" A SURVEY OF CHURCH INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND IN THE 19TH CENTURY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE EXTENT AND CONTENT OF RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN THE DAY SCHOOLS BEFORE 1872."

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Summary of Thesis:

" A SURVEY OF CHURCH INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND IN THE 19TH CENTURY. WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE EXTENT AND CONTENT OF RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN THE DAY SCHOOLS BEFORE 1872."

....

Scottish parochial education in the 19th century has its roots in the Reformation. The Scots Confession of 1560 and the First Book of Discipline furnish the doctrine and ground-plan for an educational system which evolved over three centuries. Behind these documents lies the teaching of John Calvin, who inspired Knox to plan for 'the virtuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this realm,' and to make every citizen in the commonwealth 'a profitable member within the same.'

At the beginning of the 19th century the Church was in control of education by means of its parish schools, or through Assembly and Society schools. Bible and Catechism were the supreme text-books. In the reading, writing and memorising of Scripture the minds of the children were to be informed by the truth of God, and right manners and morals inculcated. The Catechism, founded on and derived from the Bible, was a <u>vade-mecum</u> to the understanding of right doctrine. The teachers were men approved by the Church, subject to the Presbytery, and under the oversight of the parish minister.

The 19th century situation shows the traditional system of belief gradually breaking down in changing social and economic conditions. The outcome of the industrial revolution was a shift from a rural to

here and enjoy him through eternity."

Various Government and Church reports in the 1860s, however, revealed that the means of education were still deficient. The outcome was the establishment of a national system of education by the Act of 1872. Bible and Catechism were to be, by 'use and wont', the basis of Scottish education. To the Church leaders of the time it seemed that the 1872 Act had set a seal on John Knox's plans for the Christian good of Scotland. State education, so long as it was informed by the teaching of Bible and Catechism, would foster 'a public form of religion', and achieve in widest measure what the Church had hitherto sought to do within the limits of its own resources.

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Chapter One:

THE PARENT OF OUR SCHOOLS

"Our youth also aucht to be nurischit and mantenit at the schuilis, that thairoutof efterward micht spring Preicheris, Counsellouris, Phisiciounis, and all uther Kyndes of leirnit men that we have neid of. For the Schuillis are the seid of the Kirk and commoun-welth, and our Children ar the hope of the posteritie, quhilk being neglectit, thair can nathing be luikit for, bot that barbarous ignorance sall overflow all."

- David Fergusson. (1)

....

Scottish parochial education of the 19th century has its roots in the Reformation. In a speech at a tradesmen's meeting in Edinburgh, 1838, Dr. Thomas Chalmers said: "It was religion in Scotland which gave the first impulse to Education. John Knox and his associates convinced the popular understanding of the country, that the Bible was the genuine record of communica-:tion from God to man; and that within the four corners of that book there were the words which were able to make them all wise unto salvation. It was this that inspired them with a universal desire to possess the faculty of reading, that they might unlock the mysteries of the Scriptures, and acquire that knowledge of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, which is life everlasting. It was this which created a universal demand for Education among the

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1. From: Ane Sermon, Preichit befoir the Regent and Nobilitie, upon a part of the thrid Chapter of the Prophet Malachi, in the Kirk of Leith, at the tyme of the Generall Assemblie, on Sonday the 13 of Januarie, Anno. Do. 1571. Be David Fergussone, Minister of the Evangell at Dunfermlyne.

people of Scotland. Therefore, let them never forget that religion is the parent of our Schools." (2)

It would be impossible to write of Education in 19th century Scotland without a long backward look to the Reformation. In a period prolific in speeches, sermons, pamphlets and reports on the subject of popular education almost every printed paper concurs with Chalmers' view on the main features of the Scottish educational heritage: that it was the Reformers who prepared the ground-plan for parochial schools; that such schooling was to be based on the Bible; and that it was for everyman.

It is true that learning was not altogether lacking before the days of Knox. From the arrival of St. Columba in Iona in 563 Mother Church was the parent and nurse of the schools of Scotland. The parish system which John Knox bodied forth in his plans for general education goes back to the days of the Roman Church, where, within the parish, the priest was usually the instructor. Young priests-to-be were the tutors of the sons of the nobility.

The first compulsory education Act was that of the Scottish Parliament of 1496, in the reign of James IV, which required: "It is statute and ordanit throw all the realme, that all barronis and frehaldaris, that ar of substance put thair eldest sonis and aires to the sculis fra thai be aucht or nyne yeiris of age, and till remane at the gramer sculis quhill thai be competetlie

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2. From a speech by Dr. Thomas Chalmers at a meeting of the tradesmen of Edinburgh, Novermber 14, 1838. Reported in The Scotsman, Saturday, November 17, 1838. Vol. XXII. No.1968

foundit,and have perfite latyne. And therefter to remane thre yeres at the sculis of art and Jure, sua that thai may have knawledge and understanding of the lawis." These youths were to be the 'quality' of the land in more than pride of place, for the object of the Act was that "Justice may reigne uni:versalie throw all the realme. So that thai, that ar sheriffis or Jugeis Ordinaris under the kingis hienis, may have Knawledge to do Justice, that the pure pepill suld have na neid to seik our soverane lordis principale auditores for ilk small Injurie."(3)

Of this pre-Reformation Education Act it may be said, as of so many later enactments, that it was far from being honoured in the observance. At best, education was the apprenticeship of a profession rather than the habit of a people. Nevertheless, it ensured that John Knox had the support of a literate nobility in his proposed reforms. He himself came to the notice of the rulers of Scotland in troubled times because he was priest-tutor of "some gentlemen's children whom for certain years he had nourished in godliness."(4) It was at the intercession of their fathers that he came to the Castle of St. Andrews, from which place all his adventures started. It was in St. Andrews that he taught his pupils "grammar and other human authors" and made

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3. The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. Vol. 2. p. 238. Apud Edinburgh: 13th June, 1496.

4. John Knox: The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland. ed. Cuthbert Lennox. p. 84.

them memorise a catechism for public repetition in the Parish Kirk of the town.(5)

Like many another after him Knox was a schoolmaster before he was a minister. Later events in Scotland were to lose him the support of some of the nobility; the love of many waxed cold in the intrigues for power and position at the Court of Mary, Queen of Scots; his demands on the patrimony of the old Church for the practical realisation of his parish schools touched the self-interest of the nobles too nearly. Nevertheless, it was men nurtured, like himself, in the old schooling, who supported him in his plans for Scotland. There was already a heritage on which to build, and the love of learning had long since struck its roots deep in Scottish soil.

The Bible, too, was in some measure the possession of Scotland even before the reforms of Knox. Some of the nobles, at least, were in sympathy with his proposals because they knew the Book which inspired them. In one satirical poem after another, Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount had pleaded for the Word of God in the language of the common people.

> "Bot lat ws haif the bukis necessare
> To commoun weill, and our Saluation,
> Iustlye translatit in our toung Vulgare." (6)

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5. Ibid. p. 85.
   <u>Note</u>: Probably this was a translation of Calvin's Catechism of the Church of Geneva (published in Latin, 1538), which the First Book of Discipline later directed to be used in the Church in Scotland, describing it as "the most perfect Catechism that ever yet was used in the Church."

6. Sir David Lyndsay: The Testament, and Complaynt, of our Souerane Lordis Papyngo, King Iames the Fyft. 1530.

During the controversy for an open Bible in the vulgar tongue, it was a noble, Lord Ruthven, who reasoned for the party of the seculars against the opposing clergy. Eventually, in 1542, the Estates of Parliament, in spite of dissent from the Church repre:sentatives, authorised the common reading of the Scriptures: "It is statute and ordanit that It salbe lefull to all our sovirane ladyis lieges to haif the haly write baith the new testament and the auld in the vulgar toung In Inglis or scottis of ane gude and trew translatioun and that thai sall Incur na crimes for the hefing or reding of the same." (7) All Acts of contrary effect were abolished.

The Scriptures, indeed, had become fashionable. "Then might have been seen the Bible lying upon almost every gentleman's table."(8) Knox shrewdly allows that a fashionable Bible is not necessarily studied, but nowhere does he suggest that the possess:ors of the Scriptures could not read the Word of God for them:selves had they a mind to it. Their letters, and even their Acts of Parliament bear witness to the fact that the Book was indeed familiar, for they could readily cite Scripture for their purpose. But Knox's aim went far beyond the homes of the nobil:ity or the literate godly. The Bible was to be in the hands of

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7. The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. Vol. 2. p. 415. Apud Edinburgh: 15th of March, 1542.

8. Knox: op. cit. p. 37.

every man, woman and child throughout the realm; its truths were to be diligently read and its teaching faithfully performed. This Book was to be their guide in all the affairs of daily life, for the trials of time and for the hope of eternity. The same ideal persists in the minds of those who follow in Knox's footsteps in the 19th century. At the conclusion of his speech to the trades-:men's meeting in Edinburgh, Chalmers declares: "We mean to have the Bible the regular and daily school book. We mean to have the catechism the regular and daily school exercise, and these shall be taught openly and fearlessly, — not dealt with as contraband articles; ...... we will place the Word of God in the forefront of our system of Education."(9)

Although we may make due allowance for the literacy of the nobility in 16th century Scotland, there is little evidence that the "first Kirk" as Knox calls it, did much for popular education. The Kirk, which in Sir David Lyndsay's phrase, was "spowsit with dame Propirtie", was a Kirk which "thocht bot paine pure pepyll for to teche".(10) It must be remembered that not merely did the old Church oppose the rendering of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, but that there were also many practical obstacles in the way had they ever been in earnest about parish education for all. The printing-press was a comparatively recent invention, still very limited in its output; paper was handmade and expensive;

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9. The Scotsman: loc. cit.

10. Sir David Lyndsay: loc. cit.

even when English versions of the Bible began openly to appear they were too bulky and too costly to be widely used. One reason for the later popularity of the Genevan Bible of 1560 was that it was a handy quarto volume in Roman and italic type, in con:trast to the ponderous, Gothic-lettered Great Bible.

In any case, reading and writing was the business of the magistrate and the clerk. Likely lads from the peasantry might be taught by the parish priest as well as the sons of the ruling families, but it was with a view to the service of the Church, not that they might pore over the Scriptures as they drove the plough. The Renaissance is inseparably linked with the Reform:ation. The spread of the printed word and the growing idea of the dignity of man raised the status of the common folk. The day of democracy was dawning across Europe, and the Reformers gave democracy a faith by which to live and a Book in which men and women might discover for themselves their individual worth. It was the Reformers who pressed the Scriptures into the hands of the common people. They had therefore to see to it that everyone could read and understand this Book which contained a message that spoke to every man of his duty towards God and his fellows. They were not primarily interested in the idea of parish schools <u>qua</u> schools. Their primary aim was to teach the supreme reading matter because it contained the words of life for this world and for an eternal destiny. Religion was, indeed, in Chalmers' phrase, "the parent of the schools".

An open Bible, however, is not necessarily an understood Bible. More important even than the reading of the Word was the right understanding of it. If a Christian realm were to be fashioned, it was essential to have a doctrine of the Word, of the God Who gave it, and of the man who read it. That doctrine, which was to inspire all his plans for the Christian good of Scotland, John Knox learned at the feet of Calvin in Geneva. It is to the teaching of Calvin that Scotland largely owes an educational system that endured for more than three centuries, and still endures. The influence of the Church on day school education in the 19th century, as in the later part of the 16th, is a Calvinist influence.

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In Geneva John Knox sat under "that notable servant of God, John Calvin",(11) to whose discourses students flocked from all over Europe. Knox's own life-story had been full of strain and stress; the galleys had almost killed him; in his forties he was an exile from his native land. If there was work still to be done for 'Christ and His Congregation' in Scotland, it was hid in the future, and meantime Scotland was in the throes of polit:ical and religious controversy. But in Geneva Knox caught fire from Calvin, and when the times called him back to his native land as prophet and leader, he knew for a certainty what he had to do. He had a model for Church and State, a ground-plan for parish kirk and school, and a doctrine to breathe life into the whole. "This place," he wrote to a friend in 1556, "I nether feir nor eschame to say is the maist perfyt schoole of Chryst that ever was in the erth since the dayis of the Apostillis. In uther places, I confess Chryst to be trewlie preachit, but maneris and religioun so sinceirlie reformat, I have not yet sene in any uther place." (12) The "yet" is significant. It was from Calvin that he learned the "maneris and religioun", the precept and the practice, which he was to apply with such zeal to Scotland.

John Calvin's purpose was to educate the whole man, for time and for eternity, and by that education to fit him for his duties in this life towards God and his fellow-men. His views

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11. Knox: op. cit. p. 111.

12. Letter to Mrs. Anne Locke, 9th Dec. 1556. See Laing: The Works of John Knox, Vol. 4. p. 240. Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club. 1885.

on the main purpose of such education are classically expressed by the English Calvinist, John Milton, in his Tractate on Educa-:tion:

"The end then of Learning is to repair the ruines of our first Parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that know-:ledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the neerest by possessing our souls of true vertue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection."(13) That true learning is to be shown forth in the state of life unto which it has pleased God to call a man, the temporal community in which his life is set.

Calvin's system of education is founded on the Bible. It is by knowledge of God's Word that men will regain to know God aright and thus love, imitate, and be like Him. In the forefront of all his preaching, lecturing and writing is the sovereign majesty of God. Everything is in order in Calvin's cosmos, everything logical, for God is supreme and His will is unques-:tionable. His will is shown forth in His Word, contained in the Holy Scriptures. Man must learn to read and obey.

Nowhere does Calvin suggest, however, that to open and read the printed page of the Bible is immediately to apprehend the Word of God. The meaning is there, but the treasures of wisdom and knowledge must earnestly be sought out by those who are trained and qualified to dig for them and to bring them to

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13. John Milton. Tractate on Education. 1673.

the light of common day. It became the main business of Calvin's life, as a minister of the Word, so to open up the Scriptures that wayfaring men, though simple, should not err therein, but find for themselves the Way, the Truth and the Life.

Calvin set forth his teaching in his theological magnum opus: "The Institutes of the Christian Religion".[14] His primary aim was to re-discover the earliest teaching of the Church, to get back to the Bible and to the Apostles' Creed, which, he believed, sprang directly from apostolic times. The first edition of the Institutes, published when Calvin was only 26, was not bulky. It consisted of a simple exposition of the Decalogue, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, true and false Sacraments, and Christian Liberty, Ecclesiastical Power, and Political Administration, his intention being "to furnish a kind of rudiments, by which those who feel some interest in religion might be trained to true god:liness."[15]

Like all the Reformers, Calvin sees clearly the necessity of a true doctrine of the Scriptures. Some final authority is essential for the wise governance of men. If the authority of the Roman Church is to be overthrown, the Bible must take its place as the ultimate court of appeal for the belief and conduct

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14. The Institutes of the Christian Religion by John Calvin. Trans. Henry Beveridge. 3 vols. Edinburgh, The Calvin Translation Society. 1845.

15. Prefatory Address to Francis I, King of France. Ibid. Vol. I. p.3.

of human society. But guidance was necessary in the inter:pretation of the Word of God. "Although the Holy Scriptures contain a perfect doctrine, to which nothing can be added — our Lord having been pleased therein to unfold the infinite treasures of his wisdom — still every person, not intimately acquainted with them, stands in need of some guidance and direction, as to what he ought to look for in them, that he may not wander up and down, but pursue a certain path, and so attain the end to which the Holy Spirit invites him." (16)

Calvin saw that it would never do to have every man forming his own opinion about the meaning of the words of the Bible. To admit private and personal interpretation was to return to Babel. The perfect doctrine of Scripture must be clearly proclaimed in the preaching of the Word, every citizen must give assent to that doctrine, and the State, which is the commonalty of the citizens, must then see to it that the doctrine is carried out in daily living. Doctrine, education and discipline will produce the Christian society.

An order of preachers and teachers was therefore necessary. "Hence it is the duty of those who have received from God more light than others to assist the simple in this matter, and, as it were, lend them their hand to guide and assist them in finding the sum of what God has been pleased to teach us in his word. Now, this cannot be better done in writing than by

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16. Preface to the French edition of the Institutes, published at Geneva in 1545. Beveridge's translation, Vol.I. p.29.

"treating in succession of the principal matters which are comprised in Christian philosophy."[17] Thus Calvin justifies the teaching of his Institutes to man. It is a statement which holds true not only of the Institutes, but also of the many successive catechisms which were based on or derived from Calvin's work. "For he who understands these will be prepared to make more progress in the school of God in one day than any other person in three months, inasmuch as he, in a great measure, knows to what he should refer each sentence, and has a rule by which to test whatever is presented to him."[18] In sum, Calvin claims his work to be "a kind of key opening up to all the children of God a right and ready access to the understanding of the sacred volume."[19]

Calvin never faltered from the task to which he had early set himself. Edition followed edition of his Institutes, but although the later editions were considerably expanded, the structure and thought remained the same. Commentaries on the sacred Scriptures poured from his pen, to expound, illustrate, and amplify the doctrines which the Institutes proclaimed.

In "The Epistle to the Reader" prefixed to his last edition, published at Geneva in 1559 Calvin repeats his intro-:duction to the second edition, Strasburg, 1539, making bold to describe his work not merely as "a kind of rudiments," but to state: "if I mistake not, I have given a summary of religion in

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17. Ibid. p. 29.

18. Ibid. p. 29.

19. Ibid. p. 30.

"all its parts."[20] He realises that his writings are not a key which may be handled by all the children of God. They are to be placed in the hands of men who are educated for the ministry and who in turn as preachers of the Word will expound that Word to the laity. Thus: "My object in this work has been, so to prepare and train candidates for the sacred office, for the study of the sacred volume, that they may both have an easy introduction to it, and be able to prosecute it with unfaltering step."[21] It was a large claim, but the students and disciples of the Genevan reformer were prepared to prosecute with unfalter-:ing step not only the sacred volume which Calvin opened to them, but also this theological handbook which made plain its central message.

The main theme of the massive work is stated plainly in the opening sentence:

"Our wisdom, in so far as it ought to be deemed true and solid wisdom, consists almost entirely of two parts, the knowledge of God and of ourselves."[22] To make plain that vital knowledge the Institutes were to be studied along with the Bible. Successive catechisms based on the Institutes continued so to be read in the countries which came under Calvin's influence

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20. Ibid. p. 33.

21. Ibid. p. 33.

22. The Institutes of the Christian Religion, ed. Beveridge, Vol. I. p. 47.

through his students. Trained men were to be the ministers of the Word, and the Church was the institution for the preaching of that Word. Thus the sermon came to have a leading place in the worship not only of Calvin's Geneva, but of every land on which Calvinism laid hold. Faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard comes by the preaching of Christ. For private study of the Bible and for teaching it to children, the catechism in briefer compass served the same purpose, proclaiming in print the true doctrine of the Word.

The Institutes firmly delineate the doctrine of God and man, but Calvin was not content to be an academic theologian only. Doctrine must not merely be proclaimed in sermon and catechism; it must be wrought out in living deed in the arena of the commonwealth, the home and workshop in which man lives and moves and has his being, the community of his fellow-men in which he earns his daily bread. To love God is the supreme commandment, but the second is inextricably bound up with it, to love one's neighbour as oneself. Doctrine can only be testified in life. Calvin insists that a man's service of God, which is his bounden duty, must be accomplished per vocationem. "The daily duties of men were to be not only the setting within which, but the means by which, they might serve God."[23] God's

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23. J.W.D. Smith: Calvinism. Article in the Year Book of Education. 1951.

word was addressed to the individual, but the response must be wrought out in the community of his fellows. Calvin's teaching sought to prepare men for citizenship of the familiar world as well as for the world to come. The spiritual kingdom of Christ begins the heavenly kingdom in men, while the civic government serves to "foster and maintain the external worship of God, to defend sound doctrine and the condition of the Church, to adapt our conduct to human society, to form our manners to civil justice, to conciliate us to each other, to cherish common peace and tranquility."(24) Civil government is as necessary to men as bread and water, light and air. It should be as wholesome. Its object is: "that no idolatry, no blasphemy against the name of God, no calumnies against his truth, nor other offences to religion, break out and be disseminated among the people; that the public quiet be not disturbed, that every man's property be kept secure, that men may carry on innocent commerce with each other, that honesty and modesty be cultivated; in short, that a public form of religion may exist among Christians, and humanity among men."(25)

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24. Institutes, ed. Beveridge. Vol. 3. p.521.
Institutes: [illegible]. IV. [illegible]. 20, 2.

25. Ibid. p. 522. Institutes: [illegible]. IV. [illegible]. 20, 3.

To achieve this, Calvin sought, not without difficulty and opposition, to establish in the city state of Geneva a theocracy within which the Church expounded from the pulpit the laws by which the State could best be governed and the lives of its citizens regulated in obedience to the supreme rule of God. Civic discipline was to take care of the moral and religious welfare of the people. Calvin's memorandum to this effect: *Articuli de regimine ecclesiae* (1537) was submitted to the Council of the city and adopted at least in principle. (The 'Articles' were superseded by the *Ordonnances* of 1541). He also framed a Catechism and a Confession of Faith, based on the teaching of the *Institutes* which were presented almost as an ultimatum to Geneva. The citizens had to swear individually to maintain the Confession. It was then the duty of the magistrates to see that the subscribers lived up to the faith they had professed, in manners and morals. It was an attempt to set up a Genevan *Civitas Dei*; the Bible was to be the statute book of God's law, the Church was to proclaim its ordinances, and the civil government was to enforce them on the commonalty.

Such a theocracy required an enlightened system of education, and this also Calvin was ready to furnish. He needed both an educated ministry and an educated laity, the one knowledgeable to proclaim the truths of Scripture, the other capable of receiving them and profiting by them. The revival of learning and the invention of printing would, in any event, have made for a literate people. At so crucial a moment the

Reformers were able to offer the Scriptures as the supreme reading matter, essential to salvation. But faith must be intelligent. Calvin therefore prepared his Catechism and made his plans for wide-spread popular education through the schools.

Calvin's first Catechism was brought forward in 1537, with the purpose, as he explained in the Institutes, of "containing, and briefly explaining, the substance of almost all the heads of our religion, in which the whole body of the faithful ought to concur without controversy."[26] Children were to be brought before the ministers of the Church in the presence of the whole congregation at certain seasons of the year to give a reason for their faith. Thus, a boy of ten years of age, "while the whole Church looked on and witnessed, would profess the one true sincere faith with which the body of the faithful, with one accord, worship one God."[27] Such a practice would, Calvin hoped, not only preserve purity of doctrine among old and young, but would also shame neglectful parents into attending to the careful instruction of their children.

The 1537 Catechism was, in fact, a résumé of the Institutes. A greatly improved version for the teaching of the young was prepared in 1541. Entitled "Catechism of the Church of Geneva"[28] it is in the familiar form of short questions and

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26. Institutes, ed. Beveridge. Vol. 3. p. 493.
    Institutes: IV. 19, 13.
27. Ibid. p. 493.

28. Tracts by John Calvin, trans. Beveridge. Vol. 2. p. XI. Edinburgh. The Calvin Translation Society. 1849.

answers, and was used in the regular instruction of children at school and in Church. The whole Catechism was systematic-:ally gone through in fifty-five Sundays, and in the early French editions there were even distinct markings in the margin specifying the different portions allotted for each day's examination. Like the parent Institutes, the Catechism treats of Faith, of the Law, of Prayer, of the Word of God, of the Sacraments. But whereas in the Institutes the expounding of the Decalogue comes before the Apostles' Creed, in the Catechism the order is reversed. Faith comes before the fruits of faith.

It was this Catechism of the Church at Geneva that became the supreme text-book of the Reformed Church, not only in Geneva, but wherever Calvin's doctrine was taught. Most notably was this so in Scotland, and even when Calvin's Catechism gave way to the Heidelberg Catechism, Craig's Catechism, and eventually the Larger and Shorter Catechisms of Westminster, the Geneva practice of regular catechising of the young was followed. In school and kirk in 19th century Scotland, as in the school and church of Geneva, the Catechism was the standard summary of the Reformed faith, and to be able to repeat the 'carritches' was to own oneself orthodox.

For the furtherance of his plans Calvin turned also to the school. He was not the pioneer of primary education in Geneva. Largely through Farel's influence a scheme had already been proposed for compulsory popular schooling. But the thorough, effective enforcement of that ideal was Calvin's work.

For the children of the city he established a *scholia privata*, a complete system of classes corresponding to a primary and secondary school. The school day began at 6 a.m. in summer and 7 a.m. in winter with prayer and the catechism. Amid regular instruction in French, Latin, Greek, dialectics and grammar, considerable time was decreed for religious instruction and psalm-singing, while each day ended with the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, the Confession, and the Ten Commandments. Calvin never forgot that the children in school were the citizens-to-be of the theocratic state. Every scholar had to attend church regularly, under the oversight of a teacher, and at noon each Sunday there was a service devoted to the teaching and catechising of children. A delightful picture of the life of a boy in the Genevan school of Calvin's day is revealed in the *Colloquies of Corderius*, Calvin's own revered master and later colleague.

The crown of Calvin's educational system in Geneva was the *scholia publica*, or Academy, which provided training in theology and in which he himself taught. The *scholia privata* was preparatory to it, but in addition it attracted students from all over Europe. A condition of admission was that every candidate had to sign the Confession of Faith.

Daily John Calvin lectured to hundreds of students of all classes, ages and callings. From the Academy he sent out men who influenced the thought of Europe. "The spirit of Calvin spoke from their pulpits, presided over their kirk

"sessions and councils, modelled and controlled their eccle-
:siastical organisations." (29)

Of no country was this more true than of Scotland. From Geneva John Knox brought back Calvin's doctrine, his organisa-:tion of Church government, and his educational system. Knox was not the initiator of the Scottish Reformation, but he was the master-builder of the re-formed schools of Scotland no less than of the re-formed Church. His thought, his writings and his work were shaped by the inspiration and training he had received from the Genevan reformer. The many plans and provisions of the Scottish Church for popular education throughout the three succeeding centuries were an attempt to approximate to his Calvin-inspired ideals.

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29. The Educational Work of John Calvin, by Rev. A. Mitchell Hunter, article in Religion in Education. Vol. V. No. 1, p. 33.

Two other Genevan influences in the Scottish tradition are worthy of note. One is the use of the psalms in the school and in public worship. The Psalms were Scriptural, and therefore worthy of approval, whereas the Latin hymns of the Roman Church were suspect as containing false doctrine. Again, the melodies were simple enough to encourage congrega-:tional singing; both words and music could be understood and easily remembered. That Calvin approved of Psalm-singing is made clear not only in his teaching but in his practice. "Since the glory of God ought in a manner to be displayed in each part of our body, the special service to which the tongue should be devoted is that of singing and speaking, inasmuch as it has been expressly created to declare and proclaim the praise of God."(30) Secular songs, on the other hand, "composed merely to tickle and delight the ear, are unbecoming the majesty of the Church, and cannot but be most displeasing to God."(31) Calvin encouraged the practice of psalm-singing in school, and through the singing together of the children taught words and music alike to the congregations of the Genevan churches. He himself was the founder of the metrical Psalter which, in its later forms, has had such a profound influence in the religious

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30. Institutes, ed. Beveridge. Vol. 2. p. 499.
Institutes: ~~Vol~~. III. ~~pp~~. 20,31.

31. Ibid. p. 501.
Institutes, ~~Vol~~. III. ~~pp~~. 20, 32.

history of Scotland. Calvin fashioned the Strasburg Psalter of 1539, a small volume containing seventeen Psalms in metre, five of which he composed himself. The remaining twelve were by Clement Marot. This Psalter, with the Marot-Beza French Psalter of 1562, has its place in the pedigree of the Scottish Psalter. From the refugee English congregation in Geneva, of which John Knox was for a time minister, came a Book of Order, "approved by the famous and godly learned man, John Calvyn,"(32) which contained One and Fiftie Psalmes of David, in Englishe metre, and which also entered into the Scottish heritage.

Much has been said and written about the sternness of Calvin's creed and practice, of his disapproval of ornamentation in the church, of instrumental music, of church bells and the like.(33) But if Luther's hymns sang in the Reformation in Germany, of no less account were the metrical Psalms in the

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32. See: Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody, by Millar Patrick, D.D., Oxford University Press, 1949, passim.

33. Note: "The beating of timbrels may indeed appear absurd to some, but the custom of the nation excuses it, which David witnesses to have existed also in his time, where he enumerates, together with the singers, 'the damsels playing with timbrels' (Psalm 68. 25), evidently in accordance with common and received custom. Yet must it be observed, at the same time, that musical instruments were among the legal cere:monies which Christ at His coming abolished, and therefore we, under the Gospel, must maintain a greater simplicity."
- Commentary on Exodus, 32, 2.

Commentaries on the Four Last Books of Moses, Arranged in the Form of a Harmony, by John Calvin. Trans. by Rev. Charles William Bingham. Vol. I.p.263. Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society. 1852.

Churches of the Calvinist tradition. Their influence is clearly seen in 19th century education in the period under review. They were the spiritual songs the children learned and sang in school, as well as in church on the Sabbath day. Indeed, if we allow for the Scriptural paraphrases, they were almost the only sacred songs, for the Scottish Hymnal of the Church of Scotland did not come into being until 1870.(34) Even the secular moral songs of David Stow's Infant Training System have a close relationship with the metrical Psalms in verse-pattern and metre, and many of them could be sung to the familiar Psalm tunes. The tradition of Psalm-singing which is deep-rooted in Scottish religious sentiment comes down to us from the school and Church of Geneva. Some of the tunes loved and sung through three centuries and more of Scottish worship, in the home, in the school and in kirk, were the tunes equally well known to the schoolboys of Calvin's day.

The second influence which played its part in Scottish schooling for many a day was the work of Mathurin Cordier. Cordier, or Corderius, had been one of Calvin's boyhood tutors at the College de la Marche in Paris, and he later joined his famous pupil in Geneva. In educational theory he was a teacher far in advance of his time. In his affectionate dedicatory

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34. Note: The Relief Church published a hymnbook in 1794; the Secession Church in 1852; the Church of Scotland in 1870; and the Free Church in 1873. Millar Patrick, op. cit. p. 219.

epistle to Corderius, prefaced to his Commentary on the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, Calvin recalls how his master abandoned the highest class in the school because the boys had been ill grounded in the Latin tongue, and with admirable thoroughness went down to the lowest class to ensure thorough teaching, not only of correct grammar,, but also of the fluent, conversational use of Latin. Cordier also conceived the idea of furthering the true doctrine of the Reformation by means of the task sentences used in class.

The Colloquies, published in 1564 when Cordier was 85 years of age, sets out his system. The book is amazingly modern in conception. In the form of question and answer and mutual discussion the pupils are encouraged to converse in Latin about the everyday things that interest them. The daily round of school life is thus described, the class-room, the background and characteristics of the boys, the work of field and farm and market-place in their home villages, as well as the life of the city. Simply and naturally, and with acute sympathy for the thoughts and interests of boyhood, Cordier depicts the child-life of his times. And because he is a missionary of the Reformation as well as one of its greatest teachers, he weaves religious and moral training into every lesson. The school is a theocracy no less than the State for which it is training these budding citizens.

Even in colloquial conversation the Calvinist doctrine is never lost sight of. The boys imbibe true theology in the talk and exercises of the class-room. In the schools of 16th century Geneva, as in 19th century Scotland, Church influence permeated the very text-books and subject matter of learning. Nor did the Colloquies make their mark only in the Swiss State. More than one hundred editions were published in many parts of Europe, and Cordier's work was a text-book in Scottish schools right into the 19th century.(35)

Thus the influence of Calvin not only shaped the educational and church polity of Scotland through his disciple John Knox. It pervaded the Scottish class-room by means of catechism, psalter and Latin primer, as well as by the teaching of the Bible. The school was a religious training-ground in which right think-:ing about God and man, right manners and morals, were to be inculcated by the master for the future profit of the realm.

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35. "For beginners it will not be easy to find a better intro-:ductory work than Cordery's Colloquies, which combine the advantages of good Latin, facility, pure morality, and interest." — A Practical Essay on the manner of Studying and Teaching in Scotland. Anon. Edinburgh. 1823. p. 234.

Chapter Two:

DOCTRINE AND GROUND-PLAN

"Seeing that God hath determined that His Church here on earth shall be taught not by angels but by men; and seeing that men are born ignorant of all godliness; and seeing, also how God ceaseth to illuminate men miraculously, suddenly changing them, as He changed His Apostles and others in the primitive Church: it is necessary that your honours be most careful for the virtuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this realm, if ye now thirst unfeignedly for the advancement of Christ's glory, or desire the continuance of His benefits to the generation following. For as the youth must succeed to us, so ought we to be careful that they have knowledge and erudition, for the profit and comfort of that which ought to be most dear to us, to wit, the Church and Spouse of the Lord Jesus."

- John Knox.[1]

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The nobles who called Knox home to Scotland summoned him to lead them in the proclamation of the 'Evangel of Christ' to His Congregation. Protestantism and national independence made common cause in Scotland. The Lords of the Congregation, as they came to be known, recalled Knox "for their comfort and for the comfort of their brethren the preachers and others that then courageously fought against the enemies of God's truth."[2] Knox at once sought the counsel of his master, John Calvin, who saw in the letters from Scotland a vocation which to ignore would be to rebel against God.

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1. John Knox: The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, ed. Cuthbert Lennox. Appendix: The Book of Discipline. 'Of Schools and Universities.'

2. John Knox: op. cit. p. 128.

The true notes of the Reformation ring through the Covenant in which the Lords bound themselves to further the cause of Christ and His Kingdom in Scotland. They saw them-:selves not merely as civil magistrates craving the blessing of the Church, — for indeed the Reforming clergy were few, and had as yet no ecclesiastical authority, - but as members of the true Church of Christ seeking faithful ministers to guide them aright. "The which our duty being well considered, we do promise before the Majesty of God, and His Congregation, that we, by His grace, shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and His Congregation; and shall labour at our possibility to have faith-:ful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's Evangel and Sacraments to His people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole Congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole power and wearing of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power that does intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid Congregation ......" Solemnly they set their hands to it: "At Edinburgh, the third day of December, the year of God 1557: God called to witness."(3)

The Covenant thus entered into expressed the ideal rather than the execution, but,for all that, the ideal survived the storms of politics and the troubles of the times. It was only

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3. John Knox: op. cit. p. 131.

with the backing of the Lords of the Congregation that the kirk was established, and it was the laity who throughout subsequent Scottish history gave strong support to all movements for the care and education of 'every member' of 'the whole Congregation of Christ'.

Meanwhile, as Knox still tarried on the Continent, the rulers made a start by ordaining that in all parishes of the realm common prayers be read, as well as the lessons of the New and Old Testaments, and "that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, until afterwards God move the Prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers".(4)

More boldly still, they instituted the office of elder by common election, to whom "the whole brethren promised obedience; for at that time we had no public ministers of the Word".(5) They engaged in continual controversy with the Queen Regent "towards a godly reformation". To that end, too, they sent "public letters written to that excellent servant of God, John Calvin,"(6) seeking his advice. In a crucial moment, when the debate between the Queen Regent and the Lords was moving to open strife, John Knox arrived from France. The date was 2nd May, 1559.

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4. John Knox: op. cit. p. 132.

5. John Knox: op. cit. p. 137.

6. John Knox: op. cit. p. 146.

From the first Knox's leadership was strong and decisive. His sermons, rich in the imagery of Biblical warfare, reveal his complete conviction of the rightness of the Protestant cause. For a time there were two armed camps in the land, the forces of the Queen Regent, supplied with French soldiery and encouraged by the ecclesiastics, and, on the other hand, the Covenanted forces of the Congregation, supported by England. When the Queen Regent died, peace with France was arranged and secured, the French troops were got rid of, and the English army was also withdrawn. "After that, the Council began to look upon the affairs of the commonwealth, as well as upon the matters that might concern the stability of religion".[7]

A day of public thanksgiving was appointed when nobility and commonalty alike assembled in St. Giles' Kirk in Edinburgh to give thanks to God for His merciful deliverance. Thereafter the Commissioners of Burghs, with some of the nobility and barons, were appointed to see to the supply of ministers throughout the realm. Then followed the preparation of a petition "presented by the barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and other true subjects of the realm, professing the Lord Jesus Christ, to the Nobility and Estates of Parliament".[8] The petition sought the reform of the Church. Parliament was not

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7. John Knox: op. cit. p. 210.

8. John Knox: op. cit. p. 213.

unanimously in favour, for some of the nobles were guiltily aware that they had taken possession of the patrimony of the Kirk. But they called on the petitioners, barons and ministers, to "frame in plain and distinct heads the sum of that doctrine which they would maintain, and would desire that Parliament to establish, as wholesome, true, and alone necessary to be believed and to be received within that realm".(9)

All that John Knox had learned of Calvin and in the reformed churches furth of Scotland was now to be put to good account. Within four days he and his coadjutors had their answer ready for Parliament in the Confession of Faith, the declaration of doctrine which underlies the Church's future work for the good estate of kirk and school and common weal in Scotland.

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9. John Knox: op. cit. p. 214.

Scottish democratic education grew out of '<u>The Confession of the Faith and Doctrine, Belevit and professit be the Protest-:antis of Scotland</u>'.[10] It was not merely a religious document, but also a State paper: 'Exhibitit to the Estaitis of the same in Parliament, and be their publick Votis authorisit, as a Doctrine groundit upon the infallibil Worde of God, Aug. 1560. And afterwards stablished and publicklie confirmed be sundrie Acts of Parliaments, and of lawful General Assemblies'.[11]

This simple statement of belief starts with no great ringing phrases, but as a homely epistle from 'The Estaitis of Scotland with the Inhabitants of the same professand Christ Jesus his haly Evangel, to their natural Countrymen .....'[12] to tell them of what has been proposed for their weal.

Again the two Reformation notes are struck: first, that the doctrine is 'proponed' for the whole congregation of Christ's people, and second, that all doctrine must be grounded on the Word of God. Although the influence of Calvin is clearly to be seen in the Scots Confession, there is a pleading modesty here that is as far removed from the dictatorial incisiveness of the <u>Institutes</u> as it is from the legalism of later Calvinism

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10. Scots Confession, 1560. ed. Professor G.D. Henderson, D. Litt., D.D., Edinburgh, 1937.

11. Ibid. p. 37.

12. Ibid. p. 39.

in Scotland. Thus: "Protestand that gif onie man will note in this our confessioun onie Artickle or sentence repugnand to Gods halie word, that it wald pleis him of his gentleness and for christian charities sake to admonish us of the same in writing; and we upon our honoures and fidelitie, be God's grace do promise unto him satisfaction fra the mouth of God, that is, fra his haly Scriptures, or else reformation of that quhilk he sal prove to be amisse."(13) He would have been a bold man, however, who would have dared to challenge Knox on the matter of the Confession, so closely thirled is it to Scripture, so learned was he in the teaching of his Genevan master.

The Scots Confession goes on, closely following the great Creeds and Calvin, to define the doctrine 'Of God', 'Of the Creatioun of Man','Of Original Sinne', and so through the whole range of the Christian faith. The influence of John Calvin is most clearly seen in Article XVIII: "Of the Notis be the quhilk the trewe kirk is decernit fra the false, and quha sall be judge of the doctrine," where it is stated: "The notes therefore of the trew Kirk of God we beleeve, confesse, and avow to be, first, the trew preaching of the Worde of God, into the quhilk God has revealed himselfe unto us, as the writings of the Prophets and Apostles dois declair. Secundly, the right administration of the Sacraments of Christ Jesus, quhilk man be annexed unto the word and promise of God, to seale and confirme the same in

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13. Ibid. p. 41.

our hearts. Last, Ecclesiastical discipline uprightlie ministred, as Goddis Worde prescribes, whereby vice is repressed, and vertew nurished. Wheresoever then thir former notes are seene, and of ony time continue (be the number never so fewe, about two or three), there, without all doubt, is the trew Kirk of Christ......"[14] Such a Kirk, Knox roundly claims, have the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland in their cities, towns, and places reformed.

The Confession goes on to define the authority and scope of 'General Councils' which are to direct and govern the lives of the members of the Kirk. It is not enough that a Council enacts laws; they must be laws which are in accordance with the plain Word of God. "Bot gif men, under the name of a councel, pretend to forge unto us new artickles of our faith, or to make constitutionis repugning to the Word of God; then utterlie we must refuse the same as the doctrine of Devils, quhilk drawis our saules from the voyce of our onlie God to follow the doc:trines and constitutiones of men".[15]

God and His Word are supreme and immutable, and no Council or Assembly meets to make a new law which God has not already made or to give external authority to the Word of God. The sole cause of the meeting of Councils or Assemblies of the Church is

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14. Ibid: p. 75.

15. Ibid: p. 81.

that heresies may be confuted, public profession of the faith made, and the utterance of good policy and order be observed in the Kirk. Discipline and good order are inevitably consequent to sound doctrine.

The Scots Confession then defines the 'twa chiefe Sacra:mentes' and the place of 'The Civile Magistrate'. It touches finally on the doctrine of election, for not every member even of the 'trew Kirk' is 'ane elect member of Christ Jesus'. "For we acknawledge and confesse, that Dornell, Cockell and Caffe may be sawen, grow and in great aboundance lie in the middis of the Wheit, that is, the Reprobate may be joyned in the societie of the Elect, and may externally use with them the benefites of the worde and Sacraments."(16)

The twenty-five Articles of the Confession were read "in the face of Parliament, and ratifyed be the thre Estatis, at Edinburgh the 17 day of August, the Zeir of GOD 1560 Zeiris."(17) One by one they were read over and voted upon, "and the vote of every man was required". Three lords of the Estate Temporal voted against, saying: "we will believe as our fathers believed".(18) The Bishops said nothing. The rest of the three Estates by their public assent affirmed the doctrine.

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16. Ibid. p. 97.

17. Ibid. p. 99.

18. John Knox: op. cit. p. 215.

Immediately upon the acceptance of the Confession by the majority of Parliament, there followed two Acts, one against the Mass and the other denying the supremacy of the Pope. The Reformation in Scotland was now lawfully established, requiring only royal assent. Ambassadors from the "lawful and free Parliament" were therefore despatched to France to inform Queen Mary and the King of France what had been enacted, that these Acts of Parliament might be formally ratified. This was refused, and there ensued a long struggle between the Sovereign and the people of Scotland, between Mary and Knox. In the meantime, however, Knox and the leaders of the Reformed Kirk pressed on to carry out the doctrine promulgated in the Confession. Their aim was to establish the Kirk "in a good and godly policy",(19) to frame a constitution. The six men, including John Knox, who had brought forward the Confession of Faith, were charged with the preparation of a document "containing the policy and discipline of the Kirk".(20) The result was The Book of Discipline.

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19. John Knox: op. cit. p. 217.

20. John Knox: op. cit. p. 217.

The First Book of Discipline, as it was afterwards called, sets out the ground-plan for kirk and school in Scotland, a plan inspired by the doctrine of the Confession of Faith. The authors turn at once to Scripture for their system of Church Government, and in their argument the influence of Calvin's Institutes is clearly marked. All Scripture, they claim, is profitable to instruct, to reprove and to exhort: "In which books of Old and New Testaments we affirm that all things necessary for the instruction of the Kirk, and to make the man of God perfect, are contained and sufficiently expressed."[21] Before the administration of the Sacraments the people are to be plainly instructed by a lawful minister in such a tongue as they understand, and nothing is to be added to or diminished from the institution of Christ and His holy Apostles.

Because of the scarcity of 'lawful ministers' in the newly reformed Kirk, a class of Readers is provided for: "the most apt men that distinctly can read the Common Prayers and the Scriptures, to exercise both themselves and the Kirk, till they grow to greater perfection".[22] The reader might in time become a minister, but only after examination of his doctrine and his reading. His duties were to include the teaching of the children of the parish. He should be over twenty-one years of age, and be a person endowed with "gravity, wit, and discretion".[23] Readers were to be appointed by the Kirk.

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21. John Knox: op. cit. The Book of Discipline. p. 363.

22. Ibid. p. 371.

23. Ibid. p. 375.

Two further classes are provided for, the poor and the teachers of youth. The poor are to be cared for parochially, for that is a Christian duty. But a clear distinction is drawn between the deserving poor and the "stubborn and idle beggars, who, running from place to place, make a craft of their begging. Them the civil magistrate ought to punish; but God commandeth His people to be careful for the widow and fatherless, the aged, impotent, or lamed, who neither can nor may travail for their sustentation. For these latter, as also for persons of honesty fallen into decay and penury, such provision ought to be made, that of our abundance should their indigence be relieved".(24) The distinction between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor was one which long remained in Scotland and when, in the changed circum-:stances of 19th century a line could not clearly be drawn between the two, it was difficult for Christian people to adjust their thinking and their attitude to those in distressed circumstances.

Nothing laid hold on the imagination of the people of Scotland more than the policy for schools. As in all the Reformed countries, schools were a necessity, since men and women must be trained in the knowledge and habits of religion.

"Therefore we judge it necessary that every several church have a schoolmaster appointed, such an one as is able, at least, to teach Grammar and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any

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24. Ibid. p. 375.

"reputation. If it be upaland, where the people convene to doctrine but once a week, then must either the reader or the minister there take care of the children and youth of the parish, instructing them in their first rudiments, and especially in the Catechism, as we have it now translated in the Book of our Common Order, called the Order of Geneva. And, farther, we think it expedient that in every notable town, and especially in the town of the Superintendent, there be erected a college, in which the Arts, at least Logic and Rhetoric, together with the tongues, shall be read by sufficient masters. For these honest stipends must be appointed; and provision made for those that are poor, and are not able by themselves, nor by their friends, to be sustained at letters, especially such as come from landward".[25]

As with Calvin's educational policy in Geneva, the fruit will appear in godly citizens who will be of some service to the State: "The fruit and commodity hereof shall speedily appear. For, first, the youths and tender children shall be nourished and brought up in virtue, in presence of their friends; by whose good care may be avoided those many inconveniences into which youth commonly falls, either by too much liberty, which they have in strange and unknown places while they cannot rule themselves; or else for lack of good care, and of such necessities as their tender age requireth. Secondarily, the exercise of the

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25. Ibid. p. 382.

"children in every church shall be great instruction of the aged".[26] In these two provisions Knox shows himself in favour of the day-school as against the boarding-school, and sets a pattern for the democratic parish school which indeed became the strength of the Scottish educational system. The regular catechising of the children in the kirk would not only win the approval of the parents, but would serve to teach the aged illiterate without making them feel that they were being put to the A.B.C. of Bible learning in their latter years.

Higher up the scale, schools and Colleges were to furnish the Universities with able students: "for this must be care:fully provided, that no father, of what estate or condition that ever he be, use his children at his own fantasy, especially in their youth. All must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue."[27]

The rich and powerful are to be compelled to send their children to school, at their own expense, because they can afford to do so. The children of the poor are to be at the charge of the Kirk. All will share alike in the privileges of education. The only aristocracy recognised is that which shall appear in the school-room and University, the aristocracy of talent and moral worth. For all, the aim is that the Church and Commonwealth may have some profit of them.

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26. Ibid. p. 383.

27. Ibid. p. 383.

A visiting committee is to see that education is satis-:factorily carried out: "For this purpose must discreet, learned and grave men be appointed to visit all schools for the trial of their exercise, profit, and continuance; to wit, the ministers and elders, with the best learned in every town, shall every quarter take examination how the youth have profited".(28)

The school course and curriculum is then set out: "A certain time must be appointed to reading, and to learning of the Catechism; a certain time to Grammar, and to the Latin tongue; a certain time to the Arts, Philosophy and to the other tongues; and a certain time to that study in which they intend chiefly to travail for the profit of the Commonwealth.....

"Care must always be taken that first they have the form of knowledge of Christian religion, to wit, the knowledge of God's laws and commandments; the use and office of the same; the chief articles of our belief; the right form to pray unto God; the number, use, and effect of the Sacraments; the true knowledge of Christ Jesus, of His office and natures, and such others. Without this knowledge, neither deserveth any man to be named a Christian, nor ought any to be admitted to the participation of the Lord's Table; and therefore, these principles ought to be taught and must be learned in youth."(29) Implicit in this clause is not merely a religious sanction, but a civil one. To be

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28. Ibid. p. 384.

29. Ibid. p. 384.

debarred from the Sacrament was to be deprived of worthy status as a citizen in the community.

Knox then sketches out the probable length of the school course: "Two years we think more than sufficient to learn to read perfectly, to answer to the Catechism, and to have some entrance to the first rudiments of Grammar. For the full accomplishment of the Grammar, we think other three or four years, at most, sufficient. For the Arts, to wit, Logic and Rhetoric, and for the Greek tongue, we allow four years. The rest of youth, until the age of twenty-four years, should be spent in that study wherein the learner would profit the Church or Commonwealth, be it in the Laws or Physic or Divinity. After twenty-four years have been spent in the schools, the learner must be removed to serve the Church or Commonwealth, unless he be found a necessary reader in the same College or University. If God shall move your hearts to establish and execute this order, and put these things into practice, your whole realm, we doubt not, within few years, shall serve itself with true preachers and other officers necessary for your Commonwealth."(30)

The First Book of Discipline goes on to discuss the Universities and the courses and professors thereof. An import:ant link with the school is provided as follows: "We think it expedient that no one be admitted unto the first College and to be suppost of the University, unless he have from the master of

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30. Ibid. p. 385.

"the school, and from the minister of the town where he was instructed in the tongues, a testimonial of his learning, docility, age, and parentage."(31)

Of so masterly a plan the Estates might well have approved. But Knox and his colleagues go on with equal practicality to the "stipends and expenses necessary" for the upkeep of this ambitious fabric of education in Scotland. For the Universities, the authors of the plan think it expedient that the lands, rents and revenues of the Bishoprics' temporality be made available. For the rest, the ministers and the poor, together with the schools, "must be sustained upon the charges of the Church. Provision must therefore be made, how and from whom the necessary sums must be lifted".(32)

There is some plain speaking to those gentlemen, barons, earls, lords and others who have already seized upon the patrimony of the old Kirk and are proving as harsh landlords as ever were the ecclesiastics. It is proposed that the whole rents appertaining to the Church be paid to deacons, common treasurers, for the support of the ministers, the poor, and the schools. Town dwellers, too, have their part to play. "Merchants and craftsmen in free burghs, who have nothing to do with the manuring of the ground, must make some provision in

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31. Ibid. p. 386.

32. Ibid. p. 391.

"their cities, towns, or dwelling-places to support the need of the Church."[33]

"To the ministers, and failing these the Readers, must be restored their manses and their glebes; otherwise they cannot serve the flock at all times as their duty is."[34]

There follow orders for the discipline of the Kirk and the excommunication of offenders. Also, concerning the policy of the Church, it is noted, inter alia, that every church should have a Bible in English, and that the people be commanded to hear the plain reading or interpretation of the Scriptures, "so that by frequent reading, this gross ignorance, which in the cursed Papistry hath overflown all, may partly be removed"[35]. The Scriptures are to be read in order, with no jumping about, and the preacher is to follow a text. Family worship is insisted on. Every master of a household must be commanded either to instruct, or else cause to be instructed, his children, servants, and family, in the principles of the Christian reli:gion. Without such knowledge none was to be admitted to the Lord's Table.

"We therefore judge it necessary that, every year at least, public examination be had by the ministers and elders of the

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33. Ibid. p. 394.

34. Ibid. p. 394.

35. Ibid. p. 407.

"knowledge of every person within the Church; to wit, that every master and mistress of household come themselves, and so many of their family as be come to maturity, before the ministers and elders, to give confession of their faith, and to answer to such chief points of religion as the ministers shall demand...

"If these stubbornly continue, and suffer their children and servants to continue in wilful ignorance, the discipline of the Church must proceed against them unto excommunication; and then must the matter be referred to the Civil Magistrate. For, seeing that the just liveth by his own faith, and that Christ Jesus justifieth by knowledge of Himself, we judge it insuffer-:able that men shall be permitted to live and continue in ignorance as members of the Church of God...."(36)

Such is the programme for the Christian Education of the community. It is sound Scripture. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God."(37) It is sound Calvinism, too, for discipline is to be the nerve of the Church.

To the doctrine upon which the First Book of Discipline was founded, the Estates of Parliament had already agreed. But the lords were not equally agreeable to the use of the tempora-:lities of the old Kirk for the support of the Reformed Church. Some nobles had already possessed themselves of church lands;

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36. Ibid. p. 407.

37. Romans: 10. v. 17.

others saw the opportunity of following their friends' example. Knox recalled the old proverb: "The belly has no ears." It was the chapter on the use of the patrimony of the old Kirk that prevented the First Book of Discipline from being accepted by the Estates. It was signed by a number of the nobles, and later accepted by the General Assembly of the Church, but it did not become a State document.

Lack of support from the nobles did not prevent Knox and his associates from pressing on with their plans for the Christian good of Scotland. It did, however, prevent the carrying out of parochial education and church settlement in Knox's own day, and for many a day thereafter. The Reformed Church in Scotland was poor, the means for the provision of education poorer still. Poverty, indeed, was still the main handicap in the 19th century. Right up to the transfer of schools in 1872 the Church was constantly struggling to fulfil the purposes and plans of the Reformers.

Not only did the nobles withhold their support of the First Book of Discipline. Mary, Queen of Scots actively opposed all that Knox had adumbrated, in season and out of season. It was not until 1567, after she had been deposed, that the Acts of the Estates of 1560 (which included the Confession of Faith) were legally placed on the Statute Book of Scotland. The years between tell of a continual struggle between the Queen and the reforming party. In one stormy

interview after another Knox held doggedly by the right of the people to worship as they willed. Mary tried wiles, tears and treachery to subdue her stern opponent, but to no effect. Calvin had taught well. It was a democrat firmly grounded in the knowledge of his worth as a child of God who gave the Queen her answer.

"Quhat have ye to do," said sche, "with my Mariage? "Or quhat ar ye in this Comon-welth?"

"A Subject borne within the sam," said he, "Madam. And albeit I be nyther Erle, Lord, nor Barron within it, yit hes God maid me (how abject that eveir I be in your Eies) a profit:abill Member within the sam."(38)

It was to make every citizen in the commonwealth "a profit:abill Member within the sam" that John Knox and his fellow reformers set heart and hand. The history of Scottish parochial education from the time of Knox until the 1872 Act is the story of continual attempts by the Church in Scotland to carry out the ideals inspired by Calvin and set forth in the Confession of Faith and the First Book of Discipline.

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38. John Knox: The Historie of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland. ed. R.S. Walker. The Saltire Society. p. 69.

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Chapter Three.

The Educational System in 19th century Scotland:

THE RURAL SCENE:

> "In Scotland, there are at present more than 500 school-:masters on the legal establishment, none of whom receive above £16 sterling a year, including every emolument and perquisite annexed to his office. Of this, seldom above one half is stated salary; the other part being entirely contingent and uncertain. A considerable number fall even greatly short of this trifling pittance; .... the heritors, instead of paying the salary themselves, as directed by the act, commonly parcel it out in fractions of about 3d or 4d among perhaps 50 or 100 tenants, which they leave the master to extort in the best way he can. From such an allowance, the schoolmaster is to furnish, for himself, and his family, if any family has the misfortune to be connected with him, all the requisites of a decent subsistence, suit-:able to his station in society. It ought to be observed, indeed, that he is generally accommodated with the bare walls of a small hovel, which forms part of the public school-house. But of this convenience he can seldom avail himself: for, beside accidental circumstances, its size, for the most part, is so small, as not to afford accommoda-:tion for more than a single person; and its state of repair such, as to render it fitter for the climate of Italy, than to repel the piercing blasts of the north, or the 'pelting of the pitiless storm'." (1)
>
> N.K.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Church of Scot-:land, so far as its parish system was concerned, had stood almost unaltered for more than two hundred years. The educa-:tional provisions so nobly set forth in The First Book of Discipline were still in the main paper proposals. During the

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1. A letter to Sir John Sinclair, Bart. on The State of National Education in Scotland, by N.K. In General Appendix to The Statistical Account of Scotland. Vol.XXI. 1799.

period 1560 to 1690 this was largely due to the turbulence of the times, the general unease of Church and Crown within the body politic, the religious controversies between the Episco-:palian and Presbyterian parties. In part it was due to the extreme poverty of Scotland, to the lack of communications and the difficulty of carrying out in practice a purpose of parish education in a land where communities were remote and self-contained, cut off from one another and from any central authority. The people of Scotland were for long divided in purpose not merely by geographical barriers, but also by oppo-:sing loyalties. It was only with the final establishment of Presbyterianism by Act of Parliament in 1690, and the Union of 1707, that renewed attention could be paid to Knox's ideals of education for the generality of the Scottish people.

Yet the aims of The First Book of Discipline had never been forgotten. Repeated resolutions of the Estates in secret or open council, as well as of the General Assembly, had declared the intention, if not the fulfilment. Thus, a meeting of the Privy Council of James VI, held at Edinburgh, 10th December, 1616, discussed 'the planting of schooles' and set down resolutions which echo the wishes of the Reformers in almost every particular. In sum, it is stated that: The true religion is to be advanced and established in all parts of the kingdom; the youth are to be exercised and trained up in civility, godliness, knowledge, and learning; wherever a school is needed it is to be established so

that the youth may be taught at the least to write and read and be catechised and instructed in the grounds of religion; and a fit person is to be appointed to teach, at the expense of the parishioners. Since many parents are as careless and negligent as their children, they are straightly commanded, charged and ordained by His Majesty in Council to see to it that their children are instructed and brought to the ordinary pastor for catechising and examination, under pain of a fine if the statute is ignored or disobeyed. The common English tongue is to be 'universallie plantit' to replace Gaelic, which is condemned as 'one of the chief and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Ilis and Heylandis'.(2)

This Act of the Privy Council was ratified by Parliament in 1633, with the addition that the heritors were to be compelled to establish and maintain schools and provide schoolmasters wherever they were required. This 1633 Act, being approved and passed by Parliament, as The First Book of Discipline was not, thus became the first legislative enactment with regard to parish schools in Scotland.

But the Magna Charta of Scottish Education was the Act for Settling of Schools, of 1696. It emanated from the first

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2. The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland. ed. David Masson, LL.D., Vol. X. Edinburgh, 1891.
Also: Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. Vol. V. Apud Edinburgh, June 1633.

Scottish Parliament of King William, and it proclaimed:

"Our Soveraign Lord Considering, how prejudiciall the Want of Schools in many Places have been and how beneficiall the establishing and setleing therof in every paroch will be to this Church and Kingdom Therfor His Majestie with the advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament Statutes and Ordains That there be a School settled and Established and a Schoolmaster appointed in every paroch not already provided by advice of the Heritors and Minister of the paroch And for that effect that the Heritors in every paroch meet and provide a commodious house for a School and settle and modifie a sallary to a Schoolmaster which shall not be under one Hundred merks not above two Hundred merks to be payed yearly at two terms Whitsunday and Martinmass by equall portions and that they stent and lay on the said sallary conform to every Heritors valued rent within the paroch allowing each Heritor relief from his tennents of the half of his propor:tion for settling and maintaining of a School and payment of the Schoolmasters sallary ...."[3]

Under the Presbyterian system, now by law established, the Presbytery had the power to see to it that the heritors obeyed, or, if they failed to do so, to apply to the Commissioners of Supply to establish a school and settle a salary for the Schoolmaster and to tax the heritors for the same.

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3. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. Vol. X. Apud Edinburgh, 9th October, 1696.

In conclusion, the 1696 Act embraced all former resolu:tions regarding parochial education in Scotland:
"And lastly his Majestie with advice and consent forsaid Ratifies and Approves all former Lawes Customs and Constitutions made for establishing and maintaining of Schools within the Kingdom in so far as the same are not altered nor innovat by this present Act."(4)

This Act for Settling of Schools remained the leading enactment until 1803, when, in the reign of George III, Parlia:ment passed An Act for making better Provision for the Parochial Schoolmasters, and for making further Regulations for the better Government of the Parish Schools in Scotland. This 19th century statute, indeed, is, in the main, a recapitulation of the 1696 Act, though it goes into much greater detail with regard to the provision of an adequate salary and housing for the schoolmasters. The superintendence of schools is to continue with the Ministers of the Established Church, and Presbyteries have the power to regulate the hours of teaching and the duties and conduct of the schoolmaster. The latter is required to testify his loyalty to both Crown and Church:
"Every Schoolmaster elected under the Provisions of this Act, shall carry the Minutes, or an Extract or certified Copy of the Minutes of his Election to the Presbytery, accompanied with

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4. op. cit.

"Attestations of his having taken an Oath to his Majesty before any of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace; and the Presbytery shall thereupon take Trial of his Sufficiency for the Office, in respect of Morality and Religion, and of such Branches of Literature as by the Majority of Heritors and Minister shall be deemed most necessary and important for the Parish, by Examina:tion of the Presentee, by Certificates and Recommendations in his Favour, by their own personal Enquiry or otherwise, and shall see him sign the Confession of Faith and Formula of the Church of Scotland; and their Judgement or Determination as to the Qualifications of such Presentee for the Office of School:master shall not be reviewed or suspended by any Court, Civil or Ecclesiastical......"(5)

The Acts of 1696 and 1803, re-stating Reformation aims, provided adequate Parliamentary sanction for the provision of parochial education throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. But it was left to the Church, or, rather, to Churchmen, to transform the will into the deed. It was no easy task. Repeated Acts of Assembly in the 18th and 19th centuries bear witness to the Church's efforts to see to it that every parish should have a well-equipped school and a suitable schoolmaster. Parish education was not merely an

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5. An Act for Making better Provision for the Parochial Schoolmasters, and for making further Regulations for the better Government of the Parish Schools in Scotland. 11th June, 1803. Anno Quadragesimo Tertio Georgii III Regis. Cap. LIV.

act of idealism or of faith, or even of Christian duty. It was also a work of necessity, for the very existence of a Reformed Church on the pattern laid down by Calvin and Knox depended on the education of its members. But again and again the desire of the Assembly had to wait upon the frustration of circumstances, the strife of politics, the poverty of the means to carry any plan into effectual execution, even the lukewarm-:ness of the commonalty towards any official resolutions for their betterment. Amelioration by Act of Parliament or by decision of the Courts of the Church, had, as always, to wait upon the pioneers who would not rest until the blue-prints had taken material form.

The 19th century matched the moment with such men. Parliamentary control subsisted in far-off London. The General Assembly had become in a sense the national court of Scotland. Church politics took the place of the old Estates; in the early part of the 19th century the perfervidum ingenium Scotorum flashed forth in religious controversy which had its effect on the remotest village of the land. That national religious fervour, fostered by the Calvinism which had taken deep root in Scottish soil, was brought to bear, as never before, on the great task of education. Where the ecclesiastical courts progressed but slowly in their official capacity, charitable organisations, supported by churchmen took the field. Where the National Church was frustrated by the land-owners, it took action through private ventures. But whatever the enterprise, the aim was always the same: the Christian education of the

community, not only in the truths, but also in the duties of the Christian faith.

Acts of Parliament notwithstanding, it was plain that the heritors would of themselves do little. Many of them were of small property and poor; most of them were quite indifferent to the task of education. The great land-owners, more and more beguiled by the culture and connections of wealthier England, were the moral descendants of the nobles who had prevented The First Book of Discipline from becoming a legal statute. John Knox himself had noted of Lord Erskine (afterwards Earl of Mar), that: "yf the poore, the schooles, and the ministerie of the Kirk had their awin, his keching wald lack two parttis and more of that whiche he injustlie now possesses."[6] The lairds of later days were just as unwilling to put their hands in their pockets for the establishment of schools. "To them," notes Dr. Thomas Guthrie, "with honourable exceptions, the country owed little gratitude. They grew rich by the spoils of the Church; starved the teachers, and opposed with dogged determination every reform in Church and State, reminding one of what Dr. Chalmers related as the speech of a professor of St. Andrews to his students: 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'there are just two things in nature that never change. These are the fixed stars and the Scotch lairds!' "[7]

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6. The Works of John Knox: ed. Laing. Vol. II. p. 128. Edinburgh, 1895.

7. Autobiography of Thomas Guthrie, D.D. London, 1877. p.35.

If the heritors failed to act, as was all too commonly the case, then, under the terms of the 1803 Act, the Presbytery was authorised to apply to the Commissioners of Supply of the county to carry out the law at the expense of the lairds. Thus the Church had the authority to make the Act work. But even here all was not plain sailing. The appointment to a parish did not go by merit, but by influence, and it was the land-owner who was usually the patron of the living. The minister who had his hopes set on a comfortably-endowed parish would not care to cross swords with his patron over the subject of school accommo:dation. The parish schoolmaster, who was often a divinity student or licentiate of the Church dared not quarrel with one on whose favour he depended to find him a parish. The heritor, too, in a National Church was perhaps ruling elder, fellow Presbyter, and fellow Commissioner to the General Assembly. He was responsible for the fabric of church and manse, as well as for school and school-house. A minister in concord with his heritors could live comfortably. At variance with the local landlords he would suffer materially as well as in author:ity in the community.

Thus, although it was the avowed duty and task of the Church to see to it that schools were established and maintained throughout the land, many parishes at the beginning of the 19th century were in fact without the means of education. But where the Church was slow to act legally and nationally, it could and

did act through private and charitable organisations. Indeed, throughout the period under review, it was private ventures which led the way, supported by enlightened Churchmen, until the endeavour of national education attained the countenance of the whole country.

Such an organisation was the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which had been erected by Letters Patent in 1709, in the reign of Queen Anne. Its primary aim was the propagation of the Reformed faith in the remote and barbarous Highlands, where ignorance and Romish superstition largely abounded and where the scattered population was all too easily disaffected in their loyalty to the Crown. The stated policy of the S.S.P.C.K. was ...... "the Increase of Piety and Virtue within Scotland, and especially in the Highlands, Islands, and remote Corners thereof, where Error, Idolatry, Superstition, and Ignorance do mostly abound, by reason of the Largeness of Parishes and Scarcity of Schools ......"[8]

The Society was granted "full Power to receive Subscrip:tions, Mortifications, Donations, Legacies, Sums of Money, Lands, Goods and Gear, and therewith to erect and maintain Schools, to teach to read, especially the Holy Scriptures, and other good and pious Books; as also to teach Writing, Arithmetick, and such

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8. A Short Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge. By Mr. Robert Walker, Edinburgh, 1748. p. 29.

"like Degrees of Knowledge in the Highlands, Islands, and remote Corners of Scotland, ... and to use such Means for instructing the People in the Christian Reformed Protestant Religion as may be competent ...."(9)

Members of the Committee were required to be Protestants, the rules, ordinances, instructions and directions had to be "agreeable, and nowise contrary, to the Laws and Constitutions of Scotland, in Church and State, presently in Force,"(10) and the Presbyteries of the Church had to make exact enquiry into the manner of life and conversation of the teachers to be employed by the Society to ensure that they were "Men of Piety, Loyalty, Prudence, Gravity, competent Knowledge and Literature, and other Christian and necessary Qualifications suited to their respective Stations."(11) None was to be employed who was not first tried and examined, certified and attested by the Church Courts. It was the duty of the Church, too, to visit the Society schools annually and to report on them.

It is clear from the S.S.P.C.K. reports that the schools were intended to be largely under the control of the Established Church and to be supplementary to the parochial schools. The Society are "particularly careful, not to place or keep their schools too near any Parochial Schools, lest the one might hinder

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9. Ibid. p. 32.
10. Ibid. p. 37.
11. Ibid. p. 37.

"the Success of the other".[12] The educational syllabus, too, is very similar to that of the parish school, though more circumscribed. The duty of the S.S.P.C.K. schoolmasters is "to instruct their Scholars in the Principles of the Christian Reformed Religion; to direct their Morals, and to train them up in the Social Virtues; to teach them Writing and Orthography, Arithmetick and Church Musick, but no Latin; .... to worship God every Day and every Night, and to take care that the Scholars attend Publick Worship on the Lord's Day."[13]

Neither the 1715 nor the 1745 Rebellion seriously hampered the progress of the Society. Indeed, they served to point a moral in the public appeal for further subscriptions. To support the Society's schools would be to enlighten a "wild and barbarous people", rendered such by their climate, their religion and their clanships; it would help to make them loyal to "the most merciful and best modell'd Government in Europe;" and it would free the Highlanders from their bondage to "these very assiduous Creatures, the Priests". Not least is the aim of the Society to extirpate "the Irish Language".
"The Wisdom of the Nation have attempted several methods to civilise the Highlands, they have disarmed them, they have destroyed their Feudal Tenures, they have changed their dress, nay, changed their very Names, but never have they attempted to

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12. Ibid. p. 47.

13. Ibid. p. 47.

change their Language. And yet nothing tends more to perpetu:ate Barbarity and Ignorance among them than this very Thing, which renders it impossible for them to learn of the rest of the World or the rest of the World to understand them."(14)

A Second Patent, granted to the Society in 1738, ratified and perpetually confirmed the first, and, in addition, proposed the setting up of Schools of Industry, "to cause such children as they shall think fit, to be instructed and bred up to Husbandry and Housewifery, or in Trades and Manufactures, or in such like manual Operations, as the Society shall think proper".(15) The Directors of the S.S.P.C.K. admit that, amidst so ignorant and barbarous a people, "if it was not possible to reform the then Generation" at least the way might be paved for the reform:ation of the next. In 1748 they could claim to have been "the means of instructing Fifty thousand children in the Knowledge of Christianity; and many of these, too, living in the most remote and dark Corners of the Country, where otherwise the Rays of the Sun of Righteousness had never yet reached".(16) At that date they had 134 schools with 7,805 pupils, under the auspices of 36 Pres:byteries as widely scattered as Uist, Zetland, Dumbarton, and Edinburgh. By the end of the first decade of the 19th century they had 290 schools, containing nearly 16,000 pupils. In every case the Church was the controlling influence.

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14. Ibid. p. 62.

15. Ibid. p. 64.

16. Ibid. p. 56.

A similar venture was The Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools, which came into being in 1811. Largely modelled on the S.S.P.C.K., it sought to reach hitherto neglected parts of the Highlands and Islands. But per contra to the older body, the new Society sought to instruct the children in the Gaelic language, encouraged thereto by the recent publication of a version of the Gaelic Scriptures by the British and Foreign Bible Society. It was claimed that in spite of the work of the S.S.P.C.K. and of the parochial schools, "out of 335,000 persons in the Highlands, 300,000 understood no other language than Gaelic, so far, at least, as not to comprehend a book written, or a continued discourse spoken, in any other".(17)

The object of the Society, therefore, was "to teach the inhabitants to read the Holy Scriptures in their native language".(18) Their schools were to be of the circulating type, so that the schoolmaster might move to any locality where he would meet with a response. For the most part, the Society was content to allow the people of a district to provide modest accommodation for the master.

"An untenanted house, of convenient situation, may in some districts be found, which will be quite suitable for the purpose in view. Where this cannot be got, the inhabitants will, with

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17. First Annual Report of the Society for the support of Gaelic Schools, with an Appendix respecting the present state of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, etc. 2nd. ed. Edinburgh. 1812. p. 10.

18. Ibid. p. 8.

that alacrity which they have already shown, unite in erecting one."[19] The only stipulation was that the house should be as large as possible, not merely because a small space was injur:ious to health and prevented progress in learning, but also because it was hoped to make such school-rooms a meeting-place for Scripture teaching on the Sabbath day. The Scriptures were to take a pre-eminent place in daily teaching. "Two different parts of the Old Testament are to be read by the fifth class at each meeting of the School."[20] Detailed instruc:tions were given to the teacher as to the methods of teaching to be employed. Once again the Church was responsible for oversight of the work. The public examination at the end of term was to be held in the local Parish Church, with the minister examining the scholars.

As well as the parochial schools and Society schools, there were hundreds of class-rooms "at private adventure" to be found almost everywhere throughout the land. They were of very varied quality. Too often "the work of education was not yet discovered to require something more than a wooden leg, a palsied limb, an empty pocket, or the hope of a clerical gown".[21]

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19. The Teacher's Guide in conducting the Gaelic Schools. Edinburgh 1815. p. 3.

20. Ibid. p. 18.

21. Centenary Handbook of The Educational Institute of Scotland: A.J. Belford. p. 42.

But whatever the nature of the school, wherever the situa-:tion, the Bible was the main text-book, the Catechism was dili-:gently conned, the children were to be taught the truths of Christianity, and, in particular, the teachers were to be men approved by the Church and more or less subject to the Presbytery and under the oversight of the parish minister. All reports of the period, concerning many and varied types of school, agree in their general assessment of the situation and needs of rural Scotland in the early 19th century.

The situation was serious enough, whether the aim of the educationists was to redeem the disaffected, enlighten the papists, civilise the barbarous, or make God-fearing members of society. The First Annual Report of the Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools pointed out that since 1750 the population of almost every Highland Parish and every Island, had doubled. In spite of the efforts of every educational agency, it was noted that: "Of the numerous bands who come southward every year in the time of harvest to reap our fields, not one in ten is capable of reading the simplest passages of Sacred Scripture. The inhabitants of many populous districts are still more illiterate. In some of these not one in sixty, in others not one in a hundred can read"(22). Of the 78 inhabited islands, a number were totally unprovided with the means of instruction. There was no resident minister, missionary, catechist, nor any school whatever.

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22. First Annual Report of The Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools: p. 11.

Written reports from parish ministers submitted to the Societies or to the General Assembly reveal the deficiencies of education in Scotland. In 1800 the Presbyteries were asked by the General Assembly to report on all schools and school-:masters within their bounds. At the time of the 1803 Act it was noted that in the whole of Scotland there were 942 parish schools, that is, little more than one to each parish, no matter how wide its bounds. The attendance at all schools, parish, Society, or adventure, did not exceed one twelfth of the popu-:lation.

The interest aroused in education by the work of private and charitable organisations impelled the General Assembly to further effort. In 1824 the Assembly set up an Education Committee (to this day the oldest standing Committee of the General Assembly) to augment the parochial school system. By 1843 there were 146 such Assembly schools, with 13,000 scholars currently enrolled. As in the case of the Society schools, the work was maintained by the voluntary offerings of the Church plate.

A study of the Statistical Accounts of Scotland of 1791 and 1845, as well as the General Assembly's Education Committee Reports, supports the contention that the Knoxian ideal of parish education in Scotland was still far from being fulfilled. These documents give perhaps the clearest account of the situ-:ation amidst all the prolific hortatory pamphleteering and ex-parte writings of the times.

The following reports from the Statistical Account of 1791 are samples of a general situation in rural Scotland:

Auchterderran, Fife:

"The parochial schools are by no means supplied with such enlightened teachers as those that were formerly instrumental in diffusing this knowledge. No one of good education and ability now accepts of this reduced pittance, where the situation is not favourable for producing lucrative scholars; and the village teacher, brought in by the subscription of needy people, is a still more unqualified person. In such cases the people do not propose seeking out the best, but the cheapest."(23)

Applecross, Ross-shire:

The master supplements his meagre income with cockfight dues, which are equal to one quarter's payment for each scholar. "It is disgraceful that a class of men so usefully employed in the service of the public should have so little of its countenance."(24)

Kirkpatrick-Juxta, Dumfries: "Had not the present teacher been disabled for working as a common mason, he must have spurned such a livelihood as this."(25)

New (East) Monkland, Lanark: Over 100 heritors. Minister's stipend, £120. Teacher's salary: 100 merks, with dwelling-house, but no garden. The teacher is also precentor and session-clerk. "A shameful pittance, a disgrace to the country."(26)

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23. The Statistical Account of Scotland, drawn up from the Communications of the Ministers of the different Parishes. By Sir John Sinclair, Bart. Edinburgh. 1791. Vol.I.p.457.
24. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 378.
25. Ibid. Vol. 4. p.520. 26. Ibid. Vol. 7. p. 272-3.

Glentrathen, or Lintrathen, Angus: Parish school salary, 6 or 7 bolls oats, collected from tenants, and some trifling fees. "On this miserable allowance he has contrived to support a family upwards of 60 years. The hut in which he resides is hardly fit to accommodate the meanest beggar."(27)

Kinnettles, Angus: School salary, £5. Fees, £4 - 13 - 9. Registration of baptisms and marriages and session clerk: £2 - 8 - 4. Total: £12 - 2 - 1 .... "a sum less by £2 sterling than the income of a common labourer."(28)

Glenorchy and Inishail: "The office of the schoolmaster is an useful and laborious employment. It is a pity, that the encouragement to this class of men, should in general, be so inadequate to their utility and to their labours. In most parishes, though it is by no means the case in this, the winnings of a common servant greatly exceed the income of men, whose employments expose them to much waste of health and spirits; to much hunger and cold, and to much censure; men, too, many of them possessed of learning and cultivated minds, and by means of whom, the first principles of morals and science are communic:ated to millions."(29)

A letter on The State of National Education in Scotland sums up the position at the turn of the century: "There are

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27. Ibid. Vol. 13. p. 566.
28. Ibid. Vol. 9. p. 205.
29. Ibid. Vol. 8. p. 354.

"about 900 parochial schoolmasters in Scotland, of whom more than 500 have no more than £16 per year in all. Half, at most, is stated salary, the rest contingent and uncertain. He is often left to extort 3d or 4d from each of a large number of tenants. The school-houses generally are mere hovels. The greater part of school salaries at present are enjoyed by expectants of the church. Most are only too glad to escape to some other job, so there are frequent vacancies and a regular influx of novices."[30]

The New Ststistical Account of 1845 shows no very marked improvement in the situation:

Liberton: (year 1839) Four large resident proprietors. Minister's stipend now worth £326 - 14 - 7. Parish schoolmaster gets maximum salary, 400 merks, plus house.[31]

Maxton: (year 1834) The master is an infirm old man retired for 25 years, retaining house, garden and salary of £25 - 13 - 3. His successor has house and salary of £20 - 6 - 8 from the heri-:tors, plus fees of £20 - 1 - 5, heritor's clerk: £4. - 4/- , session clerk: £1 - 1/-.[32]

Strathblane: (year 1841) Stipend of minister, £231 - 17 - 10, plus glebe, £16. The parish school-room is 18 ft. by 16 by 7,

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30. A letter to Sir John Sinclair, Bart. on The State of National Education in Scotland, by N.K. In General Appendix to the Statistical Account of Scotland. Vol. XXI, 1799.

31. The New Statistical Account of Scotland. Vol. I. p. 24.

32. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 124.

badly lighted, a most ill-aired, wretched hovel. The heritors propose to remove the floor further from the ceiling. "In order to enlarge it, some of the heritors strongly recommend an excavation, which will remove the floor further from the ceiling, but they have not shown how this process will enlarge the area."(33)

The returns of 1833-34 show that the average <u>total</u> income of 1170 parish school teachers was £47 - 6/-. In the Highlands, private teachers averaged £13. The average of ministers' stipends for 717 stated parishes covering the whole of Scotland (excluding large burghs and cities) was £225 - 8/-.

The Presbytery and Parochial Reports on the State of Education in Scotland, published by the General Assembly's Education Committee, 1842, contain a great deal of similar information about the parish schools of the time, with passing reference to voluntary, subscription, and charity schools in the parishes. Frequent references to 'the improved system of teaching' in the case of the parish schools show that the influence of the Normal Schools was already being felt, even in rural areas.

The Presbytery reports contain a summary review of the schools examined within their bounds. The following are typical:

<u>Linlithgow:</u> All parochial schools examined. Several not efficiently taught. Scriptures read daily in them all, and

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33. Ibid. Vo. 8. p.87.

other means of religious instruction employed. Two only opened with prayer and one only closed with it. One neither opened nor closed with prayer. In three schools the teachers are assisted by members of their own families. In another, a regular assistant is employed, who was chosen by the qualified electors, examined by the Presbytery, and is remunerated by the fees.

Non-parochial schools: Not examined .... generally from the teachers being averse to admit the Presbytery's superintendence. A good many such schools are inefficiently taught, from unskilfulness and incompetency. In regard to a good many non-parochial schools it is expressly stated that religious instruction meets with careful attention. Some are reported as regularly opened and closed with prayer.(34)

Peebles: Parochial schools: None reported inefficiently taught. Religious instruction in all. Non-parochial schools: Two adventure schools not examined, as Presbytery's visit has been for several years declined. None reported inefficiently taught.

General remarks: A very few of the teachers on their own adventure have ~~not~~ had any experience of the improved systems; and some parents are not fond of what they call novelties, in some cases removing their children from a school taught in the

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34. Presbyterial and Parochial Reports on the State of Education in Scotland. Published by the General Assembly's Education Committee. 1842. p. 7.

modern manner to one in which the more ancient is still retained. One non-parochial school 'is taught by a very old man, and con:sidering his age he does very well.' One is 'an evening school for the children of colliers.' In one parish two farmers who have teachers for their children allow the neighbouring children to attend.[35]

Dalkeith: Parochial schools: All examined. In all the Scriptures are read daily, and the scholars catechised upon them. The Shorter Catechism, with explanations and proofs, forms a most important part of every day's exercises. By this means the children are well grounded in the doctrines of the Church of Scotland. The schools are opened and closed with prayer by the teachers. The other ordinary means of religious instruction are employed, such as committing to memory the Shorter Catechism, Psalms, and Paraphrases. "Mr. Muir, the parochial schoolmaster of Pennicuik, has long been unfit for duty, by reason of his great age."

Non-parochial schools: The Committee do not report all these schools equally well taught. Religious instruction holds a prominent place in all these schools and this is communicated chiefly by daily reading the Bible, and by learning the Shorter Catechism, with explanations and proofs. There is great dis:parity of attainments among the different teachers.

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35. Ibid. p. 9.

General: The Bible is used daily in all these schools, paro-:chial or non-parochial as a school-book, and it is gratifying to the Committee to be able to state that great attention is paid to the religious department of education. In the parochial schools the teachers are gradually introducing the class of text-books recommended by the Assembly's Committee on Education.(36)

Returns of this nature are made by all the Presbyteries, except those of Edinburgh, Kintyre, Skye, Kirkwall, and Lerwick. All have much the same general impressions to report. The work in the parochial schools is reasonably well done; modern methods of teaching are finding their way in, even, in some cases, to the non-parochial schools. Scripture knowledge is well-taught on the whole, the Bible and Shorter Catechism being the main text-books. Some of the teachers are too aged and infirm for their work, but assistants are available.

Several comments must, however, be made on the general complacency of the Presbytery reports. They were prepared by ministers who were not disposed to see in an unfavourable light the educational work for which they were in large measure responsible. The parochial schoolmaster, frequently session-clark, was the minister's right-hand man in the parish, and is not to be hardly dealt with. These reports, too, were prepared

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36. Ibid. p. 11.
Note: The information contained in the "Abstract of Parochial Returns of School Examinations", made by the several Presbyteries of the Church of Scotland for the year ending 15th April, 1849, is very similar See Report of the Committee of the General Assembly for increasing the means of Education in Scotland. May 1849. Appendix.

for submission to the General Assembly, where they were read or heard by other members from different parts of the country. Each Presbytery was naturally anxious to 'report diligence' and to leave in the minds of the commissioners a favourable impres-:sion of the progress of education, particularly religious education, in their own particular area.

It must also be noted that the Committee appointed by the Presbytery to visit schools within the bounds did so very occa-:sionally, and spent little time making any detailed examination. The visit was generally arranged well in advance, the master had previously rehearsed the children, religious instruction was well to the fore, the pupils were ready with the right answers to the right questions, and the deputation had neither the inclination nor the knowledge to enquire more closely into the regular day to day teaching. Dr. Thomas Guthrie recalls such a visitation: "I was seven years in the parish of Arbirlot (1830 - 37); and while I believe I was just as attentive as my neighbours, I do not recollect of being three times in the parish school, though it was next door to me, except on those occasions, once a year, when the Presbytery Committee came to examine the school. The truth is, Presbyterial supervision was very much a decent sham. To be sure, if there were any old schoolmaster among the parish ministers, he pricked up his ears like an old hunter when he hears the sound of the horn;

" but as for the rest of us, who were not accustomed to it, to sit for weary hours hearing 'A - b, ab, B - o, bo,' was the driechest business I ever had to do with. And well do I remember to have seen how often the watches were pulled out to see how the time went; and the truth is, if the 'diet of exam-:ination' had not been followed by another kind of 'diet' at the manse, - a committee dinner, and a sociable crack with the brethren - there would have been very few at the diet of exam-:ination!"[37]

In the case of the non-parochial schools within their bounds, the Presbyteries had to go warily. Some of these schools belonged to schismatic bodies whose managers did not welcome a visitation from representatives of the Established Church. For the most part the reports were content to state that although teachers in the non-parochial schools might be ill-qualified and poorly paid, their doctrine was sound. Established or secession, the schools, like the kirks, were obdurately Presby-:terian. The educational framework was makeshift, the teachers often ill-equipped for the task. But the <u>ethos</u> of rural educa-in the first half of the 19th century was still Calvinist and Knoxian.

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37. Autobiography and Memoir of Thomas Guthrie, D.D. London. 1877. p. 603.

Chapter Four.

The Educational System in 19th century Scotland:

THE RURAL CLASS-ROOM.

"The parish schoolmaster was a scholar and an honest man, and if a boy really wished to learn, he certainly could teach him. He had attended the classes at Aberdeen during the same sessions as the late Dr. Mearns, and in mathematics and the languages had disputed the prize with the Doctor; but he had failed to get on equally well in the world; and now, in middle life, though a licentiate of the Church, he had settled down to be what he subsequently remained - the teacher of a parish school. There were usually a few grown-up lads under his tuition - careful sailors, that had stayed ashore during the winter quarter to study navigation as a science, - or tall fellows, happy in the patronage of the great, who, in the hope of being made excisemen, had come to school to be initiated in the mysteries of gauging, - or grown young men, who, on second thoughts, and somewhat late in the day, had recognised the Church as their proper vocation; and these used to speak of the master's acquirements and teaching ability in the very highest terms. He himself, too, could appeal to the fact, that no teacher in the north had ever sent more students to college, and that his better scholars almost always got on well in life. But then, on the other hand, the pupils who wished to do nothing — a description of individuals that comprised fully two-thirds of all the younger ones - were not required to do much more than they wished; and parents and guardians were loud in their com-:plaints that he was no suitable schoolmaster for them; though the boys themselves usually thought him quite suitable enough." (1)

Hugh Miller.

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The Act for Settling of Schools of 1696 had laid down the wages of a schoolmaster. He was to get not more than 200 merks

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1. Hugh Miller: My Schools and Schoolmasters. Edinburgh. 1907. p. 45.

£11 - 2 - 3) and not less than 100 merks.[2] (The merk was a silver Scotch coin first issued in 1570. It was equivalent to two-thirds of a pound Scots, or thirteen and one-third pence sterling. Twenty shillings, or one pound Scots, was equal to twenty pence sterling).

That stated salary remained unaltered for more than a hundred years. By the Act of 1803, the salary of the parish schoolmaster was raised to the maximum of 400 merks (£22 - 4 - 5) and a minimum of 300 merks (£16 - 13 - 4).[3] It was further enacted that a commodious house for a school must be provided, and a dwelling-house and garden for the schoolmaster. Not more than two apartments including the kitchen were required for the school:master; the garden was to consist of at least one-fourth of a Scots acre, suitably fenced in. Where there was no garden, the master was to receive an addition to his salary in lieu thereof. Needless to say, these regulations were no more attended to than those for providing schools. Parochial records up and down the land bear witness to the mean housing of masters and scholars alike.

Many proclamations had been made both by Church and State in the course of the years about the necessary qualifications of the schoolmaster. Most of them were based on the ideals of the

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2. Acts of the Parliament of Scotland. Vol. X. Apud Edinburgh. 9th October, 1696.

3. An Act for making better Provision for the Parochial School:masters, and for making further Regulations for the better Government of the Parish Schools of Scotland. 11th June, 1803. Anno Quadragesimo Tertio Georgii III Regis. Cap.LIV.

First Book of Discipline, though, strangely enough, there is no mention in that work of qualifications and character necessary in a schoolmaster. The life and conversation of ministers is under 'strait and sharp examination'. As for the schoolmaster, it is mentioned only in the passing that he must be able to teach Grammar. It can be taken for granted, however, that the Church required of those who taught the young as strait a conduct of life as it did of its ministers.

The 19th century was, in the letter at least, strict in its requirements. The superintendence of schools was to continue with the ministers of the Established Church as heretofore. When a vacancy occurred it was to be intimated from the pulpit, and the ministers and heritors of the parish were to elect a person to the office of schoolmaster, in the terms of the 1803 Act.

Such was the ideal. The reality, largely because of the financial provisions, was very different. There was a wide diversity of gifts and experience among this 'most useful Body of Men'[4] who staffed the schools of Scotland in the early 19th century. Not a few were incapacitated by age, infirmity, or inability to teach properly. A number were 'stickit

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4. Note: The opening words of the 1803 Act are: "Whereas the Parish Schoolmasters in Scotland are a most useful Body of Men ..." It is a description often repeated in 19th century writing about schools and schoolmasters. In the terms of the Dick Bequest, from Mr. Dick's last Will and Testament, May, 1827, the schoolmasters are referred to as 'that neglected, though useful class of men ....' See: Report on Education in the Parochial Schools of the Counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray, by Simon S. Laurie, A.M. Edinburgh, 1865. p. 213.

ministers' who through lack of ability, influence or eloquence had failed to find a patron to present them to a parish.(5) Others were youthful aspirants to the Kirk, birds of passage whose sojourn in the schoolroom was as brief as they could make it. Most of these were in attendance at the University or Divinity Hall throughout the winter months, leaving such substitute as they could find to take their place in the class-room. Professor Laurie, inspector for the Dick Bequest, noted that nine-tenths of the graduates in parish schools regarded teaching as a tempo-:rary job. There is no doubt that the task was irksome to many of them. Thomas Davidson, the "Scottish Probationer', wrote to a friend:

"You know nothing about the vexation of communicating the mysteries of number to an epitome who stares you in the face with large eyes, and expresses his conviction, in spite of common sense and what he deems a much more important thing - the multiplication table - that 5 times 3 are 10, and 5 times 9 are 19. You know nothing, Javius, of the internal commotion one feels when his zeal in the communication of knowledge is suddenly checked by some wretched essence of staring stupidity, who looks him in the face and gravely tells him that f-o-x spells

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5. There were, in any case, far more licentiates than there were kirks for them. The number of divinity students at Aberdeen alone in the early years of the century was from 150 to 180, and Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews had still more. Yet there were only some 30 vacancies a year in the parish churches. See: A Practical Essay on the manner of Studying and Teaching in Scotland. Anon. Edinburgh. 1823, p. 120.

"cat! ...... A teacher is always in prison, his nature is in chains, and the business of his life is to be a hopeless unstriving captive. He must always live for a pattern or an example, and you know what sort of living that must be. That appears to me, at least, to be the state of the case; a theory liable to two objections: I am prejudiced against the business, and I have had little or no experience. Take my advice, however, Javius, and thank God you are not a teacher."(6)

There must have been many such. Presbytery, parish, and other reports on education in the 19th century reveal the diversity of quality in the village schoolmasters. Thus: "The unendowed male teacher is somewhat deaf, and without a limb." (Parish of Queensferry). "The parish teacher is am elder, and very respectable, both as a teacher and as a man. He has studied at a University. He practises the explanatory system skilfully." (Parish of Liberton). "Cotyburn, N.E. of this parish, is taught by Peter Barclay, who was once in the army, lost an arm, and has a pension from the Government." (Parish of Gladsmuir). "The original parish schoolmaster is session-clerk, heritor's clark, and a land-surveyor; but he does not teach. His assistant has nothing but what arises from his teaching. The proper or original schoolmaster has been found inefficient, and an assistant appointed. His inefficiency arises from want of

6. The Life of a Scottish Probationer. A Memoir of Thomas Davidson, by James Brown, D.D. 3rd. ed. Glasgow. 1889. p.49.

ability to impart his knowledge to others, at least to children." (Parish of Prestonkirk). "One of the teachers is inefficient from indolence; another from natural softness of disposition. Generally the non-parochial teachers are defectively educated, none of them qualified to teach the non-elementary subjects. One of them has been most of his life a town-officer, and was but recently liberated from the hulks where he was sent for forgery." (Parish of Jedburgh). "Mr. Laidlaw is a faithful teacher, who seeks to prepare his scholars, not only for the business of this world, but for the better world to come. He is an elder of the church." (Parish of Stevenston). "The parochial schoolmaster is superannuated and employs a substitute under whom the school has decidedly improved, but his attainments are limited, and he has not had the advantage of seeing any improved system of instruction in operation." (Parish of Kintail). "The teacher is a student in Divinity, of attainments suited to a more advanced class of scholars than those he has to teach." (Parish of Glenelg). "The teachers are both more remarkable for their zeal as expounders and lecturers than for attention or success as instructors of youth." (Parish of Lochalsh).(7)

The Established Church also had the last word in the control of teachers appointed to the S.S.P.C.K. and other Society schools.

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7. Presbyterial and Parochial Reports on the State of Education in Scotland. Published by the General Assembly's Education Committee 1842. passim.

The qualifications of the S.S.P.C.K. schoolmasters were to be certified on trial before the Presbytery within whose bounds they were to work: "The Certificate bears, that the Candidate is a Person well known to the Presbytery, of whose Piety, Loyalty, and Prudence they are satisfied; That he understands the Prin:ciples of the Protestant Religion, Writing and Arithmetick; That they judge him well-affected to the present Government, and in every respect qualified for the office of Schoolmaster."(8)

The Society also had its eye on likely lads who might grow up to follow the profession of teaching. It was their aim to train "such of their poor scholars who may be found of more than common Genius, that out of these proper Schoolmasters may be had and that in the mean Time they may assist such Masters where schools are numerous."(9) Such bursars, who received an allow:ance of a penny a day for the first two years and a penny half-penny a day for the third year, with a suit of clothes and a pair of shoes, had also to be closely examined by the minister of the parish and by Presbytery visitors in order to qualify for a certificate of worthiness. Thus in the Society schools as in the parish schools the Knoxian tradition was carried on and every care was taken to ensure orthodoxy in matters of Church and State.

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8. A Short Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge. By Mr. Robert Walker, Edinburgh. 1748. p. 46.

9. Ibid. p. 48.

As for the hundreds of 'adventure schools' up and down the land, they ran to even greater extremes in the types of teachers who set themselves up in the way of education. The dame's school portrayed by George Crabbe, was familiar in Scotland as in England:

> "Oné there is that small regard to rule
> Or study pays, and still is deemed a school.
> That, where a deaf, poor, patient widow sits,
> And awes some thirty infants as she knits,
> Infants of humble, busy wives, who pay
> Some trifling price for freedom through the day.
> At this good matron's hut the children meet,
> Who then becomes the mother of the street;
> Her room is small, they cannot widely stray,
> Her threshold high, they cannot run away." (10)

The 'dame's schools' were the forerunners of the infant schools. They had no connexion with the Church, nor were they in any way a substitute for the parish school. At best they kept very young children out of mischief, helped them to stumble through the first syllables of reading, and inculcated Biblical morality.

There were, however, humble schools run by men and women in whom the love of learning was deep-rooted. Thomas Guthrie thus describes his early training at such a school:
"With my brother Charles, who was only two and twenty months older than myself, I was sent, when four years old (1807) to what might be called an infant school: 'infant schools',properly so called, were not known in these days. My father had a large business to manage, and my mother a large family to look after;

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10 George Crabbe: The Borough. Letter XXIV. Schools. Poetical Works of George Crabbe, ed. A.J. Carlyle and R.M. Carlyle, London. Henry Frowde. 1908. p. 205.

and I fancy we were sent there to be out of the way, and also because the fees offered an opportunity of contributing in a delicate way to the comfort of a humble but high-minded and eminently Christian man.

"Jamie Stewart, our pedagogue, was by trade a weaver;... the single room of this good old man, where he lived with his wife and daughter - the loom standing in one corner and their box-beds in another - was our school. There were some half-dozen of us who sat on stools, conning our lessons to the click of his shuttle, while he sat weaving, gently reminding us from time to time of our tasks, by the use of a leather thong at the end of a long stick, with which he reached us without having to leave his throne....." (11)

There were many such schools. The accommodation in parish, Society and adventure school alike may often have been poor, even wretched, and the teaching rude. But alongside much illiteracy throughout the country there was also on the part of many a genuine hunger for learning, even among the poorest of the poor. And to feed that hunger there were to be found not a few who were born to teach, the type of Scottish 'dominie' who has found an honoured place in the annals of Scotland, and who, although his own circumstances were circum-:scribed, could kindle a fire in the minds of some of his pupils. The Scots who ranged across the world in the 19th century and

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11. Autobiography and Memoir of Thomas Guthrie, D.D. London. 1877. p. 22.

and who achieved fame as engineers, builders, merchants, scholars, lawyers and divines, owed much to the village 'dominie'.

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Pupils:

Even where a school was provided, by the parish or by a Society the attendance of the children was often far from satis-:factory. Education in Scotland at the beginning of the 19th century was neither compulsory nor free. It is impossible to get complete statistics for the whole country, or, indeed, for any considerable area, but there are many indications in indivi-:dual reports that attendance was casual.

The causes were many. Frequent changes of teachers upset the plans of those concerned with parish education. Often there was a gap between the departure of one teacher to 'better himself' and the arrival of another who, in turn, regarded the work of the schoolroom as a temporary means of livelihood. Many of the parish school teachers spent the winter months in attendance at Arts classes or in the Divinity halls of the Universities.

The children, on the other hand, were needed in the fields during the summer months. The Presbyterial and Parochial reports published by the General Assembly's Education Committee in 1842 reveal diverse reasons for poor attendance at the diff-:erent types of schools. Thus: "Boys belonging to farmers or farm-servants are often taken away at all seasons for occasional work, and girls to assist their mothers." (Parish of Keir).

"Attendances at all the schools are irregular, rural occupations making demands on the children." (Parish of Duns).
"The Committee regrets that the progress of pupils is much retarded by the irregularity of their attendance. This is an evil which parents do not seem sufficiently to regard." (Parish of Elgin).
"Attendance is given for only part of the year." (Presbytery of Dornoch).
"Attendance considerable in winter, but limited in summer, because of the occupation of the inhabitants." (Presbytery of Tongue).[12]

Other reasons adduced are: the unskilfulness and inattention of the teachers, the lack of school books, the distance of the population from the school, the carelessness and the poverty of the people, the difficulty of finding adequate clothing for the children during the winter months.

For the majority schooling was brief and inadequate and led only to a life's darg at the plough or the loom. It was, too, a costly business, not only in time which might be better spent in helping a struggling home, but also in fees, books and clothing. Fees varied quite considerably from one part of the country to another. The average was: Reading: 2/6d; Reading plus Writing; 3/-; Reading plus Writing plus Arithmetic: 3/6d. All per quarter.

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12. Presbyterial and Parochial Reports on the State of Education in Scotland. Published by the General Assembly's Education Committee. 1842. passim.

Latin was 5/- extra, as also was Greek, with other subjects *pro rata*.(13) In general it was found that parents did not grudge the fees so much as the cost of books. In some cases Session funds were used to supply text-books at reduced prices. This is one reason why a Bible became a traditional reward of merit, for the Bible was the supreme school text-book.

Two features of the Scottish class-room in the early 19th century are especially worthy of notice. The first is the concentration on the subject of *reading*. Almost all the day schools of all types included the traditional three Rs in the curriculum, and of these, Reading was the first and foremost in the eyes of parents, teachers and pupils alike. This was due to the Calvinist *ethos* of the Scottish community. Bible and Catechism or Collection were the chief text-books in every school, from the lowest class to the highest. A child might attend school but for a year or two, and irregularly at that. As he grew up he might forget how to write anything beyond his own name; a little arithmetic would suffice. But to be able to read, albeit painfully, was to be respectable. According to Calvinist and Knoxian orthodoxy it was necessary for the humblest Christian to be able to read the Word of life for himself. The discipline of Church attendance and worship, the regular catechising at home required it. To be literate in Scotland in the early 19th

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13. These figures are averaged from the educational returns given in the New Statistical Account, 1845.

century meant to be able to read one's Bible and Catechism. The comment of the parish minister of Liberton is typical of many: "Age of entry, six. Some leave about eight or nine, or as soon as they can read the Bible and perhaps a small Collection decently. Those who cannot afford to remain longer return a few years after for 3 or 4 months during a winter or two, to acquire a little arithmetic, and revive their reading and writing."(14)

Professor R.K. Webb, in his study of literacy among the working classes in 19th century Scotland, notes the same emphasis. Figures from criminal returns and hospital surveys (almost the only fairly reliable statistics of the period) show that the average of literacy did not fall below fifty per cent.
"In the three years ending December 1844, 15,336 prisoners committed were examined as to their educational attainments, These figures include persons from all areas. The statistics are:

Cannot read:	16.9%	Can read:	83%	
Cannot write:	56.3%	Can write:	43.6%	(15)

No matter how scanty a schooling a child may have had, such elementary knowledge of reading as he acquired could be fostered in church, at family worship, and in household or public catechising. To be unable to read was a much greater social

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14. Presbyterial and Parochial Reports on the State of Education in Scotland. Published by the General Assembly's Education Committee. 1842. p. 88.

15. Literacy among the Working Classes in 19th cent. Scotland. R.K. Webb: Scottish Historical Review. No. 116. October 1954. Vol. XXX. III. 2.

disgrace than any ignorance of writing or counting. But although the teaching of reading had as its aim the perusal of the Bible as containing the supreme rule of faith and life, it had, in the outcome, another end not anticipated by the educa-:tionists of the Church. For it was to a public able to read that the political pamphleteers and propagandists appealed with their street literature, their eye-catching posters, and their news-sheets. It was to such readers that the Patriot, the Chartist Circular, the Witness were to make their appeal, not to speak of the hundreds of fly-sheets on political and Church government topics which were so widely broadcast in times of controversy and unrest. Such readers formed, too, a lay public to which the Disruption leaders could readily appeal. "It was they who formed a vital political potential in Scottish society, and, depending on one's point of view, the most challenging threat or promise for the future."(16)

The other significant feature of Scottish schooling in the 19th century was the concentration of attention on the 'lad o' pairts'. In spite of all handicaps, almost every school had its few boys .... for there were no openings in the world of learning for girls .... who were determined to get on. They came from the homes of all classes of society, often from the very poor. There was in them a love of learning, a dour intent to overcome every obstacle, a rugged resolution to master

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16. R.K. Webb: op. cit.

each new subject as it came their way. It is little wonder that the drudging dominie, confronted by many lack-lustre children, concentrated his enthusiasm on the lad who earnestly sought to know all that he had to communicate and to pass beyond his care and ken to fame in one of the learned professions. Where the dominie himself had failed in his ambitions, one of his pupils might succeed, and the schoolmaster could bask in the reflected glory of his brilliant pupil. Where the school-:master was himself a graduate, still with hopes of preferment, it was natural that he should encourage the 'lad o' pairts' to follow in his own footsteps. The fostering of such pupils certainly brought results. In 1863 one in a thousand went to a University in Scotland, compared with one in 5,800 in England.(17) But above all, it created a tradition, which endured and still endures. "Few Scots writers have failed to seize every opportu-:nity, seasonable or unseasonable, for praising the part which Scotland has played in the history of education. Its allegiance to learning has been rated hardly less than its prowess on the battlefield or its sufferings in the cause of freedom .... We have often been told that the debt which Scotland owes to her schools and universities can hardly be exaggerated, that for her sons learning was not a captivating luxury but a stern necessity in the pursuit of national welfare; that in many ways our

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17. Two hundred and fifty years of Scottish Education, 1696-1946, by H.M. Knox, M.A., B.Ed.,Ph.D.,: Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh. 1953. p. 72.

country took the lead, since the Reformation, in the question of a learning which was democratic in that it was open to all and broke through the castes of man, and was aristocratic in that it exalted to high degree the humblest of its votaries. With some show of rhetoric we have learned that men who have hewn stone or ploughed the lonely furrow have risen to adorn the pulpit and the hospital, the law court, and the House of Commons."(18)

The successful, once they <u>were</u> successful, fostered the legend. But the concentration on the 'lad o' pairts' had its serious defects. Many fell by the way, broken in body or spirit by the struggle against examination barriers, cramming their weary brains with facts while their bodies cried out for nourishing food. In his '<u>Sentimental Tommy</u>', J.M. Barrie portrays 'a hungry half dozen' marching from Thrums to the siege of Aberdeen University. Five of them are from the parish schools, the sixth is "Tod Lindertis, a ploughman from the Dubb of Prosen, his place of study the bothy after lousing time, or a one-roomed house near it, his tutor a dogged little woman, who knew not the accusative from the dative, but never tired of holding the book while Tod recited. Him someone greets with the good-natured jeer, 'It's your fourth try, is

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18. The Church and Education in the 18th century. Archibald Main, D.D., D. Litt. Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. III. Part 3. 1929.

it no, Tod?' and he answers cheerily, 'It is, my lathie, and I'll keep kick, kick, kicking away to the nth time."

"Which means till the door flies open," says the dogged little woman, who is the gallant Tod's no less gallant wife, and already the mother of two." (19)

But a week later, so runs Barrie's narrative, the vanquished crawl back, waiting for the gloaming before they steal into the town. For them there is a life of toil at the herding or the loom.

In almost every case the successful pupils were to leave the village community for the wider world of the city or the Empire. Their subsequent fame concealed the fact that all was not well with general parish education in Scotland. The tradi:tion grew that they were typical products of a land of learning, and that the village schools of Scotland turned all their products into men of exceptional ability. The truth was that the 'lad o' pairts' was atypical, extraordinary, though the Scottish educa:tional system gave such a one every encouragement. Thus John Charteris, village schoolmaster of Wamphray, working within "a small schoolroom with one hundred and twenty pupils of all ages, from the child of six to the young farmer who had come back to fill up some of the gaps in his previous education, " could claim

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19. "Sentimental Tommy": by J. M. Barrie, Cassell & Co., London. 1897. p. 423.

that he had produced "no fewer than ten ministers, nineteen doctors, eleven teachers, as well as many most successful business men."[20] And Cathro, the schoolmaster of Barrie's Thrums, could claim with a pride he had won the right to wear: "If all the ministers I have turned out in this bit school were to come back together, they could hold the General Assembly in the square."[21] Every parish in the land had its notable sons to boast of ...... but they were the exception, not the rule. Again and again in the latter part of the 19th century, when Government and Church reports lay bare the true facts about Scottish schooling, it is revealed that the birthright of learning which John Knox had planned for all had been grasped only by the few. The famous divines, lawyers, doctors, statesmen .... themselves products of the parish school .... who wrote such reports were made blind to the true situation by the glamour of their own success. They looked back on the road they had themselves come and saw their own heritage as the common possession of former and better days. It was their conviction that every pupil at the village school could be made in their image, if he tried hard enough. Conversely, if he failed, it was not because he was without native talent, or poor, but

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20. The Life of Archibald Hamilton Charteris, D.D., LL.D. by Rev. the Hon. Arthur Gordon, M.A. p. 8,9.

21. J.M. Barrie: op. cit. p. 335.

because he was idle, and in some sense depraved. It is this middle class conviction that others may attain what they have attained if only they will work hard enough that clashes with the vast inertia of the poor in the cities of the 19th century.

The very success of the 'lad o' pairts' led to a deep sense of moral superiority, a conviction that hard work, appli:cation, the cultivation of the intellect, was a training in virtue which was divinely approved by the benison of worldly success. A writer on Education in Scotland notes complacently: "It is remarkable, that in all countries where Calvinism is the established creed, the moral character of the people is of a higher cast, knowledge is more generally diffused, and opulence and industry much greater than in Lutheran countries. These, again, excel the Catholics in an equal degree ...... Perhaps a cool and abstract consideration of Calvinism would have led either its friends or its enemies to anticipate this fact, which has been discovered by the study of statistics, and merits some consideration from those who are occupied in promoting the happiness of states."(22)

The Knoxian ideal of the nurture of souls for time and for eternity tended to narrow to the cultivation of middle-class

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22. A Practical Essay on the manner of Studying and Teaching in Scotland. Anon. Edinburgh. 1823.

virtues: thrift, sobriety, charity (but not caritas), prudence, and all the manners and mores with which respectability is clothed. It was a degeneration of Calvinism into the scholas:ticism against which Calvin had himself protested, a scholas:ticism based on preaching and teaching from 'proof texts'. There were many verses of Scripture, particularly in the favourite book of Proverbs, which could be quoted in support of middle class standards of conduct in the 19th century.

Thus morality tended to take the place of religion, and an outward display of the works of morality was assumed to indicate an inward moral worth. Knowledge of the faith took the place of the response of faith itself. Most of the educa:tional tracts of the times speak of 'moral training' and 'religious instruction' rather than the deeper nourishment of religious education. Little is said in the 19th century class-room of the fruits of the Spirit. Much is made of the right:eousness required by the Law. It was to a knowledge of that Law that the children had to address themselves.

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Chapter Five.

RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN THE RURAL CLASS-ROOM

"Seeing that God hath determined that His Church here on earth be taught not by angels but by men; and seeing that men are born ignorant of all godliness; and seeing also how God ceaseth to illuminate men miraculously, suddenly changing them, as He changed His Apostles and others in the primitive Church: it is necessary that your honours be most careful for the virtuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this realm, if ye now thirst unfeignedly for the advancement of Christ's glory, or deisre the continuance of His benefits to the generation following. For as the youth must succeed to us, so ought we to be careful that they have knowledge and erudition, for the profit and comfort of that which ought to be most dear to us, to wit, the Church and Spouse of the Lord Jesus."

The Book of Discipline.[1]

One text-book was common to all schools, whether parochial Society, or adventure, and that was the Bible. Along with it went the Shorter Catechism and usually some 'Collection' or other work of piety suitable for training a child's mind in the knowledge of the faith. The Presbytery and Parochial Reports of 1842, as well as the general literature of the times, are unanimously agreed that the Bible is regularly taught in the schools of the first half of the 19th century in Scotland. Thus:

"All receive daily religious instruction. The Scriptures are read every day. The Shorter Catechism is taught to all. Daily lessons are given on Bible history." (Parish of Queens-:ferry).

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1. John Knox: The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland. ed. Cuthbert Lennox. p. 382.

"Bible, New Testament, and Shorter Catechism used.[2] Principles of religion carefully taught." (Parish of Gladsmuir).
"Wood's Scripture Biographical Catechisms are taught in the principal parish schools with good effect. I do not think any of the teachers have succeeded, if they have attempted, to instil sentiments of reverence for Divine things." Parish of Jedburgh).
"In the upper school, all in the Bible classes, two-thirds of the scholars are familiar with the map of Palestine. Religious instruction is given from the Bible and Shorter Catechism daily,

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2. Note: "By 'the Bible' both schoolmasters and pupils collo-:quially mean the Old Testament only." Simon S. Laurie: Report on Education, Edinburgh, 1865, p. 299.
'Bible' and 'New Testament' were clearly distinguished one from the other. "Under the old parish schoolmaster the pupil's satchel simply contained the wee spell, the big spell, the New Testament, the Bible, Gray's arithmetic, and a copy book." John Neill: Records and Reminiscences of Bonhill Parish.
cf. "My laddie," we are not infrequently told, "was in the boonmost class at his last school; he has lang been oot o' the Bible and was in the 'Beauties'; he can say a' the ques-:tions; and he was through a' the book in the coonting." - John Wood: Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School, Edinburgh, 1830. p. 111.

cf. "The general rule is, that after alphabetic and syllabic reading is compassed in a Spelling Book, the child is advanced to the 'Testament Class', and then in due time to the 'Bible Class'; and these are the three steps which precede his entering the 'Collection Class.' " - James Pillans: Contributions to the Cause of Education. London, 1856. p. 41.

cf. "Every child committed the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism verbatim. The greatest anxiety was to get advanced out of the Bible into the Collection." David Stow: The Training System. London, 1850. p. 78.

cf. "During my sixth year I spelt my way, under the dame, through the Shorter Catechism, the Proverbs, and the New Testament, and then entered upon her highest form, as a member of the Bible Class." - Hugh Miller: My Schools and School-:masters. Edinburgh. 1907. p. 28.

"which are taught, especially in the upper school, on the explan-:atory system, and a very considerable knowledge of Bible history and the truths of religion is shown by the more advanced scholars, and a considerable reverence for Divine things." (Parish of Keir).

"The Shorter and the Mother's Catechism, as well as psalms, hymns, etc. are regularly taught. Tasks are prescribed for the employment of scholars on the Sabbath day, such as psalms, hymns, etc." (Parish of Annan).

"In regard to non-parochial schools, it is expressly stated that religious instruction meets with careful attention. Several are reported as regularly opened and closed with prayer." (Presbytery of Linlithgow).

"In all the parochial schools the Scriptures are read daily, and the scholars catechised upon them. The Shorter Catechism, with explanations and proofs, forms a most important part of every day's exercises. By this means the children are well grounded in the doctrines of the Church of Scotland. The schools are opened and closed with prayer by the teachers. The other ordinary means of religious instruction are employed, such as committing to memory the Shorter Catechism, Psalms and Para-:phrases. Religious instruction holds a prominent place in all the non-parochial schools, and this is communicated chiefly by daily reading the Bible, and by learning the Shorter Cate-:chism, with explanations and proofs." (Presbytery of Dalkeith).

"Great attention is paid to Scripture geography. Dr. Wilson of Bombay's Elementary Catechism has been used for some years with the younger scholars, and has been found exceedingly suitable." (Presbytery of Arbroath).(3)

Reports from up and down the country are similar in tone. Religious instruction was, beyond all others, the subject that visiting ministers expected to see being taught, and see it they did. Not only was it pre-eminent in the curriculum by use and wont. It was supported by the conviction of the community. A school, whether parochial or adventure, where the Scriptures were not in evidence would without doubt have been regarded as unsound, not merely by the ministers, but also by the parents. The parish schoolmaster, too, being often an aspirant to the pulpit, had an interest in religion which he would wish to communicate to the children in his care. Where he had little interest, prudent conformity to the conditions which governed his office ensured regular instruction in Bible and Catechism.

Religious instruction was not yet divorced from the other parts of education within the school curriculum. In a number of schools the Bible was the only reading-book;(4) it provided also

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3. Presbyterial and Parochial Reports on the State of Educa:tion in Scotland. Published by the General Assembly's Education Committee. 1842. passim.

4. This was still true in some areas as late as 1865. See: Simon S. Laurie: Report on Education. Edinburgh. 1865. p. 200.

the history and geography lessons, so that the children were far better acquainted with the story of Israel and the topo-:graphy of the Holy Land than with their own. The aphorisms of the Book of Proverbs were the first sentences painfully scratched out on their slates. The Catechism was usually bound up with pages containing the alphabet and short syll-:ables for beginners.(5)

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5. "In some schools, custom and economy have even sanctioned the practice of using the Assembly's Catechism as the first and only book for learning to read in the earlier stages, and of superseding it, as the child advances, by an entire Bible, of which the inconvenient weight and small print are serious evils to a young beginner. It would be idle to dwell on the unreasonableness of such a plan of initiatory instruction. But teachers .... are prevented from making any change, partly by the unwillingness of parents to purchase new books so long as the old ones, the heir-looms of the family, will hold together and bear the thumbs of another generation; and partly by that obstinate adher-:ence to former practice which I have already alluded to.... This practice was once almost universal, and would seem to have been sanctioned by some high authority, if one may judge from the singular accompaniments along with which this admirable digest of Christian doctrine has been circulated, for nearly two centuries, through every school and dwelling-house in Scotland. First comes a title-page, beginning thus: 'The A,B,C, with the SHORTER CATECHISM, etc. and on turning the leaf, we find first, a close array of Alphabets in characters capital, common, and italic; then a flying squadron of vowels and points; and lastly, a rear-guard of two-lettered meaningless syllables in double-column; by the help of all which, it was obviously intended that the child should be led on next to 'What is the chief end of man?" on page third."

   James Pillans: Contributions to the Cause of Education. London. 1856. p. 41.

For memory work, which had perforce to form a fair proportion of lesson time in an overcrowded school-room, the teacher even had recourse to the 'begats' of Scripture, or to such a chapter as Nehemiah 10. The latter passage, which was a favourite set piece, was held to be useful in strengthening the memory for worthier exercises. At least, the learning of it by rote produced an oasis of more or less silent concentration in a hubbub of scholars.(6)

There is ample evidence that the Book of Proverbs was widely taught, especially to beginners. Dr. William Paul, writing of the state of education in Aberdeenshire in the year 1826, notes: "At the time I speak of, there was no reading book

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6. "The old and inveterate practice of our country schools, is to read the Bible straight forward from the beginning of Genesis; or, if they deviate, it is to pick out some chapter of proper names which cannot possibly have any meaning, by way of puzzle, or to show off the child's skill and proficiency. If any additional proof were wanting, that, in English reading, the sole object of most schoolmasters is mechanical dexterity, it would be found in the almost incredible, and yet very common absurdity, of assuming the fluent reading of the 10th chapter Nehemiah as a test of proficiency."
 - James Pillans: Contributions to the Cause of Education. London. 1856. p. 41.

cf. "The highest point of our Bible education was, being able to read the tenth chapter of Nehemiah, or to pronounce the scriptural name 'Mahar-shalal-hash-baz'. ..... We had rewards, such as for repeating the 119th psalm within a given period." - David Stow: 'Schools half a century ago', in: The Training System. London. 1850. p. 78.

"for the more advanced classes but the Bible; none for the younger classes but selections from the Book of Proverbs; and none for beginners but the alphabet, and syllables of two or three letters, printed on an outer leaf of the Shorter Catechism.[7] Hugh Miller, as we have seen, records that in his sixth year he spelled his way, at a Dame's school, through the Shorter Cate-:chism, the Proverbs, and the New Testament, without, as he admits, understanding what he was reading.[8] Yet Dr. Guthrie, looking back across the years at his own early training, showed typical approval of the common grounding of Scottish education of the times: "Having learned our letters, and some small syllables printed on a fly-sheet of the Shorter Catechism, we were at once passed into the Book of Proverbs. In the olden time this was the universal custom in all the common schools of Scotland, a custom that should never have been abandoned. That book is without a rival for beginners, containing quite a reper-:tory of monosyllables and pure Saxon — 'English undefiled'. Take this passage, for example, where, with one exception, every word is formed of a single syllable, and belongs to the Saxon tongue, - 'Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it.' What a contrast to the

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7. Past and Present in Aberdeenshire, by the Rev. William Paul, D.D., Aberdeen, 1881. p. 66.

8. Hugh Miller: My Schools and Schoolmasters. Edinburgh, 1907. p. 28.

silly trash of modern schoolbooks for beginners, with such sentences as, 'Tom has a dog', 'The Cat is good', 'The Cow has a calf!"

"While learning the art of reading by the Book of Proverbs we had our minds stored with the highest moral truths, and, by sage advices applicable to all the ages and departments of life, the branch, while it was supple, received a bent in a direction highly favourable to future well-doing and success in life. The patience, prudence, foresight and economy which used to characterise Scotchmen — giving rise to the saying, 'a canny Scot', - and by which they were so often able to rise in the world and distance all competitors in the race of life, was to a large extent due to their being thus engrained in youth and childhood with the practical wisdom enshrined in the Book of Proverbs.(9)"

The list of Gaelic text-books, mainly translated from English, which formed the library of many Highland schools, shows how closely the reading of the pupils was related to their religious instruction. It included: Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress; Blair's Sermons; Burder's Village Sermons; Willison's Explanations of the Shorter Catechism; Willison's Young Communicant's Catechism; Gray on Baptism; Baxter's Call; Innes's Hints to Young Enquirers; Boston's Fourfold State; Rev. J. Young's Advice to the

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9. Autobiography and Memoir of Thomas Guthrie, D.D. London. 1877. p. 23.

Young; and many pamphlets with such titles as: 'Friendly Advice', 'Gift of a Friend', 'Good News','Great Questions Answered', 'On Reading the Scriptures', 'On Eternity', 'On the Evil of the Tongue', 'Profane Swearing', 'The Strait Gate', 'True Riches,' etc.(10)

Schoolmasters of the Society schools, too, were strictly bound to teach Scripture. "Their Duty is to instruct their Scholars in the Principles of the Christian Reformed Religion; – to direct their Morals, and to train them up in the Social Virtues .... to worship God every Day and every Night, and to take care that the Scholars attend Publick Worship on the Lord's Day." (11)

The worth of such training, reminiscent of Knox's 'fruit and commodity', is also noted by the S.S.P.C.K. Children are to be especially instructed in"the Knowledge of Christianity; than which nothing serves more to sweeten human Nature, or to make Men fit Members of Society. Christianity is a Social Religion, and recommends the Practice of every Publick Virtue; for tho' it is possible for a Man to make a tolerable Member of Society without being an altogether Christian, yet he is no Christian who does not make a good Member of Society".(12)

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10. Broken Links in Scottish Education; by the Rev. John Smith, D.D. London. 1913. p. 169.

11. A Short Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge. By Mr. Robert Walker. Edinburgh. 1748. p. 46.

12. Ibid. p. 55.

To encourage such aims, the S.S.P.C.K. arranged for suitable text-books to be sold cheaply. "The Bookseller is ordained to furnish Books proper for the Society's Schools at certain low prices, particularly condescended on: viz. Common Bibles, New Testaments, Proverbs, Catechisms, Vincent's Cate-:chism, Guthrie's Trial, & etc., with Copy-Books and Books for Musick ..... These books are distributed to such, whose Parents are certified, by the Schoolmasters, to be unable to buy them."(13)

The Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools restricted its aim entirely to "support proper teachers for children and adults to read the Bible in the only language which they under-:stand".(14) The books used in these schools consisted of element-:ary spelling books in Gaelic and the Gaelic Psalm Book, followed by the Old and New Testament in that language. The public whose alms were solicited for the Society were thus assured that the object was "such as every Christian can approve and support".(15)

The principles of religious education, derived from the Bible and formulated in Calvinist doctrine, were generally agreed on in the community. The school system of Scotland was the ideal locus in which to inculcate these principles. For that very purpose, indeed, the system had been framed. All that

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13. Ibid. p. 45.

14. First Annual Report of the Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools, p. 6.

15. Ibid. p. 14.

seemed to remain to the educational reformers of the 19th century in rural Scotland was to see that adequate schools were provided for the whole country and suitable teachers put in charge of them. Whether the school was parochial, Society, adventure, or, eventually, a Disruption establishment, there were no marked doctrinal differences in the aim or end of teaching. In a report on the system of National Education in Scotland, its origin, its nature and results, the Rev. A.L. Gordon could state without fear of contradiction: "Whatever our differences on other subjects, there is among those who hold the sufficiency of the Scriptures as a rule of life, a general and most remarkable agreement upon the great primary truths of revealed religion."(16) The same writer, after summarising these primary truths, goes on to define the aims of education: "Thus by education we mean the training of the young for the great duties to which they are called. The first great duty of man is to glorify the God who gave him life and every blessing, and to enjoy him for ever. The Word of God alone reveals the way by which this great end may be attained. Religion ought there:fore to be looked upon as the very first and most essential part of education, in school as well as at home; and these truths ought to be inculcated in the precedence, and with the urgency, which they thus obviously demand. To the revelation

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16. The system of National Education in Scotland: its origin, its nature and results. Being the substance of a report to a Committee of the Synod of Aberdeen, given in and read by the Rev. A.L. Gordon, minister of Greyfriars Parish, Aberdeen, and ordered by the Synod to be published. 1839.

"of God in the scriptures we appeal and say that whatever they make known must be inculcated as 'the wisdom of God and the power of God'. .... There can be no true religious education but that which is based upon the Word of God, and carried out in obedience to its authoritative and important truths."(17)

To such a statement Calvin, Knox and the Christian community in Scotland in the 19th century would have said AMEN. But within the system of religious education itself there was much that required improvement. Not only were the schools inadequate to the population, Instruction in Scripture and Catechism, as in other subjects, was often poor. Mechanical rote learning was the rule rather than the exception. In part this was due to the class-room situation, where an overworked schoolmaster had to leave most of the children most of the time to con their lessons by themselves. But in large measure it was the outcome of the intellectual bias of Calvinist training. The teacher's task was to impart the 'form of sound words', to ground the children in the questions and answers which pertain to the doctrines of the Christian faith and to make them familiar with the words of Scripture. The minister, in his turn, was to use the texts to build up the fabric of faith, and so to expound the familiar words Sunday by Sunday, that their true meaning was grasped, to the hearer's spiritual nourishment and growth in grace.

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17. Ibid.

In class-room practice the response to the revelation of Scripture was of the head rather than of conscience and will, a knowledge of the words rather than of the Word, the sound of formal words rather than the form of sound words. In his strictures on Scottish education in the early 19th century, Sheriff John Wood gives the following account of typical school-room teaching of the text: 'On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets'.

Q. 'What is said of these two commandments?'

A. 'The Law and the Prophets hang on them.'

Q. 'What are the Law and the Prophets said to do?'

A. 'They hang.'

Q. 'On what do they hang?'

A. 'On these two commandments.' (18)

and so on, ad absurdum.

Many similar records of the time point to this weakness of religious instruction, the memorising of words and facts without any grasp of their meaning. Presbytery visits of 'examination', indeed, encouraged the system. For weeks before the visit the children were drilled in the lessons and questions that would be dealt with. When the right questions were asked, the word-perfect answers were forthcoming, to the delight of the

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18. Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School, etc. by John Wood. Edinburgh, 1830. p. 169.

assembled parents, the approval of the catechising minister, and the satisfaction of the schoolmaster. Dr. Paul, referring to the schools of Aberdeenshire in the 1820's, notes: "The Shorter Catechism was also taught, without apparently any means having been used to render any part of it intelligible. There was no examination on the meaning of the words, or on the sub-:stance of any of the lessons. The reading was without taste or intelligence, and it was wonderful how little the pupils understood of anything they read."[19]

The very form of the Catechism encouraged rote learning. Every one of the hundred and seven questions of the Shorter Catechism poses a key-word which leads logically to the same word in the answer. Thus:

Q. 1. 'What is the chief end of man?"

A. 'Man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy him for ever.'

Q. 14. 'What is sin?"

A. 'Sin is any want of conformity unto, or trans-:gression of, the law of God.'

Q. 90. 'How is the word to be read and heard, that it may become effectual to salvation?'

A. 'That the word may become effectual to salvation, we must attend thereunto with diligence, prepara-:tion, and prayer; receive it with faith and love, lay it up in our hearts, and practise it in our lives.'[20]

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19. Past and Present in Aberdeenshire, by the Rev. William Paul, D.D. Aberdeen, 1881. p. 66.
20. Shorter Catechism, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. passim.

The pupil under examination waited anxiously for the expected stimulus to memory. As Sheriff Wood records: "If the opening words of the answer be not an answer to those of the question, even the verbal repetition will in all probability fail. Nor will the pupil, when told that he has erred, ever think of discovering the right answer from its connexion, in point of meaning, at least, with the question, but will ask for 'the first word', - will say, and say truly, that he has always been accustomed to be told that word, and will deem it quite unreasonable that a similar indulgence is not given him also on the present occasion, immediately, and as a matter of course. That word, however, once given, he will move on rapidly, like a machine that has been wound up, and, like it, perhaps, continue to move till he regularly runs out."(21)

Where memory failed, logic did not always supply the right answer. A particular snare for the unwary lay in the two answers of the Shorter Catechism which contain the words: 'the miseries of this life'. The result was that the pupil, ill-prepared, or of faulty memory, and nervous withal, in answer to the Question: 'What is the misery of that estate whereinto man fell?' ... replied confusedly: 'All mankind by their fall lost communion with God, are under his wrath and curse, and so made liable to all miseries in this life, the wrath of God, and the

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21. Wood: op. cit. p. 51.

'cursed death of the Cross; in being buried, and continuing under the power of death for a time.' Thus the key-word 'misery' led the pupil on from the answer to Question 19 to the answer to Question 27, to the dismay of the benevolent examiner and the chagrin of the schoolmaster.

It was a realisation of the imperfections of mere rote memory that led to a proliferation of Catechisms especially prepared for children. True, the Shorter Catechism itself had been primarily designed "to be a Directory for catechising such as are of weaker Capacity."[22] But many churchmen who had the cause of Christian education at heart had applied themselves to the task of breaking down the spiritual pabulum offered by the Westminster Divines into catechetical crumbs more suited, so they imagined, to the ingestion of children of tender years. Thus we have, in the schools of 19th century Scotland, the widespread use of such works as: Watt's catechism, Leitch's catechism, the Mother's catechism, Dr. Wilson of Bombay's elementary catechism, Wood's Scripture Biographical Catechisms, Vincent's Exposition of the Catechism, Willison's Explanations of the Shorter Catechism, Willison's Young Communicant's Cate-:chism, John Brown's Catechisms, to name but some. In addition there were many such works of piety as: Dr. Thomson's, Barrie's, Veitch's, Scott's collections, Mrs. Hamilton's Exercises in

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22. Title page of the Shorter Catechism.

Religious Knowledge, etc. which were intended to be an aid to the religious instruction of the young.

It is doubtful whether any of these catechisms and collec-:tions achieved their true object. They are, almost without exception, 'subject-centred' rather than 'child-centred', so thirled to the traditional doctrines and language of Calvinism that no circumlocution can make the truths they enshrine any easier of comprehension by a young child. It is sound doctrine, for example, to state that a child is born a sinner. But it is inadequate understanding of the child mind to suggest that a boy or girl of four or five years of age will comprehend what he is saying in the following interlocution:

Q. 'What is original sin?'

A. 'It is the sin in which I was conceived and born.'

Q. 'What is actual sin?'

A. 'It is the sin which I daily commit in thought, word and deed.'

Q. 'What are the wages of sin?'

A. 'Death and hell.'

Q. 'What are you then by nature?'

A. 'I am an enemy to God, a child of Satan, and an heir of hell.' (23)

The author of that catechism, Dr. John Brown, adds 'An Address to the Rising Generation' to remind his tender readers

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23. A Short Catechism for Young Children, by John Brown. Glasgow. 1800.

of their parlous state: "My dear child, let thy heart meditate terror: how great is thy misery. While without Christ, thou art an alien from the commonwealth of Israel, a stranger to the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in this world. God is angry with thee every day. All his perfections are ready to heap indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish upon thee; his bow is bent, his arrows of wrath are pointed against thee; unseen terrors compass thee round about: in vain dost thou expect thy righteousness will profit thee at his bar, and recommend thee to his favour. The prayer of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord, and their ploughing is sin. His law condemns thee to eternal ruin; for, cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them."(24)

Most of the catechisms of the period, intended to simplify the Shorter Catechism, merely pile words upon words in dreadful admonition. One of the most widely-used school text-books of the day was 'The Mother's Catechism' by the Rev. John Willison of Dundee. Its questions and answers are short, but the language is no less Calvinist than any of the others, and the preface, addressed to young children, is no less admonitory:

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24. An Address to the Rising Generation, appended to a Brief Explication of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, by John Brown. Edinburgh, 1800.

"Dear children, the time of youth is a choice season; improve it well: you are the hope and comfort of Ministers, as well as of your Parents; O hearken to their counsels, and not to the devil's temptations. Shun the company of all lying, swearing and wicked children; and delight in the company of those that are piously inclined. Beware of cards and dice and other bewitching games; especially I entreat you to remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy; take heed to your thoughts, words and actions, and attend to sermons carefully this day .... Do not think that justice will spare you because you are young, if it find you Christless, prayerless, and living in sin. No, no, you may see graves of your own length, and skulls of your own size in the churchyard, and hell-fire will burn green trees as well as old stocks."(25)

But although a great deal of such catechising and dire admonition must (mercifully) have gone over the pupil's head, it was a serious, even tender, concern for the state of the

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25. A Word to Children: Preface to The Mother's Catechism, for the Young Children. by the Rev. John Willison. Dunbar. 1802.

Note: The high rate of infant mortality must be remembered. "Life was characterised by total insecurity, death being familiar, often unexpected, usually inexplicable: the majority of children died; the average adult span of life was short. Monotonous occupation, lack of interests, intellectual or aesthetic, the frequency of sickness and accident, the low standard of nourishment and housing, and even the want of a bright sky seem to have made it natural for people to think of the world as a vale of tears or at least as a brief testing before the beginning of the soul's true life in heaven."
-- G.D. Henderson: The Claims of the Church of Scotland. p. 41.

child's immortal soul that inspired it. Even as late in the century as the year 1865, the distinguished educationist, Professor Laurie, urged: "The early removal of children from school imposes on the teacher the obligation of giving them premature mastery over the form of words which embodies their faith."(26) In part it was believed to be a salutary discipline. The child would grow in experience to a vital apprehension of the meaning of the words thus mechanically committed to memory. In part, too, the practice is true to the teaching of the Westminster Divines: "All things in scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed, for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of scripture or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them."(27)

Calvin had foreseen the danger of the private interpreta-:tion of Scripture, and had supplied the 'Institutes' as a guide to the essential truths of the Word of God. The catechisms of the 19th century were the offspring of the 'Institutes', their

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26. Report on Education in the Parochial Schools of the Counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray. by Simon S. Laurie, A.M. Edinburgh, 1865. p. 202.

27. The Confession of Faith: agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Chap. I. par. 7.

their features still strongly Calvinist. But, with the Cate-:chism as safeguard, the upholders of the Protestant faith were bound to assert the plainness of Scripture if the people of Scotland were to be the people of the Book and not the children of an authoritarian Church. Fear of Romanism was a strong negative influence throughout the centuries that followed the Reformation. Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, in the course of a sermon on behalf of the education of the poor, went so far as to claim: "If the Bible cannot be safely entrusted to the people, independent of all human explanations, if it does not contain in itself the knowledge which the poor most urgently require, and which they have a right to search at the source for themselves .... then, we have separated in vain from the corruptions of Papal Rome; or, having separated, we have retain-:ed the most pernicious and fatal of all her pestiferous and anti-Christian doctrines."[28] A deep conviction that the Bible was self-authenticating informed religious education in 19th C Scotland. The teaching of the catechism, the memorising of texts and portions, and the constant enforcement of moral truths in life and conduct served but to underline the truths of the Christian faith which were plainly declared in Scripture. In

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28. A Sermon Preached in St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, on Friday 21st February, 1812. For the Benefit of The Lancastrian School established in that city; with notes subjoined. by Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, Bart. Edinburgh. 1812.

In this they were true to the traditions of their forefathers and to the teaching of the Reformers of the 16th century. Had not John Knox faced Queen Mary herself with the challenge? "Ye shall believe God, that plainly speaketh in His Word: and, farther than the Word teaches you, ye shall believe neither the one nor the other. The Word of God is plain in itself; and if there appear any obscurity in one place, the Holy Ghost, who is never contrary to Himself, explains the same more clearly in other places: so that there can remain no doubt, but to such as obstinately remain ignorant."(29)

Knowledge, then, was the way of salvation for the reformers of 19th century as of 16th century Scotland. Knowledge, primar:ily of the Scriptures, which 'principally teach what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man'.(30) The truths and duties of the Christian faith were inseparable. Inevitably, however, the authorities could only be assured that the truths had been comprehended by the mind insofar as they were seen to issue in the duties of the faith. Precept laid to the heart must be patent in daily practice. It was not enough that a child had to be good; he had also to be seen to be good. Herein the discipline of Church and school could direct the moral conduct of the community. To that end the Scriptures

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29. John Knox: The History of the Reformation in Scotland. ed. Cuthbert Lennox. p. 236.

30. The Shorter Catechism. Q. 3.

were to be thoroughly learned. Christianity was a reasonable faith, and in all behaviour an informed reason was to be the handmaid of revelation. The authority of the Bible was con-:stantly appealed to in shaping the moral conduct of children and adults alike.

"Let us suppose that a child has been reading the story of Nadab and Abihu, who were consumed by fire from heaven for per-:forming religious ceremonies when drunk. A few questions, such as the following, may be asked:

> Why is drunkenness displeasing to God?
>
> How is it hurtful to ourselves?
>
> How is it injurious to our temporal prosperity?
>
> Is it hurtful to our families?
>
> Is it injurious to our neighbours?
>
> Does it not lead to crimes?
>
> Can you mention any other judgments of God against drunkards?"[31]

Such a lesson could be extended indefinitely to illustrate the abuse of God's gifts, the debasing of mind and body, the waste of time and substance, the bad example, and the crimes to which drunkenness can give rise. Virtues and vices alike could be thus dealt with, and all with a wealth of Biblical allusion.

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31. A Practical Essay on the Manner of Studying and Teaching in Scotland. Anon. Edinburgh, 1823. p. 254.

Scripture was the infallible terminus a quo for moralising, and the emphasis in religious education in the 19th century in Scotland was on moral training.

At its worst, the system fostered a narrow legalism and produced repression and hypocrisy; the outward form of the good life instead of the good life itself. In 'Holy Willie's Prayer' Robert Burns satirised the sanctimoniousness of outward observance which is the very reverse of sanctity. But all society lives within some legal framework, and the Calvinist discipline, for the most part, accorded with the will of the people. It made for strength of character, for a clear distinction between actions right and actions wrong. At its best, the system bred a moral earnestness and a strong sense of individual worth and responsibility which were noted characteristics of the Scottish people. In a countryside which knew no organised police force and where the rule of the kirk session was magisterial, there was little serious crime. Children were brought up to be honest and hard-working. The older folk were proud of their skill, whatever their daily occupation might be, thrifty, decent in home and dress, and self-respecting in the presence of their neighbours. If the type of education available could not render all sorts and conditions of men intelligent, it gave them, at least, something of serious interest in the study of Scripture, the source book, common to all, of the beliefs and customs of the community. The picture

of rural family life which Robert Burns presents in 'The Cottar's Saturday Night' may be idealistic, but it was by no means uncommon in the villages of Scotland a generation and more later.

Moral and religious training was not compartmentalised, the lore of a half-hour lesson a day. It informed the whole of education and permeated the life of the school and the wider world of the community. Home and school and church were agreed on the principles and practices which parents, teachers and ministers alike inculcated by word of instruction and reproof. As Professor Saunders points out: "A General education was valued as something more than a preparation for employment. It was an end in itself, and associated with the Sabbath exer:cises, the ministerial catechisings and family training and discipline. It helped to define the worth and duty of the individual in terms that were relatively independent of class and circumstance. The average parish school gave the oncoming generation an early experience of a simplified world in which there were few artificial distinctions; it inculcated some universal standards of self-respect and an appreciation of intellectual and moral effort. The result was to create a community of values that made for an easily recognisable national character and outlook."[32]

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32. Scottish Democracy: 1815-1840. By Laurance James Saunders. Edinburgh, 1950. p. 242.

Above all, the educational system bred a serious-minded peasantry. The self-contained rural parish was the scene in which the doctrines of the faith were wrought out in daily life. In the Presbyterian school and church everyone met on an equal footing of individual worth as children of God. Training for life meant training for effort, - for hard manual or intellectual work, for the earnest observance of the commandments, for the responsibilities of caring for a family, the young and the old, sick and the needy. 'Poor relief' was available, discreetly administered, through the kirk session, not as a subsidy for idleness but in cases of exceptional misfortune or as a tempor:ary aid to restore a stricken household to its wonted place in the community. For the most part, the experience of the countryman confirmed the teaching of Scripture: 'I have been young, and now am old; yet have I not seen the righteous for:saken, nor his seed begging bread'.(33) It was a philosophy of life which sprang directly from the nurture and admonition of Christian education.

True to Calvinist teaching, the work of the Church was the salvation of the whole community, in the ministry of Word and Sacrament, in the training of the young, in the discipline of family and parish. The supremacy of holy Scripture was asserted in the ritual of their devotional exercises in home and school

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33. Psalm 32. v. 25.

and kirk. The opening act of Scottish congregational worship was the bringing in of the Bible, the Word of God. At his ordination the minister had been given a Bible and he was expected to expound it faithfully, 'rightly dividing the word of truth'.(34) It was for his profundity as a preacher, sound in the 'fundamentals', rather than by his devotion as pastor that a minister came to be respected.

At the 'diet of worship' the congregation fed on the Word of God. Psalms, prayers and sermons were alike scriptural,the last being largely built on 'proof texts' which were familiar to a people brought up from childhood on knowledge of the Word. It was, withal, an intellectual exercise for the attentive hearer. With the body freed for the time being from the dull toil of the working week, the mind could grapple with scriptural phrases and savour the logical progression of the doctrinal argument from 'head' to 'head'. Where the literal meaning of the passage was barren or unedifying, allegory served as inter:preter. There were no problems of a literary nature such as in later years shook the foundations of a Bible religion.

The buildings, in the true tradition of Calvinism, were mostly bare and unadorned. All the more could the mind concen:trate on the words of the preacher, - words which stirred the

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34. II. Timothy. 2 v. 15.

Note: A minister of the Church of Scotland is known as 'a teaching elder' as distinct from the other members of the Kirk Session, who are 'ruling elders'.

the imagination, touched the emotions and grappled with the will to turn it to obedience. And, although the preacher's main aim was to set Christ the Redeemer before his congregation, he could also give to the pages of the Bible a local habitation and a name. The laws laid down for the children of Israel in the desert became their laws for the wilderness of this world, the songs of Zion became their psalms, the wise proverbs of an Eastern monarch were the familiar maxims of moral conduct, and the hope of Canaan the promise of a better land beyond the bounds of mortality. Within such a system of belief, proclaimed in church and school and home, one's duty in this life was plain, and, if one was of the elect, one's title to a mansion in the skies was secure in the covenanted mercies of God.

In the home there was a decent observance of the conven-:tions of piety. There, too, the Bible had its honoured place. Nor were the notes of Calvinism always harsh. Allan Cunningham could write thus of the lover and his girl at the farm:

"The morn-wind is sweet 'mang the beds o' new flowers,
The wee birds sing kindlie and hie;
Our gudeman leans owre his kale-yard dyke,
And a blithe auld bodie is he.
The Beuk maun be ta'en when the carle comes hame,
Wi' the holie psalmodie,
And thou maun speak o' me to thy God,
An' I will speak o' thee." (35)

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35. Allan Cunningham: 'Thou hast sworn by thy God, my Jeanie.' Poems and Songs. London. John Murray. 1847. p. 11.

Beside the figure of Burn's 'Holy Willie' must be set such a one as R.L. Stevenson's 'Old Scotch Gardener' as a type of the rural community. His mouth was full of sacred quotations, for the Bible was the book that he had studied most and thought upon most deeply. "All day long he had dreamed of the Hebrew stories, and his head had been full of Hebrew poetry and Gospel ethics, until they had struck deep root into his heart, and the very expressions had become a part of him; so that he rarely spoke without some antique idiom of Scripture mannerism that gave a raciness to the merest trivialities of talk. But the influence of the Bible did not stop here. There was more in Robert than quaint phrase and ready store of reference. He was imbued with a spirit of peace and love; ..... in his life he was lowly, and a peacemaker and a servant of God." (36)

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In rural Scotland, then, in the early 19th century, the aim and education could be stated in traditional terms: 'the virtuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this realm'. (37) But the problem of the means of such education came to beset the educational reformers at every turn. There was a change coming over the rural parishes; the economy of the

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36. R.L. Stevenson: Pentland Essays: An Old Scotch Gardener.

37. John Knox: op. cit. p. 382.

countryside was being altered by forces without and within. The politics of Church and State alike were having their effect on even remote areas of Scotland; the very climate of thought was being transformed. The reformers in education had to battle against the course of events. The real task in Christian education by the middle of the century lay not in dealing gradually and persistently with the shortcomings of the parish schools of rural Scotland. It lay in tackling the multifarious problems of the growing industrial towns and especially the great cities. There, indeed, the old familiar landmarks failed them. Before the end of the century the pattern of the parish, which had remained largely unchanged from the time of Knox, had gone for ever, and the system of belief and practice which had formed the _ethos_ of the settled rural community could not match the needs of the teeming anonymous tenements of stone which were the habitations of the city dwellers.

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Chapter Six:

TOWN AND CITY

"The cities of the country have increased their population during the past fifty years greatly beyond the proportion of its rural districts, - a result in part of the revolutions which have taken place in the agricultural system of the Lowlands; and in part also of that extraordinary development of the manufactures and trade of the kingdom which the last two generations have witnessed. Of the wilder Edinburgh mechanics with whom I formed at this time any acquaintance, less than one-fourth were natives of the place. The others were mere settlers in it, who had removed mostly from country districts and small towns, in which they had been known, each by his own circle of neighbourhood, and had lived in consequence, under the wholesome influence of public opinion. In Edinburgh - grown too large at the time to permit men to know aught of their neighbours - they were set free from this wholesome influence, and unless when under the guidance of a higher principle, found themselves at liberty to do very much as they pleased. And - with no general opinion to control - cliques and parties of their wilder spirits soon formed in their sheds and workshops a standard of their own, and found only too effectual means of compelling their weaker comrades to conform to it. And hence a great deal of wild dissipation and profligacy, united, of course, to the inevitable improvidence. And though dissipation and improvidence are quite compatible with intelligence in the first generation. they are always sure to part company from it in the second. The family of the unsteady spendthrift workman is never a well-taught family. It is reared up in ignorance, and, with evil example set before and around it, it almost necessarily takes its place among the lapsed classes. In the third generation the descent is of course still greater and more hopeless than in the second. There is a type of even physical degeneration already manifesting itself in some of our large towns, especially among degraded females, which is scarcely less marked than that exhibited by the negro, and which both my Edinburgh and Glasgow readers must often have remarked on the respective High Streets of these cities...... And how this class - constitutionally degraded, and with the moral sense, in most instances, utterly undeveloped and blind - are ever to be reclaimed, it is difficult to see."

Hugh Miller.[1]

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1. Hugh Miller: My Schools and Schoolmasters. Edinburgh, 1907. p. 363.

At a meeting of the Glasgow Educational Society held in 1834, the Rev. Robert Buchanan of the Tron Church moved a lengthy resolution, the aim of which was to secure an efficient Scriptural Education throughout the city. He summed up his speech by declaring: "We want a larger supply of education to meet the necessities of a greatly augmented population; we want that education to be of a scriptural character, in order that it may be a blessing, and not a curse, to our children, And in order that it may really possess this estimable character, we want not merely that the Word of God shall be the chief school-book, but that the teachers shall be men sound in the faith of its great cardinal and saving truths. These are the principles which pledge us to a system by which the national education of Scotland is connected with the doctrines and superintendence of its national church; these doctrines are professedly the very doctrines which are held by nine-tenths of the entire population."(2)

It was a laudable and optimistic ideal, but the facts of the urban situation utterly frustrated the speaker's intentions. In common with almost all the Christian and philanthropic leaders of the mid-century, Dr. Buchanan sought to draw inspir:ation from the past for the tasks of the present and the future. His thoughts lay in an older Scotland, where the Knoxian prin:ciples could be promoted with some promise of success. But he

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2. Reported in full in: The Church of Scotland Magazine. Vol. I. No. 10. Dec. 1834. p. 375.

was speaking in the city of Glasgow where every crowded vennel and tenement belied his hopes.

The task, as Buchanan and his fellow reformers saw it, was to make the parish system work among the teeming thousands of the city as it had worked in the close-knit rural community; to supply every district with church, school, minister and schoolmaster; to spread a Bible education in the great towns as well as in the remote areas of the country. But a new situation had arisen to which such plans could not apply. The city population had already far outgrown the parochial system. The reformers were no longer dealing with a community in which each person had his rightful place and worth. There was no traditional pattern in the slums, no 'community' in which the old ideals could be worked out.

The Church leaders, social reformers and philanthropists like Chalmers, Buchanan, Lewis, Collins, Wood and Stow were to a certain extent aware of the new problem in terms of magnitude of population. What they were not fully aware of, or took too little account of, was the changing climate of thought, religious, economic and social which the Industrial Revolution had brought about in the dens and warrens of the city, or the physical and moral degradation of which Hugh Miller - a working man himself - became acutely conscious. The inhabitants of the crowded tenements were perhaps themselves little aware of the fact that the

rural traditions and sanctions were an inadequate foundation for life in the industrial towns and cities. Many of them had come from the villages where the manners and mores that made a pattern of life had been instilled and cultivated by the religious education of home, school and kirk. In the rural community the Christian truths preached by the minister, taught by the schoolmaster, and upheld by the home, were the sanctions that bound the people together.

In every speech and sermon upon educational themes the reformers of the city sought to apply the rural sanctions to the civic economy. Their unshakeable conviction was that the city was but the village writ large. If the over-populated city parishes could be divided into manageable units like the country parish, each with its own kirk and school, the problem could be solved. But such a remedy was utterly inadequate to the slum situation. The philanthropists surveyed the city through the spectacles of a rural economy. The end was still the same: the teaching and practice of the Christian doctrines enunciated by Calvin and Knox. But the means were utterly inadequate, and in the various attempts to deal with the urban situation the ends had to be re-shaped.

Throughout the 19th century there was a steady drift of population from the Highlands and country districts of Scotland to the industrial towns. At the beginning of the 18th century the population of the whole country had been about a million;

a hundred years later it was over one and a half million, and increasing steadily.[3] But the increase was far from evenly spread. By the beginning of the 19th century the cities were expanding far too rapidly for their economy, while many of the rural areas, notably the Highlands, were being bled of the best of their stock. In 1811, 18.5% of the total population of Scot-:land of 1,800,000 was living in the eight largest towns. Thirty years later the total population had risen to 2,620,000, but 25% were living in the same eight towns, and Glasgow had 10% of the total.[4]

The reasons for this shift of population were many and various. Chief among them were the Industrial Revolution and the changes brought both to country and town by the Napoleonic Wars. Thousands of young men from the Highlands went off to fight on the Continent. The wars brought a new prosperity to the farmers in the rural districts. For centuries agriculture had done little more than supply the needs of the local community, and the few basic crops were won from the soil by primitive methods in which many hinds found a livelihood for themselves and their families. Now, with the blockade, there was a wider market for food. Crops could be sold not only in the growing towns, but also to feed the army and navy of Britain. The old 'subsistence agriculture' was replaced by "capitalist agriculture".

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3. Agnes Mure Mackenzie: Scotland in Modern Times, 1720-1939. p. 107.

4. Scottish Democracy, 1815-1840. By Laurance James Saunders. Edinburgh, 1950. p. 79.

Farming, from being a livelihood for a small self-contained community of fellow-workers who shared in its products, became an industry. Improved methods of ploughing, new and more pro-:lific crops, better breeds of cattle, artificial fertilisers and longer leases encouraged the farmer to seek his share in the prosperity that accompanied a foreign war. William Cobbett, touring the Lowlands of Scotland in 1832, noted in his diary: "The farm-yards are in fact factories for making corn and meat, carried on principally by the means of horses and machinery."(5)

The 'high farming' affected the community slowly but surely. Men who had been skilled workmen became farm labourers; the hind, who, with his wife and family had had his cottage on the land and had served the farm with his skill, was lowered in status, and there were fewer prospects for his children. The The farm-house became more 'genteel'; the workers ate and slept in the bothy. Many farms increased greatly in size, and fewer cottars were needed to work them. There were many who joined house to house and laid field to field till there was no place for the peasant. The result was that the young and active sought work in the growing towns.

The Highland 'clearances' also had their effect. Small peasant farmers were put off their land as soon as their short leases had expired, and the fields were enclosed to carry flocks

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5. Rural Rides, etc. ed. G.D.H. and Margaret Cole. London. Peter Davies. 1930. Vol. III. p. 765.

of sheep. All over the Highlands families were driven off their crofts and their homes burned. Many of them emigrated perforce or of their own will furth of Scotland. Others joined the drift to the industrial centres of the south. Between 1771 and 1806 some 30,000 people were thus made homeless, well over half of these in the first six years of the 19th century.(6) As the years passed the momentum of the displacement of population by the clearances increased.

Not everyone, however, was compelled from the country to the city. Many of the younger people, at least, were attracted to the new opportunities that the industries held out. The solid tenements of the city, before they became grossly over-crowded, were an attractive inducement to those who had been brought up in the primitive thatched biggings of the Highlands. Whatever the reason for their coming, vast numbers flocked to the cities, and the cities could not adequately house them, nor feed them, nor supply a day's work or a day's wage. Between 1801 and 1840 there were 350,000 newcomers in the Clyde Valley, for the most part Highland and Irish.(7) They were folk whose whole background and tradition was alien to the industrial organisation of the city, and in religion they were often alien to one another.

The traditions which had undergirt family and communal life in the rural community were destroyed by the economic and social

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6. Modern Scotland: A Short History from 1707 to the Present Day by James Scotland, M.A. LL.B., Ed.B. London. G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 1953. p. 109.

7. Agnes Mure Mackenzie: Scotland in Modern Times, 1720-1939. p.108.

conditions of the industrial city. In the village, as we have already seen, the Word of the Lord which was preached from the pulpit, taught in the school, and read round the fireside at home, was not belied by daily experience. The fear of the Lord was the beginning of wisdom, and in the outward keeping of His commandments, at least, there was discipline, order, filial piety, observance of the Sabbath, and family training which made for self-respect, dignity in toil, and a sense of worth in the community. Religious truths were proved in daily life. The Calvinist tradition aimed at the training of character, and the boy at school or the man at his appointed trade could earn status and respect by hard work.

There was a place, too, for the elderly, the sick, and the destitute. The fifth commandment was, and is, among the most honoured of the laws of Scripture in actual practice in the Scottish tradition. The sick and unfortunate were cared for; the fatherless and widows were visited in their affliction. The laws of Scripture commanded such help as a duty, and the tradition of the Scots Confession and the First Book of Discipline confirmed the same. Where the discipline of an informed conscience or of parental control failed, there was still the iron regimen of the kirk session. Even where piety was conventional and decency more of an outward habit than an inward conviction, Calvinist theology had set its standards for behaviour and life, and these were respected.

It was far otherwise in the city. The foreign wars had increased the pace of the Industrial Revolution and machines were rapidly replacing the skill of men. The major industry was still textiles, and it is in this trade more than in any other that a major change in the system of employment can be seen, with its effects on the whole life of the people. Hand-weaving was still the rule at the beginning of the 19th century, and in 1800 the Glasgow merchants employed some 15,000 looms both in the city itself and in the rural areas round about.(8) At the end of the first decade of the century, for example, there were four hundred weavers in the village of Campsie, the great bulk of whom wrought to Glasgow houses.(9) Such weavers were independent, fairly pros-:perous men, and everyone in the family had a share in the work. A choir practice verse of the time reveals that even the youngest child could help in the tasks that kept a whole household going:

"A weaver said unto his son
The day that he was born,
My blessings on your curly pow;
You'll rin wi' pirns the morn." (10)

Two decades later the handloom weaver was fighting a losing battle against the machine, though for some time yet he clung to his employment. By 1831 the city of Glasgow alone had 107 mills

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8. Agnes Mure Mackenzie: Scotland in Modern Times, 1720-1939. p.101.

9. The Parish of Campsie, by John Cameron, J.P. Kirkintilloch, 1892. p. 103.

10. Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody, by Millar Patrick, D.D. O.U.P. 1949. p. 175.

spinning cotton by steam-power.[11] The machines and their work-:ers were contained in great blank-walled buildings where a normal working day was from 6 a.m. till 8.30 p.m. The domestic weaver was a skilled artisan and his own master. In the factory he was a 'hand', a slave of the machine and in fierce competition with thousands of others for his wage. If he fell ill, there were plenty of others to fill his place. In any event he was soon to lose his employment to the women and children who were just as capable of minding the machines and for far less money.

Other impersonal factors helped to destroy the traditional rural beliefs of those who sought work in the cities. The machine minder was no longer a man of skill, knowing the satis-:faction that craftsmanship brings. He was no longer head of his family in a situation where his wife and young children were more employable than he. He was no more a recognised member of a church where his forbears had sat before him and where his children would succeed him. He was lost in a nameless crowd in the warrens of the city, without a decent home, often hungry, his skill of body and purpose of soul useless, unwanted and dependent for bread on the women-folk and bairns of his household.

Such a condition degraded manhood. It challenged every accepted belief of the 'rural' theology of the Scottish people.

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11. Agnes Mure Mackenzie: Scotland in Modern Times, 1720-1939. p. 101.

Starvation was never far away.[12] Although the foreign wars had brought prosperity to some in the country districts and to the manufacturers, the cost of living had risen sharply. Not long after the Napoleonic war corn had to be imported to feed the masses of workers in the cities. They were not only hands to tend machines; they were also 'mouths' crying out for bread. The farmers campaigned for protection and imported corn was taxed. Daily bread for the urban dweller became dearer than ever.

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12. "In what were emphatically termed 'the dear years' of the beginning of the present and latter half of the past century, the humble people of the Lowlands, especially our Lowland mechanics and labourers, suffered more than the crofters and small farmers of the Highlands, and this mainly from the circum-:stance, that as the failure of the crops which induced the scarcity was a corn failure, not a failure of grass and pasture, the humbler Highlanders had sheep and cattle, which continued to supply them with food and raiment; while the humbler Lowlanders, depending on corn almost exclusively, and accustomed to deal with the draper for their articles of clothing, were reduced by the high price of provisions to great straits. There took place, however, about the beginning of the century, a mighty change, coincident with, and to a certain extent, an effect of, the wars of the first French Revolution. The price of provisions rose in England and the Lowlands, and with the price of provisions, the rent of land. The Highland proprietor naturally set himself to determine how his rental also was to be increased; and as a consequence of the conclusion at which he arrived, the sheep-farm and clearance system began .... It required, however, another drop to make the full cup run over. The potatoes had become the staple food of the Highlander; and when, in 1846, the potato-blight came on, the people, most of them previously stripped of their little capitals, and divested of their employ-:ment, were deprived of their food and ruined at a blow."

Hugh Miller: My Schools and Schoolmasters. Edinburgh, 1907, p. 292.

Housing conditions in the cities rapidly became appalling. Every year thousands of new arrivals poured into Glasgow, By the middle of the century 50,000 people swarmed in the filthy tenements of the Gallowgate and Saltmarket.(13) In the first three months of 1848 alone, more than 40,000 destitute Irish immigrants poured into the already seething city.(14) The water supply, drawn from the streams and wells of Glasgow, was not only inadequate to meet the needs of the population, but was also foul with sewage and filth. Epidemics swept through the streets, beginning in the slums, and eventually threatening the whole city. The cholera epidemic of 1832 alone claimed 6,000 victims in Glasgow.(15)

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13. David Keir: The House of Collins. Collins, London. 1952. p.156.

14. Agnes Mure Mackenzie: Scotland in Modern Times, 1720-1939. p. 249.

15. Scottish Democracy, 1815-1840. By Laurance James Saunders. Edinburgh, 1950. 189.

    Note: "The sewers and drains in the older parts of Glasgow were overburdened, there was no organised cleansing of the city other than of the main thoroughfares, the Clyde itself was an open sewer. Every back court was a midden which was the property of the proprietor, who from time to time cleared and sold the contents to farmers. The squalor, filth and misery of the first half of the nine-:teenth century continued unabated well into the second half, by which time it had come to be recognised that disease was not to be ascribed, as it was in the preamble to the Cholera Acts of 1832, to the pleasure of Almighty God but to the lack of sanitation."
    Sanitation's Infancy: Article in 'The Glasgow Herald', Dec. 1st, 1954.

One escape for the degraded and a constant temptation to the struggling lay in the spirit-shops which sprang up mushroom-like amidst the crowded tenements. In the parish of St. David's, Dundee, in 1841 there were 11 bakers' shops, but 108 publicans.(16) In Glasgow in 1835 there was one public-house to every fourteen families.(17) In a Parliamentary Debate on the Public Houses (Scotland) Bill (the Forbes Mackenzie Act), 1853, it was reported that: "In Glasgow alone 30,000 persons every Saturday night steeped themselves in whisky and opium and lay in a perfect state of insensibility until Monday morning."(18)

Such was the situation that faced the religious reformers of the urban areas of the 19th century. Poverty, bad housing, unemployment, disease and drunkenness among the nameless masses herded together in the city slums brought demoralisation and degradation. The old traditions and sanctions were lost in such a situation. Hugh Miller, who knew the artisan class of

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16. The State of St. David's Parish, with Remarks on the Moral and Physical Statistics of Dundee. By the Rev. G. Lewis, Minister of St. David's, Dundee. Dundee. 1841.

17. David Keir: The House of Collins. Collins, London. 1952. p. 106.

18. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series. Vol. CXXVI. London 1853. p. 130. House of Commons, Wed. April 20th, 1853. Debate in Committee on Public Houses (Scotland) Bill.
(Note: The speaker said that in his opinion the superstitious reverence paid to the observance of the Sabbath in Scotland was one very great cause of drunkenness.)

the period, was filled with foreboding: "Meanwhile, this course of degradation is going on, in all our larger towns, in an ever-increasing ratio; and all that philanthropy and the Churches are doing to counteract it is but as the discharge of a few squirts on a conflagration. It is, I fear, preparing terrible convulsions for the future. When the dangerous classes of a country were located in its remote districts, as in Scotland in the early half of last century, it was comparatively easy to deal with them: but the <u>sans culottes</u> of Paris in its First Revolution, placed side by side with its executive Government, proved very formidable indeed; nor is it, alas! very improbable that the ever-growing masses of our large towns, broken loose from the sanction of religion and morals, may yet terribly avenge on the upper classes and the churches of the country the indifferency with which they have been suffered to sink."(19)

There was not lacking good-will to tackle the human problems of the urban population. Philanthropic societies of every kind abounded, from the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge to the Society for the Suppression of Begging. Not every incomer had been submerged in the city economy. There were those who had found that hard work still earned its old rewards. They formed the energetic, thriving middle class of the city. They kept to the church-going tradition and observed

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19. Hugh Miller: My Schools and Schoolmasters. Edinburgh, 1907. p. 364.

the outward modes of decency. For them the old beliefs stood firm. Their status and worth in the world of business and in civic affairs was a proof of divine justice. The copy-book maxims of their school-room days were borne out in adult life. "The hand of the diligent maketh rich."[20]

As the century grew, so did the distinction between the West End and the East End, between comparative affluence and extreme poverty, between respectability and degradation. It was a class distinction more rigid than anything the country had ever known, for it came to be based on the conviction that those who had prospered in worldly affairs had done so in the benign justice of God, while those who had sunk to the depths had done so because they had not walked in the ways of the Almighty. Religious instruction of the 'unfortunate classes' was therefore of great importance. The moral virtues must be inculcated in the poor so that they might turn from their degradation and vice to respectability and decency. Respect:ability, indeed, was a spiritual condition. It was defined as such by the Rev. Andrew Thomson of St. George's Parish Church, Edinburgh, preaching in 1821:

"Respectability .... does not belong to mere station but is the personal quality of him by whom the station is occupied. If you have the religious principles and the moral deportment which God

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20. Proverbs. 10. v. 4.

"requires you to have, then you are those whom God delighteth to honour. And upon him whom God delighteth to honour, though he dwell in the meanest hovel upon earth, it is not the preroga-:tive of the highest of the children of men to look down upon with indifference or contempt. Angels regard him with com-:placency. And heaven is prepared for his reception. Had not Christianity shed its light upon the world, you could never have attained this spiritual rank."(21)

It was from the ranks of the prospering middle classes that the philanthropists and reformers were drawn. The idleness, poverty and vice of so many thousands of their fellows was a challenge to their Calvinist training. Poverty had always been a charge on the charity and good-will of the Church, but it had been deserving poverty, and the deserving poor of the rural community had repaid the Church not only with the gratitude of the lips, but by an earnest striving after virtue and social betterment, by hard work and frugal living. The poverty of the city tenements was another matter. It was accompanied by lassitude, lawlessness, and every vice that could suggest itself to the imagination. Thus charity had to discriminate. It was Chalmers' instruction to his deacons on their parish visitation:

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21. Sermons on Infidelity, by the Rev. Andrew Thomson, A.M., Minister of St. George's Parish, Edinburgh. 1821. p. 420.

"to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving ... to let the undeserving feel the weight of those severities which are intended by the God of Nature to follow in the train of idleness, improvidence, and vice."(22)

In spite of all the dangers and problems of the city scene, however, it seemed to men like Chalmers and his fellow reformers that much might be accomplished if the proper remedies were applied. Thomas Chalmers came to Glasgow in 1815, at the age of 35. He came from a rural parish of some 750 souls, and his buoyant energy, his tireless enthusiasm, his stubborn optimism made an immediate impression on the middle classes of the city. He won them "with the most commanding eloquence, swaying all around him with its imperial rule."(23) Significantly, his very first sermon in the city outlined his views on the principles of Christian charity. The busiest merchants of the city left their coffee-rooms and counting-houses to flock to the Tron Kirk to hear his week-day discourses. Chalmers reconciled his hearers and the Universe to one another, dispelling the chill doubts which the new scientific teaching no less than the formal preaching of the Moderate clergy had brought to the hearts of worthy citizens. He re-instated in their minds a sense of

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22. On the Sufficiency of the Parochial System, without a Poor Rate, for Right Management of the Poor; by Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D. Glasgow, William Collins. 1841. p. 120.

23. Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk: by John Gibson Lockhart. Nelson & Sons, Edinburgh. p. 309.

their own significance as moral beings responsible to an omnipotent Deity. He dilated on the Christian and civic economy of large towns. He pointed the way by which men of good-will could ameliorate the conditions of the slums and elevate their inhabitants. Among his hearers were William Collins, David Stow, and others who were to be foremost in the societies set up for the religious improvement of the whole city.

Chalmers challenged his attentive hearers with the needs of the depressed poor of Glasgow. It was not so much evangelical enthusiasm and Christian compassion as alarm that moved both pastor and people. In a torrent of eloquence Chalmers spoke of the danger arising to the good order of society from the 'hostile attacks of an illiterate rabble'.(24) "Who could view without alarm that neglected population who scowled upon you as you passed with an outlandish stare, who had never spoken to a clergyman in their life, and who were perfectly amazed when he began to put a few questions to them in the way of his official duty? There could be no more fitting object than these people for the attention of all who wished well both to religion and to the civil Government."(25)

As he made his first parish visits among the filthy, overcrowded wynds of the Saltmarket, Thomas Chalmers recoiled

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24. Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., by the Rev. William Hanna. Edinburgh, 1854. Vol. I. p. 399.

25. Ibid. p. 399.

not merely from the sights and sounds but even more from the attitude of most of the people. In Kilmany he had been received cordially and with respect by all classes of the community; even the poorest had not directly broached the subject of their need. In the Saltmarket he was surrounded by a mob fawning on him for money. Most of them attended no place of worship and were utterly ignorant of the first prin-:ciples of the Christian faith.

So humiliating an experience of parish visitation made Chalmers withdraw from a direct share in the management of the pauperism of his parish. He used the pulpit as his instrument, delivering two ominous sermons from the text: 'It is not reason that we should leave the word of God and serve tables'. He acknowledged the needs and distresses of many an afflicted family, but declared forcibly that the minister was not the man who could attend to the want and wretchedness among them. "Agents should be found for the doing of it."(26) He called on the well-to-do to share in the relief of the poor and in the spread of the Gospel "throughout all the lanes and avenues of a crowded population."(27) He summoned his fellow-citizens to the help of an overburdened ministry, and strenuously urged that the administration not only of the benevolent but of the reli-:gious institutions of the city should be the task of laymen.

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26. Hanna: op. cit. p. 436.

27. Hanna: op. cit. p. 438.

It was a challenge which met with a warm response from many of the younger business men among his hearers. David Stow, who was to become one of the most devoted of the doctor's dis:ciples, noted: "Till Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, parochial Christian influence was a mere name - it was not systematic, it was not understood — there was not the machinery for the moral elevation of a town population. The people were let alone. Some of the elders of the Tron Church were excellent men, but their chief duty was to stand at the plate, receive the free-will offerings of the congregation as they entered, and dis:tribute them to the poor by a monthly allowance. Their spiritual duties and exertions were but small, and almost exclusively confined to a few of the sick."(28)

The preaching of Thomas Chalmers fired a number of the younger men to instant effort, and work was begun among the children of the lowest class of the community by way of Sabbath evening schools. Within two years, mainly under the direction of William Collins, upwards of 1200 children were under regular religious instruction in many such gatherings. The Bible, the Shorter Catechism, and the Scripture References were the text-books generally used, but no fixed rules were laid down for the ordering of the Sabbath schools. Each teacher was left to take his own way in the teaching of his own group of scholars.

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28. Hanna: op. cit. p. 440.

The population of the Tron Parish at the time was about 11,000 souls. Chalmers and his coadjutors divided the parish into forty sections, with thirty or forty houses in each. In some cases a single close formed a section. Teachers were appointed to each section, and thus a territorial system of teaching and visitation came into being. From such a beginning Chalmers eventually pursued his scheme of territorial parish churches as the answer to the Christian needs of a whole popu-:lation. In such a Sabbath school David Stow, then a young man, learned how to teach, came to know the ways of children, and formulated the principles on which he based his later work. From a Sabbath evening school in a room in the slums of the Saltmarket evolved eventually a theory of education which was to issue in the professional training of teachers. They, in turn, were to carry Stow's system of moral and religious education far beyond the bounds of Glasgow to influence the schools of the whole country.

The aim of Chalmers and his fellow-reformers was to extend the parish system throughout the city, to apply the old rural economy with its religious sanctions to the urban situation. The city was but the village writ large. Their assumption was that if the means of education were adequately supplied the result would be the same as in the older Scotland. The anonymous denizens of the overcrowded tenements would become members of the community of the Church, their children would be educated in

the local parish school, the session would exercise the same discipline as in the rural parish. Individual worth would show itself in response to the opportunities offered, decency and respectability would take the place of lawlessness, the children of the poor would be uplifted by education to be of some service to the community, the labourer would acknowledge his proper place in the scheme of things, and, no matter how poor, or how humbly housed, would be content in that station to which it had pleased God to call him. Poor relief was to be a loan rather than a gift, an investment which would be repaid in the elevation of character and in hard work from which the whole community would benefit.

These were the traditions of the old Calvinist theology. They would work in the agglomeration of the city as in the compact village. The system was not at fault, but its principles must be carried out. More churches and more schools would meet the situation.[29]

But although these were the proclaimed beliefs and ideals of the urban reformers, there were deeper anxieties that ran like a current beneath the surface of their optimism. The economic and social changes of the Industrial Revolution brought unrest

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29. "He commenced his ministerial labours in Glasgow with the immovable conviction of the perfect practicability of assimilating the worst-conditioned town to the best-conditioned country parish." Hanna: op. cit. p. 430.

not only to the masses, but also to their masters. The crowded streets and tenements were a potential danger to all classes of the community. Fear is as potent an influence in social reform as good-will, and fear gave urgency to the plans of the religious leaders. There were obvious dangers such as disease. Cholera knew no frontiers, and, although it spread most rapidly in the evil-smelling, rat-ridden hovels of the poor, it could leap the boundaries of the slums to invade even the trim villas of the merchants. But there were concealed dangers, too, less obvious, and all the more disturbing. Many of the inhabitants of the slums had come from the remote Highlands, and in the thought of the honest citizens of Glasgow they were the descendants of lawless men who had risen against the country's rightful sovereign. The turbulence of the 18th century had not been forgotten. The French Revolution, too, had promulgated new and dangerous ideas among the depressed classes of Europe. The Rev. George Lewis saw in events abroad: "A tremendous warning against neglecting the instruction of the popular giant, lest he again break forth with like malignant and destroying energy."(30) Chartism was abroad in the land. Elsewhere Lewis notes: "I have been discouraged by the hard and impracticable character of so many of the young men above fifteen, from the spread of Chartism and an

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30. Scotland a Half-educated Nation, both in the quantity and quality of her Educational Institutions. By the Editor of the 'Scottish Guardian' (Rev. George Lewis), Glasgow, 1834, p. 4.

"utter aversion and distaste to a minister of the Gospel and to all that comes from his lips. I know that this fire will soon burn out; but unless we can get the Gospel into their hearts and understandings, it will only be succeeded by other follies as destructive of the peace and well-being of society."[31]

The peace and well-being of society was very much in the thoughts of the reformers, and only a religious education, they were convinced, could foster it, and prevent the spread of the fire of social revolution. There was plenty of evidence of discontent and lawlessness in their midst. Riots were not infrequent; the children of the poor ran wild in the streets until they reached the age of toiling in the factories; the Sabbath was desecrated by drunkenness, brawling and fighting.

It was plain that there must be new-shaped aims in educa:tion. The emphasis among so vast and unruly a population must be placed on moral training and discipline. They must train up a child in the way he should go not merely that the State should have some profit of him, but, equally important, that the State should suffer no harm from him. "Education," comments Saunders, "now acquired a renewed importance as an instrument of social control, as well as an agency for indivi:dual betterment."[32]

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31. Presbytery and Parochial Reports on the State of Education in Scotland. Published by the General Assembly's Education Committee, 1842. (Parish of St. David's, Dundee), p. 125.

32. Scottish Democracy, 1815-1840. By Laurance James Saunders. Edinburgh, 1950. p. 244.

The 'lad o' pairts' of Scottish literature and sentiment belongs to the country. In the city moral discipline was more urgent than the cultivation of the intellect. Character-training would produce the good citizen. In their appeals for support for their schemes from the well-to-do merchants of the day, the reformers pointed out that the educated employee would be respectable and hard-working, for he would be trained in the duties of the Christian faith. The poor were to be encouraged to send their children to school by the proffered hope of the material and social benefits which accrued to education. But at bottom, the aim was moral training. The end was to combat crime and the evils of poverty, to discipline the masses, to render wholesome the body politic, to banish the disturbing influence of Chartism and social revolution, with a final outcome in the peace and well-being of society.

The means to such an end was to be a Bible education. Every educational resolution of the time insists on that fundamental principle. The Biblical laws and ethics had been proved in the experience of the rural Scotland of former days. They would undoubtedly meet the needs of the cities. Thomas Chalmers' professed intention was: 'a people possessed of the Bible and capable of using it.'[33]

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33. Considerations on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland and on the advantage of establishing them in Large Towns. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. 1819.

Even amidst the bitterness of sectarian strife which increased as the century wore on, there was no disagreement on the basic doctrines of the Christian faith. The Bible and the Shorter Catechism were approved by all parties within the Presbyterian Church as the basic text-books for the training desiderated. All that remained was to provide the machinery for the spread of such religious education; schoolmasters to teach, and school-rooms as the scene of their labours. Let them teach the Bible and the right results would follow.

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Chapter Seven:

THE URBAN PROBLEM

"Labour promotes health; industry yields plenty; economy and frugality preserve it; sobriety gives comfort; daily toil brings sweet repose at night; fidelity gains esteem; honesty makes friends; exemplary parents have dutiful children; faith in the Redeemer imports peace and joy; and the fear of God and obedience to his commandments are accompanied with the hope of a blessed immortality."

Wise and Useful Sayings.[1]

The religious education of the city poor was first attempted through Sunday Schools. The Edinburgh Parochial Institutions, for example, which came to supply Sabbath instruction throughout the city, had their origin in the shock produeed by the riots of 1st January, 1812. The New Town of Edinburgh became urgently aware of the condition of the Old Town. The riots had disclosed "the lamentable extent of youthful depravity in the city."[2]

It was the ministers of the Established Church who took action. They "stood forward to oppose to the violence of the torrent, that best, and surest, and only bulwark of which the wisdom of their pious forefathers had laid the foundation, -- the Education, and particularly the Religious Education of the

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1. A Collection in Prose and Verse for the Use of Schools. By the Rev. Andrew Thomson, A.M., Minister of St. George's Church, Edinburgh. Edinburgh, 1823. p. 14.

2. Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School, & etc. by John Wood, Esq., Edinburgh, 1830. p. 19.

poor."[3] Plans were made to open a Sabbath School in each of the parishes of the city "for the Religious Instruction on the Lord's Day, of the children of the poor."[4] Teachers were to be appointed by the kirk-session of each parish and to be paid for their duties. Each teacher was to march his children to the parish church during the hours of worship. A committee was drawn up to administer the scheme, with ten directors, five ministers and five elders, one of each from each kirk session. The magistrates gave their approval, the teachers were sought and appointed, and the Sabbath schools began their work on 26th April.

The instruction was to be strictly scriptural, for general subjects were not appropriate to the Sabbath. After short opening devotions and general reading of the Bible, the masters were enjoined to instruct their pupils in the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Shorter Catechism, Psalms and Paraphrases. The curriculum was later modified to include the Mother's Catechism and Watt's first Catechism as well as the Old and New Testaments in biographical form, with questions and reference answers. The pattern of instruction was traditional.

This estimable plan met with an immediate obstacle. Most of the children could not read! The directors called for reports from each of the parishes, and in every case the same

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3. Wood: op. cit. p. 20.

4. Ibid. p. 20.

situation was found. The answer to 'this evil' was to open a day school which would be attached to the parochial institu-:tions for the whole city. In the first instance, five child-:ren from each session were to be admitted free, and ten more, nominated by the session, on payment of fees. After some delay in finding a suitable school-room, 'The Edinburgh Session-:al School' was eventually opened in Leith Wynd on 29th April, 1813. There was only one master, and the teaching was con-:ducted on the monitorial system.

The immediate purpose of the Edinburgh Sessional School was to instruct the children "of the lower classes of society"(5) in the arts of reading, writing and arithmetic. The fees were small, 6d. a month, and children of parents certified by the kirk sessions to be unable to pay were admitted free. In a short time there was an average attendance of 500 children, all under the control of one master and several monitors.

So far so good, though this one school was dealing with a very small section of the child population. Another problem, however, exercised the minds of the Directors of the Sessional School and of the parochial Sabbath Schools. It concerned the content and form of the instruction being given. New ideas in education were spreading north from the Continent and from England. The experiments of Pestalozzi, Bell, Lancaster, and

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5. Wood: op. cit. p. 71.

Wilderspin were known to the pioneers of Scottish education in the 19th century. It was slowly being realised by a few that children were not just little pint pots to be filled up with adult knowledge, and that th repeat the facts of orthodoxy by rote was not necessarily to learn anything. The observa-:tions of Sheriff John Wood on the work of the Edinburgh Sessional School and the parochial Sabbath Schools reveal a new understanding of the methods of education.

"While we ought never to forget that children are neither machines nor animals devoid of reason, as little ought we to forget that they are neither philosophers nor as yet even <u>men</u>. The infant mind .... can only be the mind of a child, and not of a perfect man. It must not be crammed with the 'strong meats' either of the theologian or the philosopher.[(6)]"

John Wood was an Edinburgh lawyer who came in contact with the Sessional School through his interest in the Society for Suppression of Begging, which sent the children in their care to the School. He became a frequent visitor to the school, and his published account of its development, together with his strictures on education in general, were widely read. Although himself an Episcopalian, he was a warm admirer of the ministers of the Established Church, and they in turn were attentive to his educational proposals.

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6. Wood: op. cit. p. 12.

Wood noted the need for teaching according to the level of understanding at different stages in the school. There had been in the past, -- there was even still - too much rote learning, too little understanding of what was monotonously read aloud. It was possible for a young child to be word perfect in the Shorter Catechism without understanding any of the truths which it contained. Even the Bible was read as a prescribed task and soon forgotten. Wood propounded several remedies for the evils of the old style of teaching. One was that school books must be made up which were suitable to the understanding of the children. This was done, and a series of graded books, all firmly based on the Scriptures, was prepared for the use of the day school and Sabbath Schools. Among such works were Wood's own Scripture Biographical Catechisms, couched in the form of questions without answers. The pupil was expected to find the answers for himself in the Bible. A clue was given him by reference to the chapter which contained the answer, but not the verse. Thus he had to read the passage, exercise his discernment, and express the answer in his own words. These text-books came to be widely used throughout Scotland. Another pioneer in this field was Dr. Andrew Thomson of St. George's Parish Church, Edinburgh, who had from the first taken a leading part in the furthering of the Sessional School. For a time he visited the school daily. The outcome was a whole series of school-books from his pen, ranging from the simplest methods of

teaching the alphabet to a 'Collection' for the highest class. This '<u>Collection in Prose and Verse, for the Use of Schools</u>', which contained many of Thomson's own compositions, became one of the most popular text-books in every type of school in Scotland.

Wood also stressed the need of an 'intellectual' type of education, by which he meant that the children were to be given a taste for reading as well as an understanding of what they read. This was to be achieved not by the method of learning both question and stereotyped answer by rote, but by propounding simple questions and encouraging the pupils to find out the answers for themselves.

The children were to start with the alphabet, to proceed to words of two letters, then of three, and thence to 'interest-:ing and instructive passages'.(7) The first passages were to consist of words of not more than four letters, but even within this scope, Wood claimed, the pupils could learn of God, and of the histories of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and Noah. Nor would interest be lacking. "We may here remark, that we have found no narratives more pleasing to children, than those which relate to the antediluvian and patriarchal ages. Both the inci-:dents themselves and the style possess a simplicity peculiarly delightful at their years. And, when we tell them that such narratives are to be found in the Bible, they naturally contract

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7. Wood: op. cit. p. 178.

a desire to become acquainted with the other contents of that sacred volume."[8]

Such a reading lesson ran thus: "God bids the sun to rise and he bids it set. He doth give the rain and the dew to wet the soil; and at his will it is made dry. The heat and the cold come from him. He doth send the snow, and the ice and the hail; and, at his word, they melt away. He now bids the tree to put on its leaf, but ere long he will bid the leaf to fade, and make the tree to be bare. He bids the wind to blow, and it is he who bids it to be calm. He sets a door, as it were, on the sea; and says to it, Thus far only must thou come."

Following the reading of such a passage came the questions: Who bids the sun to rise? What is meant by the sun rising? Where it rises? When it rises? What its rising occasions? Who bids it set? ..... etc.[9]

After learning similarly about Adam and Eve, etc. the children were introduced to lessons with words of five letters. Moralising increases with the extension of literacy. In this section there are instructive passages on the observance of the Lord's Day, on 'duty to those who take care of us,' on 'bad words', 'lying', etc. With six letter words the pupils proceed to the stories of Abram and Lot, and thus through the Old Testament. Together with Scripture, there is now also much useful instruction in natural history. An account of the dog, the horse,

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8. Wood: op. cit. p. 193.

9. Ibid. p. 194.

the sheep, the cow, the hog, proceeds logically to the various uses to which their flesh, milk, skin, wool, horns, bones, gristle, fat, blood, etc. are applied.[10]

Later the children went on to a book of religious and moral instruction, improving fables, descriptions of wild animals, places, manners, etc. Every text-book, from the lowest class to the highest, contained a large measure of Scriptural teaching. The Bible was in constant use for devotions, as a reading book, and as an encyclopaedia in which to search for the answers to the various questions which the teacher propounded. In devotional exercises it was thoroughly gone through. On Monday, one chapter at least was read from the historical books of the Old Testament; on Tuesday, a chapter or more from the Gospels or Acts of the Apostles; on Wednesday, an hour was devoted to the Catechism and Scripture Biography; on Thursday, the reading was from the Prophets, Psalms, Proverbs, or Ecclesiastes; on Friday, from the Epistles. Saturday morning was devoted to an examination on the whole scripture reading of the week.

Such a form of education was thorough and painstaking. Its methods were in advance of the old rote learning. It sought to enable the children to understand the passages read. The Bible was used only for the imparting of religious knowledge, and no longer for instruction in grammar, spelling and fluency

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10. Wood: op. cit. p. 200.

in reading. But it was still largely an intellectual training. The child was regarded "not as a machine, or an irrational animal, that must be driven, but as an intellectual being who may be led ..... capable, to a certain degree, of receiving favourable or unfavourable impressions, of imbibing right or wrong sentiments, of acquiring good or bad habits; strongly averse to application, where its object is unperceived or remote, but, on the other hand, ardently curious, and infinitely delighting in the display of every new attainment which he makes."(11) The system tended to produce little encyclopaedists of factual information which bore slight relation to the daily lives of the children in the city tenements. Its moral teaching was still largely 'Thou shalt not', with reference to the unquestioned authority of Holy Scripture. The lessons could be dutifully learned and the pupil pass as intelligent without winning from him the response of his whole being to the knowledge that he was a child of the God of love. At best it was but a breaking down into simple words of doctrine which somehow must be accepted because the Bible said so.

Had the children ever questioned the teaching in the light of their own experience, they might well have asked why the sun which God bids to shine never shone into their dark hovels of homes, why the green grass for which they were to give thanks

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11. Wood: op. cit. p. 2½

did not grow near their crowded tenements, why the milk and flesh and wool and skins of the creatures God had put under man's subjection were not available to make their bodies strong and to protect them from the cold. They might have seen in the prophecies of Amos a picture of the New Edinburgh and the Old Town and have applied the denunciations of the eighth century prophets to their own social situation. In the work and words of Jesus they might have seen tenderness and compassion for the poor, the weak, the outcast and the unfortunate, as well as stern condemnation of those who in their prosperity did them harm. But the teaching was largely legal, based on the Old Testament, or concerned with esoteric doctrines of the Atonement. They could define in intelligible language the offices of Christ as prophet, priest, and king, although "it is unnecessary, and would be highly improper, to perplex their minds with any subtle and idle inquiries about the method in which this sacrifice, so clearly revealed, can operate for salvation."[12] The aim was still a moral reformation, the production of obedient and right-living citizens who in conscientious work and truthfulness would render themselves good servants to those whom God had set in authority over them.

Such teaching is set forth on every page of Dr. Andrew Thomson's "Collection in Prose and Verse for the Use of Schools",

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12. Wood: op. cit. p. 57.

which, as has been noted, came to be one of the most popular school-books in the country. It consists of short extracts, of an improving nature, which could be studied by the children themselves under the monitor, and on which they could later be questioned. The work is skilfully compiled, alternating simple extracts from the sermons of Thomas Chalmers, Thomson, and others, with fables and anecdotes which reveal the reward of virtuous action. Poems are highly moral or reflective of Scripture truths. A series of passages deals with the seasons of the year, with observations on common plants and flowers and on the animal creation. The Tiger is described as: "one of the most beautiful, but, at the same time, one of the most rapacious and destructive of the whole animal race. It has an insatiable thirst after blood, and, even when satisfied with food, is not satiated with slaughter."(13) But although the children of Edin-:burgh may find it exciting to read of so ferocious an animal, they need have no fear, for: "happily for the rest of the animal race as well as for mankind, this destructive quadruped is not very common, nor the species very widely diffused, being confined to the warm climates of the East, especially India and Siam."(14) The organisation of a hive of bees is approvingly described, for "the whole affords a surprising demonstration of the Creator's wisdom."(15) Useful plants are noted as well as those which grow

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13. Thomson: op. cit. p. 19. 'Account of the Tiger'.

14. Ibid. p. 19.

15. Ibid. p. 48. 'Account of the Bee'.

in beauty. The coconut tree, which "supplies the natives of those countries where it grows with almost everything necessary for their use,"[16] is set down as an example of Divine Wisdom. Laziness is rebuked in Isaac Watts' poem: 'The Sluggard' while the anonymous author of 'Father William' reminds the young man of the advantages of a virtuous life. The value of Thrift is dealt with in a passage on 'Banks for Savings': "An apprentice-boy, for example, paying in his shilling a week to the Savings Bank, at the same time he does not forget the plate on Sunday, or perhaps the penny-a-week Auxiliary Bible Society in his neighbourhood, is likely to become both a wealthy man and a good Christian."[17]

The Bible is to be venerated as 'the depository of saving knowledge' and Scriptural Knowledge as supplying 'an infallible rule of life'.[18] Children who read these improving pages are ever to remember that: "while thousands and tens of thousands of children in the world are destitute of almost all the means of knowledge and of grace, you are so highly favoured as to possess every one of them. Possessing superior privileges, see that you be distinguished by superior piety and virtue."[19] The character and ways of the good scholar are delineated in the opening pages of the 'Collection'. He is known by his obedience

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16. Thomson: op. cit. p. 117. 'Divine Wisdom in the structure of certain plants'.
17. Ibid. p. 235. 'Banks for Savings'.
18. Ibid. p. 115. 'The Bible as a rule of life'.
19. Ibid. p. 24. 'Christ's affection to children should make them grateful, pious, and holy'.

to the rules of the school and to the directions of his teacher. He is punctual, diligent, attentive. "He takes no toys from his pocket to amuse himself or others; he has no fruit to eat, no sweetmeats to give away."(20) He does not fret or murmur at difficult tasks, for he knows that his master would not have prescribed them had he not thought that they would do him good. And finally, it is to be his constant endeavour to behave as well when he is out of school as when he is in it. "He remem-:bers that the eye of God is ever upon him, and that he must at last give an account of himself to the great Judge of all. And therefore, he studies to practise at all times the religious and moral lessons that he receives from his master, or that he reads in the Bible, or that he meets with in the other books that are given him to peruse; and to walk in all the command-:ments and ordinances of the Lord, blameless."(21)

Such exemplary instruction would seem to merit the appro-:val of all. Even so, there were many criticisms of the Sessional School and of its system of instruction. There were those who protested that it was dangerous to give any form of education to the children of the poor. They would acquire notions which would render them unfit for their station in life. To teach them to read was to open their eyes to revolutionary

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20. Thomson: op. cit. p. 2. 'A good scholar'.

21. Ibid. p. 4. 'A good scholar'.

writings; to teach them to write might make forgers of them; to encourage them to ask questions about the Bible would pro:duce infidels. Utopian schemes for the diffusion of general knowledge would soon realise the fable of the belly and the other members of the body. Journeymen and apprentices might be made wiser than their masters. In sum, the manner in which the lower orders were being brought up was calculated to under:mine the foundations of society.

As the years passed, however, public opinion came to support the work of the Sessional School. Better to render the lower orders docile and obedient members of society by the discipline of moral teaching than to leave them a prey to the inflammatory speeches of demagogues. What had happened in France was a contemporary and awful warning. Children in whom the advantages of early piety were instilled would grow to be virtuous and obedient:

> " 'Twill save us from a thousand snares,
> To mind religion young;
> Grace will preserve our following years,
> And make our virtue strong." (22)

The ministers of other urban centres of Scotland adopted the system of sessional schools, and by the middle of the century there were over a hundred of them in different towns. In addition, parish schools, schools of industry, schools con:nected with factories, and schools at private adventure in both

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22. Thomson: op. cit. p. 5. 'Advantages of early piety'.

town and country districts were taking up Wood's 'intellectual system' of training children as well as the type of school text-books which the Edinburgh Sessional School had pioneered.

Strenuous as such educational ventures were, however, they were but pin-points of light in the surrounding darkness. The influx of population to the cities increased year by year and the extension of the agencies of education did not meet the needs of half the children who swarmed there. In Glasgow, in particular, the situation had become almost impossible of solution. "Private enterprise and benevolence struggled against the brute facts of the expansion of the city, the influx of a semi-educated population and the disorganising effect of an uncontrolled urban environment."(23) It was David Stow who tackled the seemingly impossible task of widespread education in the slums of Glasgow. In his system of Normal schools and his method of moral training he left an abiding mark on Scottish education.

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23. Scottish Democracy, 1815-1840. Laurance James Saunders, Edinburgh, 1950. p. 276.

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Chapter Eight:

DAVID STOW AND THE TRAINING SYSTEM.

"In Scotland the impulse towards educational experiment and educational progress during the twenties and thirties of the nineteenth century came chiefly from Glasgow. To this many factors contributed, but by far the most important factor was the linking up of the educational enthusiasm of a great preacher and social reformer, Dr. Chalmers, and the practical idealism of a business man, David Stow." (1)

George Pratt Insh.

David Stow, the son of a Paisley merchant, was born on 17th May, 1793. In 1811, at the age of 18, he came to Glasgow to engage in the business of silk merchant. It was his daily custom to walk from his home on the south side of the river through the Saltmarket on his way to his place of business. It was thus that he became aware of the darker side of Glasgow, of the social abyss which was unplumbed by the Church. Even to pass through the streets of the Saltmarket was to realise something of the overcrowding, the filth and profanity that overflowed from the crowded hovels. Stow was moved to penetrate more deeply into the slums. "During those investigations and private visits," he noted, "an amount of deceit, ignorance, and wickedness was gradually revealed, which convinced me that the favourite idea of reforming the old was a hopeless one. A few solitary cases there were, indeed, of persons who had, from early life, been imbued with Christian principles, and who had profited

1. The Life and Work of David Stow. Commemoration Lecture, by George Pratt Insh, M.A., D. Litt. Edinburgh, 1938. p. 5.

"thereby; but with these exceptions, the mass was impenetrable as the nether mill-stone."(2)

Stow was soon convinced that if anything was to be done, it must be among the children. Inspired by Chalmers, he resolved to begin Sabbath school work in this unpromising locality. At first he spoke to children anywhere and everywhere he encountered them. But he soon realised that any influence for good his words and work might have was speedily dissipated in their scattered dwellings. Stow decided to confine himself to one particular district, and to penetrate beyond the public streets to the darker depths of the homes. For his experiment, which he called 'deep-sea fishing', he chose a densely populated part of the Saltmarket, between St. Andrews Street and Glasgow Cross. Two lanes provided him with some seventy families. These lanes he visited twice a week after his day's work until he had got to know the background and circumstances of every family and the name of every child. From these homes he gathered about thirty boys and girls in one room and taught them the Bible. From such a beginning there grew an educational system which was to influence the whole of Scotland.

It was from David Stow's work that Thomas Chalmers learned the advantages of the 'local system'. Together they increased the number of local Sabbath schools, and enlisted further voluntary workers into their scheme. In 1821, at the compara-

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2. Memoir of the Life of David Stow, by the Rev. William Fraser. London, 1868. p. 20.

:tively early age of 28, David Stow was ordained an elder in St. John's parish church. Chalmers himself was 41, and at the zenith of his fame as a preacher and leader in social reform.

As a result of the encouragement of Dr. Chalmers, in the pulpit and out of it, and the devotion of men like Stow and Collins, the Sabbath school movement spread. But Stow came to realise that what they were doing was not enough. Six days' exposure to the evil of the slum streets was not counteracted by the teaching of a brief hour on the Sabbath evening. He came to the conclusion that the habit-forming training of a daily school was essential for the right reform of the children of the poor.

Stow learned many other things in his first experiments in the room in the Saltmarket. Sympathetically and patiently he came to know what children were like, how to talk to them, and how to win their confidence. It was in that first Sabbath school of about 30 boys and girls that the leading principles of his train:ing system were practically worked out, often, at first, in disappointment and failure.

The opening was not auspicious. The room was a kitchen. Mr. Stow led in his troop of street arabs, set them down on the benches, and bowed his head in prayer. At that the candlelights were extinguished. By the time he had lit them again he was alone. Without a word of complaint he went on visiting the families of the nearby streets until he had won back all his pupils.

That David Stow was a born teacher is revealed in a subsequent incident. One restless, ragged and barefoot boy stood out from the rest as a troublemaker. He was seated on the third bench from the front of the class. Taking up a long pin with his toes, he waited his chance, and then stabbed viciously at the bare feet and legs in front of him. The result was yelling and confusion. David Stow all his life was firmly opposed to corporal punishment. He neither stormed at the culprit nor thrust him out of the room. He reasoned with the boy, pointing out the pain he had caused to the others. A little later he put him in charge of the candle-lights, making him responsible for snuffing them. The boy became one of his keenest pupils.(3)

From the start Stow saw in the children of the slums the qualities he would cultivate. He neither thought of them nor spoke of them as 'scum' or 'the dregs of society', terms current in the talk of many of his contemporaries. He looked beyond the rags and the dirt to the sensitive, enquiring minds, the moral possibilities of the children. To him they were responsible beings, members with him of the family of God. The respect and obedience he won from them was the response of love to the love he showed them.

In course of time Stow came to know not only the character-:istics of each child, but also the home background and the social

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3. Fraser: op. cit. p. 41.

conditions which formed their habits and shaped their characters. His conviction was strengthened that the instruction of one Sabbath evening could not counteract the influence of six week-days. Education must be continuous and systematic. Thus he began to reason out the principles which were to guide him in later years and which he set down in his books, notably in 'The Training System'.

He could claim no spectacular results. During ten years of work in the kitchen room in the Saltmarket he saw little fruit of his labours, "save that they all got better and more decently dressed, and their hair more smoothly combed or brushed, and that several of them attended church, and whose parents were now induced to attend, who had never done so before."[4] That in itself would have satisfied many of the philanthropists of the period. The experiment had brought some law and order into a sullen section of the community, had encouraged habits of clean-:liness, obedience and respect, and had turned a few towards the respectability of the organised Church. It did not satisfy David Stow himself. He saw in the children ends in themselves. His aim was not merely an ordered society, but that the waifs of the streets should grow up to be developed persons in body, mind and spirit. His standard was nothing less than "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."[5]

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4. Fraser: op. cit. p. 65.

5. Ephesians: 4. v. 13.

There were obstacles and there was opposition. Even among the sponsors of the growing Sabbath school movement there were many who strongly disapproved of Stow's attitude to corporal punishment. "Spare the rod and spoil the child" was a proverb of long standing in Scottish education. Others regarded as a waste of time, money and effort David Stow's pleas for playground space, a garden and growing things for the children of the poor, as well as for games and exercises, let alone the cultivation of the intellect and imagination. Training, in Stow's sense of the word, was regarded as quite unnecessary and, indeed, unsuitable for children of that class of society. Instruction in obedience, enforced by authority, would suffice, and would be very much less dangerous. The opposition extended even to his system of Bible teaching. For many the old ways were good enough: the repetition of the Catechism, the adducing of proof texts, the mechanical learning of the truths and duties of the Christian faith.

But the strongest opposition was instinctive rather than rational. It arose from the old traditional convictions about education. In the rural areas, as we have seen, every child was supposed to have his chance of learning. The 'lad o' pairts', no matter how humble his origin, could rise by his work and worth to the highest place in the land. The others accepted their place in the community as the station to which God had called them. In the city, however, barriers had arisen between class and class. The moral and material worth of the middle class was

recognised in their worldly and social success, by their solid mansions and their Church connexion. They met together at work and at worship, in mutual esteem and gratulation. They made their own 'localities' of worth; the middle-class districts of Glasgow and other large towns could even be defined geograph-:ically. The very poor, on the other hand, had no social status, no vote in civic or national affairs, no purchased sittings in the kirk. They were not assimilated into society. They were a community by themselves, a sediment, 'the dregs of society', and at the same time so numerous as to be dangerous. The middle-class and the poor had lost touch with one another. They were divided residentially and socially; they did different kinds of work; their children grew up to very different occupa-:tions and ways of life, nor were they educated together. Only a handful of reformers, a few ministers, doctors, Sabbath school teachers had ever penetrated into the narrow lanes between the tenements, fewer still into the crowded homes. The majority of the worthy citizens of Glasgow were quite ignorant of the social conditions of the slums, and ignorance bred not bliss, but suspicion and distrust. Even Dr. Chalmers had reacted in disgust and a measure of alarm from the sullen, unclean creatures who crowded round him in the Saltmarket only to demand money. He found no respect for his position either as an educated man or as a minister of the Church of Scotland.

The middle-class Christian community was prepared to support Stow so long as Bible teaching of the poor would produce

obedience to and respect for those whom the Almighty had set over them in society. Philanthropy was willing to pay the blackmail of charity to escape the lawlessness of the mob, to discipline beggars, to turn the minds of the slum-dwellers from Chartism, riot and revolution. But the philanthropists did not live among or mix with the objects of their charity. It was administered to make the poor grateful and subservient, to remind them of their dependence. It was not the '*caritas*' of the New Testament, a concern for their individual well-being, a regard for them as immortal souls of infinite worth in the sight of God.

Insofar, then, as the poor were prepared to respond to the philanthropy of the well-to-do, administered by Stow and his fellow-workers, church members were prepared to give their blessing and their silver to the reformers. It was an eleemosynary duty. They looked for a modest return for their investment of money, time and trouble, a dividend of gratitude expressed in hard work, sobriety, cleanliness, decency and respect. But the investment in the education of the poor need go no further than the traditional Bible training. Stow's vision of proper class-rooms, playgrounds, games, the fullest development of body, mind and spirit, was extravagant in its idealism. They were not looking for 'lads o' pairts' in the Saltmarket. It was enough that such children should learn to be orderly, truthful and obedient. Their place in the scheme of things was to be trustworthy 'hands' in the factories, hardworking apprentices or honest domestic servants. They had souls to be

saved, it was true, but that could be accomplished without the extravagance of exercising the body in frivolous games or cultivating the intellect and imagination beyond the needs of their daily toil.

Self-complacency also stood in Stow's way. Most of the members of the middle-class to whom he appealed for aid and support had gained their position in society by hard work. Their material and social rise in the city had confirmed their belief not only in their innate worth but also in the system of educa-:tion which had nurtured them. They themselves had had their chance, and had taken it, and had achieved something. It was open to others to do the same, had they a mind to it. They approved, too, the system of class-room teaching in the Scottish schools as they had known it. It had helped them to win through. They forgot that the 'lad o' pairts' was, in fact, a rara avis, that countless others had achieved no more than to be able to read with difficulty and little understanding and painfully to scrawl their names. Men who had reached the height of their ambition by their own effort and by diligent cramming under the village dominie did not approve of a suggested scheme of educa-:tion for the children of the city poor which was to arouse the interest of the whole class of pupils and to regard the dullest as of equal importance with the brightest. Stow's appeal for support for his scheme was addressed primarily to ministers and other professional men, those who could best influence public

opinion. But these were the very men who had risen to the top under the old educational system, who had themselves very often been teachers under it. They had little sympathy with his sug-:gestions of new methods of education. From the simplest village school right up to the highest places in the University there was a narrow, hard-trodden path to success. Its pursuit depended on brains, hard work, and a certain measure of ruthless-:ness towards one's fellow-competitors. The leaders of public opinion to whom Stow turned for help had themselves been victors in that hard struggle. It was natural that they should be com-:placent in what they had themselves achieved and reluctant to make the path easier for others.

David Stow, however, was persistent, and he did not stand quite alone. Sheriff John Wood's experiments in Edinburgh were known, and his 'Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School' was widely read, although Stow considered that Wood laid too much stress on the intellectual development of children. A new wind in education was blowing from the Continent and from England. Pestalozzi had spread new ideas about the child as a child rather than as a miniature adult. Bell and Lancaster had diffused a form of education, at least, among the poorer classes in England, largely by means of the monitorial system. Robert Owen's Infant School (the first in Britain) attached to the cotton-mill in New Lanark had attracted considerable attention, partly because of Owen's openly declared scepticism in religious

matters. Samuel Wilderspin was pioneering the opening of infant schools in London, and his methods, including the use of the gallery and the playground, were known to Stow.

The outcome was the formation, in 1826, of the Glasgow Infant School Society, which gathered together representatives of the various denominations of the city. David Stow himself was appointed associate-secretary. There was no widespread enthusiasm for the new venture, and its resources were extremely modest. After much argument, an experimental day-school was set up in a house and garden in the Drygate in the spring of 1827. "The public would not subscribe for the erection of a suitable building, and with characteristic caution the direct:ors commenced on a small scale. Accordingly, the premises were taken on lease for ten years. 'This cottage,' says Mr. Stow, 'consisted of two storeys at the head of a back-garden,entering through one of the front houses in Drygate Street. The garden was turned into a playground, and the under storey formed a dwelling-house for the teacher, and being at the top of a steep ascent, a hill behind, neither storey was sunk. The upper floor was cleared out, and a gallery was erected'. The school could accommodate about 100 pupils, and gave facilities for training a few students,male and female, with a view to extending the new educational system throughout country districts and villages, but chiefly in the larger towns."(6)

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6. Fraser: op. cit. p. 83.

Such was the humble beginning not only of Stow's day-school system, but also of teacher-training in Great Britain. The Bible was the basis of all the teaching in the new estab:lishment. The stated aim of the Society was: "Infant Schools are intended for the reception of Children from the age of Two till that of six years, with the view of imbuing their opening minds with the knowledge of religious truth - of training them up in habits of obedience and good order - and of giving them such elementary instruction, as may prepare them for entering with advantage into Parochial and other schools."(7) Teachers or students who sought training in the modest school had to produce certificates showing their moral and religious character. A young applicant from the remote village of Stranraer, David Caughie, was appointed schoolmaster and trainer; the first master of methods in the Scottish educational system. He was to remain throughout his career Stow's most loyal and able supporter, and to see the new methods of education carried by generations of students throughout the length and breadth of the land.(8)

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7. The First Annual Report of the Glasgow Infant School Society, 1829. Rules and Regulations. Glasgow, William Collins. 1829. p. 4.

8. Note: In his Preface to the 6th edition of 'Granny and Leezy' some 34 years later, Stow wrote of: "the highly honoured Mr. Caughie, headmaster of the Initiatory department of the Normal Seminary - under whose training several thousand infants have passed, and some of whose children, and even grand-children, now form a portion of his present initiatory class. During this long period, the Normal students, male and female, to the number of 2,700, intended either for infant juvenile or senior schools, or foreign missions, have passed through this initiatory department as a most important part of their practical course ofstudy in the seminary."
- Granny and Leezy, by David Stow, 6th. ed London,1860.p. 6.

True to the tradition of Scottish education from the Reformation, the truths and doctrines of the Christian faith, drawn from the Bible as the source of Divine authority, formed the main elements of learning in the new infant school. But the system of teaching, the methods by which Stow sought to impart a Bible education were new. The aim was not merely intellectual instruction, far less rote learning, but moral training, the stimulating of the child's whole being to active response in classroom and in playground.

Stow argued from the logic of his experience that the irreligion, immorality, dishonesty and deceit exemplified by people of all classes in adult life were the inevitable outcome of faulty training when they were young. As with all the reformers of the age, his favourite maxim was: 'Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old he will not depart from it'.[9] The words were not only wise; they had Divine sanction. Bad habits take root in infancy, and grow and luxuriate until the community is infested with all the weeds of evil living. Good habits, on the other hand, implanted at a tender age, will produce the fair flower and worthy fruit of the Christian life. "A thorough Bible and moral training would make

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9. Proverbs: 22. v. 6. Note: This text appears on the title-page of almost every work on education, whether tractate, collection, or catechism, in the early 19th century. See, for example, The Mother's Catechism, by the Rev. John Willison; the Teacher's Guide in conducting the Gaelic Circulating Schools (text in Gaelic); David Stow's 'Granny and Leezie', etc. etc. Of all Biblical texts, this is the most constantly referred to, to support efforts at educa:tional reform.

"the most perfect gentleman, the most sincere friend, - would promote all the graces of kindness, and forbearance, and sincerity - would extinguish vice - promote cleanliness, order, and attention to health - and, by the blessing of God, would produce a millenium. Bible and moral training, teaching, and doing, ought never to be separated in the education of young or of old."(10)

David's Stow's aim, therefore, in the setting up of the Infant School, was not merely to teach the children in the tra:ditional way. It was:

"First, to provide a practical principle of morally train:ing the children of profligate and abandoned parents in towns, at a very early period of life, before their natural dispositions and propensities have been forced into habits; gradually to form the character, and thus to prevent crime, instead of requiring to punish for its commission, or attempting to cure or reform the criminal, which, although highly valuable, are less efficient and successful than the means of prevention.

"Second, to provide moral training in connexion with the common elementary branches of education for the great mass of our labouring and working population in large towns, who, in very many cases are sincerely desirous of training up their

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10. The Training System, the Moral Training School, and the Normal Seminary. By David Stow, Esq. 8th edition. London, 1850. p. 13.

"children 'in the way they should go'. But neither parents can possibly be with their children, except during a mere fraction of the day, to superintend or direct their conduct: the children, therefore, are left to the influence and example of such companions as they may chance to meet with in our lanes, streets and alleys."[11]

If the experiment were successful, Stow hoped to see the training system extended throughout the land, in country as in the town.

With Mr. Caughie and his wife installed as the first teachers, notices were sent round the district that the school was to be open to infants between three and five years of age, with none beyond six. About 50 children were brought by their parents, of all sects or of none. Two Normal students were also enrolled, with a view to two further schools being conducted on the same principles in neighbouring parishes. Within a week or two a number of other students of different religious denominations were enrolled, eager to learn the new system. Scarcely one of these, however, could be persuaded to stay more than a few weeks. In that time they considered that they had learned all there was to know.

For a time the Infant School excited interest not only in Glasgow but also in other towns in Scotland. With a view to increase that interest David Stow wrote to Samuel Wilderspin

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11. Granny and Leezy. By David Stow, 6th ed. London,1860.p. 72.

asking him to visit Glasgow to lecture on the subject of Infant Training under the auspices of the Glasgow Infant School Society. Wilderspin accomplished the journey on horseback in eight days, not without adventure on the way. After visiting the Drygate School during the course of a month he arranged with Stow for a public examination of the children to be held in the Gaelic Chapel, at the west end of the city.(12) The ostensible purpose was to exhibit the success of the infant school system to the influential citizens of Glasgow. Wagons adorned with greenery were hired to convey the infants from the Drygate to the church. On either side of the procession marched the Glasgow police, and at the back came hundreds of parents and friends of the children, joined by curious sightseers along the route. Some five hundred yards from the church the infants alighted and marched in good order into the building, where a thousand of Glasgow's leading citizens were assembled. For an hour or so the children were questioned and acquitted themselves satisfactorily. The exhibition aroused interest, and was fully reported in the newspapers, but there is evidence that it also excited a good deal of criticism among those who had the cause of infant training genuinely at heart. The truth was that the educationists were not altogether happy with Wilderspin. who was something of a showman. His own book: _Early Discipline Illustrated_; or, _The Infant System Progressing and Successful_, is a mirror of his self-esteem. In it he arro-

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12. Note: Probably in Ingram Street.

:gates to himself the whole credit for the establishment of Infant Training in Glasgow, and, later, throughout Scotland.

For a time, however, the Glasgow Infant School achieved considerable notoriety. Further to publicise the benefits of Infant Training, David Stow arranged for Mr. and Mrs. Caughie, together with a dozen or so of the infant pupils, to travel from town to town to demonstrate the new methods of education as they had done in the Gaelic Chapel. Paisley, Greenock, Stranraer (Caughie's native place), and even Rothesay, were visited in this way. The trip to Rothesay was accomplished by steamer, and, since it entailed being away overnight, many of the mothers had to be taken with the party. The outing was not an unqualified success, as both children and mothers arrived in Rothesay sea-sick from the voyage; lodgings were hard to find in the resort already crowded because it was the bathing-season; the mothers drank too much and quarrelled among themselves, and the children returned to Glasgow tired out and fractious.(13)

The most ambitious expedition of all was to Edinburgh, where an Infant School Society had also been formed. The Glasgow Society had sent Wilderspin there to lecture on the work of Infant Schools, but his audience, though numerous and respectable,

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13. An account of this and other expeditions up and down Scot:land is given by Samuel Wilderspin in his: Early Discipline Illustrated. London, 1832. Some allowance, however, must be made for his overweening self-importance, as well as for his often ill-informed statements about Scottish places, manners and customs.

had not been greatly impressed. Only an exhibition of the children at work would convince them. The Glasgow committee rose to the challenge of the Capital and arranged to convey the infants by stage-coach the journey of more than forty miles. It was a singular excursion. The little girls and Mrs. Caughie had the inside of the coach; the roof, guarded by ropes, con-:tained the boys, while the very smallest children were put into the front boot with the lid raised so that they might peep out. The journey took several hours, the day was very hot, and the remarkable equipage arrived in the Capital to find that there was no breathing-space before they appeared in front of a dis-:tinguished company in the Waterloo Rooms.

Edinburgh's somewhat cool and critical attitude was, however, quickly changed by the exhibition, which went on for three successive days. The secretary of the local Society wrote:

"I have great pleasure in informing you not only of the safe arrival yesterday of the twelve infants pupils, in high spirits and trim, without fatigue or drowsiness, but of their really satisfactory exhibition before the company in the Waterloo Rooms, which produced a very strong sensation, and was declared a high moral treat .....

"It was of great consequence to see the master, Mr. Caughie, so well up to his duty, and so entirely in the spirit of the thing; for it impressed on the public that Wilderspin is not essential to its continuance. The children, several of them very sweet little things, and all well trained, alert and cheer-

":ful, excited almost an affectionate feeling: little strangers just arrived, and introduced in the middle of the lecture, at the moment when they were wanted, was quite dramatic. The coach arrived at the Star, in Prince's Street, at a quarter past two, the lecture going on at the time. I was myself in waiting, and got the coachman, as he went near the place with his coach and horses, to set them down at the Waterloo Hotel. They got five minutes to stare at the curtains, and especially the magnificent lustres ..... and then were in the middle of business as if they were in their own school.

"A monitor, named Beton, struck up a hymn, and did other monitorial feats, and as he was pronounced a worthy, and had no shoes to walk withal, he was a shod man, - the sum being given to the mistress before they left the room ....

"I am just returned from the second lecture, where the assembly was at least tripled. Nothing done yesterday was repeated today. Many leading men were present, and most of the magistrates. The children-plan has exceeded our expecta-:tion. The crowd will be greater still tomorrow."(14)

One outcome of these performances was the establishment of the Edinburgh Model Infant School. For the setting up of all infant schools throughout the country Samuel Wilderspin took the credit. But there is no doubt from the published reports of the time that the credit belongs in large measure

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14. Fraser: op. cit. p. 88. Quoted also in First Annual Report of the Glasgow Infant School Society, 1829. p.19.

to the Glasgow Infant School Societym and preeminently to David Stow and his schoolmaster, David Caughie.

But, although the novelty of infant training made its appeal in different towns and aroused much discussion, the eventual result was disappointing. The pupils were infants only. It could be seen that they were 'sweet little things'; the system of teaching was new and interesting; there was a certain attrac-:tion in seeing the barefoot children of the poor responding to education; their Bible learning was sound, so far as it went. All this society could approve. But it was infant education only, and it reached only a fraction of the population. Right morals might be inculcated and character shaped by such methods, but the proof of that lay in the future. One or two infant schools could not of themselves regenerate society.

Stow himself became uneasy about the effect of public exhibitions on the infants. The cleanliness and tidiness of the children excited approving comments and evoked charitable gifts of clothing and money. That there was intellectual ability was obvious, although they went through the stereotyped exhibition lessons with an agility far beyond their years. But the perform-:ances tended to be entertainments of which the public would soon tire. Two aspects of the publicity in particular gave Stow pause. One was that no exhibition could reveal moral results or a change of character in the children, which was the primary aim in setting up the infant school. The other was that their Scriptural

education was incomplete. Wilderspin made it plain that he wished to offend no sect, and the Scripture lessons exhibited were therefore limited to a score of carefully selected historical portions of the Bible. David Stow, sound in the Calvinist tradition, refused to be so confined. He would wield the whole Bible as the supreme instrument of teaching, suiting it by careful use to the mental capacity of the children. To produce infant prodigies was no evidence of success. Stow's aim was that of "discovering each LITTLE MAN to himself as he is, and of endeavouring to train every little man to what he ought to be."(15)

To meet objections to the new way of schooling which came especially from an older generation brought up on the rote memorising of catechism and Bible, Stow turned his hand to the publication of a booklet called: 'Granny and Leezy; A Scottish Dialogue', sub-titled: 'Grandmother's Visit to the First Infant Training School'. It is written in broad Scots, and apart altogether from its propaganda value, it is a vivid, pithy commentary on the working folk of Glasgow in the thirties, a minor classic of Scottish vernacular literature. Something of its appeal can be judged by the fact that the booklet ran through many editions and was still being published and read nearly forty years after the opening of Stow's modest Drygate School. It is interesting, too, that it was addressed primarily to the artisan

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15. Fraser: op. cit. p. 93.

class rather than to the well-to-do city merchants or other public figures.

The booklet, which is cast in the form of a dialogue, tells first of Granny's visit to the humble but decent home of her daughter-in-law, Leezy. Sandy, Granny's son and Leezy's husband, is a weaver who has to work hard to feed their three hungry bairns. Little Mary, the eldest child, and Geordie, who has just turned two, have gone off to the infant school. Far too young, in Granny's opinion. Should he not be at home in the house being brought up in the fear of God and learning his 'questions'?

Leezy explains that she is busy all day, helping with the weaving, looking after the baby, and keeping her home tidy. Sandy, her man, conscientiously 'learns' Geordie "the Mother's Carritches every Sabbath night afore brose time,"[16] but for the rest of the week the child has been playing about the burn among the mud. Granny is not over-much concerned about a healthy child getting dirty. She is much more put about to hear that he has begun to go to a school "where they learn hymns and sangs, counting wi' beads, and clappin' o' hands, swinging on ropes, and bigging brigs wi' bricks, and heaps o' thae kind o' things." She shakes her head, full of foreboding. "The schule canna be the right sort, I'se warrant, when they hae sae muckle fun.

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16. Granny and Leezy: p. 8.

"Ye talk about religion being taught in't. Waesuck! what connection has swinging ropes and clapping hands wi' religion?"[17]

Next morning Granny hirples with her stick to see for herself, and knocks at the gate of the infant school playground. The children receive her with the utmost politeness. But her worst fears are realised when she asks for the Master and they point him out hanging from a rope on the circular swing along with the little boys.

The schoolmaster (Mr. Caughie) receives Granny courteously, listens to her canny criticisms, and shows her the school in action. The ensuing dialogue reveals the system of discipline, the method of gallery teaching, the elliptical system of Scripture teaching, the right approach to the Catechism, the daily practice of prayer. Granny is hard to convince, so different is the school from that in which she learned her first lessons, yet she is impressed in spite of herself.

Suspicion, however, is renewed at the sight of the arithmetical ball-frame apparatus. "That's a vera suspicious leukin' thing. The weans were telling their mother, that 'they were a' countin' beads'. Noo, Sir, counting beads some o' the neebours thocht was rank popery. No, no, count nae beads - dinna think the 'man o' sin' is now turned a man o' grace; na, na. You may put a fause face on a serpent, but it'll be a serpent still - that it will, Maister."[18]

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17. Granny and Leezy: p. 10.

18. Ibid. p. 36.

This gives convenient opportunity to explain the use of the frame in teaching counting, even relating it to the necess:ity of knowing numbers in turning up the chapter and verse in Scripture. Somewhat subdued, but by no means finally con:vinced, Granny makes for home to think over what she has seen and learned. But she will return: "I haena got my crack half o'er yet." And she is not to be deprived of the last senten:tious word on this occasion: "Let me howsomever, gie ye a bit o' advice. Ye see, ye're a young man, and maybe a thocht new-fanglesome eneugh in your ways about perpetriculars and monkey tricks, and nonsense o' that kind; noo Sir, tak' an auld wife's opinion. My opinion is, Sir, that a' things should be counted naething in comparison wi' the knowledge and love of Christ Jesus, my Lord."[19]

With that sincere statement the Master cordially agrees. Once away from the school Granny cannot stop talking of its wonders. The next morning, however, she returns to the infant school full of questions and objections which her cronies have meantime suggested to her. She cannot see the use of flowers and bushes in the playground, or of so many pictures in the classroom, or, indeed, of the mysterious 'gallery'. All of her questions are answered, somewhat didactically, and the children

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19. Ibid. p. 37.

reveal the value of the moral training they are receiving. In the end Granny is completely convinced that "your training schules, as ye ca' them, are just the thing for the working man's bairns ...... 'Deed ay, Maister, if a' bairns had that kind o' schulin' we would hae fewer rogues, and the kirks would get better filled. The whisky-sellers, too, would soon lose their Sabbath trade; that they would. Preaching's real gude, but it's early training out o' the door as weel as within the doors, with God's blessing, that's to do the job correctly with children, Maister."[20]

In spite of tha apparent success of the Drygate School, however, interest in the experiment began to fall off. Sub:scribers to the Glasgow Infant School Society failed to renew their subscriptions. The venture was on too small a scale to convince the public that the ideas underlying it might permeate the whole educational system. It was a novel and interesting experiment, and no more. If David Stow's ideas on moral train:ing were to influence the community at large, they would have to be pursued throughout the whole educational curriculum and extend to the age of twelve or fourteen. The infant school was "but the first step from the street or lane. To be of value the experiment must continue until right habits are formed."[21] Furthermore, the principles of moral training must be worked out

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20. Ibid. pp. 19, 20.

21. Fraser: op. cit. p. 116.

throughout the parish school system, in the training of teachers, and with the widest support throughout the land of the Church and possibly even of the Government. David Stow's horizon was not restricted to the playground wall of the Drygate School; it reached to the furthest bounds of Scotland.

In a short time, however, even the modest annual subscription of £150 failed. Davis Stow bore the burden alone. He would not admit failure nor restrict his experiments. Instead, he arranged to take over part of a building in the Saltmarket, where the Wesleyans were erecting a chapel for their worship. The ground floor of the building provided him with two large class-rooms and a spacious hall. The enclosed ground in front supplied the essential playground. Upstairs was the chapel proper. The new accommodation gave more room to the infant school and was in the centre of the poorest of the population whom Stow most wanted to help. A year later, in 1830, he bought a piece of ground behind St. John's Parish Church school for use as a playground, and was allowed to convert part of the school building itself as a Model Juvenile Training School for children from the age of six to fourteen. Meanwhile, more and more students were coming to study the 'Glasgow system', some to be converted, some to criticise, but all to arouse interest in the new educational experiments throughout the country. The training course for students was brief at first - from six weeks to three months - but full attendance throughout the school day was required, and the

training was undergone at the students' own expense and of their own choice.

Stow's patient persistence was justified at length. Although public support in general dwindled almost to nothing, informed opinion was being strengthened year by year. Enthus:iastic teachers carried the new methods of teaching far and wide, both in Scotland and furth of Scotland. One or two public men in Glasgow and elsewhere had never failed in their approval of Stow's efforts. Notable among them was the Rev. George Lewis, editor of the Scottish Guardian, who, in 1834, reconstituted the Infant School Society as the Glasgow Educa:tional Society, of which he and Stow became joint-secretaries. Their aim now was not merely to experiment with infant schools in specific localities, but to apply the improved methods of teaching which had been successfully worked out in the Drygate and Saltmarket to the parochial schools of the country at large. In teacher training, especially, they saw hope of success.

In the same year, 1834, Lewis published a notable pamphlet: "Scotland a Half-Educated Nation, both in the quantity and quality of her Educational Institutions."(22) The very title of the document stung its readers from their complacent attitude

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22. "Scotland a Half-Educated Nation, both in the quantity and quality of her Educational Institutions." By the Editor of the 'Scottish Guardian', Glasgow. Wm. Collins, 1834. Published under the Superintendence of the Glasgow Educa:tional Association.
Rev. George Lewis later became minister of St. David's Parish, Dundee, (1839) and 'came out' at the Disruption of 1843.

towards Scottish education. It is a masterly survey of the situation in Scotland from the time of John Knox, composed by a man who had wide knowledge in educational matters not only in Scotland but throughout Europe.

Typically, Lewis began his pamphlet by looking across to the Continent and warning his readers that what has happened in France can happen in industrial Britain. He then turns to lay bare the inadequate supply of education in Scotland. As ever with the Scottish educational reformers, John Knox is his Moses, and he reminds his readers what the 16th century reformer planned to make of education in Scotland. But Lewis comes quickly to his own century and the failure of the country to supply or to maintain a school in every parish and an adequate schoolmaster in every school.

Lewis ranges the Highlands and Lowlands, the rural villages and the over-populated cities for his facts, driving home his conviction that public opinion in Scotland has done little to support the ideals of John Knox. "Tsking the sum of all that has been done by Parliament, by the General Assembly, by Society and private schools, there are still only 50,000 children at school, out of about half a million souls, a tenth of the population. In Prussia a sixth of the population is at school; the State of New York has a fourth at school; and the State of Connecticut a third. Even infidel and popish France is providing

"elementary education for her population".[23]

In both quantity and quality, Lewis maintains, Scottish schooling is deplorable; the teachers are inattentive to their duties, the text-books are unsatisfactory, the Bible is used, for the most part, merely as a reading and spelling book. "Moral and religious training, in the proper sense of the term, is almost unknown. The mere knowledge of letters and of the art of reading are attained, but the understanding and heart are unimproved, and the manners unformed."[24]

In particular he addresses himself to the citizens of Glasgow; "This first city of Scotland in wealth and population has not planted a single Juvenile or Infant school for the education of the poor. Though it spends annually £14,000 on its police, and expended £60,000 on its jail, and large sums annually on the punishment of crime, it expends nothing on that intellectual, moral and religious education which is the best preventative of crime."[25]

Like his fellow members of the Glasgow Educational Society, Lewis was at that time a strong supporter of the Establishment, and he was aware that supporters of the dissenting factions would use his facts and figures as a big stick with which to beat the Church which, by tradition, had control of parochial education.

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23. Lewis: op. cit. p. 23.

24. Ibid. p. 34.

25. Ibid. p. 41.

Carefully he forestalls such arguments: "Nor is it to the Dissenters that Glasgow is indebted for her schools. They have neither built nor endowed a single Juvenile or Infant school or a single day-school of any sort. In Glasgow education is supplied first by charity schools, founded by pious and benevo-:lent individuals; second by parish or sessional schools, main-:tained by the liberality and zeal of the pastors, kirk-sessions and congregations of the Established Churches in Glasgow, and under their control."(26) Finally, Lewis quoted what has been carried on through the years by the Church, and the recent work of Wood and Stow. He appeals powerfully for moral and religious training on Stow's principles. Thus reformed, education should remain in the control of the Church by law established, where it has always been, and should be aided financially by the State.

As an appendix to Lewis's pamphlet there are printed the Resolutions of the Glasgow Educational Association(27) at its public meeting in Glasgow, on Thursday, 2nd October 1834, J.C.Colquhoun, Esq., M.P. President of the Society in the chair:

1. "That to her parochial schools, in common with her parochial churches, Scotland has been mainly indebted for the past intell-:igence and religious worth of her population. That the exclu-:sion of the towns of Scotland from participation in these

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26. Lewis: op. cit. p. 41.

27. This body is apparently sometimes "The Glasgow Educational <u>Association</u>", but more commonly "The Glasgow Educational <u>Society</u>".

"admirable institutions, has left great multitudes of their inhabitants either wholly uneducated, or without any education worth the name. That no object was so dear to our reforming ancestors as the universal education of their countrymen; and that their descendants in the present day cannot use their extended political privileges in a way more honourable to them-:selves, or more useful to their country, than in obtaining from their representatives an early, attentive, and full con-:sideration of the educational wants of Scotland."

2. "This meeting is convinced that the great end of all education, is not the cultivation of the intellect only, but the formation in youth of right principles, dispositions, and habits; and to this end it is indispensible that the Holy Scriptures be made the basis of all juvenile education."

3. "To secure an efficient scriptural education, it is not enough that the Scriptures be introduced in an unmutilated form into schools, but that the teachers be themselves men 'sound in the faith', and able to commend right principles to the under-:standings and hearts of the young. Whilst this meeting, there-:fore, is anxious that all the recent improvements in the art of education be ingrafted on our parochial schools, they feel still greater anxiety that, in extending the means of national instruc-:tion, the ancient parochial platform be followed, and all the religious securities, devised by the wisdom and piety of our ancestors be preserved inviolate; without which no system of

"education can ever deserve or obtain the confidence of the vast majority of the people of Scotland."[28]

These Resolutions were followed by a Petition to the House of Commons which was signed by many of the leading citizens of Glasgow and presented to Parliament by the Chairman of the Society, J.C. Colquhoun, Esq., M.P. It sought the extension of the parochial school system, under the Church of Scotland, and solicited Parliamentary aid in the improvement and extension of schools. In particular, the Petition pointed out that: "the unanimity in Scotland, even among Dissenters, in all matters of Christian doctrine, having one and the same Confession of Faith, leaves no practical difficulty in the extension of the Church of Scotland parochial schools, which have hitherto been attended by the children of parents of Dissenting denominations in common with those of the Established Church. By extending and improving education in Scotland according to its existing and long-tried system, your Honourable House would find itself supported, not only by the numerous adherents of the Established Church, but by great numbers of the pious of the leading Dissenting denominations."[29]

This statement regarding the dissenters was rather a pious hope than the reality. While it was true that Scotland was and remained largely Presbyterian and faithful to the doctrines of

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28. Lewis: op. cit. p. 92.

29. Ibid. p. 94.

the Confession of Faith, in matters of Church polity the clouds of disruption were already darkening the sky. The Ten Years' Conflict had begun; there was growing bitterness against the Establishment, and anything that would tend to strengthen the Established Church was viewed with great suspicion by many who were as sincere as they were strong-minded. In the newspapers and broadsheets of the time, the Voluntaries and Dissenters denounced the Established Church as 'An Apocryphal Church', 'an Incubus', 'Babylon', 'a system of legal robbery', 'unjust and intolerant and unscriptural', 'shielding and perpetuating corruption', 'extending a merely nominal Christianity which dishonours religion and is calculated to delude the souls of men', 'establishing iniquity by a law', 'political nuisance', 'an ecclesiastical soup-kitchen','a fertile source of infidelity', 'a contrivance of the Prince of Darkness', and so on, with all the rhetoric that bitterness could occasion.

The Church of Scotland ministers were described as 'State paupers', 'political tools', 'tax-gatherers', 'instruments of oppression', 'thieves and robbers', 'a privileged order of Brahmins', 'insensate beings who are now appearing in the pulpits of the Establishment, and who, as a body, are capable of almost anything', 'a host marshalled in the cause of despotism', 'extortioners', 'sorcerers', 'tampering with the rights of conscience, destroying men's lives, and shedding the blood of God's saints'. They had 'hands filled with bribes from the

State, and thefts from the property of the Dissenters', they were creatures from whom 'the saints of God have suffered ten times, nay, a thousand times more than all that Papists have inflicted on them since the Reformation began'. Indeed, 'the established Church is the very Tarantula that goads society to madness, - the very cauldron where the demons of mischief brew their most pernicious spells'.(30)

Religious controversy was further increased by the proposal to build twenty new parish churches in Glasgow to meet the needs of the growing population of the city. The prime movers in this work of Church Extension were the same men who formed the Committee of the Educational Society. David Stow gave £200 as a donation, as also did George Lewis. J.C. Colquhoun, Esq., M.P., President of the Glasgow Educational Society, brought the proposal before Parliament to amend the Act of Queen Anne and divide the old parishes where necessary and erect new ones. The aim was not only to provide sufficient accommodation for the worship of the people, but also to attach a parochial school to each of the new parishes and thus in some measure realise in the crowded city the ideals of Chalmers and Stow in the spirit of John Knox.

Meanwhile, as a storm of words from pulpit and press raged around the Established Church, the Glasgow Educational Society

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30. For such invective - and much more - see: The Church of Scotland Magazine, Vol. I. No. 1, March 1834, p. 25 et seq. quoting: A Reply to the Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments, by the late Rev. John Inglis, D.D., one of the ministers of Edinburgh, in a Series of Letters, by Andrew Marshall.

pressed forward with their own educational plans. Since the infant and juvenile schools already set up by Stow were a mile apart, it was decided to plan a new building suitable for four 'graded' normal schools, with large playgrounds. A request was made to the Lords of the Treasury for money for the project, but when not a penny was forthcoming after fourteen months, the directors of the Society appealed for public support. The plan was for a complete Normal Seminary, with 17 class-rooms, and two teachers' houses in separate wings. There would be accommo-:dation for the training of 100 teachers and the education of as many as 1000 children. This Seminary, at Dundas Vale, was opened in the autumn of 1837.

Regulations for the admission of students, framed by David Stow, were carefully drawn up:

1. "That every person, whether intended to be Teacher of an Infant or Juvenile School, shall, in the first instance, be trained in the Model Infant School, during a period to be deter-:mined according to circumstances, that he may be thoroughly initiated into the system of Moral Training.

2. "That none shall be admitted as Normal students into the Society's Model Schools who shall not agree to remain and give regular attendance during a period of at least three months. Schoolmasters, however, who may be desirous of improving them-:selves in their profession, may be admitted for a shorter time; but none can receive Certificates who have not given regular attendance during the above specified period.

3. "That the directors must be satisfied, before admission to their Model Schools, that the applicants have received a certain amount of Elementary education.

4. "That each applicant for admission shall produce a satis:factory certificate of moral character.

5. "That young men training for schoolmasters shall be subject to the regulations of the Model Schools, and to the direction of the Model Superintendents."(31)

The influence of the Glasgow training system was felt not only throughout Scotland, but also in England and overseas. Between 1837 and 1848 the average number of students per year, male and female, was 85 to 95. "Of this number, besides a few received from Ireland and the Colonies, these were drawn from about 18 counties in England, and 15 counties in Scotland."(32) In his preface to the 6th edition of 'Granny and Leezy', pub:lished in 1860, David Stow notes that 2,700 students, male and female, passed through Mr. Caughie's hands between 1826 and 1860. Up to the year 1849, also, the Wesleyan Conference Education Committee sent to Glasgow some 442 students of both sexes. After that date they trained their own students in the new Westminster College, London, the masters there having learned their art in Glasgow.

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31. Fraser: op. cit. p. 131.

32. Granny and Leezy: p. 77.

An important visitor to the Seminary was Dr. Kay (later Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth) who was to play a major part in the development of education throughout Britain and to guide many Parliamentary educational reforms. In a report to a Committee of the House of Commons in 1838 he noted:

"The most perfect school of this description with which I am acquainted, is a school recently established in Glasgow by the Glasgow Educational Society, denominated the Glasgow Normal Seminary ...... The building consists of rooms for the instruction of children, and smaller apartments, in which miniature schools are conducted by the teachers who are undergoing training in the school. There are likewise rooms in which the rector of the school conveys information to the teachers, and instructs them privately in the principles upon which the various methods of training the child are based. In such a school two objects have to be fulfilled: the one of conveying general knowledge to the teachers, and the other making them theoretically acquainted with principles upon which the methods of instruction are founded, and giving them an opportunity of carrying those principles into execution by practising the method in a miniature school, and afterwards of conducting from time to time the larger school upon the same plan."(33)

The four 'model' schools contained within the new Normal Seminary were designated: Initiatory, Junior, Senior, and a School

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33. Fraser: op. cit. p. 145.

of Industry for girls. Stow had come to prefer the term 'initiatory' rather than 'infant' school, partly because it suggested a first step in a graded scheme of education, partly because he was sensitively aware of the public reaction to the name 'infant school'. Infant schools generally had been but a mushroom growth. They had sprung up all over the country, and had achieved a good deal of publicity and had then failed. In order to gain the eclat of public approval the children had been crammed with information until they were prodigies of mechanical learning. Stow sought to pursue the original policy of his Drygate School. He knew the necessity of slow, painstaking moral training from the infant class right up to the senior school. The new Normal Seminary was to offer a complete system of education based on the Bible.

But in spite of new and commodious buildings, an ever-increasing number of able students, and the support of enlightened authority, the Normal Seminary, too, was like to fail through lack of financial support. Scotland was not accustomed to pay for education, except in the form of modest day-school fees. Schools had traditionally been provided by heritors by the Church or through a Society. A Normal Institution was a new thing. It might be approved by the enlightened, but it had also to be paid for, not only the original cost of the building, but also the running of it. The debt on the building alone amounted to more than £10,000.

When the Christian public failed again in its support, Stow turned to the Government. Through Sir James Kay-Shuttle-:worth he appealed to the recently formed Committee of Privy Council on Education for a grant of £5000 for the building and an annual support of £500. His plea was that the Seminary was undenominational in character, providing, as it did, trained teachers for the schools of different sects in Scotland and furth of Scotland. Kay-Shuttleworth knew the value of Stow's work, and was ready to help. But the Committee on Education was part of the Government, and the Government of the day was sensi-:tive to ecclesiastical opinion in matters pertaining to Scot-:land. A grant was offered, but it was stipulated that the whole property should be transferred to the Church of Scotland, which would assume complete control of the Seminary.

It was a hard condition. Although distinguished churchmen of the Establishment had supported Stow on public platform and in committee, he himself had borne the day-to-day burden of the conduct of the Seminary. It had sprung from his genius and had developed from his persistence in spite of apathy and opposition. For most of the time he was the active head of the Seminary himself, and in considerable measure his money had made it possible Loyal son of the Established Church though he was, he had opened the doors to students and teachers of every denomination which had a concern for the Christian education of the country.

Rather than see the cause of education falter, however, David Stow agreed to the transfer. After a report by Mr. Gibson, Inspector of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education,(34) the Committee resolved:

"That £5,000 be granted to the Education Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, to enable them to found Model and Normal Schools in Glasgow, on the following conditions:

1. That the Glasgow Education Society convey the site and buildings of their Normal Seminary to the General Assembly, in trust for ever, as Model Elementary Schools (for the children of the poor of the city of Glasgow), and as a Normal School (for the instruction and training of schoolmasters of elementary schools, for the children of the labouring classes), to be maintained and conducted by the General Assembly.

2. That this £5,000 be appropriated to defray a portion of the debt incurred by the Glasgow Educational Society, on condition that the remaining creditors have no claim on the buildings of the Society, when conveyed to the Committee of the General Assembly, and that the Committee of the General Assembly be restrained from effecting any mortgage on the buildings for the remaining debt ......"(35)

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34. Inspection was established as a condition of the provision of building grants by the Committee of Privy Council on Education in 1839. The appointment was made subject to the approval by the Church of Scotland of the Inspector nominated. It is a tribute to the work and worth of David Stow that the Privy Council Committee offered him the first inspectorship in Scotland, which he declined.

35. Report of the Committee of the General Assembly for increasing the means of Education in Scotland. May, 1842. A full account is given of the protracted correspondence regarding the Glasgow Normal Schools in this, and in subsequent annual reports.

It was a further condition that a Rector was to be appointed to the Seminary and a head master to each of the model schools, by the Education Committee of the General Assembly in consultation with the Committee of Council on Education.

All parties concerned — The Education Committee of the General Assembly, the Glasgow Educational Society, and David Stow himself — accepted the conditions. The Seminary was to be transferred to the Established Church. The remaining debt, of over £5,000 was to be left, somewhat thanklessly, in the hands of various members of the Glasgow Education Society, including David Stow, with the proviso that certain subscriptions and Church collections might be applied from time to time towards its liquidation.

David Stow made no complaint about the transfer. His system of education was to be received within the fold of the Established Church, where, true to Scottish tradition from the time of Knox, it ought to be. But before negotiations were complete, there occurred the greatest ecclesiastical upheaval Scotland had known since the Reformation. The Disruption of 1843 threw Scotland in a turmoil. Church politics overbore the national good, and the education of the children of the country became an issue in bitter sectarian strife.

The Disruption issue was not a doctrinal one. The seces-:sionists of the Free Church adhered, as did all Presbyterian Scotland, to the Confession of Faith. There seemed no obvious reason why the traditional system of education should be upset

by the ecclesiastical controversy which led some five hundred ministers to leave church and manse throughout the length and breadth of the land. But when it was made clear that teachers in the parochial schools must be in communion with the Estab-:lished Church, Scottish education became an issue in Church politics.

David Stow and all his teachers and students (with one exception) adhered to the Free Church party. Up and down the land every teacher who had announced his allegiance to the Free Church had been ejected from the parochial schools.[36] Stow hoped that the Normal Seminary might prove an exception. From the start the Seminary had been open to students of any Protestant denomination. It was concerned with the qualifications and character of teachers in training rather than with their Church connexion. No change in doctrine was involved in the conduct of the Seminary or in the methods of training. But, although he pleaded the case of the Normal Seminary in a letter to the Committee of the Privy Council, he got no satisfaction. The negotiations between the Committee on Education, the General Assembly's Education Committee, and the Glasgow Educational Society were not yet concluded, though they had been going on

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36. "Seventy-seven of those who held parish schools, sixty Assembly-school teachers, and seventy-five belonging to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, were expelled for no other reason than holding Free Church principles.... When the General Assembly met at Glasgow it was reported that 196 teachers of private schools had been cast out .. the work of expulsion went bravely forward till nearly 400 of the best teachers in Scotland were sacrificed." - Annals of the Dis-:ruption: by the Rev. Thomas Brown, D.D.; F.R.S.E. Edinburgh. 1893. p. 312.

since 1841. The new-born Free Church had greater problems on its hands than to regard the safeguarding of the Normal Seminary as of prime importance. Stow's final hope was that if he himself withdrew from any connexion with the institution which had been his constant care, it might be allowed to carry on unhindered under the auspices of the Established Church. But even that hope was denied him. In August, 1844, he received a brief letter from the secretary of the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland. It made that Committee's view perfectly plain: "They direct me .... to intimate for your guidance, that they will feel themselves constrained to act strictly according to the regulations laid down, that all teachers of schools under the management of the Church of Scot:land must be in communion and connection with that Church."(37) Teacher training and parish schooling alike were to be the business of the Established Church.

In the early days of the Disruption the leaders of the Free Church had no thought of having to provide educational facilities for those who supported their cause. They were not voluntaries by conviction. They supported the principle of an Established Church and parochial schools. But with hundreds of teachers deprived of their living, the necessity was laid on them to provide schools and seminaries as well as kirks and

37. Fraser: op. cit. p. 171.

manses. They dared not abandon the teachers, the parents, the children who had followed the ministers in their exodus from the Establishment. Not only had the sheep to be fed, but the lambs also.

On the 8th May, 1845, directors, teachers, 53 students, and some 700 pupils marched out of the Normal Seminary. The janitor locked the door and, with his wife, joined the pro-:cession. Headed by David Stow the company marched through crowded streets to temporary accommodation in wooden buildings, which, for the time being, formed the Free Church Normal Seminary. (38)

The rest of the story is soon told. With the same vigour with which they set themselves to provide churches and manses throughout the land, the leaders of the Free Church made provi-:sion for education. Largely through the exertions of the Rev. Dr. Buchanan, a building was completed in Glasgow (Cowcaddens) for the Free Church Normal Seminary, with accommodation for ten class-rooms, four halls and the essential playgrounds. As with

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38. Ground had already been bought in the Cowcaddens for the new Seminary, but the permanent buildings were not yet completed. Temporary wooden erections were put up in the playground. The procession must have excited considerable attention: Of the 53 students "thirty-two represent as many different counties in England and Scotland, - four are from Ireland, two from the West Indies, one from the East Indies, one from Caffraria (an amiable and promising native female) and one is the regimental schoolmaster of the 92nd Highlanders, now in our Infantry Barracks." "The children, not having received their usual daily 'piece', were provided each with an orange and a cookie, and the rest of the day was given over to diversion."
- The Scottish Guardian, Glasgow. Friday, May 9th, 1845.

the former seminary, four schools were contained within the institution. Once again David Stow took up the task of moral training.

Thus, in mid-century, in the midst of political and ecclesiastical turmoil, Scotland had a multiplicity of educa-:tional organisations. Foremost were the parish schools, by long tradition the concern of the national church. In the larger towns there were the burgh schools, largely under the jurisdiction of municipal authorities, and concerned for the most part with secondary education. In 1838 provision had been made for the so-called 'Parliamentary schools' in which salary grants were available from the Government if heritors provided an adequate school building and master's house in the new quoad sacra parishes of the Church of Scotland. Following Wood's enterprise in Edinburgh, a number of Sessional Schools had been set up; by 1851 there were no fewer than 104 of them, mainly in the towns and cities. Free Church schools were spreading throughout the country. The Society schools still served the needs of more remote areas, particularly in the Highlands and Islands. In addition there were many small schools maintained by voluntary and sectarian church bodies: Reformed Presbyterian schools; United Presbyterian schools; Roman Catholic schools; Baptist Church schools; Episcopal Church schools, and Mission schools. Beyond these there were the

schools which philanthropy had established, largely to meet the needs of the lowest classes of the community: schools of industry, works schools, charity schools; ragged schools; reformatory schools, schools for mentally defective children, and the like. There was still a wide range of 'private' schools, from the schools at private adventure to the privately endowed, whose quality varied in accordance with the locality and the amount of fees charged. Scottish education, in fact, was piecemeal, and in spite of the proliferation of schools it was still inadequate in quantity to cover the whole country and in content to provide a satisfactory schooling.

The former problem had to be dealt with nationally, by Government control. But the problem of the content of the schooling, the method of instruction, was permanently influ:enced by the work of David Stow. The establishment of a Free Church Seminary for the training of teachers did not mean the breaking down of education into schismatic teaching. Stow pursued the same course of training in the new Normal College which he had followed in the old, and the Established Church Seminary continued in the Stow tradition. The result was the permeation of Scottish education by David Stow's ideas in the training of children and teachers alike.

At the height of his fame as a teacher in Geneva John Calvin proclaimed to Protestant Europe: "send us wood with

"which to make arrows and send them back to you."[39] David Stow might have said the same to 19th century Scotland. The students of the Normal Seminaries of the Church in Scotland, whether Established or Free, were his arrows, and they carried his moral and religious training to the schools of every part of the country. It remains to examine the content and method of that training system.

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39. The Educational Work of John Calvin: By Rev. A. Mitchell Hunter. Article in Religion and Education, Vol. V. No. 1. p. 38.

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Chapter Nine:

"NURSERIES FOR THE CHURCH OF CHRIST."

"See how happy we are here!
Friends so kind and teachers dear;
Free from envy, care and strife,
Is not ours a happy life.

Let us keep this rule in mind:
Left foot, right foot, hands behind;
Then how pretty it will be
Marching to the gallery."

Song: The Glasgow Infant School Magazine.(1)

The educational aim of John Knox, inspired by Calvin, was a theocracy, in which the truths about God, man and human life were set forth in a Catechism derived from and illustrated by the Bible as the inspired Word of God, taught by the schoolmaster, declared by the minister, and enforced in daily discipline by the consent of the community. That aim, in 19th century Scotland, David Stow sought to pursue within the little world of his normal schools. Covered school and playground made a miniature cosmos within which the children were to be trained to be worthy citizens for time and for eternity. The Bible was the book from which all inspiration for being and doing was derived. Where right beliefs were taught, right actions would follow.

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1. From: The Glasgow Infant School Magazine: First Series: Compiled by D. Caughie, Master of the Initiatory Department of the Glasgow Normal Seminary. Forty-first thousand. London. Simkin Marshall & Co. 1869. p. 16.
Note: On the title page are the familiar words: 'Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old he will not depart from it.'

In the city slums Stow saw the normal schools as supply:ing the same moral influence as had been wrought in the rural areas of a former day by the work of home and school and church. In the village there was social sympathy, fostered by religion, which provided constant moral training. In the city streets there was only the sympathy of numbers, which might work for good or ill. All too easily young children were trained by bad example to ways of crime. David Stow proposed to use the prin:ciple of sympathy of numbers to transform the nurseries of crime into nurseries for the Church of Christ.

By education Stow meant much more than instruction or rote learning. Intellectual training might suffice in the village class-room, where manners and morals were formed by the social sympathy of the whole community. But a child was not educated merely by the instruction of the head, nor was he made virtuous when he could repeat the Ten Commandments. "Teach the poor to read the Bible, and forthwith you will make them holy, happy, and good citizens, - kind parents, - obedient children, - compassionate and honourable in their dealings, and then crime will diminish."(2) Such had been the plea of many reformers throughout many years. It did not satisfy David Stow. "Hundreds of thousands of our population have received such an education. Are such the results? We trow not."(3) The head knowledge of

2. The Training System, the Moral Training School, and the Normal Seminary. By David Stow, Esq. 8th edition. London. 1850. p. 4.

3. Ibid. p. 5.

of religious truth could not of itself make a good man. Neither the child nor the man is all intellect. Only by exercising mind and body and moral powers could the whole creature be educa:ted. Such a training might be achieved in the rural community, at the family fireside, in the small school, and under the watch:ful eye of minister and kirk session. It could not be accom:plished in an area where the parents were at work for long hours in the factory from one week's end to the other, where the parochial schools were inadequate and overcrowded, and where the minister was to be seen only in the pulpit.

Stow sought, therefore, to provide in the covered and uncovered school of the city something akin to the little world of the village, and so to train the children within that small, self-contained community that they might become fit citizens of the wider world of their adult years. Where the older educa:tion had emphasised individual effort, and encouraged the "lad o' pairts' at the expense, sometimes, of his fellows, Stow thought of the child as a social being. By sympathy of numbers, in a right atmosphere, he would produce a peacable and righteous society. The Kingdom of God was a community within which were to be found men and women who lived lives which were true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report. The normal schools were to be a model for the wider world; they would provide the '<u>norma</u>' or rule for adult behaviour.

Throughout all his educational work Stow insisted that the training ground must combine a covered and uncovered school. Gallery and playground were inseparable in moral training. What was learned in the one was to be lived out in the other.

It was, in effect, to be a little Eden. The playground of the school, whether in the Drygate or Saltmarket or Cowcaddens, was no bare expanse of asphalt. It was planted out with plots of flowers, bushes of gooseberries and currants, beds of straw:berries. They were not there for adornment, but for moral effect. Granny, in 'Granny and Leezie', was quick to notice, and to 'speir' the purpose.

Granny: "What's the use o' bushes round the playground, just to get them torn down and spoiled? Ye'll hae flowers in summer, too, I'm thinking, for I see some roots and bits o' leaves aboon the ground o' the borders."

Master: "I would give for answer, that we have evergreens, flowers and bushes, not simply to embellish the playground, but that the children may be trained to 'look at everything and touch nothing', - to smell the flowers without handling them, and to play, even unguarded, amid ripe strawberries, cherries, and goose:berries, without pulling one, though within their reach. I assure you, during a whole summer, two hundred children have amused them-selves here without touching one, with a single exception or two, in the case of new scholars; but social sympathy and good example,

accompanied by the conviction, 'Thou God seest me', soon moulded even these into better manners.(4)"

A secondary purpose was served by the bushes, flowers, and fruit in Scripture teaching, as illustrations of the lily of the valley, the grass that withereth, the flower that fadeth. A tree could be used for reference in teaching the story of Zaccheus, or might serve, in imagination, to hang harps upon while the class sat and wept by Babel's streams.

The playground was also the place for play and recreation, to permit an outlet for animal spirits. It was equipped with gymnastic circular swings, with wooden bricks for toy building, and skipping ropes for the girls. Here, too, a purpose was served beyond the immediate outlet of physical energy. The children were to count their rounds on the swing-ropes and instantly to yield to others when they had done 30 or 40 circles, discipline and arithmetic thus being harmoniously intermingled with pleasure. In a Calvinist world, even though it be narrowed to a playground, everything works together for good. Thus, as the Master didactically observes to Granny: "The child-:ren grasp the rope with both hands, and their arms being necess-

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4. Granny and Leezy: A Scottish Dialogue. By David Stow. 5th ed. London. 1860. p. 51.

"During the whole of last summer, we have no reason to sup-:pose that, in any single instance, were any of our goose-:berries, currants, or strawberries, in our noble play-ground, taken by any of the children (with the exception of one gooseberry). The fruit - viz. no fewer than ten pints of red and white currants - when ripe, was gathered by the children, and I divided it amongst them in the school-room." Granny and Leezy. p. 80.

":arily extended, has the effect of opening the chest, and allow-:ing their lungs freely to play; and as their feet touch the ground, the six children, half suspended from the ropes, some-:times on tiptoes, run as fast as possible round the circle, and the centrifugal accelerated force gradually throws them off their feet, until one and all find themselves whirling in the air to their inexpressible delight; and the motion is continued, by occasionally extending their toes to the ground, and running a few steps ...... the motion naturally throws the blood to the extremities, away from the head ...... arms, limbs and indeed the whole body, are thus exercised and strengthened."(5) Such exercises were prescribed at the end of every gallery lesson, no doubt to allow the suffused brains of the children to cool down and circulate the blood in orderly course throughout the body.

The playground, in all its activities, was above all an arena for moral training. As in the Garden of Eden, nothing went unobserved among the children of men. All that the child-:ren said and did was under the eye of the master-trainer. In the uncovered as in the covered school, in play as in work, scriptural principles were to be reduced to practice. The Master was in loco Dei; he himself, not a janitor or juvenile assistant, must review the conduct of the children. Stow

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5. Ibid. p. 5.

therefore required that his deity must walk in the garden with the children of his care, noting their character and disposition, approving their 'tig', 'bell' or 'marbles', watching how they examine the opening flowers around the borders 'but without pre:suming to disturb their delicate and downy petals', and observ:ing benignantly the 'constructive propensity' of those who co-operate to construct castles and squares with the wooden bricks. He might even so far unbend as to join the children on the circular swing. The illustration which prefaces the account of the first model school in the Drygate, shows the Master in full swing along with four of his scholars, the tails of his sober frock-coat flying, his tall hat fixed firmly on his head, while in the background, behind the modest cottage-school, the figure of John Knox gazes down on the scene from his pedestal in the Necropolis. It was small wonder that Granny exclaimed: "Swinging - swinging - Maister an' all! A fine schule to be sure![6] Small wonder that she had to 'speer a plain quastion: 'Whatfor do ye, as I'm tauld ye do, bring down a maister's dignity, and condescend to play wi' weans, swingin' and lampin' round a big stab there, like a muckle gawky?' "[7] To that the Master gravely answers that the first and most important object in rearing up children 'in the way they should go', is to gain their affections, and that by joining in their amusements with them he becomes an

6. Ibid. p. 10.

7. Ibid. p. 12.

object of love, and not of fear. Thus, indeed, did God in Christ condescend to our weaknesses and infirmities that He might gain our affections.

Even if the master were not thus actively engaged among the children, they must ever be in his sight. "The playground must open directly from the school hall, and in full view from the windows."(8) At no time does he interfere, but he observes. It is his task to mark what is amiss in the miniature Eden, so that when the children return to the gallery the necessary moral training lesson may be applied.

There is much to observe. The playground is a world in miniature in which embryonic vices and virtues are displayed. Boys who are dull in the gallery may be the leaders in open-air pursuits. A child may subside sullenly under a rebuke for quarrelling in the class-room, only to attack his class-mates furiously when he reaches the freedom of the open-air. Hands and feet will tend to mischief in the liberty of the playground. A child, for example, finds a penny in the gravel. Will he appropriate it as his own, or hand it over to the Master to be claimed by its proper owner? The flowers and fruits are planted not out of the way, but in the way. The purpose of the playground is not merely to encourage healthful physical exercise, but also the practice of moral self-discipline, in which <u>ought</u> supplies the impetus rather than <u>taught</u>.

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8. The Training System: p. 147.

The Gallery, or covered school, served not only as the place of instruction, but also as the judgement hall for the trial of the misdemeanours of the playground. Nor did the Master administer a direct rebuke to any defaulter. Quarrel-:ling, fighting, lying, stealing, were dealt with by an appeal to the jury of the culprit's companions and by the witness of his own conscience. Thus does the Master in 'Granny and Leezy' deal with such a situation: (The words in italics are supplied by the children in response to the elliptical teaching of the Master).

Master: "Now children, I have a sad story to tell you, about a little boy who stole a plaything, which another little boy had dropped, and he was seen doing this.... bad thing.... this .... afternoon. Will you try to find out who did this; look about and see who it may be. This little boy, children, saw other five or six boys playing very ....nicely, and quietly, and this old lady and I saw him walk slyly behind the boys playing, and when the boys were not .... looking, he snatched up a little .... toy; yes, a little toy, and put it .... into his pocket, and never spoke or said a word. Now this little boy thought that nobody saw him, I fear, from the way he did it. It looked as if this was not the first time that he had done such a .... bad thing. Did anyone else see him, children? God saw him ... and God sees .... everything.

"Who do you think could do such a thing, children?"

"Master, it's Willy Waterston that did it, for his face is red, and he's beginning to greet!

"Willy, Willy, what have you to say for yourself? Answer me, boy.

"Master, I have ... I have ... I... I ... did ... didn't ... haven't it ... I haven't it, Master!"

"Master, when you were speaking, he threw it behind him; here it is."

"Well, I really am sorry to witness such conduct. What shall we do to him, boys?"

"Beat him ... cuff him ... thump 'im! Master, tell him what the Bible says!"

"Well, girls, what shall we do?"

"Forgive him, Sir, for once, if you please."

"You wish, then, that I should .... forgive him." (9)

The master then decides that this is the first time the wretched Willy has been found out doing anything so bad, and the children agree, since Willy is 'greeting and crying'. But duplicity and deceit cannot be lightly passed over. Willy is therefore confined to a solitary seat at the window and not allowed to join the others in their lessons that afternoon. He must also publicly acknowledge his fault in a proper manner before he leaves the school. The sinner thus isolated, though not beyond the bounds of grace, the Master resumes:

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9. Granny and Leezy: p. 57.

"Now children, when you pray this evening, before going to bed, what should you do?"

In chorus comes the answer: "Pray for Willy Waterston." (10) The Master then takes the opportunity of revising their knowledge of the eighth and ninth commandments which forbid stealing and deceiving. He points out to Granny that firmness is necessary, but that corporal punishment will not achieve the desired end; it either breaks the spirit or hardens the culprit. The only cure is training to 'a right sense and a right understanding of the evil'. An animal may be made to feel correction by the rod on the body; but a child ought to be conscious of a higher motive and principle. The rebuke of his own informed conscience, the knowledge that 'Thou God seest me', that 'the eyes of the Lord are in every place', will be infinitely more powerful than any human superintendence.

Finally, the lesson is driven home by the hymn which the children are called upon to sing:

"I'm not too young for God to see;
He knows my name and nature too;
And all day long he looks at me,
And sees my actions through and through.

He listens to the words I say,
And knows the thoughts I have within;
And whether I'm at work or play,
He's sure to see me if I sin." (11)

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10. Ibid. p. 58.

11. Ibid. p. 59.

One may imagine that Willy Waterston, having been thus publicly dealt with, prayed over, sung over, and convicted of sin, not only _coram populo_ but also _sub specie Aeternitatis_, would not readily forget the lesson. Thus was moral training exemplified.

There was patient reasoning on Stow's part behind such a system. All his life he was resolutely opposed to corporal punishment, and would never allow it in any school under his control. The use of the rod, he argued, sprang all too often from impatience in investigating a fault. The training lesson in the gallery, on the other hand, was not only an opportunity to convince the culprit of his sin; it was also a warning to the whole school. Yet he was careful to avoid any sadistic torture of the sinner. Treatment was to be tender yet firm. Punishment of a fault was not the main reason for the lesson, rather was it the redemption of the child. Sinner Willy Waterston might be, but he was first of all a child of God.

The gallery, as distinct from individual class-rooms, was the principal place of teaching in the covered school of Stow's system, a _sine qua non_ of moral training. It had to be capable of seating all the scholars. Once again the object was that the children should one and all be under the eye of the Master, Every detail in the construction of the Gallery, and, indeed,

of the whole Seminary, was carefully thought out by Stow, and the various editions of his 'Training System' contain the most meticulous plans and drawings ... height of seats, breadth of seats, design of the Master's Bible stand, cloak room pegs, toilet arrangements. Confronted by rank after rank of children, the Master could see every movement in the gallery and arrest and secure the attention of every child. He could also make use of simultaneous answers, and thus promote order and fixed atten-:tion, as well as social sympathy. Stow was not training the individual _per se_. He was encouraging the development of the individual within a social system of his fellows.

All was orderly within the school. 'Man's primary call in the world of God's creating is to obedience. It was the primary lesson in all the activities of Stow's training schools. "Every exercise, physical, or moral, is so conducted, that _instant obedience_ is essential to it."(12) The children marched in from the playground in perfect order, hands behind their backs; they hung up their caps and bonnets each on its proper peg, and bestowed their 'pieces' for lunch in the right place. Such rules were required not only for the sake of order, but primarily to serve the supreme end of right habits in the school, at home, and in later life. Nor did the Master have to shout directions. A touch of the hand-bell or the blast of an ivory whistle obtained the obedience required.

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12. Training System: p. 313.

Stow was a strong believer in singing as an aid to disci-:pline, and as a moral training device. It produced order in the ranks of children, worthy songs displaced street ballads of a questionable character, and in their very words the verses were an instrument in training children to all that was virtuous and good. John Calvin would have approved. In both the covered and uncovered school the children matched an appropriate ditty to their actions. Thus:

"March away! March away!
To the playground lead the way;
All our lessons now are past,
Left foot first and not too fast;
O! 'tis nice each sunny day,
Thus t' enjoy ourselves in play;
We'll no angry looks betray,
But merrily merrily march away." (13)

or:

"We'll all march to our places,
With quick but steady paces,
And sit with smiling faces,
To have a little rest.

We'll all march round in order,
We'll all keep off the border,
We'll all throw back our shoulders,
And hold our heads erect.

The bell has just been ringing,
And all have ceased their swinging,
To rank themselves with singing,
In order for a march.

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13 Glasgow Infant School Magazine: First Series. Compiled by D. Caughie, Master of the Initiatory Department in the Glasgow Normal Seminary. 41st. thousand. London. Simkin Marshall & Co. 1869. p. 14.

"We'll all rub hands together,
We'll all twist hands together,
We'll hold up hands together,
And clap them overhead." (14)

or

"March to the Training School,
The Master's there before us;
Where we shall learn each useful rule,
And nothing ill come o'er us!
When we are there we'll take good care
To mind whate'er is told us,
Obey the laws, and ne'er give cause,
For anyone to scold us." (15)

There were scores of such songs to fit all the activities of the day, and their use spread throughout the land wherever Stow's Normal students found occupation.

If the uncovered school or playground was the arena of being and doing, the covered school or gallery was the place for training in right thinking, the seat of intellectual and moral communication. Stow's gallery teaching went far beyond the direct instruction or rote memory work of the typical parochial school. The child was a whole being, body, mind and spirit. It was not enough to cultivate his verbal memory alone. Stow therefore paid particular attention to the mode of communication in his schools. The mere head-knowledge of religious truth would not make a good man without the practice of it, nor would teaching to read, write, count, educate the whole child.

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14. Ibid. p. 62.

15. Ibid. p. 138.

That part of moral training which was achieved in the covered school was done by the system of 'picturing out in words'. Every part of a gallery lesson was to be gone over with the children until every pupil understood its content, so that what was understood might be practised in daily life. "Morally and intellectually, as well as physically, we only know a thing when we do it. I know what it is to love or hate when I exercise these propensities. I only know how to think, or speak, or move my limbs, when I do - or when I have acquired the habit."(16)

The aim of Stow's method of 'picturing out in words' was to exercise the understanding of the child. It was a combina-:tion of the old catechetical method of questioning and the use of ellipses. Knowledge was not merely supplied; it was also drawn out of the child. The gallery, where all the children were seated together under the eye of the trainer, afforded the best opportunity for simultaneous answers. Not every single child in a gallery of sixty or eighty pupils could be expected to answer every question put by the master, but consciously or subconsciously they were taking in something as the majority of the class chorussed the answers. And there was no narrow concentration on one subject at a time. In the course of a gallery lesson, religion, history, natural science, morals, were so intermingled that there was something to which every

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16. Training System. p. 162.

child could respond. "Food is presented suited to the tastes of all .... each admits as much as his natural powers are capable of receiving; none are surfeited, and none are starved."[17] If only a quarter of the children could answer a question, yet the power of sympathy was such that the others would come to comprehend the matter as the Master elaborated the theme and as they joined in the responsive answers. It was class teaching, as opposed to concentration on the 'lad o' pairts'.

Stow found in the Bible, and particularly in the teaching of Jesus, arguments to support his method of picturing out by analogy and the use of familiar illustration. In Christ he found the truest and most natural model for the practical exhi:bition of doctrine and conduct.

' "Is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar?" said the Pharisees.
"Show me a penny," said our Saviour.
"Who is my neighbour?" said the same party. Jesus pictured it out by the story of the good Samaritan.

Or again: "They watched him, whether he would cure on the Sabbath-day;" Our Saviour looked on them and asked: "Is it lawful to do good on the Sabbath-day or to do evil; to save life or to kill?" He did not <u>tell</u> the Pharisees whether it was not lawful to do good on the Sabbath-day; he appealed to their consciences; <u>he trained them.</u>'[18]

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17. Training System: p. 223.

18. Ibid. p. 295.

In the same way, Stow pointed out, Christ used illustra-:tions within the experience of his hearers: 'A sower went forth to sow', 'even as a hen gathereth her brood under her wings,' 'In the evening it will be fair weather because ...' etc. He spoke of corn-fields, figs, vines, hens, farmers, vine-dressers, husbandmen. Had Jesus lived in the 19th century, Stow asks himself, what would he have used by way of illustra-:tion of his teaching? The things familiar to the Galilean ~~to~~ peasant might be unknown to the slum child of Glasgow. "Had he lived in this country, and in our day, he might have illustrated his sayings by the water conduit, the blast furnace, or the steam engine. Scripture, instead of stating that our days fly 'like a weaver's shuttle', might have said, 'with the rapidity of a locomotive'; and that our wealth and hopes might be blighted like the potato crop of 1846."(19) Such a conception on David Stow's part was unconventional, but it revealed sympathetic understand-:ing of the mind of the greatest Teacher of all. Stow was pre-:pared to lay under tribute for illustration the whole created world, including the discoveries of modern science, 'astronomy, mechanics, optics, and geology,'(20) for it was all God's world. There was but one caveat to the teacher: "Whatever illustrations we present must be within the experience of the pupils; and whatever language is used by master or scholars must be equally simple and understood, otherwise we talk in a foreign language.

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19. Ibid. p. 243.

20. Ibid. p. 295.

It is for want of practically acknowledging this principle that knowledge makes such slow progress in the world."(21)

In Scripture, also, Stow found the constant use of analogy expressed by the terms AS...SO. Spiritual teaching was communi-:cated through earthly things. Lessons learned about the world around us lead to understanding of religious truths. AS intro-:duces the natural thing; SO the spiritual or moral lesson. AS the leopard cannot change his spots, SO they that are in the habit of doing evil cannot learn to do well. AS the day-star to the mariner of old, SO Christ to the wayfaring Christian. AS the sow that is washed, SO man in his natural state. AS iron sharp-:eneth iron, SO doth the face of a man his friend. The influence of the Book of Proverbs is as plainly to be seen in Stow's system as in the rural schools of Scotland of a generation and more earlier. It is the book <u>par excellence</u> for such emblems as Stow used in his teaching. "When the AS of the natural emblem has been in the first instance clearly pictured out, the SO, or practical lesson, will be apparent to the minds of the pupils. They will readily be able to give its application, and this is the test of the trainer having properly conducted the lesson."(22)

Many examples of such picturing out in the gallery lesson are scattered throughout Stow's writings. One will suffice, by way of illustration: The lesson was on the 18th verse of Psalm 18:

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21. Ibid. p. 243.

22. Ibid. p. 295.

'The Lord Was my stay'. As a preliminary the teacher elicited from the children the information that the Psalm was by David, who on occasion was persecuted by Saul. God kept him from harm, and David said: 'The Lord was my stay'. The children reveal that they do not know what a 'stay' is, and the lesson therefore pro:ceeds thus, following the AS ... SO method:

"Allow me to ask, have you seen peas growing in a garden? Yes, Sir. When the peas were grown a few inches above ground, what have you seen the gardener do to them? Stick them. What is the use of sticking them? To keep them up. The gardener stayed or supported the .... peas. Each stick that supported or held up one of the peas, was to that pea - What was it? A stay. The pea, you know, has little fibres called ... tendrils; you remem:ber we had a gallery lesson upon creeping plants lately. The pea seizes hold of the ... sticks ... with .... its tendrils.

"Are the peas able to stand upright of themselves like a tree? They are weak - they have sticks. Very weak, and they would fall if they had no sticks to .... keep them up. Very right. The pea requires something to keep it ... from falling. And without being stayed it .... would not grow. Would it not grow? It would not grow up. It would .... fall. Tell me now what the stick is to the pea? A stay."[23]

The trainer thereupon elaborates on the meaning of the word stay. A walking-stick in the hands of an old man is a stay,

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23. Ibid. p. 361.

so are beams to a house, and rigging to a ship. He then pro-:ceeds to the SO, or application of the lesson:

"What does David the king of Israel say in these verses you have just read? (The children read the verses simultan-:eously). The king of Israel speaks of enemies that he had to meet stronger than he was himself. To whom, do you think, did he look for help? God. David says: The Lord was my stay. You know that the pea has little fibres, called ... tendrils, or ... holders, that lay hold of anything, such as a ... stick; and when it loses its hold, what happens? It falls. Now, David, when he had very strong enemies to meet, and was likely to fall before them, he naturally looked for some stay to ... support him Who was David's stay? God. He believed that God would .... help him. He trusted - in Whom? In the Lord, and he was to him ... a stay. You say that the Psalmist believed that God would .... help him. That is, he had ... faith in ... Him, and as the pea held ... the stay by its ... tendrils, so David, as it were, held by God - how? By believing in Him. Give another word for believing? Faith. David in every difficulty trusted ...... in God. And what did God do? He ... supported him. At the time we now speak of, when he had strong enemies who came ...... against him (and enemies, you know, do not generally love one another), what did they do? They hated him. To whom did David then look for help and support? To God. The Psalmist

trusting in him, and feeling that he was ... supported, said - what did he say? But the Lord was my stay."(24)

The lesson goes on to further details of the story of David and his enemies, and eventually relates it to the exper-:ience of the children themselves. In time of difficulty and danger and sickness they know to whom they ought to look as their stay. Previous lessons they have had are referred to, and various promises of Scripture allied in their minds. Thus the Bible speaks through the objects of nature. It is an early enunciation of the sound principle of proceeding from the known to the unknown.

The routine of the school day was as follows:

9. to 9.30 a.m. Assembly in the playground. Physical exer-:cises. The children march in to the gallery.

9.30 to 10.30 a.m. The children are inspected for cleanliness. Praise and prayer. Bible-training lesson. During this time opportunity is taken to refer to actions in the playground.

10.30 to 11 a.m. Inquire about absentees. Responses or examin-:ation on the previous day's Bible-lesson. Music.

11 to 11.30 a.m. Children in the playground with the master and mistress present. Play with the children, talk to them, and encourage them to take an interest in the growing things of the flower-border.

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24. Ibid. p. 363.

11.30 to 12. Assemble in school. Children partly in class-room and partly at lesson-posts, under master and assistant. Training on powers of letters, and reading from lesson-boards.

12. to 12.30 p.m. Children assemble in gallery. Secular lesson by the master. Physical exercises during lesson. Music.

12.30 to 1.30 p.m. Children dismissed for lunch. Those who remain have their rolls and milk and afterwards play in the playground under the superintendence of the master or mistress.

1.30 to 2 p.m. Children assemble, some in class-room under an assistant, and some in the gallery with the master. Once again there is a review of play-:ground conduct. There follows a secular training lesson.

2. to 2.30 p.m. Children in class-rooms and at lesson-posts. Powers of letters and reading from lesson-boards, under master, and assistant, and monitors.

2.30 to 3 p.m. Playground. Observe what dispositions the children manifest and train them accordingly on their return to the gallery.

3. to 3.30 p.m. All the children at lesson-posts under monitors, revising their acquaintance with the various objects in Natural History, Trades, etc.

<u>3.30 to 4 p.m.</u> Gallery. Moral training on the dispositions which the children may have shown during the day while at lessons, and in the playground.

<u>4. p.m.</u> Dismiss, after praise and prayer. (25)

True to Calvinist and Scottish tradition, the Bible was the inspiration of Stow's educational system. He constantly refers to Scripture for illumination and authority in all that he undertakes. 'Train up a child in the way he should go' was, as we have seen, not merely a wise aphorism to Stow. It was a Divine command. A promise, moreover, was attached to it: 'when he is old he will not depart from it'. If the teacher, then, fulfilled his part in the training of the child, God would not fail in His blessing in later years. The older system in Scotland, Stow believed, had failed in that it had changed the term 'train' to 'instruct', telling the child what he ought to believe and what he ought to do. He himself believed that the command 'train' was to enlighten the understanding, to see that the child <u>does</u>, and constantly to place him in circumstances in which he may be able to <u>do</u>.

As was the custom in Calvin's Genevan school, and in Scotland throughout almost three centuries, the school day was opened and closed with prayer. Even here Stow insisted that the children must fully understand what was being said and done. The Master's prayers were to be short, simple, and distinctly said.

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25. Ibid. p. 315.

Not a single expression was allowed which was beyond the com-:prehension of the pupils. The Lord's Prayer was carefully pictured out before it was repeated by the children as part of their daily devotions. The Shorter Catechism, too, was taught, though Stow took his own way with it. He would use no catechism in the initiatory, or infant, school, where, indeed, no text-books were used at all, except the Bible. Even the so-called infant catechisms which were widely in use at the time, were, he knew, compiled for rote memorising. They burdened the memories of young children with answers they could not under-:stand, since they did not know the meaning of the words used. Stow would have none of it. In the infant stages of learning "we give, as it were, 'milk' with bread broken into crumbs, and then 'soup', before 'strong meat'."[26] The committing of the Shorter Catechism to memory was left until the pupils entered the Juvenile School, by which time, as the Master assures Granny: "I promise you, if they have been previously trained for two or three years under our system, they will perceive with a clear-:ness and correctness of understanding many truths in that truly valuable little book which were quite dark and mysterious to you and me, Mistress, under our old system of a well-stocked memory of words without understanding."[27]

But although the Catechism was to be introduced slowly and

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26. Granny and Leezy: p. 22.

27. Ibid. p. 22.

according to the measure of the children's understanding, the Bible was to be used as a whole from the beginning. In this Stow was true to the old Calvinist pattern of religious instruction in church and school, for all Scriptures "are given by inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life."(28) There was no department of the school in which the Master did not refer constantly to the Bible, whether it was to point a moral or adorn a tale, to illustrate a nature lesson or the marvels of modern science. "The Scriptures from Genesis to the Reve-:lation of St. John, whether narratives or precepts, or examples, emblems or parables, are all doctrinal, and there is no doctrine without a practical lesson. All is intended by God, the author of the Bible, to be practical and useful."(29) To ensure familiar-:ity with the words of Scripture, as well as the meaning, a new Bible lesson was taught every day, making three hundred in the course of a year. The Bible itself, and nothing less than the whole Bible was to be the lesson-book, so that the children might realise its authority as the revelation of God's will to man. In Bible training not only was the intellect cultivated, but from every passage of history, poetry, or emblem, there was a lesson to be drawn and applied personally, "which teaches how we may serve God here, and enjoy him through eternity."(30) Every

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28. The Confession of Faith: agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Chap. I. par. 2.

29. Granny and Leezy: p. 28.

30. Training System: p. 293.

Word of the Bible could be laid under tribute for eternal meaning. Narrative, precepts, promises, threatenings, parables, emblems and metaphors, all were to be pictured out and fami-:liarly illustrated so that they might be brought to the hearts and bosoms of the children.

The scheme of Lessons for Bible training was thus laid out: On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday morning of each week, a narrative, taken alternately from the Old and New Testaments, was to be pictured out, and an appropriate Biblical precept attached to each. Thus:

<u>Narrative:</u> The creation - God formed man of the dust of the ground, in a holy and happy state. Gen. 1.26, 27.

<u>Precept:</u> All are of the dust, and all turn to dust again. Eccles. 3. 28.

<u>Narrative:</u> Jesus was born in a stable, and laid in a manger. Luke 2. 1-7.

<u>Precept:</u> Jesus had no permanent dwelling on earth,- foxes have holes, etc. Luke 9. 57,58.

<u>Narrative:</u> The seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent. Gen. 3. 15.

<u>Precept:</u> The Saviour is born of the Virgin Mary; Luke 2.1-11 Jesus said, Abraham saw my day afar off, and was glad. John 8. 5,6.

<u>Narrative:</u> Korah, Dathan, and Abiram swallowed up in conse-:quence of their rebellion. Num. 16. 26-33.

<u>Precept:</u> The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God. Psalm 9. 17.

<u>Narrative</u>: Herod dies, being eaten up of worms. Acts 12.20-23.

<u>Precept</u>: Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall. Prov. 16. 10. (31)

On Tuesdays of each week, Bible emblems were used, taught usually by the AS .... SO method already described. Again the whole Bible was used for imagery. Thus:

Christ, the door. John 10. 9.

Christ, - fuller's soap and refiner's fire. Mal. 3.2.

I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valley. Song.2.1.

As a sow that is washed, to her wallowing in the mire. II.Peter 2. 22.

Compass me about like bees. Psalm 118. 8-14.

I am become like a bottle in the smoke. Psalm 119. 83.

Like grass upon the housetops. Psalm 129. 6.

On Thursdays, parables and miracles were to be taken alternately. Miracles were taught as belonging only to Scriptural revelation. Thus:

<u>Outline of lesson on Miracles</u>:

What is a miracle? - A wonderful thing that man cannot do without the power of God.

Who wrought miracles? - The prophets, Jesus Christ, and His apostles.

Who was the first prophet that wrought miracles? - Moses.

What was the first miracle that Christ performed? - He turned water into wine.

What was the last He performed before His death? - Healing the high priest's servant's ear.

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31. Training System: p. 401-407. <u>passim</u>.

What was the last He performed before He ascended up on high? - Causing a great draught of fishes to be caught.

Who gave the apostles power to work miracles? - Jesus Christ.

Who gave Jesus Christ power to work miracles? - No one, for He has all power in heaven and in earth.

Why did He work miracles? - To prove that He was the Son of God.

Why did the apostles work miracles? - To convince men that they were messengers of God.

Are there any miracles wrought now? - No.

Why? - Because they are not necessary." (33)

To David Stow Scripture contained the full and final reve-:lation of God. He was, in fact, true to the Confession of Faith:

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33. The Glasgow Infant School Magazine, p. 226.

<u>Note</u>: It is interesting to recall Calvin's comments on the miracles: "Though Christ does not expressly state whether he intends this gift to be temporary, or to remain perpetually in his Church, yet it is more probable that miracles were promised only for a time, in order to give lustre to the gospel, while it was new and in a state of obscurity. It is possible, no doubt, that the world may have been deprived of this honour through the guilt of its own ingratitude; but I think that the true design for which miracles were appointed was, that nothing which was necess-:ary for proving the doctrine of the gospel should be wanting at its commencement. And certainly we see that the use of them ceased not long afterwards, or, at least, that instances of them were so rare as to entitle us to conclude that they would not be equally common in all ages."

- Comment on Mark 16. 17. In: Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke. By John Calvin. Trans. by Rev. William Pringle. Vol. III. Calvin Translation Society. 1846. p. 389.

"The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in scripture, or by good and necessary con:sequence may be deduced from scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men."[34] It was the legacy of John Calvin's teaching, who had declared that the Holy Scriptures contained a perfect doctrine, to which nothing could be added.

To round off the school week in the Normal school, Saturday morning was to be devoted to Scripture Geography, or to the Catechism.

A typical treatment of a Bible training lesson is set out in 'Granny and Leezy'. "In reference to the Bear, which appeared in the particular Bible lesson of this morning, what a variety of interesting and useful lessons may be drawn from that passage, 2nd Kings, 2nd chapter, where the two she-bears are represented as tearing forty-two children from limb to limb, who mocked the aged prophet. We have the natural disposition of the bears which God employed to punish the children - the character of these children, and the character of the prophet Elisha. You see the lesson, Mistress, which from this history children may receive - Respect to aged superiors, to mock no one on the streets, even though an idiot, for they are God's workmanship, -

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34. The Confession of Faith; agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Chap. I. par. 6.

"the power of God in using these animals to fulfil His will, - His justice in punishing the little children, - and His goodness and love in protecting from insult His aged servant the prophet Elisha."(35)

Even Granny, however, thirled to Scripture though she is, is somewhat taken aback by this realistic treatment of the passage. "Weel-a-weel," she declares, "but are ye no' keeping ower muckle amang the beasts, Maister? I'm sure it's no' beasts the Bible was written for; was it not the glad news of a Saviour provided for puir sinners, like you and me?"

The Master readily agrees, but he reminds her of the emblems which describe Jesus, Who is the Lamb, the Lion, the bright and morning Star, the Rock, the Sun, the Light. There was no story or phrase in the Bible which Stow could not turn to his purpose in moral and religious training. "The purpose of all our lessons is to impress their understandings and hearts with a love for the Bible, the God of the Bible, and the blessed Saviour revealed in the Bible."(36) To David Stow, as to Calvin and Knox, the Bible was God's Book.

In the world of God's creating, the secular lesson was closely allied to the Bible lesson. The one was from the Book of Revelation, the other from the Book of Nature, but both derived ultimately from the Divine Being. The two, however, were not to

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35. Granny and Leezy. p. 17.

36. Ibid. p. 18.

be confused. Although secular acience might be used as an handmaid to the elucidation of Scripture - for the Bible was full of natural illustrations, - yet the natural sciences were no more to be taught from Scripture than was the art of reading. The science of everyday things, however, natural history, geography, and the like, could subserve the over-ruling aim of moral and religious training. The natural world had been created both for the glory of God and for the use of man. On the one hand a knowledge of the sciences illuminated the pages of Scripture, and made plain the meaning and significance of such Biblical emblems as: 'The rose of Sharon', 'Our days are as grass', 'Bruised reed and smoking flax', 'Iron sharpeneth iron', etc.

On the other hand, such knowledge would lead to gratitude to God for His gifts of use to the children of men. Thus a morning Bible lesson on Peter warming himself at the fire, was preceded by a lesson on the school-room fire, and fires of coal, peat, wood, for all of which substances, the children were reminded, they were indebted to God. The Biblical reference to a fire of coals, in turn, could lead to further lessons on 'minerals', and the principles of 'fire', and 'heat' and 'air', all of which would enable the children in after life to practise intelligently the 'economics of fire-making'.

The whole of the everyday world, then, could be used in teaching: the making of bread, butter and cheese, the use of wool, cotton, flax, silk, the natural history of the animal kingdom and its diversity. Every lesson was subservient to the knowledge of the over-ruling providence of God: "From one and all of these training lessons, the children may learn some-:thing of the power, and wisdom, and goodness of God to all His creatures; and such lessons ought uniformly to be drawn from the children by every trainer during the daily oral gallery lesson."(37) Everything in Stow's cosmos, as with John Calvin, worked together for good to those whom God loved and who loved God. The Book of Nature and the Book of Revelation were alike written by God.

The Normal schools were well-equipped with lesson-posts, pictures, ball-frames, drawings of geometrical figures, etc. for the conduct of the secular lessons - even though Granny looked on such diagrams as 'kickmaleerie strokes' and 'hen-scart things'. A typical programme for such lessons ran as follows:

First week: Milk - use - where from.
Bread - use.
Water - uses.
Light - where from - use.
Fire - uses.

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37. Training System. p. 306.

<u>Second week</u>:	The cow - natural history. The dog - character - uses. The hen - natural history - uses. Birds - general. Fishes - general, fins, etc.
<u>Third week</u>:	The use of clothing. The use of a dwelling-house. The use of air. The sun and moon. The use of exercise.
<u>Fourth week</u>:	Grass - why earth covered with it. Trees - uses. Flowers - nature - beauty. Vegetables - general. Potato - history - qualities - uses.
<u>Fifth week</u>:	The use of sheep. Sheep's wool. Cotton wool. Flax. Silk.
<u>Sixth week</u>:	Rain. Dew. Frost - ice. Snow. Lightning - thunder.
<u>Seventh week</u>:	Punctuality. Order - advantages of. Cleanliness - advantages of. Modes of communicating thought. Respiration. (38)

There were hundreds upon hundreds of other subjects for secular lessons - the circulation of the blood, the whale, the brain, principles of weaving, the camel's foot, the nature of tears, elasticity of air, the pulley, the effects of perspira-:tion, the moulting of the eagle, and so on, <u>ad infinitum</u>.

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38. Training System. p. 413.

The repetition of the word 'use' is significant in all Stow's secular lesson outlines. It is a hall-mark of John Calvin's influence on the Scottish educational tradition. Just as the schoolmasters of the country were known as a 'useful body of men', so the knowledge they imparted in the class-room was to be useful to the life and conduct of the children. The manifold riches of God, provided in His wisdom in the natural world and in the skills and talents of his human creatures, were given to be used. Mysticism and quietism had no place in the Calvinist tradition. The children of Stow's schools were sons of Martha. What they learned in the day-school was learned to some purpose, whether it was head-knowledge, or physical exercises, or songs. Thus there was a strong urge in such an educational system to be up and doing, and every encouragement to 'get on' in life. Ambition was a worthy sentiment, and the exercise of every talent, in the acquisition of learning, in trade, commerce and industry, was to be encouraged, not as an end in itself, but in the service of God and of one's fellow-men. Not without reason were the alphabet and the multiplication table bound up with the Shorter Catechism. It was this Calvinist influence that made the sons of Scotland eminent in the sciences rather than in the arts. John Calvin had seen in the sensuous ceremonial, the imagery, the frescoes, the vestments of Romanism a fond and vain show, and had concerned himself with a reasoned appeal to the will through mind

and conscience. The outcome in Scotland was a propensity to argument, a passion for logic, and, in the manual skills, a genius for engineering, in short, for that which 'worked', whether it was the product of the mind or of the hand.[39] Order and discipline were watchwords of David Stow no less than of John Calvin. Logical Frenchman and logical Scot were brothers in spirit.

Yet, in spite of the meticulous orderliness and discipline of the daily round, the moral purpose of gallery and playground, there was, strangely, room for fun, as a kind of by-product. "If you are to train your children properly, mentally as well as physically, give them plenty of fun. If you don't give it they

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39. Rudyard Kipling's McAndrew is a typical product of his day. (He would be at school in the 1820s).

"From coupler-flange to spindle-guide I see Thy Hand, O God-
Predestination in the stride o' yon connectin' -rod.
John Calvin might ha' forged the same - enormous, certain, slow -
Ay, wrought it in the furnace-flame - my 'Institutio' "

Everything works together for good in McAndrew's world:

"Fra' skylight-lift to furnace bars, backed, bolted, braced an' stayed,
An' singin' like the Mornin' Stars for joy that they are made;
While, out o' touch o' vanity, the sweatin' thrust-block says:
'Not unto us the praise, or man - not unto us the praise!'
Now, a' together, hear them lift their lesson - theirs an' mine;
'Law, Orrder, Duty an' Restraint, Obedience, Discipline!' "

Rudyard Kipling's Verse: Definitive Edition. p. 120.

will take it, and that in the form of mischief. Let the natural buoyancy of youth have its full play at proper times."[40] All was not labour and moral earnestness. Zechariah had seen a vision of the restored Jerusalem where "the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof."[41] So in the bounds of Stow's schools, the happiness of children at play, no less than their obedient learning of the Word, redounded to the greater glory of God.

Such was the little world of David Stow's contriving. In everything he sought to train the whole being, body, mind and spirit. It was a system far in advance of the older intellectual teaching, the rote memorising, the encouragement of the few at the expense of the many. Stow sought to create a community wherein God would be loved and obeyed above all things, and His Word read, understood, and practised in love of one's neighbour. It was to be a civitas Dei in the slums of Glasgow, a little Eden in the sordid streets, a miniature cosmos which conformed to the will of the God who had regarded his creation and seen it to be very good. As John Calvin had delivered his 'Institutes' into the hands of his students that they might proclaim his teaching across Europe, so David Stow saw in his mind's eye his students carrying their training into the day-schools of Scotland,

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40. Training System: p. 428.

41. Zechariah: 8. v.5.

in village, town and city. John Knox's 'fruit and commodity' would at last appear in the virtue of the whole community. Stow's own hope, expressed in the closing words of the Intro:duction to the 1850 edition of his 'Training System' echoes the purposes of Calvin and Knox: "I believe the system will be found to be based on nature, physical science, and Scripture; and my prayer is, in humble dependence on the Divine blessing, that such a system may continue to spread far and near, and its schools become nurseries for the Church of Christ, and in conjunction with family training, and other means, prepare the rising generation for social virtue here, and happiness through:out eternity."[42]

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42. Training System: Preface, p. v.

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Chapter Ten:

USE AND WONT

"Of the working men, at least in the more advanced countries of Europe, it may be pronounced certain, that the patriarchal or paternal system of government is one to which they will not again be subject. That question was decided, when they were taught to read, and allowed access to newspapers and political tracts; when dissenting preachers were suffered to go among them, and appeal to their faculties and feelings in opposition to the creeds professed and countenanced by their superiors; when they were brought together in numbers, to work socially under the same roof; when railways enabled them to shift from place to place, and change their patrons and employers as easily as their coats; when they were encouraged to seek share in the government, by means of the electoral franchise. The working classes have taken their interests into their own hands, and are perpetually showing that they think the interests of their employers not identical with their own, but opposite to them. Some among the higher classes flatter themselves that these tendencies may be counteracted by moral and religious education; but they have let the time go by for giving an education which can serve their purpose. The principles of the Reformation have reached as low down in society as reading and writing, and the poor will not much longer accept morals and religion of other people's prescribing. I speak more particularly of this country, especially the town population, and the districts of the most scientific agriculture or the highest wages, Scotland and the north of England."

John Stuart Mill. (1)

Notwithstanding the zeal of the educational reformers, the sixties of the 19th century still found Scotland a half-educated nation, both in the quantity and quality of her educational institutions. Much had been accomplished by the Established Church, and much, of recent years, by the Dissenters, to fulfil

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1. Principles of Political Economy, by John Stuart Mill. People's Edition, London, 1894, p. 457. (This work was first published in 1844).

the never-forgotten aims of John Knox as set forth in the First Book of Discipline. Knox had envisaged the Scotland of his own day as a home of learning, but it was a Utopian dream. He had been thwarted again and again by circumstances, poli-:tical, economic, and ecclesiastical. So, too, were the reformers who still cherished Knox's ideals and sought their fulfilment in the Scotland of the 19th century. One report after another, submitted to the Churches, the philanthropic societies, or to the Government, revealed deficiencies in the means of education throughout the land. The increase of population, the over-crowding of the cities, the strain on the resources of a divided Presbyterianism, had brought about a situation which defeated the most zealous activity of men of good-will in every denomination.

According to the census of 1861, the population of Scot-:land was 3,062,294. The general result of the state of education throughout the country was that a proportion of 1 in 6.5 of the whole population was upon the roll of scholars, and 1 in 7.9 in attendance, a ratio which, if taken by itself, was not unsatisfactory. But an examination of the statistics county by county told another tale, for the ratio in individual parishes varied from 1 in 4, to 1 in 15, 20, 25, or even 30.[2] In the city of Glasgow as a whole, little more than one-third

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2. Second Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners, appointed to inquire into the Schools in Scotland. Edinburgh, 1867. p. xix.

of the children of school-age were attending school.[3] The voluntary system had proved utterly inadequate to educate the masses congregated in the cities. It was estimated that there were 92,000 children in Scotland who did not attend any school.[4]

With so many schools under the control of so many diff-:erent bodies, yet inadequate to the task, there was only one solution. Ecclesiastically the nation was divided. A unify-:ing organisation could be supplied only by the State. In a country of Calvinist tradition, such a solution was not against the feeling of the people, for, according to Calvin's teaching, the Reformed Church and the theocratic State should be conter-:minous. Since 1834 Government grants had been made available for education, through religious bodies. David Stow, among others, had urged the necessity of public funds for the estab-:lishment of training schools and the the educational emancipa-:tion of the poorest classes of the people.[5]

The outcome of a period of educational confusion was the appointment, in August, 1864, of a Royal Commission to inquire

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3. op. cit. p. lv.

4. Ibid. p. clxxiv.

5. "Twenty millions sterling, thus expended, would prove an incalculable blessing to the working classes themselves, and would be thrice repaid to Government in their superior industry, sobriety, and good order." - The Training System, by David Stow. A new edition. Glasgow. 1840. p. 42. (The Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 had given the West Indian slave-owners twenty million pounds in compensation.)

into the schools of Scotland. The Argyll Commission, as it was known, took oral and written evidence from "persons of weight and experience", "especially upon the question to what extent it would be possible to introduce a National system into Scotland." There were, naturally, conflicting views, but, "of the 136 gentlemen who gave evidence, 99 were of opinion that a general system was both possible and expedient; while 22 took the contrary view, and 15 gave no opinion upon the question."(6)

Evidence supplied to the Commission meeting in 1867, revealed the following facts regarding the provision of schools in Scotland:

Parochial, side, and Parliamentary schools:	1133.
Church of Scotland schools:	519.
Free Church schools:	617.
U.P. and other Presbyterian schools:	45.
Undenominational and other schools: (i.e. S.S.P.C.K., 'subscription' etc.)	1084.
Episcopal schools:	74.
Roman Catholic schools:	61.
Private Adventure schools:	910.
Burgh schools, etc.	87. (7)

Reports by the Assistant Commissioners appointed to make examination of the school system showed that the parish schools, the General Assembly (i.e. Church of Scotland) schools, the S.S.P.C.K. schools (by law connected with the Established Church), and the Free Church schools were in a state of general efficiency.

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6. Second Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners: p. xviii.

7. Ibid. passim.

The undenominational schools, largely supported by local sub-:scription, were indifferent, while the Private Adventure schools were roundly condemned as "almost invariably detri-:mental both to the health and education of all the children who attend them."(8) Their survey of the elementary education of the country was summed up thus: "The defects in the present system are, want of organisation, want of supervision by some competent central authority powerful enough to make its influ-:ence felt by every individual connected with it, and want of thoroughness in the matter of teaching."(9) School attendance, too, was unsatisfactory, because of the inadequacy of schools, the apathy and carelessness of parents, or through poverty. "All these evils are due to want of organisation, and suggest the necessity of some central authority to regulate the educa-:tion of the country."(10)

There was little opposition to a national system of edu-:cation in spite of the seeming sectarianism of the country. The influential Free Church would not have set up a single school had not the Established Church ejected schoolmasters who had adhered to the Free Church from the parochial, Assembly, and S.S.P.C.K. schools. That obstacle had in any event been done away with in 1861 by The Parochial and Burgh Schoolmasters (Scotland) Act, which had transferred the power of examining schoolmasters from the Presbyteries to the Universities.

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8. Ibid. p. xxxviii.
9. Ibid. p. xliv.
10. Ibid. p. xliv.

Parochial schoolmasters were no longer required to sign the Confession of Faith or the formula of the Church of Scotland, but subscribed instead a declaration that he would teach nothing opposed to the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, the doctrines contained in the Shorter Catechism, or the doctrines of the Church of Scotland.(11) The 1861 Act, in theory, at least, opened the way to the appointment of any Presbyterian to a Parochial school. In short, Christian men of every denomination were agreed in the necessity of education, and were prepared to work together to make Scotland indeed a home of learning. "People of every class, and of every religious denomination, are agreed that Scotland is fully ripe for a national system."(12)

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11. An Act to alter and amend the Law relating to Parochial and Burgh Schools, and to the Test required to be taken by Schoolmasters in Scotland. (6th August,1861). 24 & 25 Vict. Cap. 107.
The declaration now to be signed by schoolmasters, popularly known as 'the negative Test' was:
'I, A.B. do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that as schoolmaster of the parochial school at .... in the parish of .... , and in the discharge of the said office, I will never endeavour, directly or indirectly, to teach or inculcate any opinions opposed to the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, or to the doctrines contained in the Shorter Catechism agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in the year one thousand six hundred and forty-eight; and that I will faithfully conform thereto in my teaching of the said school, and that I will not exercise the functions of the said office to the prejudice or subversion of the Church of Scotland as by law established, or the doctrines and privileges thereof.'

12. Second Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners, p. xliv.

The conclusion of 'a decade of confusion' was the estab:lishment of School boards and the transfer of powers. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, provided that a school board should be elected in and for each and every parish and burgh, and the management of the 'public schools', as they were to be called, was vested in the school boards. All parish and burgh schools were transferred to the school board of the parish or burgh in which they existed, all ecclesiastical superintendence was abolished, and all connexion between the public schools and the Church severed. The boards were given powers to raise funds by means of a local rate in their parish or burgh, to fix fees,(13) and to receive Parliamentary grants. Education was to be com:pulsory, at least for reading, writing and arithmetic, for all children between the ages of five and thirteen, and every public school was to be open at all times to inspection. The school boards were to take over school management and the election of teachers, "and generally with respect to all powers,obligations, and duties in regard to such schools now vested in or incumbent on the heritors qualified according to the existing law and the

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13. It is an interesting point that school fees were not abolished by the Act. If a parent were unable to pay, through poverty, he was to apply to the parish board for a contribution from the poor fund. Scottish opinion held that if schooling were worth while, it was worth paying for. David Stow had charged no fees when first he opened his Drygate school. Later he charged 1d a week, then 2d., then 2s. a quarter, which quickly increased the number of child:ren attending. "What was paid for by the parents, they naturally induced their children to possess." Granny and Leezy: p. 9 note.

"minister of the parish, supersede and come in the place of such heritors and minister; and all jurisdiction, power and authority possessed or exercised by presbyteries or other church courts with respect to any public schools in Scotland are hereby abolished."(14) The Acts of 1696, 1803, and 1861 were repealed, and teachers were therefore no longer required to sign any declaration with regard to the teaching of religion.

Thus the old parochial educational system of Scotland passed under State control. The many denominational and sub-:scription schools were left free to continue under their former management, or to transfer to the school boards. For a time a great many of the Church of Scotland, Free Church, United Presbyterian, and subscription schools did continue independently, aided, if approved, by Government grants. But gradually such schools disappeared, or were transferred, and by 1915 the residue of non-transferred schools consisted mainly of Roman Catholic and Episcopalian schools.

One of the most important topics under discussion by the Argyll Commission had been the provision of religious instruction in the schools of Scotland. It was clear from the evidence submitted by many of the witnesses 'of weight and importance'

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14. An Act to amend and extend the provisions of the Law of Scotland on the subject of Education. (6th August, 1872). 35 & 36 Victoria, Chapter 62.

that concord could only be reached if the control by presby-:teries, ministers and heritors of the Establishment were abolished. But it is also plain that there was no religious, as distinct from ecclesiastical, difference of opinion among the vast majority of the people of Scotland. "Parents of all denomi-:nations send their children indiscriminately to schools belong-:ing to different denominations than their own, knowing well that, in doctrine and system, the religious instruction in schools of one denomination does not differ from that given in schools of another, the Roman Catholic schools alone excepted."(15) The Bible and the Shorter Catechism were the basic text-books in every school of a Presbyterian persuasion. It was a widespread con-:viction that Bible and catechetical teaching would continue. One of the witnesses, the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, spoke for Presby-:terian Scotland when he declared: "that the religious education of Scotland might with perfect safety be left to the Scotch people themselves, for the present at all events, and that they would look after all that was necessary connected with that element."(16) There was no need to write into any Act of Parliament that the Bible and Catechism should be read and taught in the schools of Scotland.

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15. Second Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners, p. xliv.

16. First Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners, appointed to inquire into the Schools in Scotland. Edinburgh, 1845. p. 65.

All that appeared in the Act of 1872, therefore, was a Conscience Clause, which stated: "Every public school, and every school subject to inspection and in receipt of any public money as herein-before provided,[17] shall be open to children of all denominations, and any child may be withdrawn by his parents from any instruction in religious subjects and from any religious observance in any such school; and no child shall in any such school be placed at any disadvantage with respect to the secular instruction given therein by reason of the denomination to which such child or his parents belong, or by reason of his being withdrawn from any instruction in religious subjects. The time or times during which any religious observance is practised or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of the school for elementary instruction shall be either at the beginning or at the end, or at the beginning and at the end of such meeting, and shall be specified in a table approved of by the Scotch Education Department."[18] Other clauses stated that it was no part of the duties of an inspector to inquire into any instruction in religious subjects, or to examine any scholar in religious knowledge or in any religious subject or book; further, by law, no Parliamentary grants were to be given for instruction in religious subjects.

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17. The words 'as herein-before provided' were inserted to except the Normal Schools, which were still denominational, from the time-table conscience clause. The Normal Seminaries were not affected by the 1872 Act.

18. 1872 Act. par. 68.

School boards were therefore left free to provide reli-:gious instruction or not, as they thought proper, provided they conformed to the conscience clause. The preamble to the Act left them at liberty to continue former custom .... "the custom in the public schools of Scotland to give instruction in religion to children whose parents did not object to the instruction so given .... "(19)

The religious views of the people of Scotland were to be trusted. The Bible and Shorter Catechism would be, as by 'use and wont', the basis of Scottish education. The plans of John Knox would at last be realised throughout the commonalty of Scotland, and education for all would be at bottom a reli-:gious education.

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Such was the hope. But in reality the whole climate of thought was changing. The seeds of the Renaissance were at last beginning to germinate in the minds of the common folk of Scotland, whose ways had so long been shaped by Reformation influences. That change in the climate of thought can be seen in more ways than one.

The parish system of the older, rural Scotland had pro-:vided, in some measure, at least, for a community disciplined by Christian teaching, where the individual, no matter how humble, was a man of worth. In the city there was a loss of

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19. Ibid. Preamble.

personal relationship; the poor had no sense of 'belonging'. In a changed economy, organised religion battled in vain to provide the <u>ethos</u> of the rural parish. Some there were, even in the city situation, who clung to the conventional system of belief, and amidst squalor and dirt, disease and unemployment, strove for decency and respectability. They found solace in the 'consolations of religion', maintained a church connexion which, once a week, at least, brought them into the old 'community' and trusted in the hope of a better world to come. Such a one was 'Granny', of David Stow's Scottish Dialogue.

Many of the younger and more able-bodied, on the other hand, uprooted themselves and emigrated to the new lands across the seas. They carried with them the old inspiration of hard work, honest worth, the traditional system of belief and conduct in which they had been brought up. The first generation Scot abroad was recognisable, not merely by his accent, but by the pattern of his life. Of the laws and customs of his Scottish ancestry he could still say, with some sincerity, 'All these have I kept from my youth up.'

But there were others, and they were a growing number, who, embittered by circumstances, sought salvation outside the Church. They could not wholly escape their past, and they carried into the rising Socialist movement something of the religious and moral teaching of their fathers. They found their communities of worth in the Mechanics' Institutes and like fraternities;

secular and rationalist preachers proclaimed to them new doctrines of man, not as a sinner and a child of God, but as master of things; the new learning of science unrolled before the technically minded Scot the blue-prints of a new world which he could frame for himself with skill of mind and hand, and shape nearer to his heart's desire.

A word of constant occurrence in the First Book of Discipline is the word 'expedient'. With its synonyms of thought - 'we urge it necessary', 'we have thought good', 'we require', 'we think it needful', - it is found on every page of Knox's work. The situation in 16th century Scotland required expedient action, in the provision of kirk and school as well as orderly government. It is equally true of Scotland in the 19th century. The swarming population of the cities roused the middle-class leaders to action, as much for the control of the situation as for the salvation of the individual. Employers of labour came to support Stow and his fellow reformers because they were convinced that employees who had passed through a system of moral and religious training would be conscientious, docile and disciplined. The task, therefore of compulsory mass education would be control rather than enlightenment. The middle-class Churchmen were more concerned with the symptoms of social disease than with the disease itself, and education of the poorer classes was an expedient plaster which would give the outward semblance of health to the body politic. Moral and religious training

tended to stress the duties of man rather than his rights as a child of God. What was sought in the field of education was the fruit of obedient behaviour, a conforming to the written laws for life and conduct.

But when the Church sought to educate the laity, they put a weapon into their hands. The Renaissance spirit of inquiry came into its own. Bible and catechism were not the only text-books in the school. By the 'time-table clause' in the 1872 Act 'Bible' was compartmentalised as a subject. It belonged now to a set period in the morning, the beginning of the day's enquiry into learning. Sacred and secular were divided, not only in the prescribed curriculum, but also in the thought of teachers and pupils. 'Bible' was not a subject for critical enquiry, and it was not examinable. To the realm of secular science, on the other hand, there were no bounds, and every day revealed new marvels to the questioning mind and the apt hand. To learn to read and write and count was to push open new doors of opportunity. Bible and Catechism belonged to the first half hour of the school day, and to Sunday. The rest of the day belonged to man's growing mastery over his, rather than God's , world.

Most serious of all, the very foundations of Christian belief were being shaken. The authority of Scripture, source of belief and action through three centuries and more was being undermined. The clouds of an era of criticism and confusion

were already on the horizon, and they were dark and thunderous indeed. Charles Darwin had published his "Origin of Species" in 1859; in 1871 his "Descent of Man" appeared, and though it took some time for his speculations to spread, there were garbled rumours in the popular press, and many arguments in rationalist meeting places. The new learning of psychology was uttering its first words, saying dire things about the thoughts which govern men's actions. In every field of science, God's works were being used to contradict His words. What men read now in the Book of Nature seemed to refute the Book of Revelation. Even Granny's son, Sandy, the worthy weaver, is "weel learned - that he is, and will be upsides with ye, Maister. He's quicker in the uptak' than me, and no' sae saft o' the belief."[20] Most devastating of all, there were rumours, and more than rumours, that historical and literary criticism of the Scriptures was betraying the authority of the Word of God from within the citadel of the Church itself. There were many whose hearts trembled for the ark of the Lord, and who thirled themselves all the more closely to the doctrine of an infallible Scripture, who sought in 'proof texts' an answer to every question of the new learning as of the old.

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To the Church leaders in the work of education, however, the 1872 Act marked not the beginning of the end, but rather,

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20. Granny and Leezy. p. 37.

the end of the beginning, the full fruition of John Knox's plans. Their <u>nunc dimittis</u> was an utterance, not of resigna:tion, but of fulfilment. There was that in Calvinist teach:ing which had shaped Scottish belief and character, and, so long as Bible and Catechism remained by use and wont in the schools, all was well. The task was to re-interpret the traditional doctrines, and to proclaim the eternal verities afresh to a new age. State education would provide the vehicle for that moral and religious training which for so long had been the burden of the Church.

The years that followed the hand-over of parochial educa:tion to the State seemed to justify the hopes of the 19th century reformers. The voluntary, grant-receiving schools disappeared; the country at large accepted the 'public schools' as Christian schools. Church influence on the extent and content of religious teaching in the day schools was regarded as adequate to all the needs of a new age. John Calvin had envisaged the State as fostering and maintaining the external worship of God, defending sound doctrine, and adapting men's moral conduct to human society, in order that "a public form of religion may exist among Christians, and humanity among men."(21) The 1872 Act was to set seal to such a hope. Public and

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21. Institutes: ed Beveridge. Vol. III. p. 522.
Institutes IV. 20. 3. (see p. 14, <u>supra</u>).

Presbyterian were practically interchangeable terms for the schools of Scotland. State education, so long as it was informed by the teaching of Bible and Catechism, would foster 'a public form of religion' and achieve in widest measure what the Church had hitherto sought to do within the limits of its own resources.

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