., cotton spinners, 15 Cochran Street in 1840. The company did not change until his death in the early 1870s. In 1870 he lived at 188 West Regent Street. C.1.

McLellan, Duncan. (Elder, Govan). Between 1854 and 1857 he was listed as a partner in the firm of McLellan and Wilkie, wrights, Kelvin Street, house, Windsor Place, Partick. He disappeared from the Directories after 1857. C.1.

McMurray, James. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Between 1840 and 1850 when he resigned from the Session, he was listed as an ironmonger at 141 Argyle Street. He lived at 180 Hope Street, then at 16 Hope Street. G.1.

MacNab, Allan. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Teacher at St. James' School, Great Hamilton Street, house, 7 Sommerville Place. By 1840 he had moved house to 37 Monteith Row and by 1842 he had become the teacher

of bookkeeping and writing at the High School. He remained at the High School until his death in the late 1860s but in this period he lived on separate occasions at Balgray Cottage, Springburn, 14 Great Kelvin Terrace, Hillhead, 11 Oakfield Terrace, Hillhead and Greenbank, Helensburgh. P.1.

McNee, Duncan. (Elder, Govan). He could not be traced. O.

McNee, Walter. (Elder, St. George's). Partner in the firm Gibson and McNee, sewed-muslin manufacturers, 5 Montrose Street, house, 155 St. George's Road, in 1831. Five years later the business was at 62 Queen Street and by 1841 it was situated at 103 Glassford Street. In 1854 he was still living at 155 St. George's Road and his business had moved to 13 St. Vincent Place. He died in the late 1850s but his wife continued to live at 155 St. George's Road. O.1.

Neil, Thomas. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Between 1828 and his death on the 22/10/1839 he was listed as a bookbinder at Smith's Court, 53 Candleriggs, house, 11 Sauchiehall Street. It is interesting to note that after his death his wife continued to run the business with a fair degree of success as in 1854 she was listed as a bookbinder at 175 Buchanan Street and 94 West Nile Street, house, Orchard Terrace. She died in the late 1860s. G.1.

Neilson, James. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). He could not be traced in the Directories but the Baptismal Register for July 1845 listed him as a salesman living at Garscube Lane. G.2.

Nicoll, Alexander. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Partner in the firm of Bell and Nicoll, manufacturers, 93 Glassford Street, house, 58 Rose Street, in 1847. Both the firm and Nicoll's home address remained the same until 1851 when he resigned from the Session. After 1851 Nicoll disappeared from the Directories but Robert Bell continued in the business. He lived in Great George Street, Hillhead. C.1.

Orkney, Peter. (Elder, W.S.C.). Between 1832 and his death in the late 1840s he was listed as a grocer at 38 Carrick Street. He lived on the business premises. G.1.

Paisley, Gavin. (Elder, Govan). In 1836 he was listed as at R. Hood, cooper and stave merchant, 191 Buchanan Street. By 1844 he had his own firm of Gavin Paisley and Co., coopers and hoop merchants, 37 Oswald Street, house, 60 Oswald Street. In 1847 he lived at 57 Oswald Street

but two years later he changed his job to become an accountant, factor and house agent, 32 St. Vincent Street. He was still living at 57 Oswald Street, but by 1850 he had moved to Ashvale, Partick. By 1860 he had become agent for the City of Glasgow Bank, 314 Dumbarton Road, house, 2 Windsor Place. He remained in this job and at this address until his death in the 1880s. C.1. - B.2.

Parker, Robert. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). Surgeon, 30 Centre Street, house, 36 Commerce Street, in 1848. By 1850 he had moved his surgery to 49 King Street, Tradeston, and in 1854 he was living at 1 Maxwellton Place, Paisley Road. He died in 1860. A.2.

Paterson, Andrew. (Elder, W.S.C.). Partner in the firm of James and Andrew Paterson, general agents, bonded and free warehousemen, 70 Mitchell Street in 1854. Andrew lived in Hillhead. By 1863 he was living at Berkeley Terrace but the company was described as a manufacturing business. Seven years later James was running the firm alone and it was described as "gingham, handkerchief and shirting manufacturers, 18 Newhall Street, Bridgeton". He lived at 4 St. John Terrace, Hillhead. C.1.

Paterson, James. (Elder, Barony). The 1834 Directory listed him as a surgeon at 6 Little Street, Calton. By 1840 his surgery was at 34 Stevenson Street and he lived at 18 Great Hamilton Street. Twelve years later he had become the Professor of Midwifery at Anderson's University, house, 6 Windsor Place. The entries remained the same until 1870 when he was described as the late Professor of Midwifery and he had bought a holiday house, Craigend, Shettleston. This was changed to Hayburn Park, Partick, in the early 1880s but he died later in the decade. A.2.

Paterson, James. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Partner in the firm of William Paterson and Co., smiths and bell-hangers, 88 Main Street, Gorbals, in 1848. The entry remained the same until 1870 when he lived at 90 Abbotsford Place. The company was listed as "smiths and bell-hangers, 88 Main Street, Gorbals". He died in the late 1870s. C.1.

Paton, John. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). He did not appear in the Directories but the Deacons' Minute Book described him as a foreman living at Renfrew Court. He resigned as a deacon in February 1851 because of ill health. G.3.

Paton, John G. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). He was born in 1824 in Dumfries and was the son of a stocking maker. He moved to Glasgow in 1837 and after a variety of occupations became the church's city missionary. He was elected to the Session in 1853 and in 1857 was licensed as a minister. In April 1858 he left Britain to become a missionary in the New Hebrides. F.1.

Paton, William. (Elder and Manager, W.S.C.). In 1847 he owned a shirt-making, hosier, glover and tailor's trimming warehouse at 59 Buchanan Street. He lived at 71 South Portland Street. By 1863 he had moved house to 10 Glasgow Street and by 1870 to 180 West Regent Street. In 1874 his firm was described as "hosiers, glovers, shirt-makers and ladies' outfitters, 133 Buchanan Street", while he lived at Marrionville, Queen's Drive, Crosshill. He died in the early 1890s. C.1.

Patrick, David. (Elder, St. George's). He graduated M.D. from Glasgow University in 1831 and in the same year he set up a surgery at 17 Jamaica Street. In 1836 he was described as a surgeon and aurist at 185 Buchanan Street. Between then and his death on the 10th of February 1878 his surgery was at 141 West George Street, then at 14 Moore Place and finally 197 Athole Place. A.2.

Paxton, John. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). Between 1855 and 1859 he was listed as a piano forte manufacturer and cabinet maker at 114 Waterloo Street. He lived at the same address. He disappeared from the Directories after 1859. G.2.

Pettigrew, William. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). Victualler at 423 Gallowgate in 1854. His entry in the Directories remained the same until 1857 when he was no longer listed. G.1.

Powell, Thomas. (Elder, Govan). Between 1848 and 1864 he was a teacher at the Highland Society School in Montrose Street. He lived at 209 Thistle Street and then at 205 Crown Street during this period. In 1864 he moved to become a teacher at Freeland School in Taylor Street, house, 13 Ronald Street. He stayed at this school until he died in the late 1870s. F.1.

Rae, John. (Elder, Barony). He could not be positively identified before 1850 but in that year he was a partner in the firm of McKnight and Rae, merchants and commission agents, Sauchiehall Street. He lived at 7 Stanhope Street in 1850 and at 5 Hill Street, Garnethill,

in 1852. The partnership remained the same until 1859 when McKnight left and his place was taken by Rae's son. They were described as "commission agents" at 72 George Street. Rae (sen.) still lived at 5 Hill Street but he died on the 24/10/1860. C.4.

Rainey, George Warren. (Elder and Deacon, St. Stephen's). Partner in the firm of Agnew, Watson and Rainey, merchants and manufacturers, house, 14 Gordon Street, in 1834. By 1838 the partnership had changed to Watson and Rainey, by 1845 to Rainey and Jarvie and by 1850 to Rainey and Knox. They were described as "agents, manufacturers and merchants, 8 St. Vincent Place", while Rainey lived at 10 Queen's Crescent. The firm remained the same until Rainey's death in the early 1890s. In this period he lived at 12 Kew Terrace. C.1.

Ralston, David. (Elder and Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Partner in the firm Ralston and Goodwin, iron merchants, 21 St. Enoch's Square, house, 52 Buccleugh Street, in 1844. By 1850 the premises had moved to Turner's Court, Argyle Street, while Ralston's house was at Meadowbank Place, Partick. Four years later he was living at Denton Cottage, Partick, and in 1873 at Haxtoun, Bothwell. The company remained the same throughout this period, although by 1870 it had moved to 234 Buchanan Street. In 1841 he married Margaret Binnie, the daughter of Thomas Binnie, an elder in the church. She died in 1869 and he died in 1879. C.4.

Ralston, William. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Coal merchant and house factor, 412 Springbank, house, 9 Normal Place, in 1851. He remained in this occupation until he died in the early 1870s but in 1857 he was also listed as an agent for the Monarch Fire and Life Insurance Co. Between 1857 and his death he lived at 173 Cowcaddens Street and then at 134 West Graham Street, Garnethill. C.4.

Ramage, Adam. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). Grocer, Castlemilk Place, Partick, in 1848. In 1856 he was described as a grocer and flesher at the same address. He lived on the business premises. He died in the late 1850s. G.1.

Rankine, James. (Elder, St. Stephen's). Ship broker, 57 Buchanan Street, house, 74 New City Road, in 1845. Two years later he was living at 3 Sauchiehall Street and in 1850 at 174 Stafford Place, New City Road. In 1858 he was listed as a steamship agent, 5 Cathcart Place, house,

6 Granville Place, St. George's Road. By 1867 his son had entered the business which was described as "steamship and forwarding agents, 5 Cathcart Place". Rankine (sen.) lived at 16 Burnbank Terrace. The business continued to expand and in 1882 it was listed as "steamship and forwarding agents, agents for Glasgow, Rotterdam and Amsterdam Steamers, Java Steamship Co. from Amsterdam and Southampton, Royal Netherlands Co. from Rotterdam and Amsterdam to the Baltic, Mediterranean and Black Seas". Their office was at 173 Buchanan Street, while he lived at 3 Belmont Crescent, Hillhead. By the 1890s he was living at 49 Westbourne Gardens, Kelvinside. He died in the late 1890s. C.4.

Reid, James. (Elder and Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Partner in the firm J. and E. Reid, stationers, 41 Argyle Street, in 1840. No home address was given until 1854 when he lived at Garthamlock House. The company remained the same until 1873 when it was described as "wholesale stationers and bookbinders, 41 Argyle Street". By 1885 it was listed as "wholesale and export stationers, bookbinders and paper rulers, 112 Brunswick Street, workshop at 15 Margaret Place". He died in the late 1880s. C.2.

Reid, John. (Elder, Govan). Between 1836 and 1850 he was listed as a merchant at 45 Miller Street, house, 5 Eldon Place. In 1850 he formed the partnership of Reid and Bell, merchant and produce brokers, 45 Miller Street. By 1854 he was listed as a merchant at 21 Virginia Street, and in 1860 his firm was described as "John Reid and Co., merchants, 43 Virginia Street, house, Bellahouston, Paisley Road". In 1870 he was listed as a produce broker and commission merchant, house, Viewfield, Bellahouston. He died in the early 1870s. C.4.

Richmond, William. (Elder and Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Of William Richmond and Co., warehousemen and manufacturers, 6 London Road, house, Sauchfield House near Partick, in 1830. By 1848 the company was described as "drapers' merchants, Princes Square" while Richmond lived at 13 Royal Crescent. He died in January 1855. C.1.

Robertson, David. (Elder, W.S.C.). He was born in 1795 in Kippen the son of a farmer. In 1810 he moved to Glasgow and began an apprenticeship with William Turnbull, a bookseller in the Trongate. In 1823 Turnbull died and Robertson carried on the business. He branched out into publishing with his most famous publication being the

'Whistle Binkle'. In 1837 he became Her Majesty's Bookseller in Glasgow. His daughter married Dr. MacGregor, one time assistant minister at the Free Tron Church in Glasgow and later minister of the Tron in Edinburgh. In 1854 Robertson died of cholera. G.1. - C.2.

Robertson, John. (Manager, W.S.C.). Partner in Robertson and McEwan, wholesale straw, bonnet and plait-manufacturers, 5 Union Street, house, 136 Hospital Street, in 1851. By 1859 the business had grown with additional premises at 192 Argyle Street, while Robertson had moved house to 256 Renfrew Street. He died in the late 1860s. C.1.

Robertson, John MacMillan. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Accountant, 55 Glassford Street, house, 81 Wilson Street, in 1852. Between 1852 and 1861 he disappeared from the Directories but in 1861 he reappeared as a writer and insurance agent, 20 Buchanan Street, house, Crosshill House, Cathcart Road. By 1873 J. H. Robertson had become a partner and the firm had moved to 44 West Regent Street. In 1884 it was at 120 Bath Street, but J. M. Robertson's address remained the same until his death in the 1910s. In 1853 he left the church to help found Cumberland Street Church. In 1887 his history of this church was published. B.2.

Robertson, Lawrence. (Elder, St. George's). Between 1828 and his death in 1857 he was a cashier with the Royal Bank. In 1832 he lived at 94 Buchanan Street and in 1850 at 2 Claremont Terrace. He joined St. George's Free Church in 1843. B.2.

Robertson, William. (Elder, St. George's). He could not be traced. O.

Robson, George. (Elder, W.S.C.). In 1847 he was employed by the firm of Reid and Robertson, merchants. He lived at 2 Queen's Terrace. By 1854 he had formed the partnership of Black and Robson, accountants, sharebrokers and agents for the Fire and Life Insurance Company, 13 Prince's Square. In 1863 he was living at Blythswood Square but the firm remained the same. He died in the late 1870s. B.2.

Ronald, John. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). In 1842 he was listed as a merchant with R. W. and J. Eccles and Co., merchants. He lived at 107 Bath Street. By 1854 he had his own company of John Ronald & Co., merchants, 1 Victoria Place, house, 230 Renfrew Street. In both cases no information as to the nature of the product traded in could be found. The company and Ronald's home address remained the same in the early 1860s. He died in the late 1860s. C.4.



Sage, John. (Elder and Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). He was born in 1817 in Kilmarnock. He first appeared in the Glasgow Directories in 1850 as a cigar merchant and tobacconist, 146 Queen Street. By 1853 he had added additional premises at 148 Queen Street. In 1867 the business was described as "cigar importers and tobacconists, 197 Sauchiehall Street". He lived at 281 Sauchiehall Street. The company and its address remained the same until the 1880s when in 1888 the premises were at 337 Sauchiehall Street. He lived at 339 Sauchiehall Street but he died in September 1892. C.1.

Sage, William. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). Father of John Sage. He died in June 1855 but he did not appear in any Directory before this date. The only clue to his background appeared in his son's obituary in the church magazine for October 1892 where it stated that William Sage "to better his trade left his native town (Kilmarnock) for this busy city". This is not adequate information on which to classify him but it suggests either category G or H. O.

Scobie, Walter. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). He began his business career with Anderson and Co., warehousemen in 1843 and he lived at 5 Sommerville Place. By 1854 he had formed his own company of Scobie, Brebner and Levack, wholesale warehousemen, 15 Prince's Square and 40 Buchanan Street. He lived at 164 Hill Street, Garnethill. In 1860 he was living at 1 Derby Terrace, Sandyford, but by 1870 Brebner and Levack had dropped out of the company which was now run by Scobie and his son, and was situated at 78 Ingram Street. He died in the mid-1870s. C.1.

Scott, George. (Elder, Govan). Between 1865 and 1882 he was listed as at William Colvin, iron merchant, Pollokshaws. On separate occasions he lived at 190 Atholl Place, 34 South Portland Street, 10 Cavendish Street and 146 Buchanan Street. The Directories did not give any occupation for Scott but the Session Minute Book described him as a manager's clerk. He died in the mid-1880s. F.2.

Scott, James. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Grocer and tea dealer, 3 Clyde Street, in 1842. Seven years later he was described as a wholesale and retail grocer, 3 Clyde Street, house, 6 South Apsley Place. By 1854 the business had expanded to become wholesale and retail grocers and tea dealers, 1 Clyde Terrace and 2, 4 and 6 Main Street, Gorbals, house, 15 Abbotsford Place. In 1860 he was listed as a grocer and provision merchant, 116 High Street, house, 85 Bellgrove Street. He died in the mid-1860s. C.3.

Scott, James. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Employed by Daly, Spence and Buchanan in 1848 although he did not become a partner until 1855. In 1847 he lived at 1 Dalhousie Place and in 1854 at Greenhead, Uddingston. He died in the late 1850s. C.2.

Seath, Thomas. (Elder, St. George's). In 1856 he founded a ship building yard at Rutherglen. His firm specialised in building iron-hulled ships. Between 1856 and 1890 he lived at 42 Broomielaw and then at Sunnyside, Langbank. C.1.

Shaw, John. (Elder, W.S.C.). Hosier and glover, 26 Candleriggs in 1836. His entry in the Directory remained the same until 1855 when the business was at 36 Argyle Street, house, 424 Argyle Street. Both his business and home address did not change until his death in the late 1860s. G.1.

Shaw, William. (Elder and Manager, W.S.C.). The 1851 Directory listed him at Campbell and Co., warehousemen, 44 Buchanan Street. Shaw lived at 54 Abbotsford Place. By 1863 he had become a partner in the firm which was now Campbell, Neilson and Shaw, warehousemen. He lived at 329 Bath Street. In 1870 the firm was Neilson, Shaw and MacGregor, silk mercers and warehousemen, 44 Buchanan Street. Shaw lived at 9 Park Quadrant. By 1884 he was living at 12 Lynedoch Place and he stayed at this address until the 1910s when he died. C.1.

Sime, William. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). Bookseller, stationer, librarian and Post Office receiving house, 32 Garscube Place, in 1847. He died in 1852 but the business was carried on by his son who was also called William. By 1854 the premises had moved to 153 Sauchiehall Street, and William (jun.) was living at 32 Buccleugh Street. Between 1854 and 1863 additional premises were opened at 6 Royal Bank Place and 106 Buchanan Street. In 1863 he was living at 44 Shamrock Street. (See advertisement) C.2.

Smellie, Thomas. (Elder, St. George's). In 1853 and 1854 he was listed as a surgeon at 88 Buccleugh Street. He did not appear in the Directories after this date. A.1.

Smith, John. (Elder, St. George's). Between 1833 and 1850 he was an accountant with the Western Bank. He lived at 180 St. George's Road and then at 1 Melrose Street. By 1859 he had formed his own accountancy business at 7 Victoria Place, West Regent Street. By 1870 the firm had become a partnership of John and William Smith. John

Thomas Seath \*



\* Thomas Seath was an elder in St. George's Parish Church.  
This sketch appeared in the magazine Quiz, 17/5/1894.

\* Source, Post Office Directory for 1863.



now lived at 4 Wilton Crescent, and William at 201 Sauchiehall Street. B.2.

Snodgrass, George Webster. (Elder, St. George's). In 1839 he was described as a teller at the Commercial Bank. By 1850 he had become secretary of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Bank while he lived at 37 St. Vincent Street. Five years later he was manager of the North British Mercantile Insurance Company, house, 2 Melrose Street, Queen's Crescent. This remained his occupation until the 1890s but in 1873 he was living at 6 Buckingham Street, Hillhead, and by 1890 at 10 St. James' Terrace, Hillhead. B.2.

Sommerville, Archibald. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Builder, Broomhill Place, East Milton Street, in 1844. By 1849 he was living at Villafield Cottage, Parson Street, and in 1854 at Fairfield Cottage, Bothwell. He died in the late 1850s. C.1.

Spence, James. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Partner in Daly, Spence and Buchanan, house, 20 Oxford Street, in 1849. By 1852 he had moved house to 4 Apsley Place and two years later to Langside. He died in the late 1850s. C.2.

Stark, William. (Deacon, Barony). He was entered under the suburban section of the Directories as a wright at Roughazie, Shottleston, in 1849. The entry remained the same until his death in the early 1890s but his son carried on the business. C.1.

Steel, James. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). Modeller and plasterer, 87 Dundas Street, in 1851. He remained in this occupation until the late 1880s when he died, but in this period his workshop moved to 135 Dundas Street then to 25 Holmhead Street and finally to 46 Grafton Street. His home addresses were 88 North Hanover Street then 4 Grafton Place. G.2.

Steel, James. (Manager, C.S.C.). Wine and spirit merchant, 221 and 223 Cowcaddens Street, in 1834. By 1845 the premises had moved to 156 and 157 Cowcaddens Street. Ten years later the firm was J. and J. Steel and James lived at 1 Southpark Street. By 1859 James had died but the business was carried on by his son who lived at 22 Buckingham Terrace. C.3.

Stevenson, George. (Manager, W.S.C.). Partner in his father's cotton spinning firm at 119 Brunswick Street in 1830. He lived at 45 West Regent Street. By 1836 the works had moved to Crosslea with offices at 26 Wilson Street. He lived at Montagu Place, 120 Mains Street. His occupation remained the same until 1859 when the firm became Stevenson and Reid, sewed-muslin manufacturers, 25 South Frederick Street, house, 8 Mansfield Place. He died in the early 1870s. C.1.

Stevenson, Thomas. (Elder, St. George's). He could not be traced. O.

Stewart, David Yallow. (Deacon, Barony). Of D. Y. Stewart and Co., patent cast-iron manufacturers, Charles Street, St. Rollox, house, 223 Stirling's Road. The description of his company remained the same from 1849 to the 1870s when it was listed as "ironfounders and engineers, St. Rollox". Between 1852 and the early 1880s when he died, he lived at 2 Provan Place. In J. Hume's book, The Industrial Archaeology of Glasgow, Stewart's company was described as one of "the principal firms" in pipe making in the country. The buildings were demolished in 1967. C.1.

Stewart, James. (Elder, St. George's). He could not be traced. O.

Stewart, John. (Elder, C.S.C.). He does not appear to have been related to the John Stewart below. He could not be positively identified until 1854 when he was a house and land agent, Royal Exchange, house, Violet Vale, North Woodside Road. By 1859 he had moved his office to West George Street and in 1863 to 207 St. George's Road. In 1874 he was described as a house and land agent at 128 Wellington Street. D.2.

Stewart, John. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). Owner of a muslin and shawl warehouse at 62 Brunswick Street in 1842. Two years later the warehouse had moved to 30 South Hanover Street but by 1848 Stewart had moved into muslin and gingham manufacturing at 18 Renfield Street. By 1858 the firm was described as gingham and pullicate manufacturers at 18 Renfield Street. By 1858 the firm was a partnership of Stewart and McKwan, sewed-muslin manufacturers and agents for Nottingham laces at 2 North Street. John lived at 84 Buccleugh Street. The partnership was shortlived as by 1863 Stewart was running the firm alone. By then it was described as "sewed-muslin and lace warehouse and agents for bonnet-fronts, crinolines etc., at 22 Ingram Street". Stewart was living at 29 Florence Street. He died in the late 1860s. C.1.

Stewart, Thomas P. (Elder, Barony). He was employed in the firm of John Stewart and Co., Hydepark Rope Works, 29 and 31 Anderston Quay, office, 41 and 43 Stockwell Street in 1843. He lived at Hydepark Corner. By 1852 Thomas had become a partner in the company of Thomas and John Stewart, cordage, twine and sail manufacturers, Hydepark Rope and Sail Works. The company did not change until the early 1880s when Thomas Stewart died. His residence was at Hydepark Corner until 1863 when he moved to 9 India Street and in 1870 to 8 Fitzroy Place. C.1.

Stodart, James. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). Wine and spirit merchant, 20 Stockwell, in 1838. By 1843 the firm had become James and George Stodart, wine and spirit merchants, 20 Stockwell. James lived at 8 Apsley Place and George at Elmbank Cottage, Little Govan. By 1847 the business had moved to 35 St. Vincent Street and James was living at 51 North Hanover Street. The firm continued to expand and by 1858 it was listed as James and George Stodart, wine merchants and agents for Thomas Salt and Co., Brewers, Burton on Trent, 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  St. Vincent Place and 114 Buchanan Street. James lived at 3 Windsor Street. By 1867 he was living at 32 India Street while the business had moved to 80 West Nile Street. In 1870 both James and George were living at Netherton House, Newton Mearns. James died in the late 1870s but George remained in the business. C.3.

Stout, Thomas. (Elder, St. George's). A writer at 32 St. Vincent Place, house, Woodside Priory, North Woodside Road, in 1849. By 1853 he had become secretary of the Glasgow Law Amendment Society. He lived at 5 Brighton Place. Ten years later he was living at 6 Granville Place, St. George's Road. Although he died in the late 1860s his business was carried on by his son who was also one of the founder members of Baillie's Institution. A.1.

Symington, Andrew. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Son of William Symington the minister of the church. In 1859 Andrew was a partner in the firm of Symington and Miller, general commission merchants and agents, 130 St. Vincent Street, house, Blairtumock, Baillieston. One year later the firm had become agents for the Lancashire Insurance Co., and in 1868 it was listed as "wine merchants, commission and insurance agents". By 1870 Miller had left and Symington was living at Mount Harriet House, Hogganfield. He died in 1898. C.4.



Stewart, Thomas P. (Elder, Barony). He was employed in the firm of John Stewart and Co., Hydepark Rope Works, 29 and 31 Anderston Quay, office, 41 and 43 Stockwell Street in 1843. He lived at Hydepark Corner. By 1852 Thomas had become a partner in the company of Thomas and John Stewart, cordage, twine and sail manufacturers, Hydepark Rope and Sail Works. The company did not change until the early 1880s when Thomas Stewart died. His residence was at Hydepark Corner until 1863 when he moved to 9 India Street and in 1870 to 8 Fitzroy Place. C.1.

Stodart, James. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). Wine and spirit merchant, 20 Stockwell, in 1838. By 1843 the firm had become James and George Stodart, wine and spirit merchants, 20 Stockwell. James lived at 8 Apsley Place and George at Elmbank Cottage, Little Govan. By 1847 the business had moved to 35 St. Vincent Street and James was living at 51 North Hanover Street. The firm continued to expand and by 1858 it was listed as James and George Stodart, wine merchants and agents for Thomas Salt and Co., Brewers, Burton on Trent, 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  St. Vincent Place and 114 Buchanan Street. James lived at 3 Windoor Street. By 1867 he was living at 32 India Street while the business had moved to 80 West Nile Street. In 1870 both James and George were living at Metherton House, Newton Mearns. James died in the late 1870s but George remained in the business. C.3.

Stout, Thomas. (Elder, St. George's). A writer at 32 St. Vincent Place, house, Woodside Priory, North Woodside Road, in 1849. By 1853 he had become secretary of the Glasgow Law Amendment Society. He lived at 5 Brighton Place. Ten years later he was living at 6 Granville Place, St. George's Road. Although he died in the late 1860s his business was carried on by his son who was also one of the founder members of Baillie's Institution. A.1.

Symington, Andrew. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Son of William Symington the minister of the church. In 1859 Andrew was a partner in the firm of Symington and Miller, general commission merchants and agents, 130 St. Vincent Street, house, Blairtumock, Baillieston. One year later the firm had become agents for the Lancashire Insurance Co., and in 1868 it was listed as "wine merchants, commission and insurance agents". By 1870 Miller had left and Symington was living at Mount Harriet House, Hogganfield. He died in 1898. C.4.

Tait, James. (Deacon, St. Stephen's). Between 1851 and 1854 he was listed in the Directories under 1 Brighton Place but no occupation was given. The Deacons' Minute Book described him as a traveller. He resigned as a deacon in July 1854 as he was emigrating to Australia. G.2.

Taylor, Daniel. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). He was born in January in Kilmarnock. The family emigrated to America but on the death of Mrs. Taylor they returned to Scotland. Daniel went into the skinning and hide business with his brother, John Taylor, who was an elder in the church. In 1848 they had premises at 116 Candleriggs but by 1854 the business had moved to 89 Gallowgate. These addresses remained the same until 1867 when he was living at 87 South Portland Street and the business was described as "skinnors and hide merchants". He continued to stay at 87 South Portland Street until his death in February 1890. G.2. - C.3.

Taylor, James. (Elder, St. George's). Partner in the firm Campbell and Taylor, wholesale druggists and drysalers, 120 Brunswick Street, house, 27 Montrose Street, in 1849. Between then and 1863 Taylor lived at 15 Ure Place and by 1855 the business had moved to 67 Mitchell Street. In 1863 Taylor was running the firm alone while it was now situated at 132 Trongate. It remained at this address until the 1890s but by 1882 Taylor was living at 22 Canning Place and in 1890 at 11 Wilton Crescent. C.2.

Taylor, James. (Elder and Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Smith and bell-hanger at 31 Turner's Court, Argyle Street, in 1837. The entry remained the same until 1844 when he was listed as a smith and gas agent at 12 Melville Place. He died in January 1848. G.2.

Taylor, James. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). He does not appear to have been related to the above and he did not appear in the Directories. The baptismal register described him as a clerk at Camlachie in 1851. F.2.

Taylor, John. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). A skinner at 89 Gallowgate, house, 249 Gallowgate, in 1844. These addresses remained the same until 1864 when he lived at 87 South Portland Street. In 1871 his business was described as "skinnors and hide merchants, 43 Graeme Street, house, 87 South Portland Street". Ten years later the entry was the same but he died in the late 1880s. G.2. - C.3.

Telfer, Alexander. (Elder and Manager, C.S.C.). The owner of a boot and shoe-warehouse at 160 Cowcaddens Street in 1840. No home address was given until 1851 when he was living at 1 West Milton Street. In 1859 he was described as a boot and shoe-maker at 142 Cowcaddens Street and the owner of a gutta-percha boot and shoe shop at 209 Cowcaddens Street. In 1870 he was a boot and shoe-maker and boot-top manufacturer at 142 Cowcaddens Street. He still lived at 1 West Milton Street but by 1874 he had moved to 104 Buccleugh Street. C.1.

Thom, John. (Elder and Deacon, St. Stephen's). In 1852 and 1853 he was listed as a Supervisor of Inland Revenue, house, 3 Columbia Place. He resigned from the Session in September 1853 and disappeared from the Directories after this date. E.2.

Thomas, James. (Elder, W.S.C.). Teacher at Blackquarry School. Died in the late 1840s. F.1.

Turnbull, Alexander. (Elder, Gt.H.S.C.). He only appeared once in the Directories in 1852 as, "Turnbull, Alex., furnishings, 179 Main Street, Bridgeton". G.2.

Turnbull, Robert. (Elder, C.S.C.). He did not appear in the Directories but the Communicant's Roll Book listed him as "piano forte" at 25 Grove Street. It was not possible to discover whether he was a piano forte tuner or a piano forte manufacturer. G.2.

Waddell, John. (Elder, Barony). He could only be positively identified in the 1854 and 1855 Directories as a clerk at William Mackenzie, publisher, Howard Street. Waddell lived at 141 Drygate. F.2.

Walker, William. (Elder, St. George's). He could not be traced. O.

Walls, Hugh. (Manager, C.S.C.). Wright and builder, Ann Street, Cowcaddens, in 1837. By 1854 the premises had moved to 91 Maitland Street while Walls lived at 55 Rose Street. The business remained at the same address until 1870 although Walls moved house three times during this period from 4 Queen's Place to 114 St. George's Road to 86 Maitland Street. By 1873 he had retired but was still living at 86 Maitland Street. C.1.

Walls, William. (Manager, C.S.C.). He does not appear to have been related to Hugh Walls. In 1850 he was listed as a merchant and commission agent at 99 Hutchinson Street, house, 4 Kelvin Terrace. By 1854 his business had expanded into spermaceti and oil refining at 13 John Street with a store at 6 Shuttle Street, house, 5 Viewfield Terrace, Hillhead. Five years later he had moved his business to 58 and 60 North Frederick Street while he now lived at 11 Hamilton Park Terrace. By 1866 he had added 62 and 64 North Frederick Street to his business. He lived at 2 Belhaven Terrace. Both the business and his home address remained the same in the early and mid-1870s. In 1863 he left Cambridge Street Church to go to Lansdowne Church. C.4. - G.1.

Warren, Thomas. (Deacon, Barony). Of Carson, Warren and Co., bottle manufacturers, Milton Glass Works, East Milton Street, house, 79 Garscube Road in 1847. The company remained the same until the late 1870s when Warren died. His home addresses between 1849 and 1879 were at 3 Grafton Terrace then at 3 Provanside and finally Bedford Place, Renfrew Street. In the 1850s David Carson lived at 7 Kew Terrace, Botanic Gardens. C.1.

Watson, Francis. (Manager, W.S.C.). Baker and confectioner, 166 Sauchiehall Street, house, 162 Sauchiehall Street, in 1844. By 1859 he had opened additional premises at 8 Charing Cross and he lived at 9 Charing Cross. In 1874 he was listed as a baker and confectioner, 166 and 353 Sauchiehall Street, house, 9 Charing Cross. He died in the late 1870s. G.1.

Watson, Thomas. (Elder, St. George's). In 1832 his entry in the Directory was "auctioneer, house, Southcroft, Govan. Letters left at Barclay and Skirving". They were a firm of auctioneers at 164 Trongate. He remained in this occupation until his death on the 26th of February 1862 but by 1847 Barclay and Skirving were at 67 Buchanan Street. In 1838 Watson was living at 183 George Street and ten years later at 117 West Regent Street. D.2.

Weir, William. (Elder, Govan). Of William Weir and Brothers, wholesale wine and spirit merchants, 60 Stockwell Street, in 1854. In 1857 he was living at 4 Holland Place and in 1860 at Langlands, Govan. In 1864 the firm was listed as "wholesale wine and spirit merchants and agents, 60 Stockwell Street, and 4, 6, 8 and 10 Jackson Street". By

1870 he was running the business alone which was described as "wholesale wine and spirit merchants and sole agents in Scotland for Gabriel Marchand Cognac; James Simpson, Distiller, Banff, and J. and G. Churchwood, Cider Merchants, Paignton, Devon". His offices were at 19, 21 St. Enoch Lane and 12, 14 and 16 St. Enoch Wynd, house, 11 Brighton Place, Govan. He died in the late 1870s. C.3.

Whytlaw, Matthew. (Elder, St. George's). Owner of wine and spirit cellars, 99 Glassford Street, in 1827. By 1830 the firm had become a partnership of Matthew and James Whytlaw, wine merchants, 99 Glassford Street. Matthew lived at 196 West Renfrew Street. Between 1832 and 1834 he went into partnership with P. A. Black to form the firm of Black and Whytlaw, drysalters, 155 Ingram Street. By 1838, however, he had rejoined James Whytlaw to form a firm of merchants at 16 Buchanan Street. Matthew Whytlaw died in the late 1840s. C.3.

Williamson, John. (Elder, W.S.C.). Grocer at 52 Candleriggs in 1832. By 1840 he was described as a wholesale and retail grocer, 52 Candleriggs, house, 18 Warrick Street. In 1851 he was listed as a tea dealer and grocer at the same address but he lived at 20 Hill Place, Stirling's Road. Ten years later his entry ran as follows; "tea and coffee merchant, 52 Candleriggs, house, 3 Hopetoun Place". In 1874 he lived at 1 North Ure Place but the business remained the same. He died in the late 1890s. G.1. - C.1.

Wilson, David. (Elder and Manager, W.S.C.). Partner in T. and D. Wilson, muslin manufacturers, 145 Ingram Street, house, 119 North Montrose Street, in 1836. The business remained the same until his death in the early 1880s, but by 1845 he was living at Provan Place, and by 1870 at 19 Woodside Crescent. C.1.

Wingate, Andrew. (Elder, St. George's). Junior partner in Wingate and Son, silk and shawl warehousemen, 62 Queen Street, in 1831. By 1841 the business had moved to 3 Royal Exchange Buildings and he was living at 166 St. Vincent Street. His father, the senior partner in the firm, lived at 7 Blythswood Place. By 1854 he had retired but his son carried on the business which was situated at 83 Queen Street. He died in the late 1860s. C.1.

Wright, Duncan. (Manager, Gt.H.S.C.). Of D. and D. Wright, fleshers, 278 Buchanan Street, in 1844. In 1850 they were listed as "fleshers and ham curers, 97 Cumberland Street", and Duncan lived at 99 Cumberland Street. By 1860 the business had moved to 40 Cumberland Street and Duncan now lived at 38 Cumberland Street. He died in the mid-1860s. G.1.

Wylie, Andrew. (Elder, St. George's). Between 1851 and 1854 he was described as a banker with the Union Bank. He lived at 128 Shamrock Street and then at Darnley. He moved to London in 1854. B.1.

Wylie, William. (Elder, Govan). Between 1854 and 1893 he was the teacher at Partick Academy. During this period he lived on separate occasions at 22 Lawrence Place, 25 Elgin Terrace and 7 Elgin Terrace. He died in 1893. F.1.

Young, Andrew. (Elder, W.S.C.). Partner in Andrew Young and Son, commission and cotton-yarn agents, 73 Brunswick Street, house, 184 Buchanan Street, in 1837. The business did not change until Young's death in the late 1860s but by 1850 it was situated at 72 Virginia Street. By 1863 Young had moved house to 4 Keir Terrace, Pollokshaws, G.4.

Young, A. K. (Elder, W.S.C.). Physician and surgeon, 4 Albany Place, in 1851. Three years later his surgery was at 6 Thistle Street, Garnethill, while he lived at 310 Sauchiehall Street. By 1859 he had moved house to 1 Newton Place. He died in the early 1860s. A.2.

Young, Archibald. (Elder, St. George's). Writer, 16 West George Street, in 1825. Five years later his office was at 49 Ingram Street and he lived at Wallace Grove, Paisley Road. By 1840 he had also become clerk of the peace for Renfrewshire with offices at 68 St. Vincent Street. He lived at 8 India Street. Seven years later his office was at 73 Hutcheson Street and his house was situated at 268 St. Vincent Street. He died in the early 1850s. A.1.

Young, James. (Elder, W.S.C.). He could not be positively identified in the Directories but Mitchell, op. cit., gave his occupation as a smith. H.

Young, John. (Manager, W.S.C.). Partner in the firm of Andrew Young and Son, commission merchants and cotton-yarn agents, 73 Brunswick Street, in 1836. He remained in this business until his death in the

late 1850s but in 1844 he lived at 23 Dixon Street and in 1850 at 36 Dalhousie Street. His father and business partner, Andrew Young, was an elder in the church. C.4.

Young, Samuel. (Elder, Barony). Like Waddell, Young could not be traced over a long period but between 1852 and 1856 he was listed in the Directories as a wright at North Woodside Road. He was not entered in the Directories outwith this period and was not a member of the Incorporation of Wrights. G.2.



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Established Church

Barony Parish Church. S.R.O. CH2/173

Kirk Session Minutes

- (15) 1837-1840
- (16) 1840-1844
- (17) 1844-1847
- (18) 1847-1849
- (19) 1850-1854
- (20) 1854-1859
- (21) 1859-1863
- (22) 1863-1868
- (23) 1868-1873

- (29) Meetings of Elders and Deacons, 1854-1899
- (30) Minutes of Parochial Board, 1846-1894
- (31) Baptismal Register, 1855-1870
- (33) Baptisms at Barony Mission, 1865-1873

Barony Church Magazines, 1852-1866 (M.L.)

Govan Parish Church. (Records kept in the church)

Kirk Session Minutes

1767-1821

The volume covering the period 1821-1856 is missing.

1856-1874

Baptismal Register, 1856-1864

St. George's Parish Church. S.R.O. CH2/818

Kirk Session Minutes

(5) 1832-1851

(6) 1851-1873

(11) Communicants' Roll Book, 1818

(12) Communicants' Roll Book, 1823

St. Stephen's Established and Free Church. S.R.O. CH3/162

Kirk Session Minutes

(1) 1838-1871

(3) 1871-1897

(6) Deacons' Court Minutes, 1843-1851

(10) Treasurer's Cash Book, 1849-1871

(17) Baptismal Register, 1850-1883

(18) Communicants' Roll Book, 1830-1850

(19) Communicants' Roll Book, 1850-1857

Non-Established Church

Cambridge Street United Presbyterian Church. S.R.O. CH3/535

Kirk Session Minutes

(1) 1835-1846

(2) 1846-1863

(3) 1863-1878

Managers' Minutes

(9) 1833-1861

(10) 1861-1868

(15) Baptismal Register, 1835-1876

(16) Communicants' Roll Book, 1835-1860

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Great Hamilton Street Reformed Presbyterian Church. S.R.O. CH3/158

Kirk Session Minutes

- (1) 1795-1831
- (2) 1841-1855
- (3) 1855-1875
- (4) Congregational Minutes, 1835-1842

Managers' Minutes

- (5) 1835-1862
- (6) 1862-1877
- (8) Cash Book, 1849-1858
- (9) Baptismal Register, 1794-1869
- (11-12) Communicants' Roll Books, 1839-1877

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- (8) Communicants' Roll Book, 1877-1909

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- (3) Baptismal Register, 1844-1891
- (5) Communicants' Roll Book, 1843-1935

Wellington Street United Presbyterian Church  
(Records kept in the church)

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- 1792-1818
- 1821-1838
- 1838-1841
- 1841-1846
- 1846-1852
- 1852-1864
- 1864-1875

Managers' Minutes

1847-1911

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Seat Rent Books

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1846-1858

1858-1866

Elders' District Books

circa 1830

circa 1840

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circa 1830

circa 1840

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Index to Churches marked on map of 1870

Church of Scotland

01 Inner High	026 Wellpark
02 Barony	027 Anderston
03 St. John's	028 Townhead
04 St. George's	029 Martyrs
05 St. Enoch's	030 Chalmers
06 St. Mary's Tron	031 Gorbals
07 St. Andrew's	032 Govan
08 St. Mark's	033 Greenhead
09 Bridgeton	034 St. Luke's
010 Calton	035 St. Stephen's
011 St. James	036 Springburn
012 Blackfriars (College)	037 Bridgegate
013 St. David's	038 Partick
014 St. Peter's	
015 St. Columba's Gaelic	
016 St. Matthew's	
017 Park Church	
018 St. Bernard's	
019 Hutchesontown	
020 Laurieston	
021 Kingston	
022 Milton	
023 St. George's-in-the-Field	
024 Brownfield	
025 Kelvinhaugh	

Free Church

- |                           |                             |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Δ 1 Kelvinside            | Δ 26 Stockwell              |
| Δ 2 St. Stephen's         | Δ 27 St. James'             |
| Δ 3 Colloge               | Δ 28 St. Luke's             |
| Δ 4 Cowcaddens            | Δ 29 Bridgeton              |
| Δ 5 Martyrs               | Δ 30 Young Street           |
| Δ 6 Barony                | Δ 31 Trinity                |
| Δ 7 St. Paul's            | Δ 32 Gorbals                |
| Δ 8 Tron                  | Δ 33 Kingston               |
| Δ 9 St. George's          | Δ 34 Hutchesontown          |
| Δ 10 St. Matthew's        | Δ 35 Knox's                 |
| Δ 11 Finnieston           | Δ 36 Chalmers               |
| Δ 12 St. Mark's           | Δ 37 Maitland               |
| Δ 13 St. Andrew's         | Δ 38 Victoria               |
| No number 14              | Δ 39 Campbell Street (East) |
| Δ 15 St. David's          | Δ 40 Duke Street Gaelic     |
| Δ 16 Renfield             | Δ 41 Govan                  |
| Δ 17 St. Peter's          | Δ 42 Lyon Street            |
| Δ 18 St. Enoch's          | Δ 43 Union                  |
| Δ 19 Anderston            | Δ 44 West Church            |
| Δ 20 Broomielaw           | Δ 45 Maitland Street        |
| Δ 21 Hope Street Gaelic   | Δ 46 Milton                 |
| Δ 22 Argyle Street Gaelic | Δ 47 Bridgegate             |
| Δ 23 St. John's           |                             |
| Δ 24 Wellpark             |                             |
| Δ 25 Wynd                 |                             |

United Presbyterians

- |                         |                           |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| □ 1 New City Road       | □ 22 Wellington Street    |
| □ 2 Lansdowne           | □ 23 Blackfriars          |
| □ 3 Shamrock Street     | □ 24 Greyfriars           |
| □ 4 Cambridge Street    | □ 25 Montrose Street      |
| □ 5 Claremont Street    | □ 26 St. Rollox           |
| □ 6 Berkeley Street     | □ 27 East Campbell Street |
| □ 7 Govan               | □ 28 Barrack Street       |
| □ 8 Cheapside           | □ 29 Sydney Street        |
| □ 9 Pollock Street      | □ 30 Kent Road            |
| □ 10 Hutchesontown      | □ 31 Eglinton Street      |
| □ 11 Cumberland Street  | □ 32 Langside Road        |
| □ 12 Caledonia Road     | □ 33 Erskine              |
| □ 13 Gorbals            | □ 34 Ibrox                |
| □ 14 Anderston          | □ 35 Frederick Street     |
| □ 15 St. Vincent Street | □ 36 Dennistoun           |
| □ 16 Renfield Street    | □ 37 Springburn           |
| □ 17 Parliamentary Road | □ 38 Dulce Street         |
| □ 18 Gillespie          |                           |
| □ 19 London Road        |                           |
| □ 20 John Street        |                           |
| □ 21 Calton             |                           |

Roman Catholics

- |                    |                 |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| † 1 St. Andrew's   | † 6 St. Francis |
| † 2 St. Alphonsus' | † 7 St. John's  |
| † 3 St. Patrick's  | † 8 St. Mungo's |
| † 4 St. Mary's     |                 |
| † 5 St. Joseph's   |                 |



Episcopalians

- E1 St. John's
- E2 St. Mary's
- E3 St. Andrew's
- E4 St. Jude's
- E5 St. Silas'
- E6 Partick Mission

Reformed Presbyterians

- RP1 Great Hamilton Street
- RP2 West Campbell Street
- RP3 Landressy Street
- RP4 Cumberland Street

Owing to difficulties in pinpointing the exact location of all churches, some are not marked on the maps. Nevertheless, the majority of churches have been plotted, so giving a reasonably accurate picture of their distribution.

Index to Churches marked on map of 1842

Church of Scotland

01 Inner High	022 Hutchesontown
02 College	023 St. Stephen's
03 St. Mary's Tron	024 Wellpark
04 St. David's	025 Renfield St.
05 St. Andrew's	026 Milton
06 St. Enoch's	027 Chalmers
07 St. George's	028 Kirkfield
08 St. John's	029 Brownfield
09 St. James'	030 Martyrs
010 Duke St. Gaelic Chapel	032 Barony
011 Bridgegate	033 Laurieston
012 St. Peter's	034 Stockwell
013 St. Columba's Gaelic	035 Albion
014 St. Luke's	036 Kingston
015 Anderston	037 St. Thomas'
016 Hope St. Gaelic	038 St. Ann's
017 St. Mark's	
018 St. Paul's	
019 Calton Church	
020 St. Matthew's	
021 Gorbals	

Reformed Presbyterians

- RP1 Great Hamilton Street  
RP2 West Campbell Street

Relief Church

- Δ 1 Campbell Street
- Δ 2 John Street
- Δ 3 Hutchesontown
- Δ 4 Anderston
- Δ 5 Calton

Original Burchers

- OB1 Campbell Street

United Secession Church

- X1 Cambridge Street
- X2 Duke Street
- X3 North Albion Street
- X4 Wellington Street
- X5 Montrose Street
- X6 Nicholson Street
- X7 Gordon Street
- X8 Eglinton Street
- X9 Campbell Street
- X10 Regent Place

Episcopalians

- 1 St. Jude's
- 2 St. Mary's Renfield Street
- 3 St. Andrew's by the Green

Old Independents

- II1 Oswald Street

Independents or Congregationalists

- C1 Brown Street
- C2 Nile Street
- C3 George Street Chapel
- C4 Albion Street

Baptists

- B1 St. George's Place North Side
- B2 " " " South Side
- B3 Hope Street Chapel

Roman Catholics

- + Clyde Street

Seaman's Chapel

- S1 Brown Street

Unitarians

- U1 Union Street

United Methodists

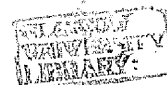
- UM1 Spreull's Court, Trongate

Wesleyan Methodists

- WM1 Calton
- WM2 John Street

Friend's Meeting Place

- F1 North Portland Square









The Location of Churches in Glasgow in 1842.











Location of Churches in Glasgow in 1870