

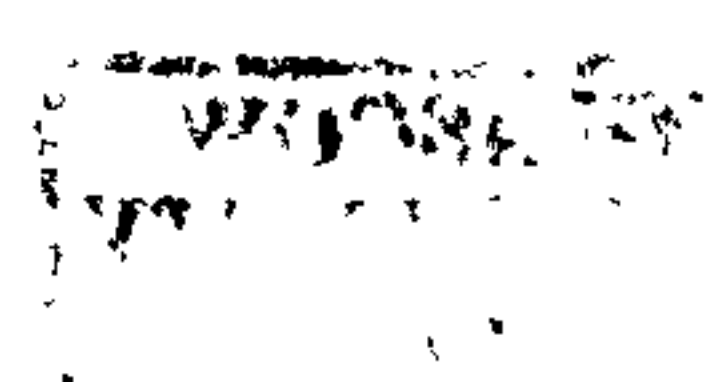
The Contribution of the Religious Orders to Education in Glasgow
during the period 1847 – 1918

by

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SUMMARY

This thesis attempts to describe, explain, analyse and assess the contribution of five teaching religious orders to the development of Catholic education in Glasgow from 1847, when, with the arrival of the Franciscan Sisters, Catholic religious life returned to Glasgow for the first time since the Reformation until 1918 and the passing of the landmark Education (Scotland) Act. It concentrates on the influence and achievements of the religious orders in their role as teachers and managers of a number of primary, secondary and night schools in Glasgow as well as the role of the Sisters of Notre Dame in their particular role as educators of Catholic teachers in Glasgow. In 1918 Catholics in Scotland reversed the decision they took in 1872 to remain outside the national system of education. From 1918 Religious education according to use and wont was to be allowed within well-defined limits, but would not be fostered by the civil authority, and provision was made for a revision of the teacher-training system.

The thesis argues that the work of five religious orders, the Franciscans, the Sisters of Mercy, the Marists, the Jesuits and The Sisters of Notre Dame in Catholic education in Glasgow, made it feasible for Catholic schools to remain outside the state system after the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act and until the passing of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. Throughout the 46 years 1872-1918 the root problem for Catholic education was finding money to subsidise Catholic schools. The key to the grants was efficiency. The source of efficiency in schools was the Training College. As a result, the story of Catholic education up to 1918 is largely one of how the increasing financial burden, without any relief from the rates to which they contributed, was borne by every section of the Catholic community in the endeavour to provide their children with an education comparable to that given in the more favoured and progressive rated schools.

The thesis argues that it was largely the contribution of the religious orders to Catholic education in Glasgow during the second half of the nineteenth century and until 1918 that enabled Catholics to achieve what they did in the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act.

The success of the 1918 Act from the perspective of the Catholic community in Glasgow therefore can be attributed largely to the work of the religious orders in Glasgow.

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I wish to place on record my gratitude to the staff of St Andrew's Campus Library and in particular Jane Blount, Cathy McPhee, Julie Hutchison and Honor Hania for their assistance in tracing source material and arranging interlibrary loans. I should also like to thank Susan Kelly for assistance with typing, Mona Rahman for reproducing the archive photographs used in the study and Liz Martin for help with printing. I am grateful to Brother John Ogilvie FMS for lending me original letters, notes and manuscripts of Brother Clare FMS and of Brother Kenneth FMS, to Fr Peter Granger Banyard SJ for lending me notes on the history of the Society of Jesus made by Fr Thomas Calnan SJ. I am grateful also to numerous individuals who have been valuable sources of information and insight through conversations and interviews especially Fr Peter Granger Banyard SJ, Father John Hughes, Sister Patricia Orr RSM, Sister Dorothea Sweeney SND, Sister Isobel Smyth SND, Sister Noreen O'Brien SND, Brother John Ogilvie OFM, Sister Loyola OSF and Sister Felicitas OSF, George Dorrian, Valerie Friel, Walter Humes and John Kieran. I should also like to thank Hirek Kwiatkowski for his support and encouragement and my colleagues in the Environmental Teaching Team, especially Harry Blee whose support has been invaluable.

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INTRODUCTION

SCOPE, SOURCES, METHODOLOGY AND RATIONALE

The Scope of the thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse and assess the importance of the contribution of five religious orders to education in Glasgow during the period 1847 when the Franciscan Sisters were the first religious to return to the city of Glasgow since the Reformation to 1918 and the ground-breaking Education (Scotland) Act. The religious orders cited in the study are, in chronological order of their arrival in Glasgow, The Franciscans (1847), The Sisters of Mercy (1849), The Marists (1858), The Jesuits (1859) and The Sisters of Notre Dame (1894). In the space of 47 years during the nineteenth century these five religious orders came to work in the city of Glasgow. Of these orders the Marists and the Jesuits are male and the rest are female.

1847 is an obvious starting point since, with the arrival of the Franciscan Sisters or Third Order of St Francis in Glasgow, Catholic religious life returned to the West of Scotland for the first time since the Reformation. The thesis focusses on the work of the Franciscans, the Sisters of Mercy, the Marists, the Jesuits and the Sisters of Notre Dame in chronological order of their arrival in Glasgow. Chapter Three deals with the mission of four of the orders, the Franciscans, the Sisters of Mercy, the Marists and the Jesuits. The Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy, although essentially different, had much in common. In a similar way, the Marists and the Jesuits, who arrived in 1858 and 1859 respectively, had similarities and differences which will be clarified by a comparison of their contributions to Catholic education in Glasgow during the period in question. Chapter Five examines the practical contribution to education of the first four of the orders in the study and analyses their respective approaches to education in Glasgow during the period in question.

The Sisters of Notre Dame arrived later in the century in 1894 and were quite distinct from the other orders in that their contribution to Catholic education was predominantly in the field of teacher training. For this reason the contribution of the

Sisters of Notre Dame is dealt with separately in Chapter 6. 1918 is an obvious finishing point for the study since the passing of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Catholic education in Scotland by initiating a complete reorganisation of the system established by the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872.

Sources

The thesis draws on a variety of sources, published material and the archives of each of the religious orders who are the subject of the study. The archivists of each of the religious orders in the study were most helpful in directing me towards both primary and secondary sources, the interpretation, evaluation and analysis of which enabled me to formulate a thesis. The study makes extensive use of primary source material. Among the primary sources used are:

the collection of the Reports of the Catholic Poor School Committee, the Catholic School Committee and the Catholic Education Commission. These date from 1886 to 1905 and are housed in the Glasgow Archdiocesan Archives, 196 Clyde St, Glasgow;

the archives of Notre Dame College which were housed in St Andrew's College, Bearsden, Glasgow, later the University of Glasgow, Faculty of Education, St Andrew's Campus. Since the merger of St Andrew's College with the University of Glasgow in April, 1999, this collection of archives has been relocated in the University of Glasgow Archive Services, 77-87 Dumbarton Road, Glasgow;

the archives of the Society of Jesus which are housed in St Aloysius' College library, 45 Hill St Garnethill, Glasgow and Farm St London;

the archives of the Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception which are housed in the Franciscan Convent, Park Circus, Glasgow;

the archives of the Sisters of Mercy which are housed in the Convent of Mercy, 62 Hill St Garnethill, Glasgow;

the archives of the Marist Brothers which are housed in St Benet's, Nithsdale Rd, Glasgow

the archives of the University of Glasgow

the archives of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow

the archives of the Glasgow Room of the Mitchell Library

School Inspectors' Reports from the Scottish Records Office, Edinburgh

Scottish Record Office, West Register House, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh

Scottish Catholic Archives, Columba House, 16 Drummond Place, Edinburgh

Other important primary sources used are:

The Notes and Exercise Books of Fr Thomas Calnan SJ on the History of St Aloysius' College. My thanks are due to Father Peter Granger-Banyard SJ who made these available.

A History of the Province of the British Isles by Brother Clare, James E Handley OFM, was written in 1968 for the order's internal use. It consists of 124 typescript foolscap pages running to approximately 75,000 words, divided into 14 chapters, and deals with the Marist foundations in London, Glasgow, Dundee, Edinburgh, Dumfries and Ireland, and Missions in Nigeria and the Cameroons. St Mungo's Academy is given one short chapter of some 1400 words, supplementing The History of St Mungo's Academy, 1858-1958, tracing briefly the sequence of headmasters from 1858 to 1909. My thanks are due to Brother John Ogilvie of the Marist Order, who made the typescript copy available.

A History of the Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception was published in 1997 to celebrate 150 years of the Franciscan Sisters in Glasgow: 1847-1997. This was based largely on the work of Sister Dolores on the history of the Franciscan

congregation with additions from Sister Pius and Sister Loyola. One of the difficulties about citing this publication as a source is that, owing to the fact that members of religious orders are self-effacing, they were encouraged not to and therefore did not claim authorship. The source will therefore be cited as Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception 150 years abbreviated to FSIC 150 years.

Some use has been made of a database of students of Notre Dame College who also attended classes at Glasgow University.

Among the secondary sources used in the study are a number of articles in the Innes Review by writers such as Bernard Aspinwall, Tom FitzPatrick, James Treble, Theresa Gourlay, John McCaffrey plus Book-length studies by J E Handley, J Scotland, T A FitzPatrick, M Cruikshank, E Norman, Sister M B Dealy and J McCabe.

Catholic Education - Inside Out / Outside In, (1) edited by James C Conroy, has proved to be a most useful source in that it has contributions from Catholic writers who work inside the Catholic tradition and writers who operate outside Catholic education and are therefore in a position to comment on Catholic education from a different and arguably more objective perspective.

Methodology

This is essentially a historical study although it is multidisciplinary insofar as it involves other disciplines such as politics, religion and sociology. Historical data has been used to investigate, narrate, explain, analyse and assess the mission, the approach and the contribution of each of the five orders. Since History is not merely a list of chronological events, but an integrated account of the relationships between persons, events, times and places, the historical analysis has been directed towards individuals, ideas, concepts, movements and institutions. None of these objects of historical observation has been considered in isolation. Best writes:

People cannot be subjected to historical investigation without some consideration of the ideas, movements or institutions of their times. The focus merely determines the points of emphasis towards which historians direct their attention. (2)

The historical interrelationships are evident when, for example, a study of the Society of Jesus is inextricably linked to other elements like Ignatius of Loyola, the Counter-Reformation, the religious teaching orders and, in the case of Glasgow, St Aloysius' College and Fr Hanson SJ.

As stated above, primary and secondary sources have been used extensively in the study. The decision had to be taken about which of these sources were to be employed, however, and whether the investigative approach should limit itself to merely preparing a historical, essentially sequential approach to accounting for events or whether a deeper level of investigation was necessary which not only sequenced events but would attempt to account for the circumstances, political, religious and socioeconomic, which caused these events to occur. As Hinchcliffe (1978) comments:

Much historical writing of a secondary character tends to be either a synthesis of selected elements or a generalised account of a sequence of events. In consequence, what actually occurred in the past, the reasons for it, its relationship with other occurrences and the outcome may be obscured, distorted, or in some cases, subordinated to the writer's point of view. (3)

There is narration in the study but the narration does not preclude analysis; it is only one way in which the results of that analysis might be presented and in the context of the study it was the most appropriate.

When considering the research methods available, the author recognised that the traditional view of historical research, one which might best be described as realist, holds that certain historical data exist outside the mind and perceptions of the researcher. Such data are regarded as "facts" and history is regarded as an empirical endeavour.

Maurice Mandelbaum argues that:

...in laying claim to truth [Historical research] must be able to advance external evidence that vouches for its truth; in default of this, it is not to be considered a historical study. (4)

Theorists such as Becker and Beard developed concepts of historical methodology which relied partially on ideas advanced in an earlier form by Hegel and Marx. They promoted a sceptical standpoint which stressed the importance of the role of the historian in interpreting historical data. There is some validity in the sceptical position in that it encourages historical researchers to consider their associations with the evidence which they gather and on which they build their historical analyses. (5)

In undertaking any historical research, the researcher must rely on historical artefacts (for instance, documents and texts). This thesis rests upon a considerable amount of evidence which lies in primary sources - Archives, Minutes, HMI Reports, Logbooks, Letters, Photographs - much original data about the five orders has been used extensively for the first time in this thesis. The research process thus recognises the need for evidence to underpin the analysis of the work of the religious orders in question, but the researcher accepts that the evaluation of the evidence is based on a subjective interpretation of the primary and secondary sources. This does not mean that the research disregards any attempt to construct a reasonable analysis based on the evidence used. It does attempt this. Further, it is recognised that historical researchers must guard against making claims which textual evidence does not support. There is therefore acceptance of the importance of textual evidence, but the subjective element in interpretation is acknowledged.

As a committed Catholic, the author is keenly aware of the danger of subjectivity when interpreting and analysing sources. Haldane, himself a Catholic, has this to say of Catholics:

Over-clericalised and, historically, often tribal, Catholics tend to suffer from an inability to form an objective perception of themselves; and instead of getting on with things, they stay at

home in their backyards and grumble about not getting out into the wider world. (6)

For this reason a conscious effort has been made by the author to employ the objectivity of a trained historian throughout the thesis. It is also acknowledged that the archive material of each of the orders has, for the most part, been written by a member of that order and therefore will inevitably have been written from the perspective of the order.

A complete list of primary sources used is provided in the List of Appendices where this is appropriate or within the Bibliography. Since the provenance of such primary source material is clear, the constraints of external criticism do not apply - they are what they say they are. They are of course subject to internal criticism during the evaluation stage which leads to the construction of the thesis itself. (7)

During the evaluation stage there has been a critical awareness on the part of the author that the primary sources can be divided into *deliberate* sources and *inadvertent* sources. (8) The former, *deliberate* sources, are produced for the attention of future researchers and include biographies, memoirs, pamphlets, yearbooks, diaries and letters intended for later publication, and documents of self-justification. (9) They involve a deliberate attempt to preserve evidence for the future, possibly for purposes of self-vindication or reputation enhancement. (10) As mentioned above, the author has found that individual members of the religious orders in the study are self-effacing but are also understandably anxious that an accurate account of the work of their particular order is recorded. The latter, *inadvertent* sources, are used by the researcher for some purpose other than that for which they were originally intended. They have been produced by the processes of local and central government and from the everyday working of the education system. Examples of such primary documents used in the study are records of legislative bodies, government departments and local authorities; handbooks and prospectuses; attendance registers, personal files and logbooks; letters and newspapers. These sources were produced for a contemporary practical purpose and would therefore seem to be more straightforward than deliberate sources. This may be the case but great care has been taken with them since it cannot be discounted that *inadvertent* documents were intended to deceive someone other

than the researcher, or that what first appear to be inadvertent sources (some government records, for example) are actually attempts to justify actions to future generations. (11)

Marwick (1977) makes the point about the nature of documents and what he calls their 'witting' and 'unwitting' evidence. 'Witting' evidence is the information which the original author of the document wanted to impart. 'Unwitting' evidence is everything else that can be learned from the document. (12)

In Appendix 6, for example, the 'witting' evidence is everything that Bishop Scott says in his plea for the education of the children of Roman Catholic Irish immigrants in Scotland. The 'unwitting' evidence, on the other hand, comes from the underlying assumptions unintentionally revealed by Bishop Scott in the language he used and from the fact that he has chosen a particular method of making the plea i.e. an article in the Independent Press of Great Britain.

The research methodology adopted by the author for this study, therefore, consists of the collection, organisation, investigation, verification, validation and analysis of information in accordance with a set of specific standards. Thus a conscious attempt has been made to apply systematic and rigorous methods of inquiry for understanding the past in order to achieve an interpretative synthesis of past events and records and thus reach a consensus with Travers (1978) who claims that historical research 'involves a procedure supplementary to observation, a process by which the historian seeks to test the truthfulness of the reports of observations made by others.' (13)

It is hoped that these steps in historical research provide the kind of evidence which may lead to an improved understanding of the past and of its relevance to the present and the future.

Record Linkage and the Use of Database

Linking records has always been fundamental to the process of historical enquiry. From the 1960s onwards record linkage has been used most effectively in demographic research. Indeed, modern historical demography could be said to have begun with the development of record linkage techniques and family reconstitution, for example, the use of parish registers to identify the ages at which marriage, births of children, and deaths took place. These techniques enable the researcher to learn a great deal more about whole families from records which essentially contain information about individuals. (14)

Manual record linkage is, however, very time-consuming and historians have responded enthusiastically to the advent of database systems which help to automate, speed and simplify record linkage. It is now possible to organise, compare, link and analyse data on a much larger scale than was possible by manual methods. Since the 1970s there have been numerous research projects which exploit record linkage techniques, and the result has been the appearance of a varied and fascinating body of literature on the subject. Valuable introductions to the topic are provided in the works of Wrisley, Schofield, and other demographers associated with the Cambridge Group for the Study of Population and Social Structure. (15)

The use of computer-based techniques in historical demography is now commonplace; for example, Schurer and Anderson's survey of 618 machine-readable historical datafiles reveals that about 40% of the projects listed utilise nineteenth century census data. (16)

The database used is of female students of Notre Dame College who also attended classes at Glasgow University. The database contains helpful information about the students and their backgrounds including, for example, the home address of the student, the term time address of the student, the occupation of the father of the student and the years of the student's attendance at Notre Dame College and the University of Glasgow.

People involved in collection of data for PhD research

Informal interviews with a number of people connected with, having extensive knowledge of or belonging to one of the religious orders relating to the thesis were arranged and took place. The negotiation of these informal interviews and conversations was straightforward because the author was known professionally to all of the people involved and each of the members of the religious orders was anxious that an accurate account and analysis of the contribution of their particular order was given. A list of people involved in informal interviews and collection of data is in Appendix 1.

Initially, it was the intention of the author to follow a procedure similar to that followed by McPherson and Raab ie that the interview should be tape-recorded; that it should then be transcribed and the interviewees sent a copy of the transcript to which they could make any amendments or additions. The author decided to abandon this procedure for three main reasons.

Firstly, the thesis is essentially a historical thesis and therefore the onus was on the author to interpret the sources, both primary and secondary, in order to formulate a thesis.

Secondly, all of the interviewees preferred the author, as interviewer, to take notes and to use these notes to help to formulate a thesis.

Thirdly, each of the interviewees suggested valuable primary and secondary sources on which the thesis is based.

Rationale

Distinguished contemporary historians of Scottish History have indicated that certain themes which are included in this study have been largely neglected to date.

Bernard Aspinwall has argued that very few Catholic students become experts in Catholic heritage. "Newman's work lies unused and unexplored on the shelves of Glasgow University Library" (17) and of the religious orders he has stated categorically that "their massive but neglected contribution is in need of serious study." (18)

Anderson has written and recorded that much remains to be discovered about education in the cities and working-class attitudes towards it during the nineteenth century. (19)

In "The Upas Tree" Professor S G Checkland remarked that an examination of Glasgow's immigrant groups would make a study of extraordinary interest. (20)

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe published Recommendation 1283 on history and the learning of history in Europe (Assembly debate on 22 January 1996 (1st Sitting) (see Doc. 7446, report of the Committee on Culture and Education, rapporteur: Mr de Puig). The text adopted by the Assembly on 22 January 1996 (1st Sitting) contains several clauses which are particularly relevant to this study:

people have a right to their past, just as they have a right to disown it. History is one of several ways of retrieving this past and creating a cultural identity. It is also a gateway to the experience and richness of the past and of other cultures. It is a discipline concerned with the development of a critical approach to information and of controlled imagination.

History has a key political role to play in today's Europe. It can also contribute to greater understanding, tolerance and confidence between individuals and between the peoples of Europe - or it can become a force for division, violence and intolerance.

A distinction may be made between several forms of history: tradition, memories and analytical history. Facts are selected on the basis of different criteria in each. And these various forms of history play different roles.

Even if their constant aim may be to get as close to objectivity as possible, historians are also well aware of the essential subjectivity of history and the various ways in which it can be reconstructed and interpreted. (21)

The Assembly recommended that the Committee of Ministers encourage the teaching of history in Europe with regard to a number of proposals, some of which are of particular relevance to this study and can serve as a rationale for the study:

- i historical awareness should be an essential part of the education of all young people. The teaching of history should enable pupils to acquire critical thinking skills to analyse and interpret information effectively and responsibly, to recognise the complexity of issues and to appreciate cultural diversity. Stereotypes should be identified and any other distortions based on national, racial, religious or other prejudice;
- ii the subject matter of history teaching should be very open. It should include all aspects of societies (social and cultural history as well as political). The role of women should be given proper recognition. Local and national (but not nationalist) history should be taught as well as the history of minorities. Controversial, sensitive and tragic events should be balanced by positive mutual influences. (22)

In the SOED Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland National Guidelines Environmental Studies 5-14 (1994) the following key features in history are emphasised:

studying people, events and societies of significance in the past in a variety of local, national, European and world contexts;

developing an understanding of change and continuity over time and cause and effect in historical contexts;

developing an understanding of time and historical sequence;

developing an understanding of the nature of historical evidence by using a range of types of evidence to develop and extend knowledge about the past;

considering the meaning of heritage and the influence of the past upon the present.
(23)

Attention has been given to placing this historical study appropriately within a chronological context ie from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the period immediately prior to the arrival of the Franciscan Sisters in 1847, until the period following the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. Historical research in education may concern itself with an individual, a group or an institution. Cohen and Manion (1994) emphasise that none of the above can be viewed in isolation and that all are intimately connected. (24) This study is concerned with people, events and societies of significance in the past. A wide variety of sources of evidence has been used in the study including personal papers, letters, diaries, logbooks, photographs and databases. Attention has been paid to the social, economic, political and cultural developments of the period of the study and, where possible, the links between individual actions and major developments have been made.

As a conclusion to this section the description of the conditions of historicism formulated by Erich Auerbach expresses eloquently how theory should inform practice in the study, understanding and appreciation of and the writing of history:

...when people realise that epochs and societies are not to be judged in terms of a pattern concept of what is desirable absolutely but rather in every case in terms of their own premises; when people reckon among such premises not only natural factors like climate and soil but also the intellectual and historical factors; when, in other words, they come to develop a sense of historical dynamics, of the incomparability of historical phenomena, so that each epoch appears as a whole whose character is reflected in each of its manifestations; when, finally, they accept the conviction that the meaning of events cannot be grasped in abstract and general forms of cognition and that the material needed to understand it

must not be sought in the upper strata of society and in major political events but also in art, economy, material and intellectual culture, in the depths of the workday world and its men and women, because it is only there that one can grasp what is unique, what is animated by inner forces, and what, in both a more concrete and more profound sense, is universally valid. (25)

NOTES

- 1 Conroy (1999) (ed)
- 2 Best (1981) p131
- 3 Chadwick (et al) (1978)
- 4 Mandelbaum (1977) p8
- 5 Skelton (1966) p8
- 6 Haldane (1999) in Conroy (ed) (1999) p189
- 7 See Cohen and Mannion (1988) pp57-58
- 8 Bell (1993) p68
- 9 Elton (1967) p101
- 10 Lehmann and Mehrens in Bell (1993) p 68
- 11 Elton (1967) p102
- 12 Marwick (1977) p63
- 13 Travers (1978) quoted in Verma and Mallick (1999) p75
- 14 Henry and Fleury, in Harvey, C and Press, J (1996) p235

- 15 See in particular, E. Anthony Wrigley and Roger S. Schofield, 'Nominal Record Linkage by Computer and the Logic of Family Reconstruction', in E. Anthony Wrigley (ed), *Identifying People in the Past* (1973), pp64-101; E. Anthony Wrigley, 'Family Reconstitution' in Eversley, Laslett and Wrigley (1996) pp96-159; and Kevin Schurer, Jim Oeppen and Roger Schofield, 'Theory and Methodology: An Example from Historical Demography', in Denley, Fogelvic and Harvey (eds), (1989) pp130-142.
- 16 K Schurer and S J Anderson (eds) (1992)
- 17 Bernard Aspinwall, "Sir William Drummond Steuart" Lecture given to the Scottish Historical Association on Thursday, 22 February 2001 in The Caledonian University
- 18 Aspinwall, (1992), p127. See also Scottish Catholic Directories; M Dilworth, 'Religious Orders in Scotland', in McRoberts (1979) pp92-107.
- 19 Anderson (1997) p27
- 20 Checkland (1976)
- 21 Jeleff (1997) p89-90
- 22 Jeleff (1997) p90-91
- 23 SOED (1994) pp34-35
- 24 Cohen and Manion (1994) p47
- 25 Auerbach (1953) p391

CHAPTER ONE

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

If it is the purpose of this thesis to describe, explain and analyse the contribution of five religious orders to the development of Catholic education in Glasgow from 1847 until 1918, it is necessary to be clear about the conceptual framework within which the thesis will be developed. Humes and Paterson argue that history should be more firmly based on theory:

Most standard histories of Scottish education present no intellectual challenge.....It is our belief that the failure to challenge is mainly a consequence of the lack of a consciously articulated conceptual and explanatory frame or context. (1)

This view is endorsed by Harold Silver:

Without the historical test, theory may be beautiful but may be beyond validation and understanding. Without the theoretical test, history may be busy but blind. The history of education has to examine its own organising concepts (including that of 'education'), and at some point engage both with the broad reaches of policy, and with the close and detailed description and analysis of the processes of education, and of people's experience and perceptions of them. (2)

Abrams comments on the importance of a historical perspective for any current issue: "Try asking serious questions about the contemporary world and see if you can do without historical answers." (3)

Of the method used by the historian, Mandelbaum states:

The historian deals with specific events which once occurred in a certain place, and he seeks to delineate the nature of those events... The historian appears not to be interested in the typical, the uniform, the readily repeatable; he seeks to portray the particular...The historian's method is descriptive, attempting to portray the given, the uncontrolled, the actual; in Ranke's words "how it actually happened." (4)

Mandelbaum cites Rickert's claim that history is *Kulturwissenschaft*, in other words that "... the field of the historian is the study of human activities in their societal context and with their societal implications." (5) In this respect this thesis is essentially historical and is concerned with the period from the early nineteenth century until the early twentieth century.

The purpose of this section is to outline the principal over-arching concepts which are involved in the thesis and thus provide a conceptual framework within which the study will take place.

The major concept, which is fundamental to and which permeates the study, is that of Catholicism. Each of the five religious orders which are the subject of the study are Catholic. Much of the study is concerned with the development of Catholic education in Catholic schools in Glasgow during the period 1847 until 1918. This is a theme which has been the subject of considerable debate throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and indeed into the twenty-first century, among scholars and academics, both within and without the Scottish education system, and from inside and outside the Catholic education tradition.

In this respect there will be a number of concepts and themes which are central to the thesis:

Catholicism
Mission
Vocation
Religious Orders
Urbanisation
Social Control
Gender
Xenophobia
Identity
Leadership

Catholicism

Fundamental to this thesis, therefore, is an understanding of the concept of Catholicism which has ramifications for the concepts of Catholic identity and Catholic distinctiveness which are in turn inextricably related to the concepts of Catholic education and the Catholic school. In the preface to an historical survey of Catholicism, John P Dolan states that the many dimensions of Catholicism are perhaps the greatest obstacle to presenting a clear picture of what is often termed its “intangible comprehensiveness”. (6) Dolan’s approach to explain the concept of Catholicism is based on the belief that Catholicism is the continuing work of Christ in the world, the constant development of His Mystical Body which is led by the Holy Spirit toward the totality of truth. It is wholly the work of God but at the same time entirely man’s endeavour as well. The historical character of Catholicism is founded ultimately on the Incarnation of Christ, the entry of the Logos into the everchanging stream of history. It rests on the fact that Christ willed His Church to be a society of human beings, “the people of God” under the leadership of human beings, and thus subject to human actions and human weakness. (7)

Catholic schools are essentially an expression of the Church’s salvific mission, since the Church is the context for all Catholic education. (8)

The salvific mission by which the Church interprets and directs its experience is also the mission upon which the aims and objectives of the Catholic school are based. It is therefore necessary to understand what might be called the Catholic philosophy of life in order to interpret these aims and objectives. (9) In a religio-philosophical context, the Catholic philosophy of life originates in the Catholic faith. This faith is belief in the living God, and in Jesus Christ in whose life God was made known and present in a unique way. More abstractly, Catholic faith claims to be in possession of a body of truths, revealed by God and taught by the Church, which explains the place of human beings in creation and reveals the relationship of human beings to the Creator. (10) David Carr (1999) asserts that it is not enough for Catholics merely to subscribe to that particular set of beliefs which define Catholic faith "... in the case of faith-constitutive beliefs it is to do rather more than assent to truth; it is also to commit oneself to what the beliefs enjoin in the way of practical conduct." (11) There have been many attempts to elucidate the central features of the Catholic tradition of faith and life. One of the answers that Richard McBrien offers to the complex question: "What is Catholicism?" is:

Catholicism is a rich and diverse reality. It is a Christian tradition, a way of life, and a community...it is comprised of faith, theologies, and doctrines and is characterised by specific liturgical, ethical and spiritual orientations and behaviours; at the same time, it is a people, or cluster of peoples, with a particular history. (12)

Catholic faith, therefore, has profound implications for Catholic education, the most important of which is that Catholic education is an enterprise concerned with, carried on in, and justified by Christian faith. Catholic faith is therefore a *sine qua non* of Catholic education. (13)

It is faith in Christ, the life and indisputable focal point of Catholic faith, which guides and inspires the Catholic educationalist's search for principles and values on which to build a distinctive Christian view of education. (14)

The purpose of Catholic education is the fulfilment of a vision whereby education is not simply the application of secular knowledge to a secular world but where truth and

human knowledge are in profound harmony, so that all knowledge and understanding is touched and transformed by the truths about human beings and God which are taught by faith. (15)

Prior to the Second Vatican Council, during the period relevant to this study, from 1847 until 1918, the theory of Catholic education was clearly drawn from dogmatic Church teaching. Scholastic thought provided the framework which gave Catholic education a strong sense of identity and established principles upon which a philosophy of Catholic education could be developed.

The Catholic school during the period was identifiable as part of the Church because of the employment of a special language which was deeply influenced by the neo-Thomist theology that was pervasive throughout the Catholic Church, especially in the years 1860-1960. Neo-Thomism, which is an adaptation of the thought of thirteenth century philosopher and theologian, Thomas Aquinas, ensured a commonality of theological language between the universal and the local church; it fostered a particular form of apologetics in the defence of the Catholic faith; and it preserved a form of intellectual discipline that was shared by clergy of all ages.

In all the principal Roman documents on Catholic education it has always been made clear that the Catholic school is to be considered as an integral part of the Church's mission:

The ecclesial dimension is not a mere adjunct, but is a specific attribute, a distinctive characteristic which penetrates and informs every moment of its educational activity, a fundamental part of its very identity and the focus of its mission. (16)

The Catholic school is described as an 'instrument' of the Church, not only a place for education, but also a place of 'evangelisation, of authentic apostolate and of pastoral action.' (17)

During the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century there have been four discernible tendencies in Catholicism. Firstly, the separation of the Church from the

laicised state accentuated the contrast between Catholic and modern thought and forced a reappraisal of its relationship to constitutional and democratic government and the social question. Secondly, the beginnings of a liturgical movement produced a new method of pastoral work which offered greater participation on the part of the laity. Thirdly, the definition of the First Vatican Council (1870) on Papal infallibility marked an increase in the religious and moral authority of the pope. Fourthly, a world-wide mission activity which in the nineteenth century followed colonial expansion was in the twentieth century forced to come to terms with non-Christian religions and atheistic Communism. (18)

Both Vatican Councils, 1870 and 1962-65, were events where matters of fundamental concern to the Catholic Church were discussed at length and pronounced on. The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) enunciated certain basic principles of Christian education which are intended to be applicable to the Catholic school. On October 28, 1965, the Second Vatican Council promulgated the Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum educationis*. The document describes the distinguishing characteristic of a Catholic school in this way:

The Catholic school pursues cultural goals and the natural development of youth to the same degree as any other school. What makes the Catholic school distinctive is its attempt to generate a community climate in the school that is permeated by the Gospel spirit of freedom and love. It tries to guide the adolescents in such a way that personality development goes hand in hand with the development of the “new creature” that each one has become through baptism. It tries to relate all of human culture to the good news of salvation so that the light of faith will illumine everything that the students will gradually come to learn about the world, about life, and about the human person. (19)

From biblical times the concept of education has been seen as the handing on of something that is precious. This is apparent in the words of advice given by St Paul to Timothy as the latter is about to begin his new role of Bishop:

Keep as your pattern the sound teaching you have heard from me, in the faith and love that are in Christ Jesus. You have been trusted to look after something precious; guard it with the help of the Holy Spirit who lives in us. Accept the strength, my dear son, that comes from the grace of Christ Jesus. You have heard everything that I teach in public; hand it on to reliable people so that they in turn will be able to teach others. Put up with your share of difficulties, like a good soldier of Christ Jesus. (20)

From the Second Vatican Council of 1965, the Declaration on Christian Education states: “Since parents have given life to their children, they are bound by a grave obligation to educate their offspring.” (21) and

Parents have the primary and inalienable duty of educating their children, and must enjoy true freedom in choosing schools. Public authority, therefore, whose part it is to watch over and defend the liberties of its citizens, should, in the interest of distributive justice, take care that public assistance is dispensed in a way that enables parents to choose schools for their children according to their conscience, with genuine freedom. (22)

The Second Vatican Council envisaged Catholic education as promoting:

the Christian concept of the world whereby the material values, assimilated into the full understanding of man redeemed by Christ, may contribute to the good of society as a whole. (23)

The concept of Catholic Education is therefore central to the thesis. In an attempt to establish what the identity of a Catholic school is, Buetow (1988) begins with an explication of what Christian wisdom is:

Christian wisdom is more than simply secular wisdom at its highest level suffused with Christian faith-life. At the heart of Christian religion is Christian theology, which must be in constant

touch with all specialised knowledge and skills and arts involved in wisdom. Christian wisdom as the core of Christ's Gospel message must promote the self-sacrificing love of God and of others, and guide it into making a better community and hence a better civilisation. (24)

John Hull (1984) makes the observation:

All who are engaged in education, if they are to preserve their integrity, must seek to make sense of their work in terms of the rest of their outlook on life: if a humanist, a humanist understanding, if a communist, a communist understanding and if a Catholic, a Catholic understanding. Further, Catholics working in Catholic schools must be engaged in not only the study of the relations between theology and education, but also in the doing or practising of theology. Catholics will be helped in their critical educational tasks by reflecting on their professional work in the light of their faith. (25)

Chater (1997) draws the distinction between two models of religious education presented in John Hull's entry on the nature of religious education.

Conceptions of the nature of Religious Education may be divided into those which emphasise religious education as a religious activity and those which emphasise it as an educational activity. (26)

Chater questions the validity of the assumption of two separate models of religious education ie that of religion studied from within a faith community, from a confessional stance (described as a religious activity), and that of religion studied from outwith, from an objective or non-confessional stance (described as an educational activity). Chater emphasises that the divergence between the two models is real:

.. confessional religious education, through its own evolutionary processes, gave birth to non-confessionalism, which gradually

became a different and opposite entity. Scotland allowed the divergence to happen with greater clarity and wider public acceptance than in England; non-confessionalism is distinguished by a balanced epistemology and an alliance of religious and moral modes. (27)

Chater argues that, although the two models exist in their own separate structures, there is (now, in a postmodern or contemporary context) a unique potential for realignment. In the historical context of this thesis, however, the divergent nature of the two models would have to be recognised since, during the period with which the study is concerned, ie from the early nineteenth century until the early twentieth century, religious education was perceived as an integral part of the process of education in Catholic schools.

A cerebral definition of the meaning and purpose of Catholic education is contained in a published address to his priests by the Bishop of Salford, Patrick Kelly, in December 1987. He said:

Catholic schools exist out of a conviction that 'Jesus is not only a word from God' but 'the word of God'. All things were made 'through him' and 'in him all things hold together'. The consequence of this belief is that discipleship is the beginning, the context and the goal of living and, in a school, is manifested in shared vision that is clearly recognisable, lucidly formulated and exemplified in the daily lives and activities of a faith-community. Furthermore, such a school has the function of witnessing to Christianity and, by being rooted in community, makes for an education that is integrated and purposeful. (28)

Clearly the Catholic viewpoint has always been that education has no meaning without a basis of faith and religion. Catholics have a fundamental belief that Catholic schools are essentially distinctive and have a distinctive character, ethos and function. The Fathers of the Second Vatican Council asserted that the Catholic school is an ideal

locus for the education of Catholics. The Congregation for Catholic Education in Rome summed up these principles for every Catholic school when it stated:

The Council, therefore, declared that what makes the Catholic school distinctive is its religious dimension, and this is to be found in

- a the educational climate,
- b the personal development of each student,
- c the relationship between culture and the Gospel,
- d the illumination of all knowledge with the light of faith. (29)

Vatican II accorded supreme importance to the sacredness of the human person and, in doing so, gave emphasis to the value of all persons and stressed the personal development of each individual. Catholic schools are encouraged to help their students:

...combine personal development with growth as the new creatures that baptism made them; in the end, it makes the message of salvation the principle of order for the whole human culture, so that the knowledge that pupils gradually acquire of the world, of life, and of man, is enlightened by faith. (30)

By stressing the worth of each individual person in the sight of God, Catholic education attempts to reveal itself as a distinctive concept. Catholic schools are required by the Church to be different from largely secular institutions in their philosophy, mission and actions.

Mission

A second major theme which underpins the thesis is that of mission which is central to this thesis in that each of the five religious orders who came to Glasgow in the second half of the nineteenth century and opened schools saw Scotland in general and Glasgow in particular as mission territory. Traditionally and throughout history the term “mission” has meant a body sent by a religious community to convert heathens or

pagans in a particular country. In the case of Scotland in general and of Glasgow in particular, the purpose of the mission was more to cater for the spiritual, educational and social needs of the Catholic minority at that time.

The concept of mission is central to the thesis in that it underpins the purpose for which the religious orders were sent to or were brought to Glasgow during the nineteenth century. *The Catholic Encyclopedia* explains that the mission of the Church is twofold and has reference above all to the spiritual and supernatural subordinating of this order in all its activities:

Like the purpose of the mission of Christ, the end of the mission of the Church is to procure the glory of God through the eternal salvation of all men without distinction of race or culture. Since Christ came to seek and save that which had perished, the care of souls is the proper and primary end of the mission. (31)

The Church, however, is not confined within the sanctuary; she has always had a secondary and social mission to perform.

As the representative of God upon earth, the Church cannot remain indifferent to human problems but considers it essential to her mission to collaborate with civic groups in laying a solid foundation for society. So far as it concerns the attainment of his last end, the whole of man's activity, both in private and in the family, as well as in the public and social spheres, comes within the scope of the Church's mission. Since the Church's authority extends to the whole of the domain of the natural law, it is concerned also with political and social questions to the degree that these are connected with man's spiritual interests (32)

The use of the term mission with regard to Scotland indicates that Canon Law was not in effect as Scotland was still a "mission territory" under Propaganda Fidei.

Vocation

A concept which is related or connected to the concept of mission is that of vocation. Literally, a calling, the Collins English Dictionary defines vocation as:

a specified occupation , profession or trade;

a special urge, inclination or predisposition to a particular calling or career, especially a religious one. (33)

In terms of Catholic religious orders or Catholic religious life, the term vocation refers to the disposition of divine providence whereby persons are called to serve God in a particular state of life. Vocation to the priesthood presumes intellectual and moral qualities appropriate to that state and acceptance by the Bishop. The same applies for vocation to the religious life with acceptance by the Superior of the order.

Religious Orders

The term 'order', which strictly speaking refers to institutes of pre-Reformation type, is used in this thesis for religious orders of every kind. Before 1560, the male religious were either monks or canons regular or friars, while the women were few in number and strictly enclosed. Some religious are enclosed and contemplative while the vast majority are unenclosed and active. A huge variety of religious orders returned to Scotland almost 300 years after the Reformation. The Ursulines came to St Margaret's, near Edinburgh in 1834. In 1847, the Franciscan Sisters came to Glasgow, followed closely by the Sisters of Mercy and the Good Shepherd Sisters. In 1858, a steady influx began with the first men, the Marist Brothers, who taught in Glasgow and Dundee; Jesuits came to Glasgow, Edinburgh and the south-east; Vincentians came to Lanark and Oblate Fathers to Leith. The Sisters of Mercy founded convents in Edinburgh and Dundee, Sisters of Charity in Lanark, Little Sisters of the Poor in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee, Sisters of Nazareth in Aberdeen. Passionists and Redemptorists arrived, followed by the first pre-Reformation order, the Franciscan Friars, in 1868. (34) An order is defined as a body of people united in a particular aim or purpose and a religious order a group of persons who bind themselves by vows in

order to devote themselves to the pursuit of religious aims. Canon law describes the religious life under four headings as a fixed and stable manner of life, in common, observing the evangelical counsels, by means of vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. (35)

The first religious orders came to Glasgow in response to the pleas of the clergy and in response to two urgent needs:

- 1 to provide elementary Catholic education for the poor children in Glasgow
- 2 to care for the sick, the destitute and marginalised in the urban ghettos of Glasgow.

In the field of secondary education, this thesis will show that these religious orders played an outstanding part. Without the three female orders, the Franciscans, the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Notre Dame, there would hardly have been any Catholic secondary education for girls in Glasgow in the nineteenth century. Given that Catholics were concentrated most heavily on Clydeside and that society was male-orientated, two Glasgow Boys' schools, St Mungo's Academy and St Aloysius' College, played a crucial role in building up a Catholic middle class in Glasgow in the latter part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.

What is distinctive about the five religious orders in question is that they have the education of the young as their *raison d'être*, and if not their sole reason for existence, at least one of their primary purposes.

Urbanisation

Another major permeating theme in the thesis is that of urbanisation, and the related key historical features of cause and effect help to give a clear picture of the relationship between urbanisation and the contribution of the religious orders. The growth of industry combined with other factors like depopulation in the Highlands and the Famine had the effect of turning Glasgow into a teeming city in the first half of the nineteenth century. The increase in the Catholic population in Glasgow during the

nineteenth century was rapid. In 1816, when Gillespie Graham's English Perpendicular Gothic chapel, dedicated to St Andrew, was opened in Glasgow's Clyde St, it provided visible evidence that Catholics in Glasgow could no longer be regarded as a small body of despised aliens. (36) Writing in 1820, the statistician James Cleland estimated for the previous year the number of Irish Catholics in Glasgow as 8,245 out of a total number of 15,208 Irish in a population of 140,000. (37)

These developments were complicated by a religious division. A whole series of economic and social tensions was indicated by the rising numbers of Catholics in the south-west. In 1791 the immigration of Catholic Highlanders had first been encouraged by the promise of employment and facilities for worship, and a distinguished Highland priest, the Rev. A. McDonald, had been appointed to Glasgow in 1793 to minister to the needs of the Highland Catholics drawn to the city after the Highland Clearances. Saunders (1950) gives an account of some of the causes and effects of the added Irish immigration:

By 1831 it was estimated that there were nearly 27,000 Catholics in Glasgow, and "probably as many more" in the surrounding industrial area. The majority of these were now Irish. Their arrival had been facilitated by cheap steam transport and by active recruiting among a distressed population. They appeared as beggars, general labourers, field-workers and plain weavers; they were imported into the mining areas, sometimes to break strikes, and their presence generally lowered wages. The arrival of this peasant population presented special difficulties of housing, sanitation, relief and education, and the building of new Catholic chapels which they required was commented on as an ominous sign of the times. But however alien in their ways and "subversive" in their views, they were an economic convenience and nativist hostility could do little except resist economic competition and social differences by a revival of religious agitation. With the continued expansion of the heavy industries, this reserve of cheap labour continued, and the second generation of immigrants began to work their way upwards into the building trades and the more

open skilled occupations. In church affairs their Irish piety was to run permanently alongside rather than to fuse with the native Catholic tradition, which was Gallican in inspiration and restrained in expression. (38)

The emancipation legislation of 13 April 1829 gave to Scottish Catholics the security of a recognised place in the national life for their corporate existence, something which had been denied them for two and a half centuries and, in consequence, a new mood of optimism and expansion became apparent, which found expression in new churches, schools, religious orders, societies and institutions, a renewal of devotional and liturgical life and other manifestations of vitality. (39)

The nineteenth century was, therefore, a time of great economic and social upheaval when the face of Scotland was being altered more rapidly than at any other moment in the nation's history and, as McCaffrey points out, an increasing number of voices began to argue that only by reinvigorating their national institutions and civilising their lapsed masses, amongst whom they included the great numbers of Catholic Irish, could the progressive values which had propelled Scotland to the forefront be sustained. (40)

During the period with which this study is concerned, from the 1840s until the aftermath of the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act in 1918, Scottish experiences are of special interest because of the speed of industrialisation and urbanisation and the problems that these related phenomena created. Anderson makes the observation that an essentially rural system with a religious ethos, centred on the parish schools as both ideal and reality, had to be transformed for an urban, mass society. The construction of state systems of elementary education was a general phenomenon of the age. Anderson identified some of the causes of this:

It can be related to the rise of political democracy, marked in Britain by the Second Reform Act of 1867; to the evolution of the modern nation-state, in an age of industrial and military rivalry between the great powers, requiring both more highly educated workers and the inculcation of loyalty and citizenship into the

masses; and to the general advance of secularisation, transferring social functions from church to state under the guidance of the liberal bourgeoisie. (41)

In the developing megalopolis of Glasgow in the middle of the nineteenth century there was evidence of a bulwark to the advance of this secularisation and a recognition of a diversity of culture, a phenomenon that had not been witnessed to such an extent before then in the West of Scotland. This bulwark was provided largely by the religious orders, their work in the Catholic schools of Glasgow and in their work in Glasgow society in general. The population increase not only raised new needs for schooling in Glasgow. New jobs and new career structures opened up, for some, possibilities for social mobility that had not existed before. Of the five religious orders in the study, the Jesuits and to a lesser extent the Marists, focussed their educational programme in such a way as to create a Catholic middle class in Glasgow by providing Catholic boys with the opportunity of becoming socially mobile and in pursuit of the common good or of being local and in pursuit of the common good, becoming what Gramsci refers to as 'organic intellectuals' who would stay with their roots, take on the problems of their community and attempt to solve them. (42)

There was also growth of a vastly increased industrial working class, many living in conditions of extreme poverty and deprivation, with no prospect of escaping from it. Marx and Engels saw this situation as creating opportunities for revolutionary change; others viewed the situation with alarm, seeing a threat to the social order. For them, the problem posed by urbanisation was one of social control.

Social Control

Another key concept which permeates the thesis, therefore, is that of "social control," which is logical, given that the three major disciplines related to the thesis are education, history and religion, all of which are fundamentally concerned with people and society.

MacKenzie argues that social control is a major function of education systems. He uses the term "social control" as a concept meaning the creation of a framework in

which freedom, even permissiveness, can exist. For MacKenzie, if society abandons social control to undesirable groups, the result will not be freedom but the end of liberty. (43)

Marx advocated education on social and moral grounds, seeing it as a means of liberation, whereas others saw it as a way of teaching the lower orders to keep in their place in society and behave themselves, in other words, as a means of social control. Pestalozzi, for all his later reputation as a progressive secular saint, was much concerned to 'educate the poor for poverty' by teaching skills that would serve them well in the station they would occupy in life; he was not concerned with encouraging mobility, even less with upsetting the social order. Nor, for all his dislike of the worst effects of nineteenth century industrialism, was Ruskin. Speaking to an audience of Bradford businessmen in 1866 about the ideal mill with appropriately schooled employees, he said:

In this mill are to be in constant employment from eight hundred to a thousand workers, who never drink, never strike, always go to Church on Sundays and always express themselves in respectful language. (44)

William Williams, MP had already made the same point more bluntly, when he told the House of Commons in 1846 that 'a band of efficient schoolmasters is kept up at much less expense than a body of police or soldiery' (45)

Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth held the opinion that educational arrangements for the Irish working class were desirable. He had originally become convinced that the education of the poor must remain denominational. (46) Kay-Shuttleworth's brother, Joseph Kay, expressed the view that only Catholicism could influence the most destitute parts of the population in nineteenth century Britain:

What I mean is, that none but the lowest forms of Protestantism will ever affect an ignorant multitude; but that Catholicism is particularly designed for such multitude; and what I do wish is, that if we may not have an educational system, whereby to fit our

people for the reception of Protestantism, that we might again have Roman Catholicism for the people; believing as I do, that it is infinitely better that the people should be superstitiously religious, than that they should be, as at present, ignorant, sensual, and revolutionary infidels. (47)

Hickman (2000) points out that here the notions of ignorance, sensuality and rebelliousness are juxtaposed as representations of the Irish Poor whose alien 'nature' was potently symbolised in their resistance to Protestantism and adds that in this context many were reconciled to the public funding of Catholic enterprises as a necessary step in order 'to deal' with Irish migrants in Britain. (48)

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) lived in France during the period with which this study is concerned, that period of European history retrospectively regarded as a privileged age, "*La belle époque*". He was however of the opinion that European society was not only passing through a period of profound change but that it was in crisis. This crisis had been created, according to Durkheim, by the non-replacement of traditional moralities based on religions by a morality based on science. He believed that his particular contribution was in offering a scientific basis to the emerging secular morality and also the means of extending it by the training of qualified teachers. They would go forth into the world, grounded in sociology and also the techniques of communicating it to school children. Durkheim was intent therefore on developing sociology as something that would affect state policy. The perspective of the Catholic Church at this time had similarities although it was offering a religious basis to combat the emerging secular morality and was intent on extending the religious basis through the work of the religious orders and Catholic teachers in Catholic schools. Like Durkheim, the Catholic Church was clearly intent on developing religious education as something that would affect state policy. Since, for Durkheim, education is a function of the social organisation of society and as such definitely a social matter, it is not surprising that Durkheim saw that it stood firmly within the province of sociology, the discipline he was attempting to establish in France, a discipline which he maintained would have good results for the country as a whole. Since, for the Catholic Church, education is inextricably linked with spiritual development, it follows that given the complex and unique nature of Catholicism described above, the

locus for the spiritual development of Catholic children is the Catholic school staffed by Catholic teachers.

Durkheim's political sympathies lay strongly with republicanism and progressive social reform and he was strongly influenced by the philosophy of Renouvier, the neo-Kantian social reformer. Durkheim adopted some of Renouvier's emphases as his own, two of which are particularly relevant to this thesis for the purpose of making comparisons with Catholicism and Catholic education.

Firstly, a belief in the importance of initiating a scientific and comparative study of morality, arguing that scientific determinism is compatible with recognition of the autonomy of moral conduct and secondly, a belief in the realisation of liberal ideas through the activity of the state coordinated through a programme of secular education. Durkheim's work cannot be fully understood unless it is realised that he had an overriding concern for morals. In a similar way, Catholic education and the work of Catholic educators cannot be understood unless it is realised that it and they have an overriding concern for spiritual development and social change through spiritual development.

Durkheim saw the relationship between morals and education as almost that of theory to practice. For Durkheim, education was synonymous with moral education. He believed the function of the school was to follow society's needs and to meet the needs of the state. He believed that the school could achieve its function by fostering the spirit of discipline and nurturing rule-governed behaviour, regular behaviour which recognises and accepts authority. For Durkheim, discipline in this sense is fundamental to life in general, morality is a way of structuring your life to rid you of impulse, irrationality, passion or *anomie*. At school, children must learn the spirit of discipline; if they are undisciplined, they are morally incomplete.

The discipline that Durkheim had in mind did not merely involve discipline for its own sake. He wrote: "It does not follow from a belief in discipline that discipline must involve blind and slavish submission." (49) Making the child consent was a contradiction in Durkheim's view. Instead the child should be guided towards

“autonomy” which would involve the independent use of reason which would lead to agreement and then consensus.

There was a crucial difference between Durkheim’s perspective on morality and that of the Catholic Church and this difference had its roots in the Enlightenment. Dolan’s explanation is helpful in clarifying the difference:

The Enlightenment was in many ways more opposed to Catholicism than was the Protestant revolt, for it struck at the very roots of revealed religion by denying the authenticity of the Scriptures and the existence of the supernatural. It involved in an unprecedented scale the substitution of the natural for the supernatural and of science for theology. In exalting and at times deifying human reason, it looked to the laws of nature rather than ecclesiastical legislation for moral direction.... the Enlightenment also fathered the main feature of modern liberalism often inimical to Catholicism. The Church was accused of fostering an otherworldly morality, of standing in opposition to the findings of the new social sciences, economics, politics and critical history. (50)

The neo-Thomism described above was used to demonstrate the rationality of faith, the dangers of the Enlightenment and liberal thinking and the incursions of a secular state. (51)

For Durkheim, the function of the school should be to persuade the children by rational methods to agree to the rules of the school and the rules of the state, thus removing the child from unhealthy egotism. The child should learn to obey rules without authority, thereby demonstrating an understanding of morality or what Durkheim referred to as “enlightened assent”. The essence of Durkheim’s view of the function of the school can be summarised in the phrase “Liberty is the fruit of regulation”. (52) Schooling is essentially moral and creates moral beings, that is, people who will consent to the rule of the state. For Catholics, on the other hand,

schooling is essentially moral and develops moral beings, that is, people who will consent to the will of God as interpreted by the Scriptures.

The function of education, for Durkheim, is “...the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life.” (53)

The function of Catholic education, for Catholics, on the other hand, is not essentially ideological but spiritual as described above.

The formal education system, in Durkheim’s view had a crucial role to play in the inculcation of the moral attitudes and capacities required in a society orientated towards the secular ideals of moral individualism and enlightened allegiance. In both *The Division of Labour* and *The Rules of Sociological Method* Durkheim stresses that the ultimate justification for research lies in its practical uses. Durkheim’s objective was the moral integration that he saw as necessary for the wellbeing of French society or indeed of any society and in this respect he was intent in fostering social change. Durkheim concluded his thesis which began with the assertion “that science can help us determine the way in which we ought to orient our conduct” (54) with the intention “Our first obligation at this time is to create a moral consensus”. (55)

This consensus or unity in French society he would build on secular morality, founded on reason rather than revealed religion or revelation. In this respect Durkheim’s social change is fundamentally different from the social change brought about by Catholic education. For Durkheim, education is nothing if not ideological since its object is to create adults out of children who reflect the ideals of their society. For Catholics, education is nothing if not spiritual, based on faith and revelation.

Beales (1943) stresses that Catholic educationists are fortunate in possessing two pronouncements on their professional work that give the clearest guidance on both the Why and the How of education. The answer to “How?” is set out in the four great articles of the *De Magistro* of St Thomas Aquinas.

The process of learning is a process of self-activity. The teacher is merely an agent, external to the person (child or adult) who is learning. “The process of education is a

process of self-education through self-activity, whether it is independent study or formal instruction.” (56)

The child’s intellect has to learn, and to be taught, to be self-active unlike, for example, animal training. An animal has a potentiality for doing things if trained, but it is a passive potentiality; he cannot build on his training. The child’s potential, on the other hand, is active, that is, he can learn to extend, for the whole of his life, the aptitudes developed in him. The task of the teacher, therefore, is to enable the child to do without him when the time comes.

In answer to the other question, “Why?” what is the ultimate reason, and need, for education, Beales claims we need look no further than the Papal Encyclical issued in 1929 by Pope Pius XI, *Divini Illius Magistri*, on the Christian education of youth, the crux of which lies in the passage:

Since education consists in preparing man for what he must be and what he must do here below in order to attain the sublime end for which he was created, it is clear that there can be no true education which is not wholly directed to man’s last end. (57)

Beales argues that all theories which look for the perfectibility of man and society through man’s own unaided efforts are false and that any distinction between “religious” and “secular” education is unsound and dangerous. The fundamental explanation of the firm stand made by Christians for the Christian “atmosphere” of their schools is that religion is not a subject in the curriculum alongside other subjects. In 1846 the Anglican National Society declared categorically for two principles: that it is essential to education that religion pervade the whole of teaching of a school; and that the main direction of education should be left in the hands of those who would be prompted to approach and handle it from a care for the immortal souls of the children. (58)

Beales argues from the premise that atmosphere is not a subject and that it pervades everything and cites O’Leary’s description of the example of the religious orders as proof of this:

It is in itself an education to live with people who have ideals and interests that one can but dimly guess, and to lose oneself in a fuller, richer, corporate life. (59)

Concerning the provision of schools for the poorer classes in Glasgow which came about largely through voluntary efforts inspired by a range of motives, Nicholson has this to say:

While many supporters of popular education sought to improve the moral and physical condition of the children and some to foster the development of their abilities, others were more interested in securing social stability. All but a handful of radical thinkers, however, were united in one belief - that education must be firmly grounded in religion. (60)

Gender

When the term 'gender' was introduced to sociology by Ann Oakley, she said that "sex" refers to the biological division into male and female; "gender" to the parallel and socially unequal division into femininity and masculinity. (61) Gender draws attention, therefore, to the socially constructed aspects of differences between women and men. The concept of gender can be helpful provided that it is recognised that there is a need to consider biological difference and structures of power in relation to the elaborate social construction of difference, then the concept of gender has the great advantages that it encourages a study of masculinity as well as femininity, the relations between the sexes as well as the social position of women, and a recognition of historical and cultural variety and change rather than a universalising analysis. (62)

Three of the religious orders in this study are female orders, the Franciscan Sisters, the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Notre Dame. Many of the outstanding examples of leadership in the study are female. Conspicuous by their absence in much history of the nineteenth century, the women who entered these teaching orders like women who entered the teaching profession as a vocation were, it could be argued, pioneers among the great saviours of Catholic heritage in the nineteenth century.

Xenophobia

Another concept which is relevant to this study is that of xenophobia. The ancient Greek words which together make up the English word “xenophobia” are interesting and relevant to this study. They both have double meanings or translations; ie ξένος can be translated as “a stranger” or “a foreigner” or “an enemy” and φόβος can be translated as “a fear of ” or “a hatred of”. The immigration of the Irish into Scotland in the period immediately prior to and during the period of this study is one of the most significant themes of modern Scottish history. Throughout the nineteenth Century the Irish Catholic portion of the population of Glasgow consisted of a separate community within the city’s social system, segregated by a variety of distinguishing characteristics: race, accent, religion, occupation, residence and politics. Despite the fact that they were the second biggest Irish contingent in Britain outside London, their attempts to gain an influence in public affairs in Glasgow commensurate with their percentage of the population they were handicapped by the very factors which fashioned their social isolation and solidarity. This thesis argues that during the second half of the nineteenth century there was a *post*-Reformation Renaissance with regard to Catholic education in the city of Glasgow as a direct consequence of the work of the five teaching religious orders who came to work there.

Historians of eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain have recently emphasised the importance of anti-Catholicism as one of the binding forces in British social and political life from 1707 onwards. The issue of Irish immigration and the response of the religious orders to the phenomenon of Irish immigration illustrate the continuing relevance of anti-Catholicism in the shaping of modern Britain. One of the paradoxes associated with this thesis is that the religious orders worked hard to assuage xenophobia and anti-Catholicism by securing the admission of the Irish Catholic population into mainstream Scottish society. (63)

Identity

The concept of identity has become a huge issue as we move into the twenty-first century.

According to Hall: 'There has been a veritable explosion in recent years around the concept of identity, at the same moment as it has been subjected to a searching critique.' (64) Because of its relevance to this study it is worth quoting what Hall says about the Freudian concept of 'identification':

In common sense language, identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation. In contrast with the 'naturalism' of this definition, the discursive approach sees identification as a construction, a process never completed, always 'in process'. (65)

The psycho-historian, Erik Erikson, saw identity as a process 'located' in the core of the individual, and yet also in the core of his or her communal culture, hence making a connection between community and individual. It is closely linked therefore to the concepts of culture and heritage. The identity of the Catholic community in Glasgow, many of whom were easily distinguishable by their race, accent and religion, is a theme which permeates the study.

Educational developments were an important element in defining the identity and culture of the Irish immigrants who settled in Scotland in general and in Glasgow in particular during the nineteenth century. McCaffrey explicates the complexities of the situation:

As sharers in the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation which Scotland was undergoing they became to some degree 'Scoto-Irish' over the century. That definition emerged from a series of adaptations throughout the period in which acceptance of the realities of life and work in Scotland was balanced against ways of securing their own cultural values. While they would work alongside the host society, their nationality and religion meant they could never merge into a culture based on the triumph of the

Protestant-Whig Revolution of 1689-90, the 1707 Union of Great Britain and the ultimate defeat of the Jacobites. (66)

The Irish were the most visible Roman Catholics and therefore they were the most vilified by opposition over their identity, unScottishness, non-British perception and yet they were a useful device to build up loyalty when there were few other options available. Not all of these Irish immigrants were Roman Catholics but the vast majority were, and the growth of the Catholic church in modern Scotland was a consequence of their coming in such numbers. Deep adherence to their religion gave them identity and dignity so that the Irish element in their experience remained strong. O'Malley too makes the observation about the Irish diaspora:

The tradition of nationality, which meant not only the urge of the people to possess the soil and its products, but the free development of spiritual, cultural and imaginative qualities of the race, had been maintained not by intellectuals but by the people who were themselves, the guardians of the remnants of culture. (67)

The religious issue assumed an importance from the beginning as the Kirk was regarded as being the fundamental pillar of the Scottish national identity. (68) Large-scale Catholic immigration was widely perceived as a threat to a peculiarly Scottish homogeneity and from an early date the immigrants from the north were of Scottish and English descent, while the Catholics were dubbed as the real Irish. (69)

Aspinwall argues that the several Catholic responses to the crisis created by the arrival of large numbers of Irish immigrants in the nineteenth century produced a remarkably resilient and long-lasting framework within which Catholic life flourished with its own special ethos until the 1950s. (70)

Leadership

The concept of leadership is important since during the period of this study there were a number of individuals whose qualities in leadership, either in educational

management or in pioneering new areas related to education, are worthy of study. It is important to establish that the individuals who were responsible for inviting and bringing the five teaching religious orders to Glasgow in the second half of the nineteenth century had a vision of what kind of contribution each of the orders would make to Glasgow and this vision has obvious links with the mission of the different orders as discussed in Chapter 3 and the work of the different orders as discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Inspirational clergy and influential individuals, therefore, made their own contributions to community building for Catholics in Glasgow. Father Peter Forbes, Banffshire-born like so many of the Scottish priests, returned from a three-year recruitment and fund-raising campaign in Ireland to found St Mary's Calton in 1842. (71)

In his pastoral work Forbes combined revivalist techniques with self-help philosophy. He instituted the customs of May devotions to the Blessed Virgin, June devotions to the Sacred Heart, Benediction, a weekly temperance pledge and introduced the organ into his new church of St Mary's in Abercromby Street. All of these were public celebrations of Catholic faith and worship, worship in its truest sense, that is literally 'what is of worth', from the old English "*weorthscipe*", from worth and ship. (72) He was closely associated with the redoubtable Father Matthew, who preached at the opening of St Mary's and held an immensely successful ecumenical temperance campaign in Glasgow in 1842. The support and expansion of school work was one of the chief concerns of the philanthropic body known as the Association of St Margaret, founded in the early 1850s for the protection of the Catholic poor and labouring classes in Scotland and for the improvement of their social and physical condition. Father Forbes and Bishop Murdoch had a clear vision of the nature of the contribution they wanted from the Franciscan Sisters and the Sisters of Mercy and there is ample evidence that both orders made that crucial contribution.

The importance of Charles Eyre (1817-1902), the first Archbishop of Glasgow after the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy, to the contribution of the religious orders should not be underestimated. He was a man of wide reading, humanitarian impulse and social concern and was arguably largely responsible for the spectacular progress of Catholicism in the Archdiocese of Glasgow during the 24 years that he presided over it as its first post-Reformation archbishop.

A notable benefactor and an extremely important figure in Catholic leadership during the period in question was Robert Monteith. The son of a phenomenally wealthy entrepreneur, Monteith lived in the reputedly first neo-gothic mansion in Scotland. He was a director of the Caledonian Railway Company which in 1846 completed the first direct link between London, Glasgow and Edinburgh via Carstairs Junction. That year, 1846, under the close personal influence of John Henry Newman, he became a Catholic, was baptised at Oscott by the Passionist, Rev. Ignatius Spencer, convert son of a British Chancellor of the Exchequer and brother of a British prime minister, and began importing ten tons of statues into Lanarkshire. (73) In 1848, Monteith played a leading role in establishing the St Margaret Association to raise and distribute funds to poor parishes, to pay for seminary education and schools and unite the various classes in one cohesive Catholic body. (74)

There were leaders too who were members of the religious orders: Mother Adelaide Vaast and Sister Veronica Cordier, the pioneering Franciscan Sisters; Mother Catherine McAuley, the foundress of the Sisters of Mercy; the Marists, Brother Walfrid and Brother Germanus; Father Hanson SJ, the most renowned Headmaster of St Aloysius' College; Sister Mary of St Wilfrid SND and Sister Monica Taylor SND.

Owing to the self-effacing nature of the religious orders, it is difficult to find accounts of their achievements and successes in their archives. This is particularly so in the case of the Sisters of Mercy and to a lesser extent the Franciscan Sisters. Thanks to historians and chroniclers like Father Calnan SJ, James Handley FMS, Sister Dorothy Gillies SND, Bernard Aspinwall, Tom FitzPatrick and more recently John McCabe, there exists a considerable amount of source material, both primary and secondary, which, in addition to the archive material of each of the orders, helps to make an assessment of the work of leading figures who were members of the Marists, the Jesuits and the Sisters of Notre Dame.

In the chapters that follow the discussion will focus particular attention on the situation in Glasgow prior to the arrival of the religious orders, the collective mission and the specific mission of each of the religious orders, the relationship between Church and State from the early nineteenth century until after the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act and the work of the five religious orders in Glasgow during that period.

Other Factors

Clearly a thesis of this nature touches on major political, social and cultural forces well beyond the scope of the thesis itself and, while there is awareness of the influence of these forces, their precise effects will not be discussed in detail.

One major force which is inextricably linked to the thesis is the Famine, *an Gorta Mor*, the Great Hunger of 1845-49, described by Handley as the *fons et origo* of Irish emigration, during which time it is estimated that of the million or more who departed Ireland, 100,000 came to Scotland and more than half of these to Glasgow. (75)

A second major force is the impact of the Revolutions of 1848 which were heralded by liberals and nationalists all over Europe as a decisive break with the world of the past, and the springtime of a new age. The Hungarian poet, Petöfi, admirer both of Burns and Byron, a few years earlier had prophesied the universal mood of 1848:

I dream of days of bloodshed
In which an old world dies,
And see from smoking ruins
A phoenix world arise.
(76)

A third is the impact of evangelical revival and the growth in antipathy to the Catholic population that resulted from it. The work of the religious orders in Glasgow begins at the absolute peak of the Evangelical Revival and social expressions of Catholic revivalism have strong affinities with Evangelical and Revivalist movements. (77)

These movements are rooted in the Protestant settlement of the Reformation and the anti-Catholic anxieties that had been a feature of majority Scottish identity for 300 years. Fanned by the winds of the Evangelical revival, anti-Catholic sentiment found a new focus with the influx of Irish immigrants.

The thesis is not about the Famine, the Revolutions of 1848 or the impact of the Evangelical revival but it is quite clear that the reverberations of these major historical events and trends had direct consequences and, as such, form part of the context in which the study is placed.

NOTES

- 1 Humes and Paterson (1983) p4
- 2 Silver (1983) p245
- 3 Abrams (1982) p1
- 4 Mandelbaum (1938) p4
- 5 Mandelbaum (1938) p9
- 6 Dolan (1968) Preface piii
- 7 Dolan (1968) Preface piii
- 8 The Positive Value of Catholic Education. Statement by the Catholic Bishops of Scotland, (1978) based on their commentary on The Catholic School, Congregation for Catholic Education, (1977), paragraph 7.
- 9 Arthur (1995) p46
- 10 Abbot, W M (1996) 'The Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation', in The Documents of Vatican II
- 11 Carr (1999) Catholic Faith and Religious Truth in Conroy (1999) p163
- 12 McBrien (1994) in Conroy (ed) (1999) p3
- 13 See Nichols (1969)
- 14 Catechesis in Our Time, Encyclical of Pope John Paul II, (1979)

- 15 Congregation for Catholic Education, (1988) paragraph 100.
- 16 The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium. Statement by the Congregation for Catholic Education, quoted in Sullivan (2000), p81
- 17 Congregation for Catholic Education, (1988) p33
- 18 Dolan (1968) p169
- 19 Declaration on Christian Education (1965) (Gravissimum educationis) Paragraph quoted in Flannery (1992)
- 20 Second letter of St Paul to Timothy 1: 13-14; 2: 1-3
- 21 Declaration on Christian Education (1965) (Gravissimum educationis) Paragraph 3, quoted in Flannery (1992)
- 22 Declaration on Christian Education (1965) (Gravissimum educationis) Paragraph 6, quoted in Flannery (1992)
- 23 Vatican Council II, quoted in Arthur (1995) Foreword pvii
- 24 Buetow (1988)
- 25 Hull (1988) in Buetow (1988)
- 26 Hull (1984) p284
- 27 Chater (1997) p83
- 28 McClelland (1995) quoted in Arthur (1995) Foreword pvii
- 29 Congregation for Catholic Education, (1988) Paragraph 1

- 30 Declaration on Christian Education (1965) (Gravissimum educationis) paragraph 8
- 31 Catholic Encyclopedia p904
- 32 Catholic Encyclopedia p904
- 33 Collins English Dictionary
- 34 Dilworth (1978) p92-93
- 35 Gallen (1983) pp43-90
- 36 Anson (1970) p230
- 37 Handley (1947) p108
- 38 Saunders (1950) pp107-108
- 39 McRoberts (1979) p3
- 40 McCaffrey (1998) p61
- 41 Anderson (1997) p26
- 42 Hoare (1978); Joll (1977) pp88-104
- 43 MacKenzie (1985)
- 44 Grant (1990)
- 45 Handley (1943) p194
- 46 Hickman in Eaton, Longmore and Naylor (eds) (2000) p55

- 47 Joseph Kay. Quoted in the First Report on the Catholic Poor School Committee, 1848:55 in Eaton, Longmore and Naylor (eds) (2000) pp55-56
- 48 Eaton, Longmore and Naylor (eds) (2000) p56
- 49 Wilson (1973) p52
- 50 Dolan (1968) p170
- 51 Sullivan (2000) p86
- 52 Wilson (1973) p54
- 53 Durkheim (1956) p71
- 54 Gurvitch (1939) 'La morale de Durkheim.' Quoted in Durkheim (1973) Foreword, px
- 55 Gurvitch (1939) 'La morale de Durkheim.' Quoted in Durkheim (1973) Foreword, px
- 56 Beales (1943) p1
- 57 Divini Illius Magistri. Encyclical of Pope Pius XI, quoted in Beales (1943) p1
- 58 C.F.K. Brown (1942) "The Church's Part in Education, 1833-1941." Quoted in Beales (1943) p2
- 59 O'Leary (1936) p44
- 60 Eaton, Longmore and Naylor (eds) (2000) p116
- 61 Oakley (1972) p16

- 62 Marshall (1998) p251
- 63 see Colley (1992) and O’Gorman (1997)
- 64 Hall quoted in Conroy (ed) (1999) p248
- 65 Hall quoted in Conroy (ed) (1999) p245
- 66 McCaffrey (1997) p55. See also for background J E Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland 1798-1845* (Cork, 1943) and *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork, 1947). J A Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (London, 1963). T A FitzPatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education in South-West Scotland Before 1972* (Aberdeen, 1986). R D Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* (Oxford, 1995)
- 67 O’Malley (1979). Quoted in Bradley (1998) p7
- 68 Gallagher (1987); Finlay (1991)
- 69 Gallagher (1987) pp26-31
- 70 Aspinwall (1982)
- 71 Aspinwall (1984)
- 72 Collins English Dictionary (1979) p1672
- 73 See Bernard Aspinwall’s articles on Monteith including “The Scottish Dimension: Robert Monteith and the Origins of Modern Catholic Social Thought”, *Dowanside Review*, 97 (1979) pp46-48 and “David Urquart, Robert Monteith and the Catholic Church: A Search for Justice and Peace”, *Innes Review*, 31 (1980) pp57-70. Monteith’s son kept up the custom for St Aloysius’ Glasgow outings. Similar outings took place to Lochgilphead,

Hamilton Palace and Edinburgh, Glasgow Free Press, 17 Aug 1861, 20 July 1863.

74 ibid

75 Handley (1947) p22 note 4

76 Quoted in Briggs (1994) p369

77 For Evangelical Revival see Bebbington (1989). For Religion and Social Control see Brown (1997) and Thompson (1968) pp 412-415. For Church of Scotland, Education and Social Control see Graham (1996)

CHAPTER 2

THE EDUCATIONAL, SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Since the main argument of this thesis concerns the contribution of five religious orders to the development of Catholic education in Glasgow during the period from 1847 to 1894 and beyond, the aim of this chapter is to give a clear picture of the state of the provision of education for Catholics during the nineteenth century in Glasgow prior to and during the period of the arrival of the five religious orders in question. In doing this the context will be set for the study and as accurate an impression as possible will be given of the general living conditions in Glasgow during the period in question and in particular the educational, social, religious and economic conditions. In order to highlight the desperately inadequate, haphazard and, in places, non-existent provision of education for Catholics in Glasgow for that time in history, this chapter analyses a variety of theories of teaching and learning prevalent in places beyond Glasgow outwith the period and during the period in question. This enables a comparison to be made and helps to explain why there was a need for the religious orders to come to Glasgow and thus facilitates analysis of why and how the five orders came to Glasgow during the 47 years between 1847 and 1894.

For Scotland the Disruption was arguably the most momentous single event of the nineteenth century with its effects being felt in education for the reason that, partly to avoid the parish schools controlled by the establishment and partly to provide for the 400 teachers who had seceded in 1843, by 1851 the Free Church had built 712 schools. To some extent as a consequence of the problems created by the Disruption the principle of state aid, which had begun on a small scale in the 1830s, (see Chapter 4) was extended; and after 1847 schools that were judged as efficient, whatever their origin, received some financial aid. In this way the Disruption led to a much needed expansion of educational facilities, but at the same time, it emphasised that the unplanned educational structure was reaching a chaotic phase, with too many schools of various types and qualities and no real co-ordinating supervision. (1)

The effects of this were felt most in the industrial towns like Glasgow where the children of the poor were often neglected, many of them starving and homeless. The extent of the seriousness of the situation can be judged by the fact that in 1853 it was estimated that “barely two thirds of the children who ought to be at school are in attendance on any school in Scotland”. (2) The State’s contribution to education in England had been steadily growing since 1833, and with it voluntary effort had also grown. But it was not clear that the voluntary system with Government aid was proving capable of meeting national needs and of being so developed as to meet future needs. The Newcastle Commission was appointed in 1858 and its aim was “to inquire into the Present State of Popular Education in England, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap Elementary Instruction to all Classes of the People.” The Newcastle Commission reported in 1861 and made their recommendations for “the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction.” (3)

In Scotland the new Free Church ran its own schools, and the state had to divide grants impartially between all denominations, including Roman Catholics and Episcopalians. Anderson (1997) indicates that this denominationalism was deplored by many Scots who sought the reestablishment of a unified system which the rivalry of the churches made difficult. One product of the political manoeuvres that followed was the commission of enquiry under the Duke of Argyll, whose reports of 1867-8 provide the historian with a mass of information and statistics. As Anderson points out, regular statistical enquiry was an innovation of the nineteenth century, and both the state bureaucracy and the churches collected and published such data. Annual reports, parliamentary debates, controversial books and pamphlets all make this period in some ways better documented than the years after 1872. Anderson (1997) adds the caveat that despite being an indispensable resource, the political context in which such sources were produced means that their accuracy and objectivity should never be taken for granted but that they underlie the general accounts of the period which historians have constructed. (4)

The beginning of Catholic education in the city of Glasgow was but a part of the haphazard growth of education in Scotland as a whole during the early years of the Industrial Revolution. Although there was some provision for the education of Catholic children in Glasgow prior to 1872, that provision was piecemeal and varied widely in quality as the evidence indicates. The evidence produced by Harvey and Greig was irrefutable; there was a vacuity of good and efficient provision and this was a cause for censure and concern in terms of the social and economic consequences. The work of the religious bodies and philanthropists in providing schools was commendable but inadequate to meet the changing needs. Radical reform was required. It was this realisation that came with the Argyll Report.

The findings of the Argyll Commission (1864-67) are therefore central to the context of this study. Every aspect of schooling at the time was covered and evidence and statistics amassed from every possible source. It produced a picture of high average absenteeism, but a better standard of schooling in the rural than in the urban areas, and recommended standards of cost, size, space, as well as of level of instruction. Their recommendations were:

- 1 That a Board of Education should be set up centrally, with responsibility for building, accommodation and finance - this would be a composite body with members from the towns, the churches and the universities. The Board was to deal with administrative matters and not policy.
- 2 That public schools (ie state schools and not public schools in the English sense) should be established and supported by the levying of a rate - to fill existing gaps and supplement the provision already made.
- 3 That there should be annual inspection, despite objections to the Revised Code.
- 4 That there should be grants for new building.
- 5 That school endowments should be revised and rationalised.

- 6 That there should be provision for superannuation and insurance schemes for teachers.
- 7 That three-tier schooling should be introduced: elementary to age 9, intermediate to age 13 and higher to age 17, the last divided into an arts and science line - a scheme which anticipated later proposals for a three-tier comprehensive system and was very advanced for its time. (5)

This led directly to the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872. One effect of the 1872 Act was that Catholic Parishes found themselves under greater financial hardship, since they had to pay the new rates imposed by the School Boards, as well as contributing to the upkeep and extension of their own schools. With somewhat reduced fees, due to financial hardship, the Catholic schools were under great strain and it is when seen in this light that the achievements of the religious orders in question take on a greater significance. Another effect of the 1872 Act was to create an urgent need for Catholic teachers who were needed to teach in Catholic schools. The Sisters of Notre Dame were to respond to this need.

Factors which began to influence the education of Catholic children during the nineteenth century and had important effects then were the formation of the Catholic Poor School Committee and its effect on the training of Catholic Teachers and the considerable contribution of the religious orders to the education of Catholic children in Glasgow.

The argument of this thesis is that without the contribution of the five religious orders in question, Catholic schools would have been unable to function and survive until 1918. A close examination and analysis of the context of the period in which the study takes place reveals that there was a real need for what each of these orders had to offer to the Catholic population of Glasgow at the particular time when each order arrived to work in Glasgow. Although there was clearly an inter-relatedness about what the orders contributed collectively, there was a unique quality about the individual contribution of each order whether that was related to the marginalised in society, sectors of society who were particularly at risk, social mobility or teacher training. In

the following chapters the unique nature and quality of these contributions are examined, analysed and assessed individually.

During the nineteenth century each of the five orders were to become strongly identified with particular schools in Glasgow. The Franciscan identity with Charlotte Street began in 1847; the Sisters of Mercy came to Glasgow in 1849 and the Garnethill Convent of Mercy, established in 1861, became synonymous with the Sisters of Mercy; in 1858 the Marist Brothers arrived in the city and they became most strongly identified with St Mungo's Boys' School; a year later, in 1859, the Jesuits came to Glasgow and founded St Aloysius' College; and finally, in 1894, the Sisters of Notre Dame brought to the city Notre Dame High School for Girls and also Notre Dame Teacher Training College, where thousands of Catholic teachers were trained. Each of the orders arrived in Glasgow at the time when their particular contribution to Catholic education was required.

The individual and collective contribution of these five religious orders to the educational development of Glasgow up until 1918 and beyond has been formidable to such an extent that it has influenced the course of Scottish social, educational and cultural history during the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. In this chapter the importance of the timing of the arrival and the unique contribution of each of the orders is highlighted.

Increase in Population

Similarities between the histories of Scotland and England have often masked important differences, and none more so in the period 1760-1830 than in that process of industrial change known as the industrial revolution. Devine (1988) indicates that Scotland was a far more backward country than England in the eighteenth century. The shock of industrialisation was therefore much greater in Scotland than south of the Border.

Dramatic population increase owing to the necessity of providing manpower for the needs of the manufacturing industries in the first half of the nineteenth century was a

consequence of this industrialisation and therefore urbanisation in Glasgow was extremely rapid. This rapid urbanisation and its consequences are key features of this study.

Smout (1969) makes reference to the importance of the early industrialists in Glasgow in the 1790s when the industrial revolution was beginning to work its transformation:

The pioneer industrialists of these years not only carried the burden of developing the economy of Glasgow. They were also laying the foundations of a new Scottish economic order, and in doing so, affected the lives of all who lived since. There has never been any small band of Scots who by their initiative and enterprise made so great an impact on the history of their nation. (6)

The range of industry in Glasgow in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was extensive and included such diverse industries as breweries, tanworks, dyeworks, cotton, linen, and the heavy industries of coal and iron. The earliest demand arose on account of the phenomenally rapid growth of the cotton industry in the west of Scotland on the conclusion of the American War of Independence; but soon the multifarious activities of the linen, woollen, chemical, building, coal, iron and shipbuilding were absorbing the influx of Irish workers. The manpower of navigators or navvies, mainly from Ireland, was required for the navigation of canals which were soon superseded by the earliest railways, built in the 1820s, for the transporting of coal, iron and minerals generally. For decades before the famine of 1845 the Irish immigrant was an indigent labourer meeting the demand created by the expansion of industrial and agricultural Scotland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Scotland. Handley explains and lists the variety of employment in which they were involved:

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century the vast majority of Irish immigrants and the first, second and third generations of those who had arrived in this country in the early decades of the century took their places in the ranks of the industrial army that laboured at unskilled or semi-skilled jobs: in

the mines and iron and steel works, in the shipyards, on the docks as stevedores, in the locomotive works, on the permanent way and as porters at the termini of the railways, as masons' labourers in the great building activity of the late nineteenth century, in machine shops or factories, in the numerous little foundries and workshops that existed, in the days before amalgamation and concentration, for the production of household articles and small goods generally, in distilleries at the heavy work of handling the grain, as carters, coachmen and stablemen in an age of horse transport, in municipal gas works, in brickworks and potteries, as policemen, as scavengers and at navvying, while their womenfolk added to the household income by working at textiles, as shop girls and as domestic servants. In their humble way they were indispensable adjuncts of the expansion of industry and agriculture in nineteenth century Scotland. (7)

The increase in Catholic population in Glasgow dates from 1791, when Glasgow manufacturers in need of labour invited to the city Highland families made homeless by the clearances. In 1786 there had only been about 70 Catholics in Glasgow. (8) From 1790 many Highland Catholics, driven from their homes by starvation and the extortionate rents of the landowners, moved south to find employment in the cotton mills of Glasgow and Paisley. For these incomers a Catholic mission was established, in 1790, under the care of a Gaelic-speaking priest, the Rev A McDonald. Thirty years later this was to be the largest mission in Scotland. (9) Over a period of seventy years, from 1801-1871, Glasgow grew in population by an astonishing 600%. (Appendix 3)

In Glasgow and the other industrial towns of the south west of Scotland the huge influx of Irish immigrants, both Catholic and Protestant, strained the existing educational arrangements to breaking point. Some idea of the scale of the problem can be gained from the statistics compiled by James Cleland for Glasgow:

Year	Total Population	Total No. of Irish	Total No. of RCs
1819	140,000	15,208	8, 245
1831	202,426	35,554	19, 333

Source: James Cleland, quoted in James Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, 1798-1845* (Cork, 1943), p100.

The major theme in any outline of Glasgow's progress through the nineteenth century is expansion. (10) From the early supremacy of textiles, through metallurgy, engineering and shipbuilding, industrial expansion revolutionised the traditional layout of Glasgow which had been centred for centuries on Glasgow Cross. Population inflow, in particular from the Highlands and Ireland, was spectacular as the city grew from 77,000 inhabitants in 1801 to 202,000 in 1831 and 359,000 by 1851. (11) From 1811 the population had grown to 511,000 and by the turn of the century it reached 761,000, ten times its size at the beginning of the century and almost twice the size of contemporary Edinburgh and Leith. (12) Part of the problem was that the physical area constituting the city grew far more slowly than did the number of people to be crammed inside. (Appendix 4) The industrial labour force rose between 1800 and 1900 from 67,000, including children, to 330,000 adults. (13)

By 1822, Glasgow's Catholic population had reached an estimated 15,000. (14) The main source of the increase was an influx of Irish immigrants which began in the closing years of the eighteenth century and was to continue, throughout much of the nineteenth. By 1831, at the time of Cleland's census of the city, there were 35,554 Irish in Glasgow, the majority of whom, 19,333, were Catholics. (15) The Great Famine of the 1840s markedly accelerated the already steady volume of immigration into Glasgow from Ireland, and in the later part of the nineteenth century there were perhaps 80-100,000 Irish Catholics in Glasgow, forming roughly one quarter to one fifth of the total population. (16)

Aspinwall (1992) points out that historians have tended to assume that the Irish Famine alone explained the growth of Catholic numbers and cites the arrival of numerous Highland Catholics in Glasgow and the fact that the rise of the

predominantly Catholic Irish population in the West of Scotland was greatest in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. (17) It was, however, the tide of Irish Catholic immigrants, more than anything else, which altered the pattern of Catholicism in Scotland, not only because of the sheer weight of numbers, but because the immigrants formed an urban slum population quite different in outlook, temperament, and religious tradition from the indigenous Catholics of the Highlands and the north east. These differences led ultimately to a clash of interests in the Glasgow mission itself. The general public gradually came to equate Catholicism with Irish nationality and this equation, as Johnson points out, was erroneous on two counts: firstly, because as many of the immigrants were Protestant as were Catholic, and secondly because a strong tradition of Catholicism had continued unbroken in areas of Scotland like the north east. (18)

Living Conditions for the Poor

There was increasing wealth and prosperity for some in Glasgow, but, in stark contrast, there were dire consequences for early nineteenth century immigrants. Overcrowding was one dire consequence. The inner city locations of industrial workplaces drew workers, poor, unskilled and in temporary part-time employment into the cheap and decaying boarding houses of the wynds, filthy lanes of four-storey tenements 'unfit even for sties'. (19) Soon after the Victorian period began Glasgow had some of the worst slums in the world. Behind the first streets of the city, on narrower spaces behind parts of the eighteenth century town, cheap tenements were pushed up to house thousands who came to look for work. The ancient houses of the wynds and closes were crammed with people - sometimes 300 shared one common stair with no form of sanitation. (20) By the 1830s Glasgow was notorious for its recurrent outbreaks of 'fever' which affected both adults and children. If this fever was typhus, since typhus is louseborne, it was avoidable only by a high standard of personal hygiene. If it was typhoid, it could not be avoided until the city of Glasgow was provided with a pure supply of drinking water and a sewage system. Since ordinary people were in total ignorance of the method of contacting the fever, they could do little to reduce the risk. Families had to live in the squalor that was a

consequence of packing population on a new scale into the poorly-built tenements, closed courts and wynds that had little in the way of public services.

The living conditions for the poor in the centre of Glasgow in the early 1840s were deplorable as described by the Commission on the condition of Handloom Weavers Report of 1841:

The wynds of Glasgow comprise a fluctuating population of from 15,000 to 20,000 persons. This quarter consists of a labyrinth of lanes, out of which numberless entrances lead into small courts, each with a dunghill reeking in the centre. Revolting as was the outside of these places, I was little prepared for the filth and destitution within. In some of these lodging-rooms (visited at night) we found a whole lair of human beings littered along the floor - sometimes fifteen and twenty, some clothed, some naked - men, women and children huddled promiscuously together. Their bed consisted of a lair of rusty straw intermixed with rags. There was no furniture in these places. The sole article of comfort was a fire. A very extensive inspection of the lowest districts of other places, both here and on the Continent, never presented anything half so bad, either in intensity of pestilence, physical and moral, or in extent proportional to the population. (21)

This scene of extreme deprivation and insanitary conditions is endorsed by the Chief Constable of Glasgow, speaking in 1840:

In the very centre of the city there is an accumulated mass of squalid wretchedness, which is probably unequalled in the British Dominions. In the interior part of the square, bounded on the east by Saltmarket, on the west by Stockwell Street, on the north by Trongate, and on the south by the river, and also in certain parts of the east side of High Street there is concentrated everything that is wretched, dissolute, loathesome and pestilential. These places are filled by a population of many thousands of miserable creatures.

The houses are unfit, even for sties, and every compartment is filled with a promiscuous crowd of men, women and children, all in the most revolting state of filth and squalor. In many of the houses there is scarcely any ventilation, and from the extremely defective sewerage, filth of every kind constantly accumulates.

(22)

The 1842 Government Report on "*Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Britain*" describes Glasgow as "possibly the filthiest and unhealthiest of all British towns of this period. The sanitary conditions are appalling. There is no sewage or drainage." The consequence was that inner city slums, created by landlords, became the breeding-ground for cholera and typhus. It was not until the 1860s that the City Improvement Trust was founded to upgrade working class housing. (23) In the wake of the Great Famine, the flow of Irish immigrants grew into a great flood, reaching its peak in 1851. Between December 1847 and March 1848, nearly 40,000 hungry and impoverished Irish arrived in Glasgow. The passage from Belfast was cheap - 4/6d. per head. Those who could afford it travelled on to America; the poorest remained in Scotland and mainly in Glasgow. Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, embryonic legislation had begun, in a limited degree, to make some impact on the housing and health problems. Philanthropic attempts, well-meaning and helpful, could not in the long term be an answer to the permanent housing of the poor. In 1838, the Night Asylum for the Houseless opened in Argyle Street and in 1847, the Glasgow Association for Establishing Lodging Houses for the Working Classes was established. While both institutions made a contribution, it was essentially for the growing transient population rather than in long-term dwellings. One aspect of such philanthropy was that it came to be viewed as semi-official provision, thereby for a period releasing some measure of responsibility from the municipal authority. (24) Immigrants in the 1850s and 1860s made up a substantial percentage of the population of Glasgow. (Appendix 5) The struggle that the immigrant family had to make ends meet was rendered more bitter by the horrendous housing conditions it had to endure. The census of 1861 revealed that almost one third of the population of Scotland lived in accommodation which consisted of one room. In Glasgow one thousand citizens lived in such accommodation. The annual rent of these single rooms ranged from £3 to

£5 according to the tone of the neighbourhood. In practice the rent for the single rooms had to be paid monthly.

The Builder, in the early 1860s, was convinced that the closes, wynds and vennels of Glasgow were about the most unhealthy places in Europe. Edinburgh ranked second.

But in Edinburgh the east wind, which prevails more than two-thirds of the year and kills off the aged and delicate inhabitants with frightful certainty, blows through the narrow alleys, 200 feet above the level of the sea, like air in the funnel of a blast furnace. Notwithstanding their defective drainage, these closes are thus at once ventilated and purified. In Glasgow, on the other hand, which has a predominantly west wind, surcharged with moisture, where it rains every alternate day.... and where the soil is marshy, comparatively level and ill-drained, the poor inhabitants are literally condemned to breathe the poisonous gases of the innumerable manufactories by which they gain their subsistence.

(25)

Such became the magnitude of the problem of housing and health that the municipal authorities, through conscience or necessity, were forced to intervene to a larger degree. (26)

Three major responses by the authorities were, the appointment of Glasgow's first Medical Officer of Health, W T Gairdner, in 1863; the City Improvement Act of 1866, and the Loch Katrine Act of 1855 which brought much fresh water to much of the city by the early 1860s. This last meant that Glasgow escaped the worst of the Asiatic cholera outbreak of 1865- 67, recording only 53 cases as against Edinburgh's smaller population, which recorded 391 cases. (27) The City Improvement Trust also opened seven Model Lodging Houses in Glasgow between 1871 and 1879. By 1885 the Glasgow Improvement Trust had purchased eighty acres, from which they had removed 30,000 houses out of a scheduled total of 50,000 and the fall in the death rate was evidence of the beneficial effects of improvements made by the Town Council of Glasgow. The fall in death rate in Glasgow ran: 1860-70: 30.5; 1870-1880: 28.5;

1880-1885: 26.5. The number of one-apartment houses dropped from nearly 45,000 in 1866 to 34,000 in 1878. (28)

Social and living conditions in Glasgow were therefore substantially different for the orders who came to work in the 1840s, the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy, some of whom were struck down by cholera, than for those who came in the decades that followed, the Marists and Jesuits in the late 1850s and certainly different for the Sisters of Notre Dame in the 1894.

Care for those in need

The adverse social conditions for many in nineteenth century Glasgow, gross overcrowding, poverty, sickness and intermittent wage earning were factors which created the need for a variety of types of social care which frequently went hand in hand with evangelism. In 1805 the Lock Hospital was founded 1805. In 1815 the Magdalene Society was formed for:

the repression of prostitution and the reformation of penitent females. The Magdalene Asylum was opened shortly after and cooperation was established with the Lock Hospital and interchange of cases became the accepted practice. In 1859 the Glasgow Magdalene Institution was founded and the original Magdalene Asylum merged with it in 1867. This institution aimed at the suppression of “the resorts of profligacy” and at the same time sought to provide “ a temporary home for females who have strayed from the paths of virtue and are willing to return to them: also a similar refuge or other protection to females who are in imminent danger of being led astray.” (29)

The Glasgow City Mission, founded in 1826, was one of the oldest undenominational missions in the city of Glasgow. The Mission was involved with home visitation of the aged and sick, work with cab-drivers and distinctive social service in the police courts of Glasgow where a missionary attended daily at each court.

The Glasgow Abstainers' Union was founded in 1854 as part of the temperance movement. It organised meetings and sewing classes for women. Some idea of the prevalence of drunkenness at the time can be gathered from the fact that witnesses spoke of the Forbes-MacKenzie Act of 1853, which came into operation on Whit-Sunday 1854, as bringing about a very considerable improvement, when the Act merely closed all public houses on Sunday and restricted their opening hours on week-days from eight am to eleven pm. The Rev Archibald McCallum made the following interesting and informative comments relative to the Forbes-MacKenzie Act to the parliamentary committee on public houses, 1854:

Where do you expect that the people who have hitherto gone to the alehouse on the Sabbath day in Scotland will go now that the ale-houses are closed? I believe a great many of them will go to the house of God. They say, in most cases, they have no clothes, and we know they have been deprived of the means of getting clothes from the habit of drinking. (30)

The children of the poor were inevitably most affected. The living conditions which formed the alternative to an education at school could produce for poorer children an environment of hopelessness. In 1845 David Stow quoted a correspondent "of undoubted authority" who wrote in "one of our public journals" that on a recent Sunday evening, between Glasgow Cross and the Gasworks, he counted forty-four whisky shops open; in the Saltmarket 32; in Gallowgate from the Cross to the Barrack thirty-one; in the Trongate forty-nine; in King Street eleven; in Bridgegait thirteen; in Old Wynd ten; giving a total in these seven streets of one hundred and ninety. The "wee pawns" were also doing a roaring trade while Glasgow's citizens tried to raise enough money to patronise the whisky shops. (31) In 1867, in Oxford Street, Gorbals, the Glasgow Medical Mission was instituted with the purpose of providing social, religious and medical work among the people of the district. The Glasgow Home for Deserted Mothers was founded in 1873 with the object of affording temporary shelter and maintenance to the destitute and homeless and their children. (32)

This study shows in the chapters that follow that some of the religious orders in question, three in particular, the Franciscans, the Sisters of Mercy and the Marists, were intensely involved with work of this nature. Arguably, the Jesuits and the Sisters of Notre Dame, chronologically the last two of the five orders to come to Glasgow, were able to manifest a more teleological vision in their work than the other three orders in Glasgow. What all five of the orders in this study have in common is that they saw education as the key factor in the amelioration of the social, spiritual and material welfare of the Catholic population of Glasgow and so social and community work was done in addition to their educational work in schools and night schools. This work complemented the work already being done by other religious denominations.

The Papal Encyclical of 1891, *Rerum Novarum* was critical of aspects of capitalism and highlighted “the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition.” (33) What has often been described as Glasgow’s economic miracle was based essentially on a low wage economy in which the working class people had limited expectations and even fewer opportunities to vent any discontent with their lot. If the industrial revolution was to blame for the inequitable lifestyles of Glaswegians and the poor of numerous other cities in Britain during the nineteenth and early twentieth century it would take a Copernican revolution in education to ameliorate the situation. Throughout the period people such as Chadwick, Mill, Engels, Rowntree and Booth championed the cause of the poor. The arguments between free trade, protectionism, socialism, self help, laissez-faire and other philosophies continued into the twentieth century when the combination of the growth of the trade union movement, the demise of the Liberals and the rise of the Labour party and the eventual emancipation of many voters after the First World War resulted in radical changes to the status quo. The five religious orders who came to Glasgow between the years 1847 to 1894 demonstrated a commitment to education as a means of social amelioration and thereby effected a type of Copernican revolution in education in the city. Since this thesis is fundamentally concerned with education, it will be helpful to analyse what the received wisdom has to say about what the aims of education are.

Perspectives on the Aims of Education from the History of Educational Thought

Instances of the idea of education as an agent of social change or as a means of promoting the common good or as a means of promoting morality abound in the history of educational thought and some of the major streams of thought which are relevant to the period of this study have their roots in the Enlightenment. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) argued against the philosophes, Voltaire, Condorcet and Quesnay for whom the most crucial problem of civilisation during their time in the eighteenth century was the problem of freedom. Rousseau argued that, rather than moral improvement, progress of the arts and sciences contributed most to the corruption of morals. Agreeing with Montaigne, Rousseau equated nature with primitivism, and placed nature in direct opposition to civilisation. Primitive man, according to Rousseau is concerned chiefly with self-preservation and therefore his senses are developed to a high degree. Primitive man cannot be evil because he knows no vice. For Rousseau, natural freedom could not exist in society. Without laws that impose restrictions on people society could not function. So, as Rousseau wrote in the *Social Contract*, "Man must obey himself alone." By agreeing to the Social Contract man gives up his natural freedom but gains civil freedom. Civil liberty is limited by the General Will and people must abandon their private good for the general good - the common good. In his educational treatise, *Emile*, half fiction, half educational theory, Rousseau proposed a reconstruction of society through education. In *Emile*, rather than conform to the existing illegitimate state, Rousseau wants the individual to reconstruct it. The aim of education is citizenship, but citizenship in a legitimate society, a society based on the Social Contract. In *Emile* "God makes all things good: man meddles with them and they become evil." Emile is to be taken away from, out of society so that he may "see with his own eyes, feel with his own heart".

Like Rousseau, John Locke (1632-1704) believed that individuals cannot be entirely free since society imposes restrictions on them. Locke sought to limit these restrictions and tried this through the notion of natural rights. Neither society nor the state should restrict people in their enjoyment of natural rights. For Locke, one had limited freedom to enjoy one's natural rights, rights that no one could interfere with, contravene or restrict. Rousseau, on the other hand, wanted to legitimise restrictions. In his view, people would accept these restrictions only if they place the common good

or general will above their own private good. Rousseau's quest for legitimate restrictions led him to quite a different concept of freedom from that of Locke. For Locke, freedom was the absence of coercion. For Rousseau, freedom is the willingness to accept restrictions and what education is about is getting people to accept these restrictions. Rousseau's fundamental maxim was "the truly free man wants only what he can get and does only what truly pleases him" and if this maxim is applied to childhood, all the rules of education will follow. Unlike Locke, Rousseau did not advocate that the tutor reasoned with the child. Rousseau proposed negative education, that is, instead of inculcating virtue in children, keeping evil away from children. In *Emile* Rousseau proposed that up to the age of twelve, the child only recognised the law of necessity, after twelve, the law of utility and, according to Rousseau, moral education cannot occur before adolescence. Both Locke and Rousseau viewed morality as a restraint on behaviour. Locke held that the restraints must be imposed early, deliberately, as habits. Then later, when the child grows older, he will understand and appreciate the need for such restraints. Rousseau, on the other hand, claimed that moral restraints must be self-imposed voluntarily by the adolescent. Locke argued that the basis for such restraints is reason whereas Rousseau argued that the basis for such restraints is not reason but emotion. Emile Durkheim argued that the aim of education was socialisation and so was critical of Rousseau. From the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, there was a plethora of crucially important, influential figures in the history of educational thought, making it clear that education had a fundamental role to play in and was central to almost every area of life. Two of Rousseau's most renowned disciples were the German philosopher, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and the Swiss educationist, Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827). Pestalozzi was strongly influenced by reading Rousseau's *Emile* and as a result of the influence of his didactic novel, "*Leonard and Gertrude*", gained the friendship of the German philosopher, Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) who found in Pestalozzi's work the practical embodiment of Kantian philosophy. Kant offered a formulation of the categorical imperative, "Act in such a way that you always treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, never simply as a means, but always at the same time as an end." Kant concludes the exposition of his moral system with a panegyric on the dignity of virtue. In the kingdom of ends, everything has a price or a dignity. If something has a price, it can be exchanged for something else. What has dignity is unique and unexchangeable; it is beyond price. Kant maintains that there are

two kinds of price: market price, which is related to the satisfaction of need; and fancy price, which is related to the satisfaction of taste. Morality is above and beyond either kind of price.

“Morality, and humanity so far as it is capable of morality, is the only thing which has dignity. Skill and diligence in work have a market price; wit, lively imagination and humour have a fancy price; but fidelity to promises and kindness based on principle (not on instinct) have an intrinsic worth.” Kant’s words echoed throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.

During the period with which this study is concerned, the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, there was growing interest in education outside the sphere of Royal Commissions and State intervention. Among the chief exponents of educational philosophy at that time were John Stuart Mill, Matthew Arnold, John Ruskin, Frederick Denison Maurice, and Charles Kingsley. Space does not permit consideration of all of their perspectives and so two in particular, John Stuart Mill and Robert Owen are cited as arguably the most relevant to the context of the study, Mill because of his views of the role of the state in education and Owen because his experiment at New Lanark was only 20 miles outside Glasgow.

The population of Britain more than trebled between 1800 and 1900, despite emigration. The political problem of the nineteenth century, an epoch unprecedentedly preserved from warfare for most of its duration, was how to provide for the needs of the new urban populations. A rapidly changing mass society had taken the place of a stable agricultural community. In practice, the government tried to meet the needs of the urban poor with welfare legislation and came to realise that a national system of education would have to be put into place. Education would be used as an instrument of enlightened reform or a mechanism of social control. How were the masses to be educated and would the education that they received have a moralising influence? The utilitarian, John Stuart Mill, inspired by his father, James Mill and Jeremy Bentham, supported democracy less as a device for seeing that the general interest is pursued than as an educative instrument, making men more active, tolerant, public-spirited as he felt they needed to be to some extent before being entrusted with the vote. Mill’s interest in philosophy and political theory led him to express views on education.

Although he was a utilitarian and an individualist, he did not, like Herbert Spencer, assign to the State no part at all in national education. In his essay *On Liberty* (1859), he says:

“Is it not almost a self-evident axiom, that the State should require and compel the education, up to a certain standard, of every human being who is born its citizen?”
(34) But that does not necessarily imply that the State itself should furnish the means of education.

If the Government would make up its mind to require for every child a good education, it might save itself the trouble of providing one. It might leave to parents to obtain the education where and how they pleased, and content itself with helping to pay the school fees of the poorer classes of children, and defraying the entire school expenses of those who have no one else to pay for them. The objections which are urged with reason against State education do not apply to the enforcement of education by the State, but to the State's taking upon itself to direct that education: which is a totally different thing. (35).

Nearer to Glasgow, the locus of this study, the ideological significance of the Robert Owen's experiment in education and community living in the early nineteenth century gained him an international reputation as a humanitarian, educationist and creator of a model industrial community and can be seen as enlightened reform or a mechanism of social control or even both of these. Owen believed strongly that the violence of character in the working classes was fostered by their environment. Strongly influenced by Claude Adrien Helvétius (1715-1771) and his belief in the total influence of external circumstances, rational government and educational provision, Owen's experiment, as he saw it, was successful in proving the truth of the principle that the character is formed for and not by the individual. Politically the most considerable of the philosophes, Helvétius combined an abstractly rationalistic account of human nature, generalising Locke's doctrine that the human mind is at birth a blank slate, a *tabula rasa* in Locke's terminology, acquiring its entire character from environmental influences by which it is completely malleable, with a rejection of

Locke's rationalistic ethics in favour of a clear and explicit utilitarianism. Helvétius held that morality is not innate; it must proceed from education, "education makes us what we are." (36)

In 1812, at a dinner in Glasgow in honour of the educationist, Joseph Lancaster, Owen made his first public statement that "...we can materially command those circumstances which influence character" (37) and it is clear from the context that he was thinking of the effects of education on a community. Similarly the famous passage in the first essay of *A New View of Society* referred to the influence of the environment on a community:

Any general character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper means; which means are to a great extent at the command and under the control of those who have influence in the affairs of men. (38)

During the nineteenth century it became increasingly recognised by employers, churchmen, educationists and politicians that the Industrial Revolution created as Owen called it a "ferocity of character" among the labouring classes and Owen was particularly determined to control this. To Owen enlightened reforms and mechanisms of control need not be mutually exclusive, they could in fact be complementary. One way to handle the "ferocity of character" was to change the forms of schooling so that the younger generation would be brought up in new ways. In Owen's view, the problems of mass production and mass schooling were essentially the same. They were the problems of balancing productive efficiency with social control. At the heart of Owen's educational programme was the determination to create a disciplined, docile population for his factory. Sentiments such as "the children are, without exception, passive and wonderfully contrived compounds which may be formed to have any character and be ultimately moulded into the very image of rational wishes and desires" (39) are evidence of this.

At night too, in the Institute for the Formation of Character which Owen built in 1815, the workers were encouraged to come to evening classes, to concerts or to use the

library. It was a centre for adult education where the courses included health and hygiene, domestic economy and thrift. By the standards of the early nineteenth century in Scotland these were enlightened reforms although the contemporary poet, Robert Southey, was scathing about some of Owen's practices. Referring to Owen's description of the inhabitants of New Lanark as "human machines", Southey said:

But I never regarded man as a machine: I never believed him to be merely a material thing; I never for a moment ...suppose, as Owen does, that men may be cast in a mould (like other parts of his mill) and take the impression with perfect certainty. (40)

Southey added: "He keeps out of sight from others and perhaps from himself, that his system instead of aiming at perfect freedom, can only be kept in play by perfect power." (41)

Despite his criticisms of Owen, Southey described him as "one of the three men who have in this generation given an impulse to the modern world" and continues:

Clarkson and Dr Bell are the other two. They have seen the first fruits of their harvest. So I think would Owen ere this, if he had not alarmed the better part of the nation by proclaiming, upon the most momentous of all subjects, opinions which are alike fatal to individual happiness and to the general good... A craniologist, I dare say, would pronounce that the organ of theopathy is wanting in Owen's head, that of benevolence being so large as to have left no room for it. (42)

Southey was right in asserting, as Owen well knew, that Owen's attacks on religion, begun in 1817, led to a radical recasting of Owen's prospects and prevented the kind of harvest - an active benevolent system, of a paternal kind - which he had previously been preparing. (43)

Owen was a paternalist employer and the ideals of the society at New Lanark were imposed from above. Miles away from the large industrial towns, (literally about

twenty miles away from Glasgow) Owen carefully established his little kingdom where his absolute rule determined what was good for people. His use of devices such as the “silent monitor” and the establishment of the “Institution for the Formation of Character” strongly suggest a quasi Kafkaesque approach to social control. Further evidence of this is the fact that he fined people for drunkenness, for immorality, for stealing; he even fined them if their homes were untidy. But at the same time he controlled the cost of living by providing cheap food in the village store, free entertainments, free lunches and schooling for the young and these were enlightened reforms at that time in history. The romantic ideal he strove towards was that of the simple community of his childhood with the benevolent gentry and contented workforce. Owen’s experiment at New Lanark was utopian and was, literally and figuratively, miles away from Glasgow. The problems of education and social control for the church and the state in a city like Glasgow were more complex than Owen’s experiment at New Lanark. Was the universality of provision of education in the city of Glasgow to be achieved by compulsion or by voluntary effort or by a combination of both of these?

Education for Catholics in Glasgow during the first half of the nineteenth century

Education was only one area among many which was influenced by the changed circumstances, and as in other spheres, many of the problems of education in nineteenth century Scotland were brought about by the conflict between a fairly rigid system designed to cope with a relatively stable society, and the pressures imposed on that system by the ever-increasing changes within a society which in many respects lost its stability.

In the nineteenth century, the Scots reputedly took pride in having a national system of education, open to all classes and both sexes, whose roots lay in the sixteenth-century Reformation. The Scottish educational ideal of universality also purported to be meritocratic: poverty should be no barrier to the talented boy. This educational tradition, or myth, of democracy and universality was essentially a Lowland, Presbyterian and masculine construction. (44)

McDermid points out that, although the ideal was universality, in fact, the reality was inequality. Not only did the Highlands and Islands suffer from the barriers of language (Gaelic), widespread poverty, geography, and, in some cases, religion (Catholicism), but in the Lowland towns, notably Glasgow, the provision of education for all was under pressure from the rapid expansion of the economy and the related developments of urbanisation and immigration. (45)

Ever-increasing numbers of Irish families who abandoned their homes to seek their fortunes in a foreign country found that there was little or no provision for the practice of their religion or for their basic education. The few priests in Glasgow could not cope with the spiritual or educational needs of these immigrants. Initially, the education of the children of these immigrants was a problem which had to be solved by the Scottish Vicars-Apostolic and their priests. By 1819 a Catholic Schools Society had been established in Glasgow, with the support of a number of the leading employers of Irish labour. The Chairman, Mr Kirkman Finlay MP, a Glasgow merchant, stated that “the manufactures of this country could never have gone on without the emigration from Ireland, or the assistance of the Irish weavers; and, having them, could they retain them in ignorance and debased state, or help them to attain to the character of a population who were able to read and write?” (46)

The Society had a board made up of fifteen Catholics and fifteen Protestants. It was stated at the time that schools were being opened “for the purpose of instructing the children of poor Roman Catholics”, and that “the rules allow no religion to be taught, but the Protestant version (of the Bible) is read without note or comment, or explanation by the teachers.” (47)

In October 1817 in Glasgow a Catholic Schools Society was formed and this enabled basic education to be provided for some Catholic children. Handley tells us: “A number of employers of Irish labour in the city ... formed a committee with members of the Catholic body under the chairmanship of a Glasgow merchant, Kirkman Finlay MP. A scheme for instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic was devised by a board of fifteen Catholics and fifteen Protestants. The teachers were to be Catholics but no formal creed was to be taught. The Scriptures were read in the Protestant version, without note or comment ... an annual charity sermon was delivered in

Glasgow and Edinburgh by a popular preacher of the Established Church for the benefit of the Catholic Schools Society”. (48)

By 1822, the Catholic Schools Society could claim some success in language which summarised contemporary educational aspirations:

...[introducing] the persons in these schools to the elements of useful knowledge will tend to qualify them for filling their places in society, in a manner very different from those who are thrust into the world, strangers to the qualities that would have fitted them to adorn and enjoy it. Not a few who entered the Schools dirty in their persons, disorderly in their carriage, and untractable and stubborn in their tempers, - the foul but natural productions of the untutored mind, - are reported by the teachers to have gradually become cleanly, docile, cheerful and ingenuous. In this manner are prepared the ingredients of that moral discipline and culture which are so essential to a healthy state of society; - which are frequently found to elevate the poorest citizen of this free country to the highest honours of the community; - and which He who ‘quenches not the smoking flax’ is often pleased to render subservient to interests imperishable and immortal. (49)

McCaffrey (1997) notes that the parallels in this statement to the educational aims of leading Scottish Evangelicals in this period in its fusion of the religious and the practical, of the Evangelical and Utilitarian values, are almost exact. Similarly in 1825: “...these schools afford education to about fourteen hundred of the offspring of our indigent townsmen and neighbours (ie RC Irish immigrants); the greater part of whom would otherwise be thrown upon society ignorant and rude - undisciplined by early restraint - unaccustomed to honourable emulation - and thus greatly unfurnished for the duties and charities of life.” (50) In other words, schools produced moral, disciplined citizens ready to become industrious workers.

This Catholic Schools Society established two schools during 1818 in Gallowgate and Gorbals, a third in Bridgeton in 1819 and a fourth in Anderston in 1822. The first was

off the Gallowgate, in Boar Head Lane, in a building which had been opened in 1797 as a Chapel by Father John Farquarson, who had been Principal of the Scots College in Douai until its closure in 1793. The location was probably at a point on the south side of Gallowgate between Marshall Lane and Claythorn Street, a short distance from the site of Bagnall's house in Tureen Street. (51)

In 1831 the following account of Catholic schools appeared in the Catholic Directory:

The Gorbals Chapel was purchased in 1825 for a school, it having previously been used for that purpose. It still continues to serve as a school throughout the week, and on Sunday evening. Besides it, there are in Glasgow and its suburbs five other Catholic schools. The number of children on the role of attendance, in the six schools generally amounts to 1,400. The five principal schools have been supported by subscriptions given chiefly by benevolent Protestant gentlemen of the city...and the small fee of one penny per week paid by each scholar, unless owing to the great poverty of his parents, he be furnished with a line of gratuitous admission from one of the Pastors. (52)

In addition, eleven Sunday schools instructed about three thousand children in their faith. (53)

Much of the work of the schools was carried on in evening classes, attended by children, many not twelve years old, who worked in factories and mills during the day. The factory children who attended school in the evening were the class that received least benefit. The Factory Inquiry Commission of 1833 noted:

Daniel Gallagher, aged 22, is the teacher in the Gorbals Catholic School. He taught every night from eight till ten, as well as on Sunday from six till eight. The scholars amount every evening to eighty or ninety, and are almost exclusively employed in the neighbouring mills. There are some children who appear very much exhausted, but the generality are certainly quite in a fit state

to receive competent instruction. He has observed a change, however, take place in the appearance of the children upon their first going into a factory, to an extent which would scarcely be credited by anyone who would not witness it. The whole frame, as it were, becomes pale and emaciated. There are a considerable number employed in the mills, and who attend the school, who are not yet twelve years of age. Upon these the effect of the day's labours have most visible effects, so much so that he does not often feel himself authorised in calling upon them for any additional exertion. He almost every night sees some, even of those above twelve years old, falling asleep. (54)

This situation was not peculiar to the Catholic population of Glasgow in the first half of the nineteenth century. By the 1830s the presbytery and the parishes of the city of Glasgow could not cope with either the educational or the social needs of the people. The city had grown out of all recognition - the population in 1835 was nearly twelve times what it had been in 1775 - and suffered from all the evils of towns suddenly over-expanded as a result of the industrial revolution - overcrowding, bad housing, insanitary slums and, very often severe unemployment and poverty. This urban squalor alarmed the establishment just as much as the political tensions which were only very slightly remedied by the Reform Acts. There followed a period when there were great pressures for change and corresponding reactions against change. Within the Universities and the Established Church during the 1830s there was a similar polarisation of reformers and conservatives. In education too, the pressures for change created similar factions with some arguing that the provision of education should become solely a function of the State, while others argued that the State should merely give financial aid for the extension of the work of the Church in this field. (55)

Writing in 1834, the scathing rhetoric of Lewis highlighted and lamented the negligence of education in Glasgow:

The Corporation of Glasgow has done absolutely nothing for popular education. It has indeed erected and maintained a classical school, such as every burgh in Scotland has done, on which it

expends between £200 and £300 ...(for the) middling and wealthier classes; but, with this solitary exception, the opulent city of Glasgow has done nothing for education. To Popery, not to Protestantism - to kings and bishops - Glasgow owes her university; and to Presbyterian, mercantile Glasgow, her university does not owe a single chair....The first city in Scotland in wealth and population, long distinguished for its attachment to the principles of the men who founded our parochial schools, when Scotland was one of the poorest nations in Europe, has not planted a single Juvenile or Infant school, for the education of the poor. Glasgow spends £14,000 pa. on the police, £60,000 on the jail, but nothing on education. (56)

In 1834 Bishop Scott made a plea for government aid for the education of the children of poor Catholic Irish immigrants and expressed his concerns that without education they would not be made “..good men, good citizens or good subjects” and would “..become a prey to the corruption of morals always existing in large cities.” Scott also makes a case for the government supporting clergymen to impart to the poor Irish immigrants the benefit of religious instruction, and gives as his reason, “..for they will listen to no instruction excepting to that which they receive from a Roman Catholic clergyman.” (Appendix 6)

A major benefit that Scott predicted as a consequence of Government assistance in the education of the “lower orders” would be “..to improve the feelings, the conduct, the morals, and the loyalty of the Irish Roman Catholic poor in this country..” It is not surprising to find Bishop Andrew Scott, the first Roman Catholic bishop of the Western district, and Thomas Chalmers, the epitome of Presbyterian eloquence in the early 1800s, men of similarly conservative outlook but with an awareness, too, of the challenge of their times, should cooperate in these first public ventures to provide schools for the growing number of Catholics in the west of Scotland. (57) Irish immigration increased the number of Catholics in Scotland in general and Glasgow in particular during the 1840s and 1850s, at a time when British Protestants were becoming increasingly alarmed and obsessed by the fear of ‘Papistry’. The catalyst for this fear was the decision by the Papacy to resume the English hierarchy and the

response in Scotland was to found the Scottish Reformation Society in 1850. Clearly Catholicism was seen as a threat to Presbyterianism and had to be resisted. In a xenophobic reaction, education was to be one of the main weapons against Catholicism.

As the Catholic population grew, the Catholic authorities were concerned to provide an educational system for their own children. Their motivation in this was not only to bring up children in the Catholic faith, but also, as with the Protestant Churches to bring about the moral reform of the people and social control. The motives of Bishop Scott for giving the evidence he did to the Commission investigating the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain are open to interpretation. If Scott actually believed what he said, it provides clear evidence that education was seen as an essential tool for social control. If, on the other hand, he did not believe it, he was clearly playing to a belief which he expected the leaders of the Protestant Establishment to accept. He was, in either case, playing on the real fears of the middle class by stressing the certainty of corruption among the poor and the impossibility of making “good subjects” of them. The timing of this Report is relevant since it was only two years after the passing of the Great Reform Act and consequently fears of republicanism, and Irish republicanism in particular, were considerable and were prominent in the minds of the middle class. It was the need for social control that had brought about the improvement in the conditions of the parochial schoolmasters which the 1803 Act represented and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century it was largely the fear of a disordered society that promoted the growth of Voluntary Institutions for the education of the poor. The one motive which decreed that schools must exist and be funded by the State was the need for social control. (58)

Referring to the attempt of the absolutist monarchs of Europe to impose universal education in Prussia in 1763 and in Austria and Bohemia in 1774 Anderson (1995) lists their various motives:

economic development and the need for a disciplined industrial workforce, the desire to make religious piety and political loyalty depend on positive indoctrination rather than outward conformity, the need for the state to establish more direct contact with its

citizens as serfdom became obsolete, the first stirrings of a sense of national community, the reinforcement of social barriers by underlining the distinction between élite and popular education. (59)

Certainly incidents like the 'radical war', an outbreak of the Glasgow weavers in 1820, encouraged social panic. The unprecedented growth of Glasgow, as with the growth of overcrowded working-class areas in general at the start of the nineteenth century, aroused acute alarm among the property-owning classes, who, as Anderson puts it, "..saw these urban jungles impervious to religious and other civilising influences, breeding grounds for violence, disorder, and political radicalism." (60)

In general the attitude of the majority of lowland Scots towards the Irish was one of settled hostility due to economic, political and religious reasons. Firstly, the immigrant worker was resented because many Scots believed that the competition for employment would diminish the rate of wages available. For others, two centuries of political denigration, ushered in with Edmund Spenser's *View of the present State of Ireland*, had created a perception of the Irish as a race of helots, a Herdenvolk not fit to associate on equal terms with the Herrenvolk of Great Britain. Holding such views, they deplored the presence of the Irish as calculated to exercise immoral influence on the superior race and drag it down to its own level. Most of all, the Irish were disliked in Scotland because of their Catholic religion. (61)

There is ample evidence of Protestant immigrants from the North of Ireland being accepted by the Scots as one with themselves. The Report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on the Irish Problem in Scotland notes:

Nor is there any complaint of the presence of an Orange population in Scotland. They are of the same race as ourselves and of the same Faith, and are readily assimilated to the Scottish population. But the Irish Catholics cannot be assimilated and absorbed into the Scottish race. They remain a people by themselves, segregated by reason of their race, their customs, their traditions and, above all, by their loyalty to their Church. (62)

There is an interesting juxtaposition with an expression of tolerance of Scottish Catholics by the ministers of the Established Church when the Report adds:

The question of the Scottish Roman Catholic population has not arisen, nor is there any reason why it should arise. They have a right to claim Scotland their country, in common with their fellow-countrymen of the Protestant Faith. (63)

There is evidence that this xenophobic stance continued. In the period immediately prior to the period of this study, the Glasgow Protestant Association in 1836 published a series of Tracts on Popery, the titles of which give a clear indication of the nature of their attitude to Catholicism:

- 1 The theology of Peter Dens, with all its immoral and persecuting principles, proved to be the textbook of the present RC priesthood of Ireland. By the Rev J G Lorimer
- 2 Ireland: Popery and priestcraft the cause of her misery and crime. By J C Colquhoun
- 3 Popery in Ireland a persecutor; or the theology of Peter Dens illustrated by examples By Rev J G Lorimer.
- 4 Popery unchanged: the creed of Pope Pius IV still the creed of the Church of Rome. By Rev J Henderson
- 5 The dangerous nature of Popery.
- 6 Ireland: the policy of reducing the Protestant Church and paying the RC priests. By J C Colquhoun. (64)

The same Association organised a series of lectures in 1836, Lectures on Popery, delivered in Glasgow at the request of the Glasgow Protestant Association and afterwards published in 1836:

- 1 **Introductory Lecture**
- 2 **Popery makes void the Law of God**
- 3 **Popery perverts the Gospel**
- 4 **Popery corrupts Christian ordinances**
- 5 **Popery and the Anti-Christ of Scripture**
- 6 **Popery makes a god of the priest and slaves of the people**
- 7 **Popery the enemy of knowledge**
- 8 **Popery the enemy of the domestic and social affections.**
- 9 **Popery the enemy of public morals**
- 10 **Popery the enemy of freedom and the bane of national prosperity**
- 11 **Popery the enemy of the souls of men**
- 12 **Concluding lecture.**

(65)

85,000 copies of these pamphlets were printed.

Handley offers an explanation of the hostile attitude of Protestant Scots to the Irish in particular:

Parallel with the huge expansion was the flow of priests from Ireland. From the 1820s onwards the native clergy had been obliged to rely on Ireland for the recruitment of priests, but the

consequence of the famine made that dependence vastly more imperative than before. In the early nineteenth century the district of Banffshire known as the Enzie had supplied the majority of bishops and priests for industrial Scotland. With their missionary zeal these Scotsmen also brought a store of native caution and adroitness for quiet inoffensive action among their Protestant countrymen and a policy of progress by way of appeasement. The coming of the Irish introduced a disturbing element into the prudent tenor of Catholic life that had hitherto obtained. Emotional, ebullient, voluble, the immigrants sometimes failed to achieve complete concord with the native pastors, who found their devotional warmth a strenuous contrast to correct Scottish piety and regarded it as a tactless and unnecessary importation of their staunch political convictions. (66)

Twenty years after the Catholic Emancipation Bill had been passed synods of the Church of Scotland were still petitioning for its repeal. (67) Not surprisingly, the Catholic immigrant encountered animosity and discrimination as organised opposition came from such societies as the Protestant Alliance and the Protestant Laymen's Association. There is, moreover, ample evidence that the national church, the professions, trade and commerce were all prejudiced against the Irish Catholic.

The years immediately following 1847 had seen a dramatic increase in the Catholic population of Glasgow, mainly as a result of immigration following on successive failures of the potato crop in Ireland as discussed above. *The Glasgow Herald* (11 June, 1847) recorded under the headline, "The Irish Invasion" that the streets of Glasgow were literally swarming with "vagrants from the sister kingdom" and adopted a sympathetic tone: "...and the misery which many of these poor creatures endure can scarcely be less than what they have fled or been driven from at home." *The Witness*, on the other hand, demonstrates xenophobic anti-Catholic bias in its forthright condemnation of the famine immigrants. (Appendix 7)

School accommodation for Catholic children in Glasgow was always lagging behind demand. Inspectors' reports on the twelve schools which were receiving grants by

1857 stressed the inadequacy of the accommodation and the consequent unsatisfactory nature of the instruction. The boys' schools were particularly badly affected. Whereas in 1852 St Mary's girls' school was found to be in a state of "active progress and organised with judgement and assiduity" (68), in the boys' school methods were reported to be feeble. This can be explained by the fact that since 1849 the girls' schools had been under the care of two of the female orders who are the subject of this study, the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy. In the same year it was reported of St Andrew's boys school that nearly 1000 boys had entered it in the past year, of whom more than 700 had left in the same period. (69)

No doubt the poverty of the Catholic community, who consisted for the most part of displaced persons, and the need for children to become wage-earners at the earliest opportunity were the major factors in this situation; but it was also the case that the boys' schools suffered, in addition to all other handicaps, from a lack of competent Catholic male teachers. This problem was overcome to a large extent by the arrival of the third religious order in this study, the Marist Brothers, who arrived in Glasgow in 1858 and gradually took over the boys' schools. (70)

The Society of Jesus, the Jesuits, arrived the following year in 1859 and by their work in St Aloysius' College sought to help to create a professional middle class among the Catholic population of Glasgow and beyond. St Aloysius' College focussed on providing a classical, academic education. The aim of the Jesuits in the nineteenth century Glasgow was to provide the Catholic population of Glasgow with the opportunity to enter further education and the professions by tapping into power structures and facilitating upward social mobility. The Jesuits endeavoured to change and influence society in Glasgow, as they put it, "*Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam*", "for the greater glory of God."

There would certainly appear to be justification in the perspective of the Jesuits when contemporary evidence is examined.

In 1866, the royal commission on the state of education in Glasgow wrote:

The People in the Clyde district [an area of 130 acres bounded by Trongate and part of Argyle Street on the north, and the river on the south] are of the poorest classes, working in the warehouses and at the quays, in the public works of the adjacent districts, and as day-labourers, or in any way that they can keep themselves, and the children finding occupation as errand boys and girls, in tobacco-works, and as vendors of newspapers or lucifer-matches, and other articles for sale upon the streets. The district has a large admixture of Irish. Many children beyond the bounds of the district are attracted from the south side of the river to the best sessional schools in Clyde district, and instead of finding one in thirteen of the population proper to the district at school, a close inquiry would probably bring out more unsatisfactory results, for some parts of it are teeming with population and poverty. There is a large Irish element, and for their wants there exists no school within the district, beyond a private adventure school in one of the wynds. Roman Catholic children are indeed to be found in the other schools, but in comparatively small numbers, and their attendance is extremely irregular. There are, however, Roman Catholic schools in the adjoining districts of Calton and Anderston; but it is a fact that many children in Clyde district, both Catholic and Protestant, but chiefly the former, attend no school, and others so irregularly that the paltry smattering they may contrive to pick up does not outlast a year's roughing with the world. What are these neglected children doing, then, if they are not at school? They are idling in the streets and wynds, tumbling about in the gutters, selling matches, running errands, working in tobacco-shops, cared for by no man, with parents or guardians over them who would resent as an impertinent interference any care or sympathy that expressed itself in any other way than a gift of money, or of clothes or bread. (71)

Handley acquaints us with conditions outside the congested Clyde district and informs us that considerable provision had been made in the city of Glasgow for the education

of immigrant children. On its eastern fringe, in Greendyke Street, excellent school buildings for that time had been erected in 1855 by Bishop Gray with money collected for the purpose in America. To the north, off Stirling Road, a school for boys and one for girls had been built in the 1850s. Further west, towards Maryhill, four Catholic schools contained among them a roll of 560 pupils. The Education Commission reported:

The children are gathered from the neighbourhood. They belong to mechanics and men employed in the great works, and a great proportion to ordinary labourers. They were chiefly Irish. Numbers were respectably dressed but the majority was barefoot and in rags. They were clean, however, and healthy, and much more respectful in their manners than the same class in Protestant schools. (72)

The commissioners referred to “adventure” schools. Such schools supplemented the more orthodox methods of imparting instruction. They were run by cobblers and cripples and tailors and others whose avocation, or want of it, enabled them to spend the day indoors. Some were under the direction of masters imbued with an enthusiasm for learning, and so far as the immigrant instructors were concerned there was the tradition of the old Irish “hedge-schools” to fortify them in their works, but many were in the charge of men whose only qualification often for the post of school master was unfitness for any other. Of such Macaulay in a speech in the House of Commons in 1847 painted a characteristic miniature:

“How many of these men” he said, “are now the refuse of other callings - discarded servants or ruined tradesmen; who cannot do a sum of three; who would not be able to write a common letter; who do not know whether the earth is a cube or a sphere, and cannot tell whether Jerusalem is in Asia or in America; whom no gentlemen would trust with the key of his cellar, and no tradesman would send on a message.” As for the dames, it suffices to add that one was quoted on the same occasion as expressing the opinion that “it’s little they pay us, and it’s little we teaches them”. (73)

In the middle of the nineteenth century, according to Handley, the High Street - Saltmarket area of Glasgow had two or more “adventure” school for Irish children. Of one in Close No 66, High Street, “Senex” in his reminiscences of nineteenth century Glasgow draws a contemptuous picture. He writes in June 1849:

In the ground floor flat and on an earthen floor we met here the other day with rather an interesting scene. Here an Irishman of the name Ned Murnion had set up a school and mustered about fifty scholars around him. The place is furnished with a few humble benches and a single desk; the flooring which at one time stood on the flat above is torn away and the children have the privilege of gazing on the original roof two or three storeys above them, while on one side the academy is only separated by a tin wooden partition, pierced with many holes, from a stable in which some carthorses were at the time enjoying their dinner of bunch grass. To Ned’s credit, be it said, the children were clean and orderly, and he was grinding reading, writing and arithmetic into them with great devotion. (74)

Another “adventure” school in St Andrew’s Square, near Saltmarket, was run by an Irishman named McGovern. McGovern’s school, which lingered on to the end of the 1860s, is noticed in the Royal Commission Report of 1866 in the following terms:

The last of the group was an adventure school in St Andrew’s Square, of a low type. The master is a Roman Catholic and nearly all the children belong to the same communion. He was anxious to claim for it a broader foundation; but although he paraded one or two boys who announced themselves as Protestants, it was evidence that they were not in such numbers as to affect the character of the school. The schoolroom is on the area floor, and is reached from the street by a long stone stair. When visiting the place we found the master engaged, assisted by some of the bigger boys, in flushing the pavement with water. On entering the schoolroom we were well-nigh suffocated with the noxious smell.

In a room 27 feet by 21; and with a very low ceiling, 170 boys and girls were jammed together. It was with great difficulty a passage into the interior could be obtained; and the heat and effluvia were so overpowering that before we could attempt anything like an examination it was necessary to turn more than a half of the school into the street. Notwithstanding they are of the most ragged order, and hail chiefly from the neighbourhood of the Saltmarket, he has no pupils (he assured us) paying less than 3d while nearly half pay 4d a week. This is one of the cases which illustrate the necessity of an education that will reach such children as attend this school. Swarms of them are growing up without instruction to fit them for occupations above hewers of wood and drawers of water, or to give them a taste for reading, and make it other than a drudgery and a task. (75)

Near McGovern's school was another "adventure" one, housed in a cellar approached by a step stair and presided over by an elderly Irishwoman. It measured twenty feet by twelve by seven, was imperfectly lighted and had a dungstead outside the window and a pool of stagnant water at the door. It had a roll of eighty scholars who paid weekly fees of three halfpence or two pence. The annual rent of the cellar was £6. At prayers the schoolmistress separated the Protestant children from the Catholic, and allowed each section to say their prayers in their own way. (76)

Of another "adventure" school on the south side of the river, the commissioners reported:

it is approached through a dirt close, and by an outside stair, and consists of two rooms, one of them occupied as kitchen, parlour, bedroom, and junior classroom all in one. In the large room, lighted by a single window, were a few crazy forms, fast going to decay; benches there were none. Both rooms were packed full of dirty ragged children, looking rosy through dirt, and evidently belonging to the very poorest families in the district. There were forty-seven present, and some of them were accommodated in the

kitchen bed. The air was loaded with noxious smells, and it was a relief to escape into the open street. The education had no reality about it. There was all the buzz and fuss of a school, but there were no results. Tried by the Revised Code, it would be annihilated. The master is an Irishman and a Roman Catholic, and he and his wife divide the labours between them - the wife having the lighter share, as she has the cooking to look after. One girl, whose capabilities he was desirous to parade, we found had only come from St John's Catholic school three weeks before; and a boy, who he assured us was the 'qualifiedest' in his school, gave but indifferent proof of his attainments. He said he had many Protestant children at school, but the cumulative assertion shrank into a claim for one Protestant child, whose ecclesiastical descent proved on examination to be a very doubtful kind. He is willing, and is accustomed - so he said - to teach Popery or Protestantism, by turns or together, as suited the taste of the parents. On the whole, it was a problem to us how parents should prefer a school like this to a splendid institution of St John's in the immediate neighbourhood, where the fees are no higher, and the instruction infinitely superior, at least in all the externals of its communication. (77)

These are examples of Catholic "adventure" schools but a large number of the Scottish "adventure" schools were no better. In the whole of Scotland, according to Handley (1947), other non-denominational adventure schools, there were more than 900 of which Glasgow alone had eighty-eight in the 1860s and only in those situated in the better residential parts of the city was the instruction of a satisfactory kind. Many of these schools came into being in the industrial areas of Scotland with the passing of the Factory and Bleachfields Education Acts in the 1850s which laid down that children under thirteen years of age must produce evidence that they had been at school for at least six weeks before being employed in factories, bleachfields and printworks, and therefore they were required to undergo 150 hours instruction for every six months of their employment, not receiving more than five hours', and not less than two and a half hours' instruction, at a time. The plan was a sorry makeshift

towards compulsory education. The children attended in the morning, or the afternoon, or in the evening, but only for the purpose of securing the signature of the master on the certificate that qualified them to work in the factories.

As an attempt to secure a minimum of education for juvenile factory workers, the Act was unsuccessful for the reason that it provided nothing more than that the children should for a certain number of days and certain number of hours in such days attend a place designated a school and present to their employers a certificate signed by a person designated a schoolmaster or schoolmistress. No minimum standard was laid down for school or master. A cellar and an illiterate instructor who could sign his name met the requirements. The royal commissioners commented on the evasions of the Act in the following words:

In general terms, the law requires every master of a school, which is attended by children employed in a print work, to keep a register of their names and attendance, and every occupier of a print work to obtain a certificate from the master of each child's attendance at school, according to the form annexed to the Act. In the course of our examination of the schools in two of the Glasgow districts especially - Calton and Bridgeton - we found that these requirements were widely and systematically evaded, and that individuals drove a small trade in issuing false or forged certificates, for which the common charge was sixpence. The methods adopted for evading the Act were various. A master or mistress of an inferior school is tempted to give a certificate, the illegality or immorality of the transaction being forgotten in its frequency, atoned for in its purpose... Scarce a school in the eastern districts of Glasgow but has its revelations touching the issue of these simulated certificates. (78)

Some of the factories in order to comply in the easiest way possible with the letter of the law provided a schoolroom under their own roof, which they compelled their juvenile workers to attend on Saturday afternoons. But as the schoolmaster was often some employee incapacitated by accident from working in the factory, the children

who did not attend were little worse off than those who did. In Edinburgh and Glasgow the immigrant children employed in the tobacco factories by attending the Catholic night school were exempted from attending the Protestant day school at their work. (79)

The Glasgow Catholic Society had opened its first schools in Gorbals and Gallowgate as early as 1818; by 1835 it had twelve and by 1866 twenty-three. After 1851 small government grants became available, since, as HMI Dr Middleton wrote: "no school managers can be more anxious than our Catholic Clergy are that the children get as good a secular education as possible".

Yet in 1872 when the majority of Presbyterian schools were taken over by the new boards there were only sixty-nine Catholic elementary schools receiving aid from the Government; with about 11,000 children being taught there. Most of the money had to be found by small fees - threepence or fourpence a week in some places, as low as a penny elsewhere - helped in cases of necessity by the St Vincent de Paul Society, or by balls, concerts, oratorios, bazaars and charity sermons. Scotland (1969) notes that the richest source of funds in Glasgow was the annual benefit performance given by the Catholic actor and dramatist, James Sheridan Knowles. Scotland (1969) also makes the interesting observation that the chairman of the Catholic Schools Society for its first thirty years, the merchant and member of parliament, Kirkman Finlay, was not himself a Catholic, and the original syllabus was drawn up by a board of thirty, only half of whom belonged to the Roman Catholic faith.

The findings of the Argyll Commission demonstrated conclusively that the universality of provision of education in the city of Glasgow and elsewhere in Scotland would only be achieved by compulsion or by voluntary effort or by a combination of both of these as a consequence of the extremely rapid industrialisation and urbanisation described above. What had been an essentially rural system with a religious ethos, centred on the parish schools as both ideal and reality, had to be transformed for an urban, mass society. (80)

McDermid, (1996) commenting on the findings of the Argyll Commission's Report on Glasgow, asserts that, in view of the widespread poverty among the Catholic

population in Glasgow, it is not surprising that the stress was on elementary education for boys as well as girls. The Report on Glasgow published in 1866 recorded that one in nineteen of the Catholic population attended some kind of school (day or evening, elementary, private adventure, industrial, reformatory, or Protestant). The Commissioners found the teaching of the elementary branches to be 'most creditable', and were of the opinion that the girls' schools especially did 'good service'. At the same time, they disclosed 'an amount of previous ignorance on the part of young women which is distressing'; but the Commissioners believed that the nuns 'refined and tempered' the girls. (81)

In the findings of the Argyll Commission, very favourable reports, which will be expanded upon in the chapters that follow, were made by the Commissioners about the schools in which the Franciscans, the Sisters of Mercy, the Marist and the Jesuits were involved.

In contrast to the general advance of secularisation and the transferring of social functions from church to state, the Roman Catholic schools differed from the norm and attempted to combat the advancing secularisation of education. Although they did not make much progress until they started benefiting from denominational grants in 1848 and were always constrained by the poverty of the Irish working-class communities who were their chief clientele, they had made sufficient progress by 1872 to remain outside the state system. (82)

The evidence shows that this was possible largely due to the contribution of the religious orders who had come to work in Glasgow from 1847 onwards. The following chapters analyse this contribution in terms of mission, relationship between Church and State, approaches to education and teacher training.

NOTES

- 1 Ferguson (1968) p314
- 2 Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, Public Education, as affected by the Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council from 1846 to 1852, p371
- 3 Newcastle Commission Report in Barnard (1947) pp109,110
- 4 Anderson (1997) p21
- 5 Findlay (1973) p23-24
- 6 Smout (1969) p359
- 7 Handley (1950) p28
- 8 Stothert 'Life of Bishop Hay,' in J.F.S. Gordon Journal and Appendix to Scotichronicon and Monasticon, Vol.1, p265. See also Eyre-Todd (1934) p292.
- 9 Johnson (1983) p2
- 10 Forsyth,W. (1982) 'Urban Morphology in Nineteenth Century Glasgow' in Slaven and Aldcroft (eds), Business, Banking and Urban History (Edinburgh, 1982), pp166-68.
- 11 Oakley(1967) pp31-32
- 12 Lythe and Butt (1975) p245
- 13 Forsyth,W (1982) 'Urban Morphology in Nineteenth Century Glasgow' in Slaven and Aldcroft (eds), Business, Banking and Urban History (Edinburgh, 1982), pp 166-68. See also Atherton (1991).

- 14 Bishop Kyle's report to Propaganda (1822) in 'Life of Kyle', typescript SCA.
- 15 Handley (1943) p55 *page numbers refer to reprinted edition (1964)
- 16 See R Howie, Churches and the Churchless in Scotland, Glasgow (1893) pxxvii).
- 17 Aspinwall (1992)
- 18 Johnson (1983) p249
- 19 Slaven (1975) p150
- 20 Reid (1956) p109
- 21 Commission on the Condition of Handloom Weavers Report, (1841) Glasgow
- 22 Report of the Chief Constable of Glasgow in Reid (1956) pp109, 110
- 23 Checkland and Checkland (1984); Winters (1997) p39
- 24 Winters (1997) p17
- 25 Excerpt from *The Builder*, February, 1862 in Handley (1947) p149
- 26 Butt (1971) in Chapman, (ed) (1971)
- 27 Winters (1997) p20
- 28 Handley (1947) p153
- 29 Cunnison and Gilfinnan (1958) p686

- 30 Clause 4214 the parliamentary committee on public houses, (1854) in Handley (1947) p161
- 31 Scotland (1969) Vol.1 p184-5
- 32 Cunnison and Gilfinnan (1958) p686
- 33 Rerum Novarum (1891)
- 34 Mill, On Liberty, chap V in Barnard (1947) p145
- 35 Mill, On Liberty, chap V in Barnard, (1947) p145
- 36 Helvétius, Discours XXX, ch 30 in The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations
- 37 The Glasgow Herald, 20 April, 1812 in Owen (1856)
- 38 Owen (1814) A New View of Society in Gatrell (1969)
- 39 Owen (1814) A New View of Society in Gatrell (1969)
- 40 Southey (1929)
- 41 Southey (1929)
- 42 Southey (1829) p132
- 43 Williams (1958) p21
- 44 McDermid (1996) p69
- 45 McDermid (1996) p69
- 46 Handley (1947) p280 quoted in Anson (1970) p233

- 47 Great Britain Parliament House of Commons. Answers Made by Schoolmasters in Scotland to Queries Circulated in 1838 (1841), p541 in Anson (1970) p234
- 48 Handley (1943) p125 * page numbers refer to reprinted edition (1964)
- 49 Report of the Third Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Association for the Education of Roman Catholics particularly Children, 27 March 1822 (Glasgow, 1822), pp12-13.
- 50 Report of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Association for the Education of Roman Catholics particularly Children, 10 November 1825 (Glasgow, 1825), p14.
- 51 Western Catholic Calendar (1985)
- 52 The Catholic Directory for Scotland, (1831) p67
- 53 Johnson (1983) p223
- 54 The Factory Inquiry Commission, 1833, Employment of Children in Factories in Handley (1958) p3
- 55 Wood (1987) pii
- 56 Lewis (1834) p41
- 57 McCaffrey (1997) p58. See also Sister Martha Skinnider, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow, 1818-1918' in Bone (ed) (1967), p15.
- 58 Taylor (1975) p100
- 59 Anderson (1995) p2

- 60 Anderson (1995) p38
- 61 Handley (1943) p131 * page number refers to reprinted edition (1964)
- 62 Report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on the Irish Problem in Scotland The Menace of the Irish Race to Our Scottish Nationality. (1923) p2.
- 63 Report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on the Irish Problem in Scotland The Menace of the Irish Race to Our Scottish Nationality. (1923) p2.
- 64 The Glasgow Protestant Association Tracts on Popery (1836) in Handley (1943) p307
- 65 The Glasgow Protestant Association Tracts on Popery (1836) in Handley (1943) p307
- 66 Handley (1943) p13
- 67 Handley (1943) p18
- 68 Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education (1852 –53) p1089
- 69 Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, (1857-58) p643
- 70 The Catholic Directory (1857) St Mungo's Parish, p104
- 71 Report of the Education Commission (Scotland) (1866) 35-36 quoted in Handley (1947) p192
- 72 Report of the Education Commission (Scotland) (1866) quoted in Handley (1947) p193

- 73 Macaulay, Hansard (1847) in Handley (1947) p194
- 74 Senex (1884)
- 75 Report of the Education Commission (Scotland) (1866)
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- 78 Report of the State of Education in Glasgow, Education Commission
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CHAPTER 3

AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPT OF MISSION WITH REGARD TO THE WORK OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN QUESTION

The Mission of the Religious Orders in question

An Order is defined as a body of people united in a particular aim or purpose and a Religious Order, a group of persons who bind themselves by vows in order to devote themselves to the pursuit of religious aims.

Canon law describes the religious life under four headings as a fixed and stable manner of life, in common, observing the evangelical counsels, by means of vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. (1)

What is distinctive about the five religious orders in this study is that they have the education of the young as their *raison d'être*. In the case of each of the orders in question education was their stated primary purpose. The concept of mission is therefore central to this thesis in that each of the five religious orders who came to Glasgow in the second half of the nineteenth century and opened schools saw Scotland in general and Glasgow in particular as mission territory. Traditionally and throughout history the term “mission” has meant a body sent by a religious community to convert heathens or pagans in a particular country. In the case of Scotland in general and of Glasgow in particular in the mid-nineteenth century, the purpose of the mission was more to cater for the spiritual, educational and social needs of the Catholic minority at that time. As each separate parish was established in Glasgow it was referred to as a mission so that we find the mission of St Peters, Partick, the mission of Holy Cross, Crosshill, and so on. This means that the term mission as used in this thesis has several essentially different meanings viz.

- 1 a specific task or duty assigned to a person or group of people
- 2 a person's vocation (often in the phrase mission in life)
- 3 a group of people sent by a religious body, especially a Christian church, to a foreign country to do religious and social work
- 4 the campaign undertaken by such a group
- 5 the area assigned to a particular missionary or group of missionaries
- 6 the building or group of buildings in which missionary work is performed (2)
- 7 a Church in a national area which does not have its own senior episcopate or autonomy over its internal affairs, but is subject to the authority of the Office of Propaganda in Rome. (3)

The *New Catholic Encyclopedia* explains the concept of mission and its aim:

Since Christ came to seek and save that which had perished, the care of souls is the proper and primary end of the mission. In keeping with this end, the Church propagates the faith of Christ in order to bring men to the light of divine wisdom, teaches men to observe all that Christ commanded, promotes among them the exercise of Christian virtues and good works of all kinds, directs them in the worship of God, and thus seeks their eternal happiness.

(4)

The authority of the Church is also concerned with political and social questions since these are inextricably connected with man's spiritual interests:

The Church supports and protects the material well-being of men, inspires and promotes true civilisation by penetrating society with Christian thinking, seeks to unite all classes of men among themselves and thus helps to effect a just social order. (5)

The concept of mission is central to this thesis in that it underpins the purpose for which the religious orders were sent to or were brought to Glasgow during the nineteenth century. The use of 'mission' in modern management theory and practice is a secularised version of what is fundamentally a religious impulse, a 'hijacking' of a religious concept by secular society.

Although there are certain similarities and common elements in the mission of each of the orders, at the same time, each of the orders had its own distinctive mission in Glasgow during the nineteenth century. Although there was a cumulative effect of the work of the five teaching orders during the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, there was also the unique effect that each of these orders had on Glasgow and the Catholics of Glasgow. This thesis will demonstrate that there was a cumulative effect of the work of the five teaching orders and describe what the unique effect of each of the five orders in question was. Each of the orders had its own distinctive mission and so left its own mark on various sections of Catholic society and society in general in Glasgow. The Catholic viewpoint has always been that education has no meaning without a basis of faith and religion. This is a theme which permeates this thesis in the analysed context of Scottish politics, administration, religion and culture.

The first of the orders to arrive in Glasgow in 1847, the Franciscans, saw their mission as providers of Christian education of Catholic youth in Glasgow. The work of the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy in Glasgow in the nineteenth century can be examined together, compared and analysed in this chapter, not only because of the chronological proximity of their arrival in Glasgow but also because of the similarity of their missions and because both orders were invited to Glasgow by the Rev Peter Forbes of St Mary's Church, Abercromby Street in the East End of Glasgow. The geographical location and demography of where in Glasgow each of the orders was working had an effect on the nature of their mission.

It is significant that the first two female orders who came, the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy and the first male order, the Marist Brothers, all worked predominantly in the East End of Glasgow. Their mission attracted them to the part of the city where there was most poverty and deprivation.

The Christian education of Catholic youth was among the main matters that engaged the attention of Fr Forbes, and for this purpose he was eager to introduce religious orders into the city of Glasgow. In a published speech delivered in 1846, he said:

The great object of my soul is Education, true, genuine and religious. I hope I shall live to see established in Glasgow the Christian Brothers and the Blessed Nuns. (6)

The personal mission of Father Forbes was therefore inextricably linked to the mission of the Franciscan Sisters and the Sisters of Mercy in Glasgow.

In 1846, Father Forbes was travelling through France seeking financial aid for the Scottish Mission and appealing also for Religious willing to care for the destitute Catholic children of his own mission in Glasgow. He spoke to the Franciscan Sisters of the difficulties of Catholic youth in Glasgow, in particular the spiritual and material destitution of Glasgow's young Catholic girls, and asked for their help as teachers and spiritual guides. (7)

Father Forbes was therefore responsible for inviting the first two religious orders to come to Glasgow during the nineteenth century, the Franciscan Sisters or Third Order of St Francis who arrived in Glasgow on 18 June 1847 and the Sisters of Mercy who arrived August 1849. The mission of these first two female orders then was to bring to the developing Catholic community a spiritual influence that would give them a new sense of their Catholic heritage as well as an effective Catholic education system.

The Franciscan Sisters

For 163 years, Sisters of the Third Order of St Francis, the Franciscans, had served the people of Tourcoing in the North of France, an important aspect of their work was the spiritual instruction and education of young girls. Father Forbes came across them, told them of the desperate need for Catholic school teachers in Glasgow and invited them to come to work in Glasgow. After settling in Glasgow, by the end of 1847, they were ready to embark on the apostolate which had drawn them to the Scottish Mission - the education of young Catholics. In January 1848, Sister Adelaide opened a private Day School in the convent in Monteith Row. The concept of mission is bound closely to the concept of vocation or calling from God that members of the religious orders experience. This is aptly exemplified when examining events surrounding the circumstances of Mother Adelaide and Sister Veronica's arrival in Britain from France on June 2 1847. They arrived in Liverpool on that day and wrote to Father Forbes announcing their arrival. Owing to a misunderstanding, Father Forbes advised them to return to France until suitable provision could be made for them. When the circumstances were explained to Bishop Murdoch, he agreed to receive Mother Adelaide and her companions into his diocese and at the same time offered to provide for them in the future. On hearing the plight of the Franciscan Sisters, a Mr. Macdonald Gordon Stewart proposed to endow a Convent for them in Liverpool. Mother Adelaide and Sister Veronica felt strongly that their vocation was in Scotland and Glasgow in particular. They came to Glasgow and took up residence with Mrs. Macdonald in Monteith Row. They started to learn English, and began to teach the girls in the Orphan Institute. Private tuition helped to support them. The following year, on 17th of February 1848, Mother Adelaide was struck down by cholera and Sister Veronica was left virtually alone. Bishop Murdoch considered Mother Adelaide's death as the end of the Franciscans' mission in Glasgow and requested that Sister Mary Veronica Cordier either return to France or join some other order.

The sudden death of Mother Adelaide while the new foundation was still in its infancy could have destroyed all hope of the establishment of the Franciscans, the Third Order of St Francis, in Glasgow, for she had the religious experience and the ideal qualities of a Foundress. Sister Veronica was only a young Sister, barely eight years professed. Now she was alone in Glasgow. The young ladies who had come to

try their vocation in Montieth Row, in 1848, had all left at the end of the year, and, since there were no further prospects, it was on Sister Veronica that the work of establishing a foundation for their mission was to fall. Monsignor Smith, Co-adjutor to Bishop Murdoch, advised her to return to Tourcoing, but Sister Veronica was unwilling to do this since she was certain that her vocation was to serve in Glasgow. She gave up her work in the orphanage in Abercromby Street to take over Mother Adelaide's school in Montieth Row. Meantime, in April, 1848, Father Forbes went to Ireland, to the Mother House of the Sisters of Mercy in Limerick, to recruit a community to take care of the orphans. Monsignor Smith then suggested that Sister Veronica might join this community, and did, in fact, himself apply for her acceptance there, without her knowledge. The superiors refused his request. Sister Veronica's allegiance both to her particular order and to her mission in Glasgow is apparent and the fact that she herself had no such intentions is clear from her forthright reply to Monsignor Smith: "Return to France! Not at all; and much less to enter another community, very much less! I am a Franciscan and I have no wish to change." (8)

Bishop Smith did not return to Glasgow until January 1849. Mother Adelaide's death, shortly afterwards, led to his first involvement with Sister Veronica. Having failed to persuade her to return to France or to transfer to another religious order, he formed a high opinion of her strength of character and strength of purpose. So it was that when the Sisters of Mercy left 76 Charlotte Street, he offered this property to Sister Veronica, and she accepted it. The simple furnishings were brought from Bellgrove Street and Sister Veronica and her companions took up residence in 76 Charlotte St. (9)

The Convent Day School was re-opened on the 15th October, 1849. The girls who had been with Mother Adelaide came back and were joined by others whose parents were anxious to place them under the care of the Franciscan Sister from France. This marked a new beginning for the Franciscan Order in Glasgow.

The Convent Day School in Charlotte Street was advertised in The Glasgow Catholic Directory of 1850 giving a picture of the school and its aims: "to impart a good Religious and Secular Education to the Children of such Catholic Parents as are capable of affording their Children that great blessing" and "to teach the Young (poor

and rich), and to perform every other work of Mercy and Charity which may come within their reach. (Appendix 8)

By 1851 the Franciscan Sisters had increased to eighteen. Most of the postulants came over from Ireland. Before long the school in Charlotte Street, between the Gallowgate and Glasgow Green, had seventy pupils and seven boarders.

The Franciscan Sisters attended other schools on weekdays and also taught in Sunday schools. The Glasgow community of Franciscan Sisters, which started as a group of Tertiaries, adopted the constitutions of the Third Order Regular of St Francis in 1867 and became known as the Franciscans of the Immaculate Conception. The convent in Charlotte Street remained their mother-house until 1920 when it was transferred to Newlands. (10) The school in Monteith Row was handed over to the care of the Sisters of Mercy who had arrived from Limerick.

It is not a coincidence that the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy arrived in Glasgow within two years of each other. In the Franciscan annals in Tourcoing it is recorded: "A priest from Glasgow, Fr Peter Forbes, came to France to recruit Sisters to teach the Catholic children of Glasgow who had to attend Protestant schools".

Since the majority of Glasgow's Catholics were Irish immigrants, Fr Forbes had first of all applied to the Sisters of Mercy in Ireland, but they were unable, at that time, to free Sisters for the Glasgow mission. There are several reasons that Fr Forbes turned then to France. Firstly, the French have a history of being at the forefront of missionary endeavour. Secondly, France was a predominantly Catholic country which had given refuge to many Scots in penal times and it was very supportive of the new female apostolic groups which had formed in the Church, most of them in France, in the early nineteenth century. There was also the personal connection. Fr Forbes had studied at Saint Sulpice, he spoke French fluently and knew France well. Father Buckley, a former professor in Tourcoing later secured the help of the Franciscan Sisters for his parish, St Patrick's in Glasgow. (11)

A summary of the work that Father Peter Forbes was involved in will help to clarify the role he envisaged the Franciscan Sisters and the Sisters of Mercy would play at

that particular time in the 1840s and in the subsequent decades in the East End of Glasgow and how that role would fit in with or match their mission there.

Fr Forbes was a dominant figure in the Glasgow Mission and it was always his concern to build up a close-knit parish community that would have a sense of identity strong enough for the survival of a minority group in a hostile environment. To foster this, he introduced communal celebrations such as Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, May devotions and processions to Our Lady, June devotions to the Sacred Heart, and regular parish missions. A Parish mission refers to an intensified period of preaching and pastoral activity among those who were already Church members. It usually involved a team of preachers coming from outside for a week or so, holding devotional services with long sermons and instructions, making themselves available for the sacrament of penance if ordained, and possibly visiting homes of parishioners. For the youth, he established associations like the Children of Mary and the Catholic Young Men's Society. These would have added colour and vitality to parish life and helped to offset the monotony of general living conditions of the time. While the children were instructed in Christian Doctrine in his Sunday Schools, adult parishioners were encouraged to attend lectures and courses given by him in the parish Reading Room which was open daily, and where they could have access to Catholic literature as well as the daily newspapers. Father Forbes would have been acutely aware of the high numbers of Catholics in the East End of Glasgow who were illiterate.

One of the tasks of the Franciscan Sisters and the Sisters of Mercy therefore was teaching in night schools in the East End of Glasgow. Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools' report for 31 May 1864 was published in 1865. His assessment of the night school runs: "I found 147 girls and 63 boys on the evening of my examination of these schools. I consider their condition to be very satisfactory." (12)

Night schools, which were open for a couple of hours every evening from Monday to Friday, extended from September to April. It was most probably a discouraging task for the religious who taught in them because of certain difficulties including irregular attendance, varying degrees of ignorance on the part of the adolescent and adult pupils. Individual teaching was impossible, and the matter of organisation called for

the exercise of diplomacy for, as the inspector who reported on the evening schools of the Scottish lowland parishes to the Commission pointed out:

... when a miscellaneous gathering of young men and women ranging from the very youthful to twenty-five or thirty years of age was assembled, in various stages of ignorance and much ashamed of anything like a public exhibition of their lack of knowledge, it required delicate management to induce them to do any work that was likely to be of value. It was impossible to ask an adult to read an infant's book aloud. Yet any other textbooks took him at once out of his depth. The usual result was that the books were too far advanced, and as a result the pupils rarely got over the first elements, and so did not learn to read with pleasure or accuracy. The teachers declared however, that their scholars, whenever they attempted to induce them to begin with the rudiments, left the school. Many were so afraid of compromising themselves with their companions that it became almost a hopeless task to attempt to make them open their lips. Writing committed them to nothing as no one saw their copies but the teacher, and therefore that branch of instruction was more popular than any other. Considerable tact was required when forming classes. Adults were sensitive about their own proficiency and would not be kept in elementary classes. Whether fit or not they virtually insisted on promotion and would not be kept behind when their neighbours were advanced. (13)

In general, night school had more attraction for young women than for young men. The government inspector of Catholic schools in Scotland in his general report for 1859 spoke highly of evening schools attended by immigrant girls:

They are the salvation of multitudes of poor mill-girls exposed to every kind of corrupting influence in the factories and streets of our large centres of industry. These schools present us with many interesting facts. We see in them, occasionally, aged women and

middle-aged men who come to learn the rudiments of education like children. The teachers are often gratuitous, imbued with much patience and charity; and when night schools are in the hands of religious teachers these institutions produce the most satisfactory results. Nor shall I easily forget some of my experiences at Glasgow and elsewhere, when on a wet evening I have passed from the muddy streets to a room crowded with mill-girls tidily dressed and diligently employed in improving themselves. On inquiry I found that the poor girls had only just left their work at the mill, and instead of resorting to any cheap place of amusement, as would have been natural at their age and under their circumstances, they simply went home to wash and dress themselves tidily, and proceeded at once to the school to improve their minds. Nor was this all, for a scene followed that explained what otherwise would have appeared a problem. The school time having expired, they go to their night prayers and devotions in the church; and I was assured by the priest, who had means of knowing their character well, that many of them frequented the sacraments weekly, and were exemplary in their lives. (14)

Some Catholic night schools tried to encourage reading by having a lending library attached, organised by the Young Men's Society in the parish. Where such societies flourished there is evidence of developing interest and there are instances on record of school being conducted on Sunday mornings for those who could not attend classes on the evenings of the week. A further aid in the task of keeping interest alive in social and intellectual pursuits was the formation of brass bands as adjuncts of evening school and the periodic production of dramatic entertainments and concerts in the parish hall. The support and expansion of school work was one of the chief concerns of the philanthropic body known as the Association of St Margaret, founded in 1848 for the protection of the Catholic poor and labouring classes in Scotland and for the improvement of their social and physical condition.

There is evidence of poverty in the East End of Glasgow during the nineteenth century. Apart from evidence cited in Chapter 2, there are references to donations of

clothing or money from Canon Carmichael, Archbishop Eyre, a Madame Kuefke of Cathkin House, the Saint Elizabeth Clothing Society and above all, the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, whose annual treat, in addition to their other contributions, was a Christmas dinner to literally hundreds of boys and girls of St Mary's Primary school, Abercromby Street. (15) Combined with Father Forbes' zeal for their spiritual and educational welfare was a compassionate concern for the material needs of his impoverished parishioners. The St Vincent de Paul Society, named after the apostle of charity in seventeenth century France, and the Society of St Elizabeth were founded to provide and distribute clothing to the poor for the Catholic community in the East End of Glasgow. The teachers of the parish schools were active in what was a particularly effective form of charity at that time, namely, the provision of free dinners and clothes for destitute and impoverished children at a time when there was no official assistance for them.

St Mary's Bank and Building Society and a number of Friendly Societies helped them to make prudent provision for times of family crisis and to attempt to improve their poor housing conditions. This support in things spiritual and temporal was bound to instil in the Catholics of St Mary's a great love and respect for their priests and a sense of loyalty to the Catholic faith - a loyalty that was to become the hallmark of the Catholic Church in the west of Scotland and that was passed from one generation to the next. This is borne out by the sheer volume of churches built in Glasgow by a poor community in the nineteenth century.

Another example of the diversity of the work of the Franciscan Sisters in Glasgow became evident when permission from the Secretary of State was obtained in 1864 for Religious Sisters to visit prisons for women and the Franciscan Sisters undertook the visiting of prisons and poorhouses as part of their works of charity. (16)

The Franciscan Sisters in this way realised another aspect of their mission in the East End of Glasgow, visiting women prisoners in Duke Street prison. This aspect of their mission came about after a request from the chaplain of Duke Street prison for the Franciscan Sisters to visit the Catholic women prisoners detained there. The Franciscan Sisters responded and began this work of charity. Instructions were given every Sunday to the assembled prisoners and during the week they were visited. When

the prisoners were released after their time of detention, the policy of the Franciscan Sisters was to keep in touch with them in an attempt to monitor their welfare. The mission of the Franciscan Sisters in Glasgow, therefore, involved a number of strands, namely:

visitation and care of the poor, the old, the sick and lonely in Glasgow

visitation and care of the women prisoners of Duke Street Prison

the education of young Catholics, in particular Catholic girls

teaching and looking after girls in the St Mary's Industrial School, Abercromby Street and later Bishopbriggs

looking after orphans at the orphanage in Abercromby Street in the East End of Glasgow teaching in Catholic schools in Glasgow

catering for the acute need for adult education in Glasgow

Taken together, these elements amount to a perceived mission to administer to the mind, body and soul, to cater for the educational, physical and spiritual development of Catholics in the East End of Glasgow at the time. This was what would now be defined as incarnational theology in action. Delan (1968) describes the influence of St Francis and offers explanation of why his cult has made him one of the most admired and familiar figures in the Christian world.

Unlike other religious reformers who attempted to improve the Church by means of legal codes and a more rational examination of the Gospel and the Fathers, Francis injected into Catholicism a new ideal. It was an ideal that found the essence of Christianity in the simple following of Christ - a Christ who is not a goal but rather a holy way of life. Theological summae and formularies of law were for him not the way to a knowledge of Christ. This was

to be found rather in a heartfelt imitation of the Master as seen in the Gospel narrative. (17)

The other religious orders would soon follow the Franciscans bringing to the developing Catholic community a spiritual influence that would give them a new sense of their Catholic heritage as well as an effective Catholic education system. The first of the other religious orders to follow the Franciscans were the Sisters of Mercy. The Sisters of Mercy were the second of the religious orders to arrive in Glasgow during the 1840s. The first four Sisters came from Limerick to Glasgow. Like the Franciscans, they had been invited to Glasgow by Fr Peter Forbes and conceptualised their mission in much the same way as the Franciscans.

The Sisters of Mercy

Invited by Bishop Murdoch, the Sisters of Mercy arrived in Glasgow from Limerick in August 1849 and their mission when they came to Glasgow in the middle of the nineteenth century was to inaugurate a programme of employment and rehabilitation, of visitation and care of the poor, the old, the sick and lonely in Glasgow. The congregation took its name from misericordia denoting “a compassionate person’s heart for another’s unhappiness”.

Sister Veronica of the Franciscan order had worked in the orphanage attached to St Mary’s Church in Abecromby Street. This orphanage had been in existence for about fifteen years since 1833. In 1832, Glasgow had been struck by its first epidemic of Asiatic cholera, which had brought death to almost every household. The Catholic community suffered even more heavily than most, for they were among the poorest and worst housed in the city. Many children were left orphans and although some were provided for by relations, a great number were left destitute. There was the city Poor House or the orphanages run by the Kirk Session, but in January 1833 the “Catholic Orphan Institute” was founded by Bishop Murdoch to look after the Catholic orphans of the city.

As a direct consequence of the epidemics of typhoid and cholera which affected Glasgow in the 1840s, one of the greatest needs of the period among the Catholic community was an orphanage and the Sisters of Mercy, like the Franciscans, became involved in looking after orphans at the orphanage in Abercromby Street in the East End of Glasgow. Like the Franciscans, they were also invited to teach in Catholic schools in Glasgow. Initially they taught in St Mary's, Abercromby Street and later, in 1877, established their convent school in Hill Street, Garnethill. (Appendix 9)

There was also the acute need for adult education in Glasgow which the Sisters of Mercy along with the Franciscans began to meet by establishing regularly held night classes where girls working in mills and factories could learn how to read and write. This provided an opportunity for girls who were totally uneducated in the formal sense, to improve themselves intellectually, spiritually and socially by receiving Religious Instruction as well as secular instruction.

What is apparent in the work of the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy at this time is a conscious concern for the marginalised in society, the uneducated, young women who were at risk, prostitutes, the sick, orphans, and women prisoners. Considering the abject poverty of the Irish Catholics in the 1840s in Glasgow, it is not surprising that many girls were driven to prostitution. (18) This concern for the marginalised in society was the motivation for the work of the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy in Glasgow at this time in an era not usually associated with voluntary work of this nature.

In a wider context, there was a crisis of Church in industrial society. This crisis was characterised by:

- 1 demographic upheaval
- 2 loss of the industrial proletariat
- 3 collapse of traditional parish systems
- 4 materialism-consumerism

On the one hand, this adds up to and indicates growing secularisation and the decline of and withdrawal of the Church. On the other hand, this thesis shows that there were new forms of engagement between Church and secular society emerging by:

- 1 a return to the mission of the primitive Church
- 2 a concern for the poor similar to the preferential option of liberal theology
- 3 an incarnational renewal in attention to the whole person which explains the importance of education in this process

In the middle of the nineteenth century establishing night classes to meet the need for adult education in Glasgow was revolutionary, progressive and very much ahead of its time. In an era not usually associated with this type of work, these orders showed a self-conscious concern for the marginalised in society.

For Catherine McAuley, the foundress of the Sisters of Mercy, love of God and one another always remained the heritage of the Sisters of Mercy as followers of Christ. The faithful search for mutual charity is a test of the true Sister of Mercy. The deeper meaning of love appears first in community and then among all persons the Sisters serve. The Mercy charism of love of God and human beings is expressed in prayer and service of others. Love was the foundation of Catherine McAuley's ministry and that of the Sisters of Mercy who followed her. Their love was human and intimate, yet disinterested in its Christ-like embrace of all whom they met. The Sisters of Mercy had a special charism for two groups in particular, these were:

- 1 "young women of good character," because they felt that these young girls were in need of their care; and
- 2 poor children. (19)

Like the Franciscan Sisters, the mission of the Sisters of Mercy is indicative of an uncanny anticipation of the "preferential option for the poor". The phenomenon of Christocentric motivation is apparent in that both orders concentrated on groups that

were most vulnerable and most at risk in Glasgow at this time in history. This proves that there is not a simple explanation of the role of the religious orders and arguably it anticipates what the Church was to do for liberation theology a hundred years later in Latin America.

Mother Catherine Mary McAuley established the Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy in a house in Baggot Street, Dublin in 1831. The Mercy Order owes its foundation to the conditions of the time in Dublin: poverty, the exploitation of the poor, especially women, and in particular the abuse, both sexual and otherwise, to which servant girls were commonly subjected. A legacy of £25,000, a huge sum for the time, enabled Catherine to launch a movement which not only made a significant contribution to alleviating the conditions of the poor at that time, but which for nearly two centuries afterwards educated generations of Catholic women around the world. Originally, Catherine had not intended to found a convent. She had seen herself and her helpers as engaged in social work and the provision of a refuge for abused women but was persuaded by Archbishop Murray of Dublin that there would be advantages in her community becoming a religious organisation. (20)

She had invested everything she owned in Baggot Street, intending it not merely to be a house of refuge but a centre from which she and her associates could go out to minister to the poor. This facility was denied to cloistered orders. But the idea of independent-minded women running their own affairs, free of the control of a male-dominated episcopacy, was not something the-Vatican would tolerate. (21)

However, in return for Catherine McAuley's acceptance of Archbishop Murray's idea, he successfully interceded with Rome for permission to found a new congregation for women without cloister. After training by the Presentation Order, the new order opened on 12 December 1831. There was no centralised control other than the overall formation based on Catherine McAuley's teaching and example. The Sisters of Mercy operated under the jurisdiction of whatever bishop was in control of any area in which they were working. Paradoxically, this circumstance led to the influence of the order of the Sisters of Mercy being greatly strengthened throughout the world because bishops were keen to invite them into their dioceses as much for their absence of troublesome head offices as for their charitable works. (22)

This would have been a very good reason behind and most probably accounts for Bishop Murdoch's invitation to the Sisters of Mercy to come to Glasgow in 1847.

When Catherine McAuley wrote the Holy Rule for the Sisters of Mercy in 1831, she based the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience upon the love she defined. She stressed the spirituality of the Sisters of Mercy as a union of the contemplative prayer of love with the active service of God's people. A few years later she accepted the fourth vow of service of "the poor, sick and ignorant." The spirituality of the Sisters of Mercy can be defined then as continual interior contemplative renewal in love combined with active service of the people of God in love and as such is inextricably linked to the concept of mission. This is the dominant characteristic of Mercy spirituality and was different from the majority of religious congregations for women contemporary with Catherine McAuley who remained in their convents and prayed. The second characteristic of Catherine McAuley's Mercy spirituality was a firm belief in the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, revealing the gifts of the Spirit to both the Congregation and individual Sisters. She stressed community spirit, but she also emphasised individual spiritual gifts more strongly than any other religious founders who sometimes followed set patterns of both lifestyle and apostolate. Catherine McAuley's special gift of the Spirit, for example, was the service of the sick poor. Her close companion in Dublin, Frances Warde, received as her special gift instruction of adults in the Catholic faith and she converted hundreds to Catholicism. (23)

The third characteristic of Catherine McAuley's Mercy spirituality may be defined as the vocation of Sisters of Mercy as witnesses to Christ. She believed that the best way of helping one's neighbour was to live a life of holiness oneself since example influences others to holiness in a way that precept and command do not. Teaching by word alone did not bear witness to Christ and she taught the Sisters that to be Christ-like was the way to lead others to Christ. The fourth characteristic of the teaching of Catherine McAuley on Mercy spirituality was the strong conviction that the Sisters of Mercy should serve in love the needs of the people in the age and culture in which they found themselves. This characteristic is not fundamental to many other religious founders and their traditions. Some religious congregations have been founded, for example, to teach only children; others to care for patients with certain illnesses. Catherine McAuley declared, in instructing the Sisters of Mercy, that the works of

mercy are not limited in their scope. Three particular apostolates were named in the Holy Rule - the service of the poor, sick and ignorant. These were the works required by the people of Ireland during the 1830s. Catherine McAuley taught the Sisters of Mercy that they were not limited by these three apostolates. She maintained that the bounds of mercy were limited only by the needs of people. (24)

The fifth characteristic of Catherine McAuley's Mercy spirituality was profound trust and profound confidence in her Sisters and insistence that they too trust one another. She trusted very young Sisters to go to new towns and new countries to found Mercy congregations and to maintain Mercy spirituality within them. This spirit of trust, when lived with complete honesty, produced spiritual freedom and individuality. A quality of Mercy spirituality that was clearly evident in the life of Catherine McAuley and her followers was courage, daring and risk-taking for Christ. Because they believed simply that the spirit of Mercy is a gift given by God, they were willing to take any risk to live it. Catherine McAuley died in 1841 and within a hundred years of her death the congregation of the Sisters of Mercy numbered 30,000 with 861 convents in the United States and 648 convents serving the needs of people in Ireland, England, Wales Scotland, New Zealand, South America, Central America and the West Indies. The Sisters of Mercy grew to be the largest English-speaking congregation of women in the world in a comparatively small number of years. (25)

Catherine McAuley typifies the relationship between the Church and the Industrial State and Glasgow can be seen as a microcosm of a new relationship between the Church and the Industrial State. The Sisters of Mercy formulated their mission in Glasgow as a consequence of Irish historical influences on their spirituality.

The vow of the Sisters of Mercy to serve the poor was a direct response to the injustice of the British penal laws in Ireland of the 1820s, which made poverty and ignorance among the Catholic population inevitable. The penal laws had the effect of making Irish poverty an institution. No Catholic could achieve a higher position than that of serf to a Protestant master; Catholics were discriminated against with regard to basic human rights such as pay and employment. It was lawful, for example, for a Protestant master to take possession of a Catholic's small farm, evicting a family who had no legal right to possession of the property. A proprietor could also deprive a Catholic of

his lease if the Catholic failed to support the Protestant landowner's political stand. The Catholic Emancipation Act was passed in 1829 but as a result of both continued unjust legal measures and centuries of suffering, Catherine McAuley and the Sisters of Mercy found the Irish people in the 1830s and 1840s still in a state of poverty almost unparalleled in the history of the West.

The Mercy vow to serve the sick was in turn an inevitable concomitant of ministry to the poor. Masses of the Irish people were subject to malnutrition and tuberculosis, a situation which reached its peak during the Great Famine of the 1840s. When Irish immigrants sailed for Britain and America, they were not so much seeking a better life as escaping death from poverty and sickness.

Finally, the vow of the Sisters of Mercy to serve the ignorant was a direct response to the penal laws in Ireland which ordinarily forbade even elementary education for the poor. Where poor schools did exist in Ireland, the religion of the Established Church of England was taught daily. Proselytising was a common occurrence. Catholics were not permitted to teach in these schools or open their own Catholic schools. The result was that Catholics initiated "hedge schools" at the same time as Mass was celebrated on isolated hillsides before dawn. The majority of Irish Catholic people therefore received little or no education. The Sisters of Mercy saw their mission as responding to these injustices with "free schools" whenever possible after the Emancipation Act of 1829, and with classes at the Mercy House on Baggot Street, Dublin, where young women could both practice their religion and learn a trade to support themselves financially. Within ten years, the ministry of the Sisters of Mercy had spread throughout Ireland. The attempt to address injustice was thus at the very core of the intent of the fourth Mercy vow. (26)

When they came to Glasgow in 1849 the Sisters of Mercy would have found that there were many features of the social conditions which had similarities to Ireland, notably, poverty, disease, ignorance, prejudice, sectarianism and discrimination.

The early years in Glasgow were difficult for the Sisters of Mercy as they had no permanent accommodation and had to move around. In 1857, when the Catholic schools in Scotland agreed to be made subject to government regulations, the Sisters

of Mercy presented themselves for the State examinations and received their teaching qualification. Teaching in schools was to be an important part of their mission in Glasgow. Eventually they came to Garnethill where the convent at 62 Hill Street was opened in 1877. (Appendix 9)

As well as the instruction of the poor and the visitation of the sick, the Sisters of Mercy saw as part of their mission in Glasgow the provision of a 'Home' or 'House of Mercy' for young women, the object of which would not be to provide a permanent home for the inmates, but a temporary one where they would be lodged and fed while taught to work or while situations were being found for them. The Sisters of Mercy like the Franciscans were not therefore only involved in teaching but, as part of their mission, they also pioneered the education of people with special needs, young children, young women and adults.

To facilitate analysis of the mission of the Sisters of Mercy when they came to Glasgow in the middle of the nineteenth century, there is detailed evidence of their stated mission in a letter written by John Gray, the Vicar Apostolic, in 1868, appealing to the generosity of the Catholic public in Glasgow to help the Sisters of Mercy to achieve their objectives in Glasgow. (Appendix 10)

The letter states that the Sisters of Mercy envisaged establishing in Glasgow a house for the "protection of destitute good girls", who were exposed to danger in the low lodging-houses of Glasgow. The Sisters of Mercy had, by the time this letter was written in 1865, provided in Glasgow, an orphanage, a reformatory for the "recklessly living", and an asylum for the "penitent girl", but were intent on providing a home for "destitute poor girls of good character". This work, as well as the instruction of the poor and the visitation of the sick, was one of the characteristics of the Institute of the Sisters of Mercy. The Sisters of Mercy saw the great need in Glasgow of a 'Home' just described and, resolved to establish one, and they were earnestly soliciting aid to enable them to carry out their work and fulfil their mission.

The object of the house was not to provide a permanent home for the inmates, but a temporary one where they would be lodged and fed while taught to work or while situations were being found for them. (27) As each inmate left the home, a vacancy

would be provided for some newcomer, and so not a few but many would be helped and, as the Sisters of Mercy saw and described it, “saved”. They began by renting a house where industrial and other work was undertaken for the maintenance of the inmates. (See Appendix 11, 12, 13 and 14)

Connected but not identified with it, was a lodging-house where girls were able to support themselves while being provided with suitable and comfortable lodgings at a reasonable rate of payment, and so secured from the “miseries and evils of cramped and mixed lodging-houses.” There was a great need for this type of lodgings for females at the time in Glasgow. In 1843 Glasgow had 524 registered lodging houses in which from 5,000 to 10,000 persons were accommodated nightly at 2d or 3d a head. Each apartment usually contained three beds with two or three lodgers to each bed, the average size of the room being twelve feet by ten and seven feet high. Handley’s description of living conditions in these lodgings in the centre of Glasgow in the middle of the nineteenth century provides us with insight into the situation:

The centre of the old town exhibited the most revolting conditions of life to be met with possibly in the whole of Great Britain. The town itself was the most densely populated region of it, computed at 5,000 to the acre. By the mid-Fifties the population was just some ten or fifteen thousand short of 400,000 and the great mass of this community was contained by an area of two miles in length and about a mile in breadth. Within these two square miles were crushed no fewer than 300,000 of the 385,000 included in the municipal boundary, a press of human beings more closely packed together than in possibly any other city in Europe. The tenement system, combined with the abominable, narrow closes and wynds that cluttered up the heart of the town enabled this mass of humanity to burrow within the area. Whole families were caged in dark, evil-smelling rooms opening off the tunnels that pierced the narrow, filthy wynds. (28)

The House of Mercy was self-supporting and would act as a haven for girls who were at risk of being lured or forced into prostitution. Like the other orders who are the

subject of this thesis, the Sisters of Mercy identified a need in Glasgow and focussed their energies towards meeting that need. The Sisters of Mercy therefore conceptualised their mission in Glasgow by contributing in a very practical way to several specific areas viz.

looking after orphans at the orphanage in Abercromby Street in the East End of Glasgow
teaching in Catholic schools in Glasgow

establishing regularly held night classes where girls working in mills and factories could learn how to read and write.

providing an opportunity for girls who were totally uneducated in the formal sense, to improve themselves intellectually, spiritually and socially by receiving Religious Instruction as well as secular instruction.

establishing night classes to meet the need for adult education in Glasgow

The Sisters of Mercy had certain specific objectives relating to social work within their mission which can be summarised as:

establishing a house for the protection of destitute girls in Glasgow

providing and staffing an orphanage for the orphans of Glasgow

establishing a reformatory for the recklessly living

establishing an asylum for the penitent girl

providing instruction of the poor

visiting the sick

The Marists and the Jesuits : the two male teaching orders in Glasgow

Just as the first two of the female orders to arrive in Glasgow in the 1840s, the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy, the two male orders in this study arrived in Glasgow in close succession, the Marists in 1858 and the Jesuits in 1859. Their respective missions were different from those of the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy. The missions of the Marists and the Jesuits had some similarities and some differences which will be discussed and analysed in the course of this chapter.

The Marist Order

The Society of Mary was founded at Lyons in 1824 by the Venerable Jean Claude Marie Colin (1790-1875), and finally approved by Pope Pius IX on March 8, 1873. Its aim is to foster devotion to the Blessed Virgin and engage in missionary and educational work.

The Marist Sisters were also founded in 1816 in France by Jean Claude Marie Colin. Father Colin was a priest distressed by the religious destitution in rural districts, where the de-christianizing policies of the French revolutionary governments and the lack of capable clergy had affected French communities.

The Society of Mary, known as 'the Marists', was just one of many religious orders founded in this era, basing its life on the ideals of poverty, chastity and obedience. Where the Marist order differed from most other orders was in its training for education. Religion was to have the central place in the curriculum but all primary subjects were to be taught to the children of underprivileged class to whom the Marists dedicated themselves. This shows convincingly that the Marists were concerned not only with the preservation of the Catholic faith but also with providing children with the motivation to go out into the world and succeed, not to withdraw from it.

The early work of the Marist brothers was coordinated by the co-founder of the Marists, Brother Champagnat, who held meetings where the content and methods of teaching were discussed and developed with the aim of educating Christian youth.

Marcellin Champagnat was beatified on Pentecost Sunday, 1955 and canonised in 1998.

Some of his sayings give an insight to his feelings about the importance he placed on education:

To educate the child is a greater task than to govern the whole world

There is nothing more necessary in education both for master and pupil, than the mutual respect which they owe each other.

The educating of youth is more than an occupation; it is a religious ministry and a true apostolate. Blessed Marcellin (29)

By 1858 the Marist order, despite their missionary commitments in the New World, were able to send three brothers on missionary work to Glasgow. Br Procope, Br Tatianus and Br Faust, the first three Marist Brothers who came to start teaching in Glasgow in 1858, had come from St Anne's School in London at the invitation of Bishop Murdoch, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, and took immediate charge of Father Chisholm's Boys' School, St Mungo's in Glebe Street.

The most obvious evidence of the results of their mission in Glasgow was that the Marists made a formidable contribution to the education of poorer children in the East End of Glasgow in these schools. There is ample evidence of this. (30)

But the Marists, like the Jesuits, aimed also to develop a Catholic middle class in Glasgow as is evidenced by the advertisement placed in the Catholic press in Glasgow in 1865 which stated that the aim of the Marist Brothers was to "provide a suitable Education for the children of the Middle Classes" (see Appendix 15)

The advertisement highlighted the efforts made by the Marist Brothers to promote this type of education in Glasgow and stated optimistically that it appeared to be becoming better appreciated from year to year by the Catholics of Glasgow, as witnessed by the

constant increase in the numbers applying and being admitted to St Mungo's Academy, ie 12 in 1858, 20 in 1859, 34 in 1860, and upwards of 70 in 1865.

It is notable that this demonstrates and exemplifies not a withdrawal and a siege mentality but rather a genuine attempt to equip Catholics to go out and succeed in the world.

Another aspect of their mission which is evident is that the Marists influenced many of their pupils to the extent of providing aspirants to the clergy and religious orders by giving them a sound moral and religious education. It is quite remarkable for any school at any time in history to produce as many as five priests from the one class. (Appendix 16) Their religious dynamism allowed the Marist Brothers to dedicate much of their lives to their pupils. This is evidenced by their willingness to accept reduced salaries. Their numbers being so few, it meant that each Marist ran school, night school and Pupil-Teacher's classes with the minimum of assistance. Acceptance of smaller salaries as part of their vow of poverty was perhaps the best example of their dedication especially when one considers that on average Catholic teachers' salaries were below the national average up until 1900. The running of their schools reflects their dedication in their mission. In their schools, the Marists accepted contemporary educational facilities, namely the one-room schools and the reliance upon pupil teachers to overcome the desperate shortage of qualified staff.

The Marists also conducted night schools, a major function of which was to give secular and religious education to working boys thus exempting them from attending the Protestant factory schools. These night schools which were regarded as essential for Catholics who were working in factories ran from September to April usually from Monday to Friday. Numbers were steadily high, St Mungo's night school had a nightly average of 60, mostly adults, in 1864. A major problem was the wide variety of abilities of adolescent and adult pupils. Individual teaching was difficult with many adults ashamed of exhibiting a lack of knowledge. The Marists, however, along with other Catholic schools learned to use various counter-attractions to offset this. Lending libraries were organised under the Parish Young Men's Society, supplemented by brass band groups and drama societies. For such work much help was given, both practical and financial, from the philanthropic bodies that abounded at

the time, the most important of which was the Association of St Margaret mentioned above. This highlights the role of the Marists as an order in combating secularisation and developing a sense of community and achievement in Glasgow.

Night schools, though created for the education of Catholics in a Parish, also gained a grant from the Education Committee following a favourable report from the Inspectorate. The night schools therefore provided an extra source of finance for the day schools, despite creating a heavier workload for the Marists. An impression of night schools can be gained from the Government Inspectors' General Report of Catholic Schools in Scotland in 1859. (See note 14) This shows the importance of night schools especially for the girls. In the light of the evidence submitted by the Inspectorate, it becomes apparent that such schools served not only educational purposes, they were also social centres for immigrant Irish groups in the city.

The mission of the Marist Brothers in Glasgow therefore had a much wider impact than merely on education. One of the major problems which impeded the success of the mission of the Marist Brothers was absenteeism. This issue did not become critical until the 1872 Education Act made attendance compulsory for children between the ages of five and thirteen. Because of this, information on the subject is sparse. What information can be found, however, helps to illustrate the social conditions in which many of the pupils were living. Reasons for absenteeism were varied. The major reason was cold or wet weather when many children were kept at home for fear of subsequent ill health due to the inadequacy of their footwear and clothing. For many Catholic parents, education was not a priority. Schoolwork was affected by absenteeism and there are records of pupil messengers being sent to find out the reasons for non-attendance. Absenteeism also had an effect on upon school fees. Monday was the day when absenteeism was worst because it was difficult in many cases for the child to get school fees from their parents. Many Irish were employed in the capital goods industries where recession in the trade cycle created unemployment and financial hardship which meant that at times a majority of children had to be admitted free to the schools. The result of absenteeism and early leaving of school meant that for many the standard of education they achieved was far below their potential. In the logbook of St Mary's we find:

Hardly possible to get up the higher Standards both from the irregularity of attendance and the shortness of time boys remain at school. As soon as they can earn half a crown they are sent to work, not 5% remaining after ten years of age. (23.2.1869)

Progress is really out of the question. Of 21 boys in the Third Standard, 12 have been absent this week. (14.4.1869)

Out of 54 boys in the Second Standard, 18 have been absent all this week. Sewing sacks is the most ordinary excuse for absence. (This occupation for children and similar work that could be carried on in the house rendered futile the assignment of homework). (15.4.1869)

Of 16 boys to be examined in the Fourth Standard, only 4 present all week. Most of them gone to work. (25.9.1869)

Not less than 20 have gone to work from the Third Standard upwards within the last two months. It is distressing and discouraging to have to do with such children, such demand for child-labour and such facility in obtaining employment that a child, if only punished, sets off to look for work, gets it and gives up his school. Weak-minded parents, if remonstrated with, will simply say: 'Oh, I'll give him a trial and he will soon get tired of it', but an instance of the kind has not hitherto occurred in this school. (1.6.1872)

Not a child at school just now who was received during the first six months of 1868. Taking into consideration the irregular attendance, the advanced age at which children are sent to school, and fact of having to begin with every child in the school, to the best of my belief, at the alphabet, I find it impossible to bring them up to the higher Standards in that time. (6.5.1873) (31)

Perhaps the most unusual reason behind absenteeism highlighted by the Logbooks of the period was “Flitting Week”, also called “Term Day”. This was mentioned in all logbooks even occasionally those of St Mungo’s Academy for the 1900s. “Flitting Week” was used to refer to the 28th May when the yearly leases of rented houses in Glasgow expired and tenants not renewing them had to move during that week. This led to many people moving in and out of the city centre tenements thus creating disruption in classes when small attendances were noted throughout the period. Unfortunately no figures are given but it must have involved movement of large numbers for St Mungo’s Academy Logbook notes in 1909-1912 a loss of several pupils, notably a drop in attendance from the usual 93-94% to 89%. Despite many problems the Marist schools grew period in size and esteem. Catholic papers of the time, showing obvious bias, do create an impression that the Marists were at least as successful as many of the best Presbyterian schools.

Grants alone could not keep the Catholic schools functioning and the Marist continued to exploit various fund-raising ideas and so helped their financial position. Some examples of fundraising have been mentioned but there were further developments between 1872 and 1900, essential to the Marists’ mission in Glasgow indicative of a commitment which went beyond the specifically educational area. In Chapter Five the work of Brother Walfrid will be cited as an example of community building in the East End of Glasgow as well as an excellent financial source of free meals for poor school children.

While it lasted, the scheme was an excellent example of the concern the Marists showed for the welfare of their pupils. It can also be seen as an example of the Victorian self-help activity but the inspiration of forming a football team for charitable purposes was the work of the Marist Brothers. This would appear to contrast markedly with the self-help philosophy of Samuel Smiles and its distorted Christian ethic. The Marist interpretation of Christian welfare was more that they would never give up on anyone and this would be characterised by a belief in the dignity of all human beings and the distinct absence of the concept of an undeserving poor. It was also strongly based on community effort as opposed to being individualistic. When Brother Walfrid departed for London in 1892 the Celtic Football Club was turned into a business by its

directors and its original function lapsed. The penny dinner fund collapsed after 1892 but not without greatly helping the Catholic poor in its parishes for several years.

The mission of the Marist Brothers in Glasgow during the nineteenth century involved a number of connected but diverse strands, viz:

making a formidable contribution to the education of poorer children in the East End of Glasgow helping the Catholic poor in a very practical way by providing subsidised or free dinners

providing aspirants to the clergy and religious orders

providing a suitable education for the children of the aspiring Catholic middle class

providing night school classes for religious, educational and social purposes

training pupil teachers who would teach in the developing Catholic school system

The Society of Jesus

The Society of Jesus was founded by St Ignatius Loyola and approved by Pope Paul III in 1540, As conceived by the founder it had a twofold aim: to strengthen and where necessary to restore the Catholic faith in the wake of the Protestant Reformation, and to preach the Gospel in non-Christian lands. Typical of the first purpose was the establishment of colleges throughout Europe, and the second purpose was the development of worldwide mission enterprises in Asia, Africa, and the newly developed Americas. The Society of Jesus grew out of the *Spiritual Exercises* of St Ignatius, and its structure and discipline were embodied in the detailed *Constitutions*, also written by the founder. Opposition from many quarters, but especially from the Jansenists, led to suppression of the Jesuits by Pope Clement XIV in 1773. They were restored by Pope Pius VII in 1814. Since their restoration, they grew in number to become the largest single religious institute in the Catholic world through their universities, colleges and secondary schools, through scholarly publications, retreat

houses and seminaries. The Society of Jesus is divided into assistancies, these in turn into provinces, and within the provinces are local communities. The superior general is elected for life; he appoints provincials and also the rectors of the more important local communities. There are three kinds of finally professed members in the society: the solemnly professed and the spiritual coadjutors who are priests, and the lay brothers who are spiritual coadjutors. The solemnly professed take solemn vows of poverty, chastity and obedience and four simple vows: special obedience to the Pope, not to mitigate the society's poverty, not to accept ecclesiastical dignitaries, actively seeking to avoid such preferments. The others take simple vows only. But all the finally professed make a total renunciation of private property. (32) Because the culture of the Catholic Faith is different from, for example, ethnic culture, the task of the religious orders of handing on faith was almost entirely separate from the regular "transmission of culture" normally associated with education. This demanded a process which was different from ordinary socialisation and was sometimes in conflict with it. This is apparent in the case of the Jesuits and their mission in Glasgow during the second half of the nineteenth century. When the Society of Jesus opened its first school in Scotland, at the Royal Palace of Holyrood in 1687, its mission was to educate Catholic and Protestant alike, in the service of God and the emerging European new order. Two centuries later, the new Jesuit foundation of St Aloysius' College had a very different aim: to educate poor and marginalised Catholics so that they could take their rightful places among the ranks of the professional classes of Scottish society. (33) The reason that the Society of Jesus came to Glasgow in 1859, therefore, was to fulfil their specific mission to provide an education for Catholic boys in Glasgow so that these boys could enter the professions, something which would not have been feasible in Glasgow until this point in history. This often involved considerable sacrifice from parents. Opportunities to enter the professions were restricted by the fact that the Catholic community in Glasgow was largely a poor community. The Jesuits were looking for ways to create an educational community in which Jesuits and lay people could share a common sense of mission. The task of the Jesuit community in Glasgow, or indeed wherever they were located, was to keep the Ignatian educational principles alive in their schools by articulating them clearly and by exemplifying them in practice. Jesuit education was involved in a "war against ignorance" and the Jesuits invented strategies for touching even the humbler levels of society. Kavanaugh (1989) emphasises the practical implications of the educational

mission of the Jesuits, the ultimate aim of which is not merely theoretical. Instilling a deeply ingrained passion for the plight of others is mirrored in the inner convictions of the Jesuits who believed that the formation of character, which is education's domain, could bring about constructive reforms in society. Jesuit education must be translated into social reliance and action, a life-long commitment to peace, justice and human rights:

The great project of education which is that of human self-understanding in all its form, is a project of human dignity..... education's meaning and purpose is justice itself. Human dignity is its premise. Human freedom is its goal. (34)

O'Malley (1989) asserts that the divergence of humanistic schools of education from scholasticism rests upon the conviction that education should effect a personal transformation of character and that, through education, an individual is led to productive service to God and the world. He cites the Rev Fr Ganss, who, when considering how the Society of Jesus could constructively and creatively achieve the objectives of Jesuit education in the Ignatian vision, suggests reflecting on the *Spiritual Exercises* which are an experience of God and contain many of the foundational principles of Jesuit philosophy. (35) Saint Ignatius intended for education to be useful, adaptable, and humanistic, but also with a strong moral and religious orientation.

The Jesuits were from the beginning heavily involved in catechising both in Europe and in their foreign missions. Teaching catechism was one of the "experiments" through which the novices of the Society had to pass, and the professed members of the order vowed "special care for the instruction of children." (36) O'Malley (1989) explains why the mission of the Jesuits with regard to education was more in keeping with the humanistic approach as opposed to the scholastic approach:

The humanist movement subscribed to the proposition that truly good literature was didactic, and hence assumed an intrinsic connection between the study of good letters and the formation of character. The very aim of humanistic education

dramatically contrasts with that of the universities: not the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, not academic “contemplation,” but the formation of good taste and right values, and the cultivation of the ability to act effectively and responsibly in the public sector, especially through the ability to persuade. (37)

Perhaps the deepest conviction of the humanists was that a reform of education was the primary instrument for the reform of society and church, for good education produces good persons. Good persons would engage in the active life of the πόλις - they would not withdraw to the cloisters of academe. By their learning and the example of their lives they would reform taste and they would especially reform the morals of public life. Not a “reform of structures” (a quite modern idea), but a reform of persons was the goal at which humanist education aimed. The Spanish Jesuit, Juan Bonifacio, who published in 1576 probably the first educational treatise by a member of the Society of Jesus, fully appreciated this ideal when he said, “*Puerilis institutio est renovatio mundi*”, “The education of youth accomplishes the reform of society” (38) On reading the pertinent documents of the sixteenth century Jesuits on education, especially the fourth part of the Jesuit Constitutions and then *the Ratio Studiorum* of 1599, what is evident from this perspective is the attempt to join together elements from both the scholastic and the humanistic tradition.

In number 11 of his “*Rules for thinking with the Church*” Saint Ignatius encouraged members of the Society of Jesus to praise the “positive doctors” like Augustine and Jerome, whose object is to “rouse the affections so that we are moved to love and serve God our Lord in all things” - a goal consonant with the humanistic tradition and with the humanist’s interests in the fathers of the church.

Beginning with part 4 of the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, there are common threads concerning educational goals that run throughout the history of the Society of Jesus. The aim of Jesuit enterprise is to help students know and love God, and to save their souls; to help students master and excel in many fields of knowledge; to integrate that body of knowledge with moral and spiritual values so that they can become

effective leaders in society and then help others reach the same goal, thus making society a better and happier place to live.

The pastoral and educational ideals of St Ignatius are found (at least implicitly) in the *Exercises* and in part 4 of the *Constitutions*. Fr Robert Newton, in a monograph, *Reflections on the Educational Principles of the Spiritual Exercises*, elucidates some of these principles. He stresses that Jesuit education is student-centred and that its goal is to produce an independent learner who internalises the skills of learning and eventually is able to act without the support of the formal educational environment. The educational process is adapted to the individual, and to the extent possible, responds to his abilities, needs and interests, Jesuit education emphasises the self-activity of the student and attempts to make him (or her) the primary agent in the learning situation. The goal of the teacher is to decrease while the student increases in the direction of her or his own learning.

Jesuit education is characterised by structure and flexibility. The structure always provides a definite statement of objectives and systematic procedures for evaluation and accountability, for constant reflection on how to improve performance.

The spirituality which has come to be characteristic of the Society of Jesus can be traced to the religious experience of Ignatius Loyola, a sixteenth-century Spanish saint whose spiritual awakening and development unfolded within the European context of the Renaissance and Protestant Reformation, and against the wider Catholic background of the Christian ascetical tradition. Reiser (1985) identifies seven characteristics of Jesuit spirituality. These characteristics derive from the Society's sense of its mission and place in the world, and from the religious insight of Ignatius and his first companions. Jesuit spirituality includes:

- 1 a respect for human intelligence and an appreciation of the place of critical thinking in the spiritual life:
- 2 the importance of discerning the movement of the Spirit within one's thoughts, feelings, fantasies, desires, and so on, and the conviction that one's inner experience, properly discerned, can be trusted;

- 3 a deep, personal attachment to Jesus;
 - 4 loyalty and dedication to the church
 - 5 an experience of the life of faith as a companionate grace;
 - 6 a realisation that the practice of one's faith involves the pursuit of justice;
 - 7 the ability to find God readily in whatever circumstances one finds oneself.
- (39)

Saint Ignatius was both a man of the Church and a man of his time. He identified the church as the "hierarchical church," and both he and his companions determined that the appropriate way to serve Christ was to put themselves at the disposal of the Vicar of Christ for the service of the church. The pope, Paul III, accepted their offer. The chief apostolic aims of the Society of Jesus were sketched in the short formula which they presented to the pope for his approval:

to strive especially for the defence and propagation of the faith and for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine, by means of public preaching, lectures, and any other ministration whatsoever of the word of God, and further by means of the *Spiritual Exercises*, the education of children and unlettered persons in Christianity, and the spiritual consolation of Christ's faithful through hearing confessions and administering the other sacraments...in reconciling the estranged, in holily assisting and serving those who are found in prisons or hospitals, and indeed in performing any other works of charity, according to what will seem expedient for the glory of God and the common good. (39)

St Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) was clear about the task of Jesuit schools. It is to bring about an 'improvement in living and learning to the greater glory of God, *Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam*.'

It took time and considerable effort on the part of the Jesuits for this type of spirituality to impact on Glasgow in the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. It became discernible as a social practice as the crucial role of the Jesuits developed in building up a Catholic middle class. (41) The mission of the Jesuits in Glasgow during this period had a very specific objective. This objective was largely achieved as will be discussed in Chapter Five and Chapter Seven of this thesis.

The Sisters of Notre Dame and their Mission in Glasgow

The fifth and last of the religious orders in question to come to Glasgow in the nineteenth century, the Sisters of Notre Dame, came with the specific mission and remit of training Catholic teachers to teach in Catholic schools. This will be discussed and analysed in Chapter 6.

The Missions Compared

There are obvious similarities in mission in the schools in Glasgow founded and managed by the religious orders, however there were also important differences. One of these was selection policy. As was the norm in the nineteenth century, the three female orders taught girls and the two male orders taught boys. As well as the all-male aspect of St Mungo's Academy, Handley refers to the homogeneousness of background of its pupils with the majority of them being of the same social class. The Marists thus saw their task as making it clear to the pupils how closely scholarship is related to character, leadership and virtue. In fee-paying days the fees charged were modest and when the school had a roll of fewer than 400 and drew its pupils from the whole city and beyond, it was not too difficult to find sufficient working-class families that were prepared to accept the terms. (42)

Unlike their state counterparts, the schools run by the orders did not have to recoup salary costs. Income derived from fees paid only subsistence earnings to the orders concerned. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Garnethill was on the western outskirts of the city of Glasgow, a residential area favoured by the wealthier classes. This may have been one of the reasons for St Aloysius' College moving there from Charlotte Street since it was hoped that the type of education being offered by the

Jesuits would be better appreciated and supported by those who were better off and for whom the prospect of a juvenile wage earner was not too attractive to be disregarded. (43)

Throughout the period of this study, only the religious orders, bound as they were by the vow of poverty, were in a position to tailor their limited resources sufficiently to enable them to establish schools for secondary education at modest and affordable fees.

Consistent with their founding principles and with much of their practice across Europe, Jesuit selection policy was focused on the recruitment of cohorts of boys whose background and aptitude suggested that they might one day help form the basis of a Catholic middle class. Father Calnan's notes refer to Fr. Bacon's visits to houses in the Cowcaddens during the 1870s, where he knocked at the doors of "slackers", that is, boys who by not attending or not working hard enough risked failing to fulfil the potential seen in them by the order. This diligence in maintaining on boys the pressure to succeed extended well beyond selection and curriculum. Father Bacon at one time, for example, had no less than 13 football teams running in addition to a dramatic club, an athletic and swimming club. With similar enthusiasm, he went recruiting for boys for St Aloysius' College to Kilsyth, Coatbridge, Greenock, Paisley and even to Edinburgh. In five years, from 1875 to 1880, he raised the number of boys in St Aloysius' College from 47 to 170. (44)

The issue of selection was of course intimately bound up with notions of social class and gender in nineteenth century Glasgow. Of the orders examined in this study, the Marists made the most explicit commitment to addressing the needs and vulnerabilities of boys from the poorest sections of the working class. Where the Jesuits saw the creation of a self-sustaining, professional or middle class as a major priority, the Marists, by virtue of their emphasis on the amelioration of unjust living conditions, committed themselves to the maintenance of social groups always on the verge of total privation.

Contrasts and differences within mission must be seen against the background of the overall practical theology of education through which the Catholic Church endeavoured to respond to the industrial revolution. Mission contrasts should be seen as complementary strategies for dealing with complex problems of marginalisation and social and economic exclusion.

In addition to the chronic challenges of class and economics, those orders charged with the education of girls faced the additional burden of nineteenth century attitudes to gender and to women. One of the overriding concerns for the orders educating girls was the protection of young women from risk. A range of initiatives including Night Classes, a House of Mercy, Sunday Schools, was put in place quite deliberately to shelter girls from dangers inherent in the society of the time and from which the law afforded little protection. The interventions of the orders in the lives of young women were also undoubtedly intended to secure advancement and respectability in a society offering women only very limited economic and career opportunities. Whilst operating very much within the social mores and gender assumptions of the time, the orders genuinely provided young Catholic women with important means for improving their life chances in a rapidly changing society. Undoubtedly, the promotion of marriage and family life to these young women remained centrally important but the orders also gave their female pupils many of the tools that their daughters and granddaughters would use to challenge the subordination of women in the subsequent decades. Nowhere do the social and career aspirations of the orders become more obvious than in the 1890s, when the Sisters of Notre Dame began to build teacher training into the range of options on offer to girls. Entry into the teaching profession became one of the major drivers for the advancement of women in Scottish society in the years leading up to the First World War and the advent of universal suffrage.

Perusal of the curricula of the schools managed by the religious orders also discloses some interesting points of comparison. The prospectus of the Convent of the Immaculate Conception, Charlotte St. in 1851 lists the subjects on the curriculum there as Plain and Ornamental Sewing, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, History and Grammar with French Language, Italian Language, Drawing and Music offered as extras. The scheme of Higher Studies in the early days of the existence of

Garnethill Convent School was based on the requirements of the examination initiated in 1888 by Sir Henry Craik, the Secretary to the Scottish Education Department, and it placed the emphasis on English, Mathematics and French, and gave prominence to Drawing. Pupils were presented for the Leaving Certificate Examination and University Preliminary. (45)

The curriculum at St Mungo's Academy comprised all the "branches necessary to mercantile pursuits, including Drawing, Geography, History, Mathematics, Book-keeping and Vocal Music " French and Pianoforte were extras. (see Appendix 15)

St Aloysius' College stated that the aim of the College was "that the Catholics of Glasgow may be able to procure for their children a Literary and Commercial Education." The first prospectus of the College stated "that the object of this College is to afford a Religious, Literary, and Commercial Education to the Middle Classes of Glasgow." The curriculum initiated by the Jesuits in Glasgow in the 1860s included Greek, Latin, French, Algebra, Geometry, English. Concerning the payment of fees at St Aloysius' College, the report of Harvey and Greig in the 1865-66 session stated:

"The terms on which Education is given were extremely moderate, and there can be no doubt the boys receive full educational value for their money, for the school will bear comparison with the High School or Glasgow Academy." It seems clear that these various curricula were intended to facilitate entry into work and society and also to equalise opportunity with the rest of Scottish education. The curriculum offered by the Jesuits clearly has built into it more ambitious educational expectations once more underlining the Jesuits' determination to see significant numbers of Catholics enter the middle class via its main points of entry such as the universities and the professions.

NOTES

- 1 Canon 487. See Gallen (1983) pp43-90
- 2 Oxford Dictionary
- 3 Boyle and Lynch (1998) p40
- 4 The New Catholic Encyclopaedia McGraw-Hill vol. 1X p904
- 5 The New Catholic Encyclopaedia McGraw-Hill vol. 1Xp904
- 6 FSIC (1997) p15
- 7 The Franciscan Nuns in Scotland 1847-1930 pp4-6. See also FitzPatrick (1986) pp25, 26 and FSIC (1997) pp35-37
- 8 FSIC (1997) p24
- 9 FSIC (1997) p24
- 10 Anson (1970) p276
- 11 FSIC (1997) p65
- 12 Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools for 31 May 1864, published in 1865 quoted in Handley (1968) A History of the Province of the British Isles, p36
- 13 Handley (1947) p214
- 14 HMI General report for 1859, Catholic schools in Scotland quoted in Handley (1947) pp214-215

- 15 Reports of the Catholic Poor School Committee ED1 GAA
- 16 FSIC (1997) p100. See also The Franciscan Nuns in Scotland 1847-1930 p16.
See also Handley (1950) p25
- 17 Dolan (1968) pp101-102
- 18 Anson (1970) p276
- 19 Healy (1992) p6
- 20 Bourke (1987)
- 21 Coogan (2000) p185
- 22 Coogan (2000) p185
- 23 Healy (1992) p7
- 24 Healy (1992) p 7, 8
- 25 Healy (1992) p9
- 26 Healy (1992) p11
- 27 In the 'home' the girls were involved in cooking, sewing and laundry work.
The photographs in appendix 11-14 are of girls in a 'House of Mercy' in
Dundee. A well ordered, clean and organised environment is evident.
- 28 Handley (1970) p149
- 29 Marist Centenary Magazine (1958)
- 30 Handley (1958) pp 80-83

- 31 Handley (1968) A History of the Province of the British Isles pp37-38
- 32 Hardon (1981) p292-293
- 33 McCabe (2000) p11
- 34 Bonachea (1989) p5 and p173
- 35 Bonachea (1989) p5, O'Malley in Bonachea (1989) pp10-25: Ganss (1970) pp66-67
- 36 Donahue (1963) quoted in Bonachea (1989) p186
- 37 O'Malley (1989) in Bonachea (1989) p16
- 38 Quoted in Bonachea (1989) p16
- 39 Reiser (1985) in Lee (Ed) (1985)
- 40 Reiser (1985) Jesuit Spirituality and the Religious Educator in Lee (Ed) (1985)
- 41 O'Hagan (1994) p88
- 42 Handley (1958) pp228-229
- 43 McCabe (2000) p29
- 44 Unpublished notes on the History of St Aloysius'' College by Fr Thomas Calnan SJ
- 45 Garnethill Convent School Magazine (1963) p11

CHAPTER 4

CHURCH AND STATE

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the role of the State in dealing with the provision of education for Catholics in Scotland during the period 1847 until 1918 and how this affected and was affected by the Catholic church and the work of the religious orders in Glasgow during that period. It will examine the effects of Church and State involvement in primary schools, secondary schools and evening classes in night schools. The contribution of the Sisters of Notre Dame to the development of teacher training will be discussed and analysed separately in Chapter 6.

During this chapter the term Church is used in a variety of contexts, viz.

the clergy as distinct from the laity

institutionalised forms of religion as a political or social force: conflict between Church and State

the collective body of all Christians

a particular denomination or group of Christian believers

the practices or doctrines of the Church of England, ie the reformed established state Church in England, Catholic in order and basic doctrine, with the Sovereign as its temporal head

the Church of Rome, ie another name for the Roman Catholic Church

the Catholic Church, short for Roman Catholic Church which claims to have maintained continuity with the ancient and undivided Church

the Church of Scotland, ie the established church in Scotland, Calvinist in doctrine and Presbyterian in constitution.

The definition of State used in this chapter refers to the body politic of a particular sovereign power, Britain, (the English and the Scottish thrones were united under one monarch in 1603 and the parliaments were united in 1707) contrasted with a rival authority, such as the Church.

During the period in question, from the late 1840s until 1918, among the many significant changes which affected Scotland in general and Glasgow in particular and which were of crucial importance to the work of the religious orders in question, were the Education (Scotland) Act in 1872 and the Restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in Scotland in 1878. Between the Reformation and the nineteenth century, education in European countries was a matter for church rather than state. (1)

Anderson explicates the involvement of the state in education during this period:

National educational systems, directed by the state, are one of the characteristic creations of the nineteenth century, linked in the western world with the process of industrialisation, the rise of political democracy, and the development of 'mass society'. This was as true of Scotland as of any country, and most features of Scottish education at the beginning of the twenty first century are the product of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (2)

The first notable intervention made by the British state regarding education in Scotland was in 1834, when a grant was made for education in Scotland. This grant-in-aid of education was made because the Privy Council recognised the need to create an educated working class in Scotland. The grant was renewed in 1836, 1837 and 1838. The need for government inspection and the need for a government body to disburse the increasing grants and control expenditure was widely felt in the 1830s - though there was opposition too - and eventually, despite the precarious position of the Government, the Committee of Council on Education was established, and directions to inspectors formulated

...to carry on an inspection of schools which have been or may be hereafter aided by grants of public money, and to convey to conductors and teachers of private schools in different parts of the country a knowledge of all the improvements in the art of teaching, and likewise to report to this Committee the progress made from year to year. (3)

After a series of government investigations into the conditions of education in Scotland, a committee of the Privy Council was appointed. In 1839 the Committee of the Privy Council on Education was constituted to superintend disbursement of these grants in both England and Scotland, and from 1840 grants were conditional upon inspection which, because of the need to secure the agreement of the Church of England, was denominational in character. For the first few decades of government inspection, therefore, inspectors were appointed on a denominational basis, and were specifically instructed to concern themselves with religious instruction in the schools.

Their Lordships are strongly of opinion that no plan of education ought to be encouraged in which intellectual instruction is not subordinate to the regulation of the thoughts and habits of the children by the doctrines and precepts of revealed religion. You will therefore willingly avail yourself of the opportunity of examining the religious instruction given in the schools, whenever you are invited to do so. (4)

Catholic schools which received grants were examined by a Catholic Inspector. It was not until 1847, however, that the Catholic Poor School Committee was set up to deal with the Government with regard to a share in the grants, and it was not until 1848 that Catholic schools were actually given state aid. (5)

What happened between Church and State in Scotland at this time had been foreshadowed by events in England where attempts to establish a State system of education which would bring elementary education to all had been abandoned owing to the controversies that raged round the religious question. In 1847 the Government entrusted the spread of education as far as might be to voluntary agencies working in

conjunction with the Committee of Council which had been set up in England in 1839 “for the consideration of all matters affecting the education of the people,” and to determine “in what manner the grants of money made from time to time” by Parliament should be distributed. This step in England was important and significant because it asserted the claim of the civil authority to a dominant position in national education, and if the measure was not as comprehensive as the Government would have liked, it was at any rate “a beginning”. (6)

The first Catholic school in Glasgow to apply for Government aid and come under inspection was St Mary's, Calton, in which, in 1851, pupil-teachers were apprenticed and a grant for books given. (7) Later, in 1863, the Marists Brothers, one of the two male orders in this study, were given complete control of St Mary's Boys' School, Calton. The remoteness of Scottish Catholics from Westminster caused a delay in the receipt of grants and so it was not until the 1850s that Scottish Catholics received their first grants towards the cost of salaries and equipment. Because of their extreme poverty and the restrictions on the grants for building purposes, Catholic schools in Scotland received only five of these before 1872.

In 1846 the government introduced the pupil-teacher system in Scotland as in England to provide teachers for the elementary schools. The system was a form of apprenticeship for teaching devised by Sir James Kay Shuttleworth when he was first secretary to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education during the 1840s. It was important and significant for the reason that employing pupil-teachers meant masters' salaries and 'ordinary' school expenses would be met by the Government Committee of the Council on Education. By the system intelligent pupils were apprenticed to teaching at thirteen years of age, undergoing an annual examination for graded personal payments of £10-£20. After five years of such training they were eligible to proceed to a Normal College (ie training College) by way of a scholarship. For such a system to be employed in a school a certificated Master had to instruct the pupils teachers in a well furnished and supplied school, with organised, graduated classes. In this way the pupil-teacher system was employed in most schools in an effort to compensate for the lack of male teachers. As a teaching method it was inadequate and inefficient since it involved several youths teaching classes of up to 200 pupils by rote in the one and two room schools. It did however help to supply teachers, though not

as many as the urgent problems of contemporary education demanded. For the majority of the immigrant Irish population in Glasgow in the middle years of the nineteenth century education had been restricted to Sundays or to adventure schools run by teachers without training or recognised certificate. (8)

In the 1860s in schools like St Mary's, Calton, pupil teachers were used as a substitute for teachers. In this way the pupil-teacher system was a commonly employed method of running schools by helping to create more teachers. Timetables for the education of pupil teachers were more extensive than those of lower grades and thus demanded far more from headmasters who taught them. (Appendix 17) The disadvantages probably outweighed the advantages of the pupil-teacher system, the main criticisms of which were the low pay, the insufficient attention given to the pupil-teacher's own education, the pupil-teacher's limited value to the class teacher, and the general lack of encouragement. A report by HMI Dr Ogilvie in 1893 suggests that the system at that time was in a state of transition, that the provision of central classes for the instruction of pupil teachers was being promoted, that selection procedures were being improved, that doubts were nevertheless being expressed as to the actual value of pupil-teachers, and that many of them were being grossly overworked. (9)

The Catholic Poor School Committee and its Successors, the Catholic School Committee and the Catholic Education Council

From the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, the Catholic Poor School Committee and its successors, the Catholic School Committee and the Catholic Education Council, had the function of maintaining the provision of Catholic education for Catholic children. Following its establishment in 1847 by the Bishops of England it was joined afterwards by the Bishops of Scotland. Its name was changed to the Catholic School Committee in 1888 and in 1905 it became the Catholic Education Council for England, Wales and Scotland. It represented, in matters concerning Elementary Education, the Catholic dioceses of Great Britain and had one clerical and two lay members for each diocese. The legislation of 1902 and 1903 so completely changed the Educational aspect that it was found necessary to reorganise the previously existing system, so as to enable local and diocesan needs to find

representation on a central board in close communication with the Board of Education, but having at the same time the confidence of Catholic School Managers, and being able to establish active and sympathetic relations with them in every Diocese. The Council, therefore, became the Central Body for all Catholic Primary and Secondary Educational purposes. It was a modification and continuation of the old Catholic Poor School Committee which had existed since 1847 and it also took over the work of the Secondary Education Council which was founded in 1904. It was recognised by the Government as the successor of the Catholic School Committee, for the purpose of representing difficulties which arose between the Managers of Schools and the Board of Education.

The Executive Committee consisted of thirty five members and the Chairman of the Council who was ex officio member of the Executive. Six members were elected by the Scottish representatives, eight of the representatives of secondary education, and one by the representatives of each Diocese in England and Wales. The five co-opted members of the council were also co-opted on the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee further appointed committees which acted as Governing Bodies responsible to the Board of Education for the wellbeing of the various Training Colleges. Since 1847 the Catholic Poor School Committee and its successors were recognised by the Government which accepted its claim to represent all Catholic schools and agreed with it the terms on which assistance was given to them.

It had two main functions.

Firstly to secure, as far as possible, the efficiency of Catholic Elementary Schools by educating a sufficient supply of trained teachers. It did this through the medium of male and female Training Colleges.

There were originally three of these, St Mary's, Hammersmith, for Masters; Notre Dame, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool and the Sacred Heart, Wandsworth, for Mistresses and in 1894, Notre Dame, Dowanhill, Glasgow, became the fourth. In addition to what these Colleges received from the annual parliamentary grant, which paid only for results after a series of strict examinations, the Catholic Poor School Committee made

an annual grant to them of that portion of their expenses which was not covered by the public grant for education. This will be discussed fully in Chapter 6.

The second main function of the Catholic Poor School Committee and its successors was to assist the Religious Instruction of Pupil Teachers by giving a variety of grants in aid of Ecclesiastical Inspection. Among these were, for example:

- Salary and travelling expenses of Inspectors Grants of honour to teachers Grants to male pupil teachers obtaining the good mark with a first class in the general religious examination. Grants of reward books to pupil teachers.
- Grants of reward to ordinary scholars. Special grants to student of the male Training College and their teachers.
- Expenses for general printing and journey of Inspectors to their General Meeting. (10)

The Committee also paid the fees for correspondence - classes approved by them, "in respect of male pupil teachers unable to attend such non-residential central classes, and also in respect of male pupil teachers in third and fourth year attending such classes". (11)

So far as its funds permitted, the Committee made special grants to schools, which, under the requirements of the Education department with regard to Apparatus, Buildings or Sanitary arrangements, were in danger of being closed or removed from the Annual Grant List.

It also made special grants to schools whether "Unnecessary Schools" or "Private Venture Schools" which, although in their opinion, thoroughly efficient in every respect, were not recognised by the Scotch Education Department, but which were struggling to save Catholic children from Board and other non Catholic Schools, and

those which for other reasons could not be maintained without support grants from the Committee. (12)

The Catholic Poor School Committee was evidently overoptimistic, overambitious and unrealistic in its aim to staff Catholic schools throughout the country with men teachers who were members of religious orders as the following excerpt states:

The original intention of the Catholic Poor School Committee was to create an Order of Teaching Brothers to take charge of Catholic schools throughout the country. They were of the opinion that only men teachers who were members of religious communities could be relied upon to teach Catholic children and bring them up in goodness and virtue. There were sound reasons for this view, for, with the exception of those who were inspired with true missionary zeal, few men of real ability took up teaching as a calling. (13)

Ironically the first two teaching orders to arrive in Glasgow were female, the Franciscan Sisters and the Sisters of Mercy in 1847 and 1849 respectively. This provides an interesting challenge to the worldview of this time in the nineteenth century and the prevailing attitudes vis-à-vis gender and professional roles in society. Later in the nineteenth century with the arrival of the Sisters of Notre Dame in 1894, we witness women in considerably more proactive roles in education. (see Chapter 6)

In the second half of the nineteenth century, therefore, an identifiable group of Catholic teachers began to emerge after 1847 when Government grants became available to inspected parochial schools in Scotland, as elsewhere in the United Kingdom, in response to the lobbying of the Catholic Poor School Committee. (14)

Government grants were necessary for the continuing wellbeing of Catholic schools and as such they were welcomed by the Catholic hierarchy and the Catholic community in general. What was not welcomed by the Catholic Church or the Catholic community, however, was any hint of Government control of or interference in Catholic education.

In 1850, in Birmingham, Archbishop Ullathorne published "*Remarks on the Proposed Education Bill*", an attempt to anticipate the imminent debate about the position of religion in the schools by upholding parental rights to denominational instruction for their children. It criticised the idea of the secularisation of primary education. In 1857 Archbishop Ullathorne's most important work, "*Notes on the Education Question*" was published. This was a detailed and balanced account of Government policy which was ultimately critical of the terms upon which Catholic schools accepted maintenance grants from the Government. Clearly Ullathorne was concerned about Government interference rather than maintenance. He wrote:

After ages of exclusions, as Catholics, from the funds at the command of the state, we are beginning to receive its aid towards educating the poor of our Church....And in return for that aid, as a matter of course, we are giving up something of that absolute freedom and independence of action, which, whatever else we have suffered, has been our greatest earthly blessing. (15)

Ullathorne admitted that Government inspection had "stimulated and braced up the tone of our schools" but he warned of "those hidden springs within the machinery over which the Government holds the direct, the exclusive, and perpetual control." (16)

His point of view, which he stated clearly, was that "Government inspection is one thing but Government control would be another; and that we can never accept." (17)

In 1870 Ullathorne had made his position clear that he was opposed to the Education Act and feared State interference in Catholic education. On his return to England from the Vatican Council in Rome, he wrote a pastoral letter in October 1870 strongly urging Catholics to keep Catholic schools out of the new dual system:

Understand it plainly, my brethren, that it now depends on our own exertions, whether our Catholic children shall be taught by Catholic teachers, or can be put under a system of education which

will not only deprive them of Catholic influence, but will be directly injurious to their Catholic sense and faith. (18)

Ullathorne's warning was not heeded and large numbers of Catholic primary schools in England continued to receive both grants and inspection under the terms of the new legislation. The situation in England was a foretaste of what was to happen in Scotland two years later in 1872.

The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act did not happen suddenly or without a build-up to it. Throughout the 1850s and the 1860s Scottish opinion seems to have favoured a new national system of education. Added to the usual middle-class concern with crime and fear of social unrest as envisaged by the government minister who saw the masses in the towns as a "savage and barbarian race" and as "pestilential waters" which might burst their banks and "sweep us and our boasted institutions to destruction", (19) there was widespread concern over the effects of the Disruption in the church in 1843. (20)

Although there has always been a recognised historical connection between the Church and education, the most effective work of the main denominations with regard to education was done in the nineteenth century. In the developing urban areas, the Church of Scotland established "sessional schools", so called because the kirk session provided the accommodation and the teacher, supplied the books and equipment, established a set of rules, and superintended and maintained the schools. In the 1860s there were 120 sessional schools, of which the 46 in Glasgow dealt with 36% of the school population of the city. (21)

Glasgow's population rose from 77,385 in 1801 to 395,000 in 1861 and sessional schools played an important part in Scottish education between 1813 and 1872 by helping to provide elementary education for the rapidly expanding population in Glasgow and other towns in Scotland. The Catholic Church, the Free Church after the Disruption of 1843 and the Scottish Episcopal Church all established their own schools. The extent of church provision of education was revealed in the Second Report of the Argyll Commission in 1867:

519 Church of Scotland schools

617 Free Church schools

74 Episcopal schools

61 Roman Catholic schools

There were also 202 SSPCK schools, over 1100 parish schools, over 50 burgh schools, and 23 academies. (22)

In addition to this there were private adventure schools, many of which were of doubtful educational value and run by teachers of questionable qualifications. (see Chapter 2) In 1866 there were eighty-eight such schools in Glasgow alone, with nearly 7000 children on the rolls. By the 1860s, the situation was chaotic since there was no coherent system of schools with no central control and organisation. Clearly it was inevitable, therefore, that there was wide variation in the standards of the different types of school, with as many as one-fifth of pupils attending no school at all.

The demand for an effective national system of education led to the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1864 under the chairmanship of the Duke of Argyll to carry out an investigation which led to a report advocating a national system as the only solution to Scotland's educational problems. Reference was made to both Episcopalian and Roman Catholic schools as "hardly to be considered as a contribution to the general education of the country." (23)

During the period leading up to the Education Acts of 1870 (England) and 1872 (Scotland), the State therefore depended upon the cooperation of the voluntary bodies engaged in education, mainly the Churches, and the principle of State aid for denominational education was fully accepted. The fact that a condition of grant was that some form of religious instruction was given in the schools applying is evidence of this. As the nineteenth century advanced, however, the need for a national system with a streamlined administration became urgent. Clearly religion and education even in a secularising industrial society are closely intertwined. The reason for this could arguably be a consequence of social and cultural changes leading to the displacement of the functions previously carried out by religion onto education. Education inherits part of the social and symbolic role of religion: ethical formation, sense of belonging,

social compliance and docility, personal morality and moral worldview. Education therefore becomes the main means of disciplining and forming individuals just as the Church was in earlier times. The problem arises, however, when you have Church institutions from a Church that is not the State Church participating in education and not fully cooperating with the agenda. The picture is complicated by the presence of the religious orders of a 'non-established' Church in the midst of an essentially secular activity such as education where they nevertheless insist on asserting religious truths which do not simply endorse the State's programme. The emphasis of the religious orders is subtly different. They partly do the State's job, but they also do things that the State would never dream of doing. The main issue at this time in history was the growth of the modern centralised bureaucratic state and its relations with minorities which it must either absorb or eliminate.

The main features of the system created by the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act were the introduction of compulsory education and the provision for the transfer of any voluntary schools which were willing and agreed to local authorities or School Boards. The term 'voluntary schools' meant state-aided schools which were not provided by the education authority. These voluntary schools had been developed in all the larger towns and villages of the industrial Lowlands since the achievement of Catholic emancipation in 1829 and the consequent attempt by Scottish priests to provide schools for their missions. Any schools transferred after 1872 would be administered by the School Boards under the control of a Scotch Education Department. Financial aid was to come from the Government and the local rates. No grants for building purposes would be made after the passing of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act. In one important respect the Scottish Act of 1872 differed from its English counterpart in that the Scottish Act allowed the school transferred to continue in effect as a denominational school by sanctioning the continuance of 'use and wont' in the matter of religious instruction. The English Act forbade the teaching in state schools of the doctrines of any particular denomination.

The Education (Scotland) Act 1872 was the major landmark of education in this period and the most important and ambitious measure affecting education in Scotland before the twentieth century. Church and State have different interests with regard to education and the aims of the state do not necessarily include the sense of mission

that, for example, the aims of the Catholic Church see as being inextricably linked with Catholic education. There was, therefore, a tension between the aims of the Catholic Church and the aims of the State. On the one hand, the Catholic Church saw education as a means of proselytising and, in the case of at least some of the religious orders, as a means of constructing an educated caucus of Catholics who would then become influential in society. On the other hand, the State saw the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act as a means of regularising the chaotic situation with regard to schools, or as a means of raising standards, or as an instrument of governmental control, or as all of these things.

The legislation caused considerable controversy in Glasgow. The problem lay in the question of the teaching of religion, with large numbers lobbying Parliament to change the Bill to represent their particular schooling, ie many Protestants supporting the State provision of schools whilst Catholics wanted to retain denominational schools. The government had originally attempted with its Scottish legislation what it had hoped to do in 1870 for England and Wales, to quietly ignore the religious difficulty and leave the school boards almost complete discretion. The Act, which did not accept the religious arguments of either side, was passed by Parliament in 1872. In effect, the Act aimed to take the responsibility for education away from the Church and put it firmly in the hands of the State, but financially independent denominational schools were allowed to survive. This, in effect meant that the policy community was turned on its head, with the Church being regulated by the State in Scotland after 1872. Previously the Government had aided existing schools, through grants on the recommendation of its inspectorate, without itself providing new ones. The 1872 Act led to the creation of popularly elected school boards with the power to provide for schools where the need arose. Thus the boards would levy rates for the erection and maintenance of schools and attempt to enforce attendance for children aged five to thirteen years of age. Although the school boards were given authority to enforce this obligation, subsequent legislation in 1878 and 1883 was required to make this provision really effective. Up until 1872 the initiative had been taken by voluntary bodies connected for the most part with the churches, and the government had merely aided existing schools without taking steps to provide new ones. The introduction of compulsory school attendance by the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 created the need for an enormous expansion of buildings and teachers to staff them.

Religious Education was left to the discretion of the new boards, but could only be held at the beginning or end of the school day, while parents could withdraw children from any religious instruction they disapproved of. Schools which remained denominational would continue to receive aid by Parliamentary grant but would not be eligible for assistance from the rates. The effect of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 therefore on Catholic schools in Scotland was profound, revolutionary, radical and critical. The outstanding revolutionary feature of the Act was the substitution of State control for that of the Church, which for centuries in Scotland had been the dominating force in education - the central authority being the Scotch Education Department, and the local bodies being the School Boards which were elected in the year following the passing of the Act. One of the most crucial Acts in the history of Scottish Education, this piece of legislation put the control of education firmly into the hands of the 'secular' power, the State. As the Act itself noted, "efficient education" was to be "made available to the whole people of Scotland." The terminology was significant, and in marked contrast to that of the Revised Code in England which spoke of education for children of "the class who support themselves by manual labour." Even the title of the Scottish legislation 'Education Act' - was in contrast to the English - 'Elementary Education Act' of 1870; from 1872 the School Boards in Scotland did take responsibility not only for elementary instruction but also for post-elementary. It had been traditional in Scotland to cater for the more able pupils by providing some instruction in the University subjects, Latin, Greek and Mathematics, as well as in primary work - and in the same classroom.

As a consequence of Education (Scotland) Act 1872, and education becoming compulsory, all voluntary schools were given the option of entering the State system, in which all educational costs were to be paid from public funds. The Catholic position in 1872 was that there was no obligation to transfer schools. Voluntary schools could have continued as before with the aid of certain grants, but there would be no building grants, no aid from the rates and no exemption from them. (24)

Along with other voluntary bodies, notably the Episcopalians, the Catholic authorities decided not to transfer their schools fearing that if they did they would lose their denominational character. Although this need not necessarily have happened, it depended upon how the new school boards would administer the Act locally.

When the school boards were set up throughout Scotland, they were immediately given control over the existing system of public schools, namely the parochial schools in rural areas and the burgh schools in the towns. (25) The Episcopal and Roman Catholic schools remained outside school board control and continued to receive direct grants from the state.

The Scottish Education Act of 1872 brought profound changes to the Catholic community. Electing to stay outside the public school system had a considerable cost to the Catholic community since it meant that they deprived themselves of public money. As a result, for nearly fifty years the Catholic community worked and struggled to find the money required to build the much needed schools and to pay for the teachers. A growing force however, increasing in confidence as well as in numbers in the late nineteenth century, Catholics took advantage of the state support that was available to increase the number of their schools. In Scotland this growth was particularly striking: from 66 schools in 1873 to 177 twenty years later. (26)

The pressure of pupil numbers, particularly at the infant stage, made schools even more dependent upon the female teaching orders. Female teaching orders, female teachers, mothers and devotion to the Virgin Mother of God were central to the continuation of the Catholic Church. Although some pupil-teachers were less than satisfactory, (27) from 1856 Glasgow had been recruiting professionally-trained teachers through the British Catholic Poor School Committee and its colleges at Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, and St Leonard's on Sea (to 1862) as well as St Mary's, Hammersmith and, for a time, Wandsworth. By 1870 about twenty teachers had been trained for the Western District through the efforts of the Catholic Poor School Committee. Eighteen years later Hammersmith alone had sent 25 teachers to Glasgow. A further 18, one-sixth of the total number coming out of the Wandsworth Training College, were for Glasgow and district. The majority went south for training from Scottish homes but some English-born students also came north. The great majority of teachers in Glasgow's Catholic schools were women. They served for long years under their more readily promoted male counterparts in the same schools. Living in the parish and working closely with long-serving clergy, these teachers provided local families with a sense of community: theirs was a community-building vocation. School teaching was regarded as a community-building profession but also as a

vocation: "Religion is communicated to the soul of the child more from the habit of holiness in that of the teacher than from the words of instruction addressed to its mind." (28)

Sunday schools and evening classes attempted to remedy the inadequate and all too brief education of factory children. In 1852 St Andrew's had 1,050 children in Sunday schools and 576 in day and evening schools; in 1856 St John's, Abercromby Street had some 1200 in Sunday school alone. (Scottish Catholic Directory, 1852, 1856.) Similar large numbers attended other Sunday schools. Even so, according to the schoolmaster-historian James Handley (the Marist Brother Clare - see Bibliography) fewer than half of the total number of Catholic children attended school at any one time during the middle years of the nineteenth century; in 1866 less than a third. (29) That deficiency was apparent in the marriage records: during the 1860s 46 per cent of Catholic males and 62 per cent of Catholic females could only make their mark on the register. (30)

One of the reasons that Catholics were not willing to allow their schools to be absorbed into the new State system was that Catholic parents believed it was their duty to be apostles of Christianity, particularly to their own children. Influenced by the teaching of the Catholic Church, Catholics, for whom education cannot be conceived apart from religion, considered that they were obliged to make available schools in which children would have the best possible opportunity of developing their Catholic Faith. There was also, no doubt, the fear of prejudice, the awareness of cultural separateness and suspicion of the Protestant ascendancy. They judged, therefore, that a State system of education, in which Catholic parents had no assurance of the religious belief and Christian practice of teachers, or of the religious education to be provided in the daily life of the school, was not one which satisfied their conscience. The Catholic Church in Glasgow and consequently Catholic parents did not share the values and the outlook of the surrounding culture in Glasgow and had a desire to diverge from that surrounding culture rather than converge with it. The Catholic community was influenced by the hierarchy who felt strongly that children were influenced as much by attitudes, by atmosphere and by surroundings as by formal instruction, that no school could be truly neutral with regard to the Christian Faith or undenominational with regard to religious teaching and that the atmosphere of the school would inevitably

inculcate in the children an attitude favourable to religion or opposed to it. It is not surprising that, except for a small minority, the Catholic community responded to the situation they encountered in Glasgow initially by retreating into itself and by striving to improve the situation of its members by employing the Victorian principle of self-help. The pages of the Catholic Directory show how, even before the 1872 Act and the Restoration of the hierarchy in 1878, priests and people had set about providing day schools, evening schools and various forms of welfare society. The newly restored hierarchy gave fresh impetus and direction to improving the situation of the Catholic proletariat; increasingly they were pre-occupied with the problem of providing schools and churches for a population which was expanding in the last quarter of the nineteenth century more by natural increase than by immigration. The introduction of compulsory education in 1872 exacerbated the problem for the Catholic population in Glasgow. There was a heavy reliance on members of the religious orders to strengthen the supply of teachers in Catholic schools. These orders were also responsible for providing what would now be referred to as social services for the poor and sick of Glasgow. (see Chapter 3)

The management of the schools transferred in 1872, now called board or public schools, was vested in the School Board whose members, ranging from five to fifteen in number, were elected by owners or occupiers of property worth at least four pounds. Heritors, parish ministers and burgh town councillors controlled the elections. The Catholic community, the vast majority of whose members were extremely poor, especially in the urban centres, had little hope of adequate representation on the majority of the 948 School Boards whose early members were of the eminent citizen class, clergymen and employers. Where the Catholics were well organised, as in Glasgow, the effect of the cumulative vote secured them in the first elections three of the fifteen seats, a number proportionate to their population figure of one in five. While the Catholic managers anticipated some discrimination in the use of the powers conferred on the School Boards - appointment of future staff, disposal of the school fund, supervision of school attendance and general efficiency - their gravest fears were concerned with the control of what was called at the time, religious instruction. The established churches shared these fears and had made every attempt to have effective control of religious instruction incorporated in the 1872 Act. They were unsuccessful, largely owing to the efforts of bodies like the Scottish National Education League

whose six-point programme included no catechism in the schools and no denominational schools. The most that the churches secured was sanction in the Preamble to the Act for the continuance of 'use and wont' in the matter of religious instruction. This meant in effect little or no change in the character of the school after transfer. In its Report of 1878-79 on the effect of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act as regards the religious question, the Education Department states:

The mass of the Scotch people are Presbyterians, and for these the national schools may be said to exist, just as the Roman Catholic and Episcopal schools exist for these denominations. The public schools are to all intents and purposes denominational schools. Public and Presbyterian are practically interchangeable terms. (31)

For a period of 46 years, from 1872 until 1918 Catholics submitted to taxation for the building and maintenance of non-denominational schools to which they would not willingly send their children and, at the same time, contributed voluntarily to their own system of education. From 1872 onwards large sums of money had to be raised to build and equip new Catholic schools or to improve existing schools. This considerable task was recognised in the *Report of the Committee on Education in Scotland 1874-75* which referred to "the extraordinary efforts of the Roman Church is making for the education of her own children, while Catholics, like others are rated for public schools." (32)

Although for the most part a poor, underprivileged section of the community, Catholics built, equipped and maintained their schools and paid their teachers. The Secretary of the Scotch Education Department, Sir John Struthers, observed about the situation after 1872 in Scotland, Catholics were obliged to pay rates "for the support of schools which from motives of conscience they could not make use of." (33)

After 1872 and enforced attendance by law for children of five to thirteen years of age, provision was made for schools to receive grants from the Education Department, although it was not until 1878 that a law was passed banning child-labour under the age of ten. Catholics were left free to keep their own schools and to earn grants from the Government as they had done before. In theory the position of the Catholics

remained unchanged, but in practice they had to carry a heavier burden than before. After 1872 Catholics were obliged to contribute to local rates, to maintain and build new public schools with the school boards - compulsory in every parish since 1872 - set up in all parts of Scotland. Catholics did not have a share in any of the public funds derived from these rates. This meant that from 1872 onwards large sums of money had to be raised to build and equip new Catholic schools or to improve existing Catholic schools.

FitzPatrick explains that, although in Scotland the School Boards were free to approve of Catholic or Protestant instruction in the schools, in practice it was a Protestant system that emerged.

The question of religious instruction in schools was one of the issues at the first elections for School Boards held after the passing of the Act, and in view of the Protestant majority instruction was given naturally in accordance with their beliefs. In some parts of the Highlands and Islands ... Catholic Boards were elected and the Catholic religion taught in the schools under their jurisdiction. But every School Board elsewhere ignored the fact that the Act allowed them to maintain, if they so chose, to maintain schools in which the Catholic religion could be taught. The only exception was in the case of Glasgow which maintained two special schools for Catholic children. (34)

The Catholic community in Glasgow in particular and in Scotland in general was mostly poor, and yet as well as having to contribute to a public system of education which they could not accept, they were committed to finding the funds for their own schools. Even with the help of government grants it was a strain which they were not able to bear, and the result was that in the early years of the twentieth century it was widely accepted that Catholic schools were, in terms of buildings, staff and equipment, sadly disadvantaged in comparison with schools run by the boards. This could, on the one hand, imply that the stance against absorption was a foolish act of arrogance which actually disadvantaged Catholic children and militated against Catholics becoming better educated and therefore assuming a more powerful role in society or,

on the other hand, that it was a heroic defence of values. The records of these Catholic schools give clear evidence that it was not one of their purposes to exclude the children of other than Catholic parents. There is documentary proof that some Catholic schools were attended by a certain number of Protestant children. (35)

From 1872 to 1918, as educational requirements became more expensive, the financial burden on Catholics, paying for their own schools and at the same time contributing to general taxation for the provision of non-denominational schools, became increasingly heavy. As each decade after 1872 witnessed a spiralling in costs that would eventually inevitably crush the voluntary schools out of competition with the Board schools, the contribution of the religious orders to secondary as well as primary education in Glasgow was essential for the continuation of a Catholic system without a major increase in Government aid for which the existing legislation made no provision. Scotland was unique in this respect during the nineteenth century since in many other countries in Europe at that time, for example France, Germany and Italy, there was a shift from Church to State as a consequence of the process of industrialisation and anticlericalism. In Scotland, as exemplified by events in Glasgow, there was the antithesis of this, with the State allowing the Catholic Church to bring the religious orders to Scotland in general and Glasgow in particular to pursue their mission to educate and build up a Catholic community with its distinctive identity in Glasgow. This seems to indicate that the State recognised that with their sense of community and common interests, the Catholic population of Glasgow had a corporate identity which looked to the religious orders for leadership at least in their role as educators. The orders in question were able to be part of the process of state intervention and yet retain their position as religious missionaries. One explanation of this phenomenon is that the state was reaching out to what it perceived as an ethnically distinct and potentially alien and even hostile community and therefore used the Church as an intermediary in this delicate process.

When the Sisters of the Franciscan Order opened their Convent Day School in Charlotte Street, Glasgow, on the 15th October, 1849, they came as pioneers of what was soon to become a great flood of religious men and women devoted to their mission of caring for the Catholic children, youth and adults with regard to education. But what were the mechanisms for bringing these religious orders to Glasgow? It was

not as a consequence of State action but rather as the result of personal invitation, with, in some cases, the Catholic Church acting of its own volition and utilising its own resourcefulness. The Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy were invited to Glasgow by Fr Peter Forbes, the parish priest of St Mary's, Abercromby Street. He was responsible for bringing the Franciscan Sisters from France in 1847 and the Sisters of Mercy from Ireland two years later to help in his day and Sunday schools and night schools. The Marist Brothers came to Glasgow at the invitation of Bishop Murdoch, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District in Scotland. The coming of the Jesuits to Glasgow and their return to Scotland was slightly more complex but also involved personal invitation.

Since the arrival of the Sisters of Notre Dame was after the Restoration of the Hierarchy in Scotland, the invitation to them came from Archbishop Charles Eyre, the first post-Reformation Archbishop of the restored see of Glasgow. Between 1875 and 1885 the number of parochial Catholic schools in Scotland rose from 90 to 150; by 1894, when the decision was taken to open a Catholic training college in Glasgow, there were 180 schools with accommodation for 60,000 children. (36)

There was not any resistance from the State but rather a sense of tacit cooperation in what could be perceived in a meta-historical analysis as the modern State extending its influence less through coercion and more by an internalised discipline of compliance and consensus, with education being the major instrument of this.

Another important aspect of the mission of three of the orders in question, the Franciscans, the Sisters of Mercy and the Marists was to provide night school classes for religious, educational and social purposes and evening classes had made their appearance in Glasgow - mainly in the East End of the city - from the 1850s until the 1880s under voluntary auspices. It was not until 1893 that the State demonstrated the seriousness of its concern for evening classes by issuing the Evening Continuation School Code, with a view to encouraging the study of post-elementary subjects. As a result of this there was an impressive expansion in this field during the following decade or two. Whereas in 1874 only 3209 evening students were presented for inspection, in 1906 the total enrolment was over 100,000. (37)

There was also a crucial development in Catholic educational affairs when, on the 4th of March, 1878 the newly elected pope, Leo XIII, issued the bull *Ex Supremo Apostolatus Apice* which restored to Scotland, after a lapse of 275 years, the normal form of church government by bishops, who derived their titles from the actual territory over which they ruled and which were, in this case, some of the ancient dioceses of Scotland. The promulgation of this bull, which had been discussed and prepared during the last years of the pontificate of Pope Pius IX, is recognised as the most important single event in the whole post Reformation history of Scottish Catholicism. It brought about a radical transformation of Catholic administration in the kingdom of Scotland and it laid the foundations on which all subsequent Catholic progress in Scotland has been built up.

From 1869 to 1878 Archbishop Eyre prepared the Western District of Scotland for its eventual change over to diocesan status. By all accounts he worked exclusively for the spiritual and social welfare of his people and, on that basis, reorganised the Catholic life of the Western District with urbane impartiality and energy. His first act was to publish a code of regulations for the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs in the district. Next he divided up the extensive and heterogeneous district into eight regions or deaneries. He then directed their energies towards the building up the Catholic Church in the Western District. Owing to the timing of Eyre's appointment, his role proved to be pivotal in the development of Catholicism and Catholic education in Glasgow. (38)

Four of the five religious orders in question had come to work in Glasgow before 1878 but it was as a consequence of the Restoration of the Hierarchy in Scotland and the influence of Archbishop Eyre that the fifth of the orders in question, the Sisters of Notre Dame, came to Glasgow. The arrival of this last order was to have enormous significance for Catholic education in Glasgow and beyond as will be discussed and analysed in Chapter 6.

Under the 1872 Act, existing denominational schools continued to receive state aid, and new ones could qualify for annual grants if a demand for them was shown to exist. In practice this meant that the SED authorised Catholic schools wherever there was a significant Catholic community and Catholic schools grew rapidly and steadily.

The purpose of the 1872 Act was therefore:

...to amend and extend the provision of the Law of Scotland on the subject of education in such manner that the means of procuring efficient education for their children may be furnished and made available to the whole people of Scotland. (39)

With regard to the 1872 Act the main debate in Scotland centred on whether religion should be taught at all in schools and in what form, rather than the fierce factional dispute over proselytising a particular faith which characterised the situation south of the border.

The Gordon Amendment which appears in the Preamble to the 1872 Act states:

And whereas it has been 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, but with liberty to parents, without forfeiting any of the other advantages of the schools, to elect that their children should not receive such instruction, and it is expedient that the managers of public schools shall be at liberty to continue the said custom. (40)

This clause, which allowed the continuance of 'use and wont', had to be carried by English votes as the majority of Scottish members were against the amendment. With a weakened established church the *primus mobile* of debate in Scotland was the question of providing greater and much-needed educational provision. (41)

The great reform of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 had set out to ensure that, "Efficient education for their children may be furnished and made available to the whole people of Scotland." Taking account of the situation of the Catholic minority, which on grounds of conscience was prevented from sharing in the facilities of the State system of education, for which it was nevertheless expected to pay, parliament approved the Education (Scotland) Act 1918, by which it was made open to any religious denomination which owned and managed schools to transfer these schools to

the State System under solemn statutory guarantees that the religious character of these schools would be preserved. As a result of this act, the Catholic Church transferred its schools to the state system. The number of such schools transferred by the Catholic Church was more than 220. From 1918 onwards these schools would be owned or leased and managed and totally financed by the State. Moreover, in any area where a sufficient number of parents of a particular religious denomination made application for a school, that school would be provided with the same guarantees regarding the continuing religious character of the school.

As a result of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, existing Scottish Catholic schools were sold or leased to the public authorities who undertook to manage and maintain them, appointing and paying their teachers, who would, however, be approved by the Church with regard to their religious belief and character. (42)

Provision for future expansion was also secured: the local authority would build Catholic schools in areas where the numbers justified separate provision. The religious character of the transferred schools was thought to be guaranteed by the Church's role in the appointment of teachers and the promise that the time given to religious instruction would "not be less than that reserved for this purpose according to use and wont of the former management" (43)

Under the 1918 Act, teachers for Catholic schools, however trained, had to be 'approved in terms of belief and character by the Church or denominational body in whose interest the school is conducted.' This was to be the main way in which the Church expected to prevent Catholic schools from becoming merely secular institutions. In strictly legal terms, they had given up the management of the schools to local education authorities but they still expected that by controlling the teachers, and by regular visitation, they could continue to be a dominant force in the schools. With salaries now paid by the public authorities, teaching after 1918 was a much more attractive job to lay Catholics and the need to rely on religious orders was much reduced. Secular staff everywhere increased in numbers and expected a corresponding increase in their access to posts of responsibility. Yet the changing character of teaching staff in schools only increased Church determination to hold on to the safeguards embodied in the Act and particularly its power over appointments. (44)

Politically, the 1870s and early 1880s in Scotland had witnessed a rising nationalism in Scotland. This was perhaps because Scotland at this time was merely a segment of the total British economic structure and felt discriminated against on certain matters. Liberalism was strengthened in Scotland from 1872 by greater participation in the local democracy of School Boards and helped to strengthen nationalism in turn. The Liberal Government fell in 1886, but its final product was the formation of the separate Scotch Education Department in 1885, a development which was to prove beneficial in the decades following in restoring some local autonomy and character to Scottish education despite its administration from London. During the period in question, therefore, from 1847 until 1918, the relationship between Roman Catholics in Glasgow and the State developed in a number of ways and for a number of reasons.

Administratively, change in educational control reflected initially the nationalistic spirit of the 1870s and early 1880s in that gradually a separate Scottish entity was re-established. In 1872 the Act set up a separate Scotch Education Department as a distinct committee of the Privy Council, but sharing the same President, Vice President and Permanent Secretary. This meant some continued tying of Scotland to England, but through the mediation of a Board of Education in Edinburgh, destined to remain for six years. The principle of School Boards was also introduced. By this arrangement over 900 ad hoc burgh and parish local education authorities replaced an 'ad omnia' Church control. The ad hoc nature of local control still remained, however, and was raised to county level in 1918. Between 1878 and 1885 central authority in education was solely in London, but the build up of feeling over Scottish control led to the Liberal Secretary for Scotland Act which completely separated the Scotch Education Department and inaugurated a period of healthy development of Scottish education under two effective and influential, though still London based Permanent Secretaries, Henry Craik (1885-1904) and John Struthers (1904-1922). It was only after 1922 that the physical transition of the Department to Edinburgh was begun. It was completed in 1939.

Henry Craik

During the period from 1885 until 1904 the Scotch Education Department became a small but powerful and creative department. Much of its influence was due to Henry

Craik who was its permanent secretary during that period. Craik, the son of a Glasgow minister, was educated at Glasgow University and Balliol College. He was single-handedly responsible for giving the SED a central role quite unanticipated by the 1872 Act, in the development of secondary education in Scotland. Craik had a higher profile than most civil servants. His personal contribution to educational policy was openly recognised and acknowledged by ministers and MPs, and he sat on several committees of inquiry as a full member. When his influence on Scottish education was at its height between 1895 and 1903, it is not surprising that Liberal MPs became anxious and in the 1900s when there was much criticism of the arbitrary and “despotic” power of the Department. (45)

Sir John Struthers

Denominational schools within the state sector did not suddenly appear with the passing of the Education Act (1918), although they were indeed safeguarded by it.

In its report of 1878-79 on the effect of the 1872 Education Act (Scotland) as regards the religious question the Scottish Education Department made the observation that public schools were to all intents and purposes denominational schools and that public and Presbyterian were practically interchangeable terms. Writing some 40 years later in 1918, with long personal experience of the working of the 1872 Act, the Secretary of the Scottish Education Department, Sir John Struthers stated:

With negligible exceptions the School Boards of Scotland resolved to provide religious instruction in all their schools at the cost of the rates in a form that was acceptable to the Protestant Churches generally, but refused to make corresponding provision for the Catholic minority among their ratepayers, who were nevertheless obliged to pay rates for the support of schools which from motives of conscience they could not make us of. (46)

He contrasted the attitudes of boards in the West Highlands where Catholics were in the majority and who, to their credit, provided for the non-Catholic minority by the regular employment of Protestant teachers. Clause 18, to which Sir John Struthers

refers, treats of the transfer of Catholic and other voluntary schools in 1918. Like his predecessor, Craik, Struthers held the position of Permanent Secretary of the Scotch Education Department for almost two decades. Craik held the position from 1885-1904 and Struthers from 1904 to 1922.

In the Edwardian, World War One and postwar periods, Struthers was effectively the chief pilot of the Scottish Educational System, and arguably presided over the emergence of its form as it has been known for most of the 20th Century. Struthers took the leading role in Scottish education at a time of relentless and continuing state concern with educational development, in an age of technical need against foreign commercial competition, political desire for universalisation of education as a right, postwar revelation of physical and social degradation. The remaining dimension of the picture facing Struthers was that in the early years of the 20th century, especially before the First World War, investigations into infant mortality, handicapped children, population physique, dietary problems, social distress as produced by industrial unrest, housing and poor living conditions, meant intensified legislative concern with such problems (eg the Children Act of 1908). They also caused all future specifically educational legislation to embrace all aspects of spiritual, moral and physical wellbeing of all children.

It is not entirely possible to establish conclusively Struther's role 'behind the scenes' in the 1898-1904 period, between 1898 and 1904 the framework of Scottish Education was reshaped in every part and formed into a complete structure by means of a series of departmental minutes and circulars. The rationalisation of the grant system was completed; postprimary education was reclassified and developed in new directions by the institution of higher grade schools and supplementary courses; continuation classes were regulated in a single system and grouped round central institutions; the training of teachers was reorganised. It is not too much to say that the initiation of these was the work of Struthers, and their consolidation was the most characteristic part of what he accomplished as secretary. To some extent they hinged upon the Scottish Education Act of 1901, which raised the leaving age to fourteen. Having contrasted the Episcopal schools (few and decreasing, finding it difficult to compete with state schools, disappointing those who wished to 'proselytise' and, in Struthers view, very

probably going to undergo national takeover very soon) Struthers sees a very different situation in RC circles. As he put it:

... making all allowance... I think it indubitable that the great majority of the existing RC schools would continue to be maintained and attended even if they did not receive a single penny of aid either from State grants or from local rates. There is a genuine question of principle behind these schools for which their supporters are willing to pay and to pay heavily. Whether they do in fact pay enough is another question. Personally, I think not ... What is the result of the working of this system in Scotland? There is one enormous advantage which is the direct outcome of it viz that there is no such thing as a 'religious question' in Scotland. Nowhere does one hear a word of complaint on the subject. This is no doubt largely explained by the comparative homogeneity of religious belief in Scotland. But that is not the whole explanation. One is apt to forget that about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the school population of Glasgow is to be found in RC schools and that throughout the mining and manufacturing districts the proportion of RCs is high. It is quite certain that if any attempt were made to subject the RC schools in any way to the control of the local authority there would be the strongest resistance on the part of the Catholics ... Scotland would be aflame from end to end and we should have a religious question with a vengeance. My conclusion is that the present is the only safe settlement in Scotland ...(47)

He went on to stress that, even if local authority takeover ensured greater efficiency, the religious strife would not be worth it. The same objective could be reached by enforcement of standards on staff, equipment etc. This source is an extremely valuable one, for this was said, after all, by the same man who gradually worked from 1911 to 1918 for that very settlement which he himself thought impossible in 1907. The crucial watershed was, of course, the 1908 Education Act and the transformation it effected in the duties placed upon any providers of education. In other words, reality for the RC schools was changed in the period after 1908, which brought, in addition to

expensive building of plant, added burdens of physical and social welfare, developed teacher training and so on – which the Church could not meet. And since Struthers was instrumental in the production of the 1908 legislation, he himself played a crucial role in creating a new situation in which he would ‘begin to suggest’ what had seemed impossible to him a few years before.

There were significant changes with regard to religious matters during the period in question. There was the exit from social welfare of the Church of Scotland combined with the emergence of the Roman Catholic Church as a result of the increased Irish immigration with increasing influence in Scottish society. In the context of religion there was a developing relationship between Roman Catholics and the State. This was evident mainly in the field of Catholic schooling. The 1872 Act had provided for religious education by the School Boards, and for withdrawal of children from it on the grounds of conscience by parents. The setting up of separate Catholic schools was an option ignored by the School Boards so that Catholics felt themselves increasingly bearing a financial burden through taxation for the public schools and support for their own. From 1872 until 1918 there was an onerous burden on the Catholic population to create funds by community efforts of all kinds and by donations by wealthy patrons for schools whose standard continued to be approved by inspection as it had been. But the anomaly of the Catholic and other voluntary schools continued to create irritation on the School Boards so that the problem of provision became almost insoluble. The emergent climate of Catholic opinion rendered possible the cutting of the Gordian knot in 1918.

The argument of this thesis is that the significance of the religious orders in question is that their contribution to Catholic education in Glasgow during the period from 1847 until 1918 made possible the cutting of that Gordian knot.

Catholic Schools and the Issue of Social Control

Immigrant Catholics were perceived as an obstacle to progress. In the view of conservative opinion, they were involved in strike-breaking and they were poorly educated. In the view of liberals and social reformers, they were seen to be part of a

Church which was regarded as illiberal and anti-progressive and which obstructed the progress of democratic reform. As Hickman (2000) argues, although they were formally citizens of the state, Irish Catholics were not generally perceived as part of the British nation in the nineteenth century as anti-Catholicism was ingrained amongst all social groupings in Britain and was significantly intertwined with anti-Irish hostility and fear of Irish nationalism. (48)

Faced with the problem of how best to forge a British society fragmented by class and religious antagonisms into a nation-state, liberal opinion agreed that the stabilisation and reproduction of appropriate social relations required the medium of the state as a 'moralising' or educating agency, no longer reliant simply on repression. (49) There was also widespread agreement about the efficacy of education compared to any other method as a remedy to the problem of control of the working classes in general. (50)

Mass education, as many historians and sociologists have recognised is one of the key instruments of modernisation insofar as it supports the creation of new forms of loyalty and identity and facilitates capitalist economic advancement.

Considered historically, it is worth noting that there was a genuine tradition of parish schooling in early modern Scotland from the Reformation onwards. During the course of the nineteenth century there was a gradual mutation of this system with the growth of Evangelical influence within mainstream Presbyterianism. The argument was made that the Church of Scotland should be responsible for education as a means of maintaining a morally, religiously and secularly instructed population in accordance with the principles of Scottish Christian culture. Several cultural commentators, influenced by the work of Michel Foucault, have pointed out that this model of religious authority in the state, with its emphasis on surveillance and regulation, represents religion as social control. (51)

From a sociological perspective, building on the theory of social control and associated interpretations of the Gospel influences which placed emphasis on the virtues of obedience and loyalty as a means of preserving social stability, Steve Bruce has highlighted the part that religion can play, not only in regulating a majority population but in helping an immigrant population to come to terms with major

cultural transition. He argues that cultural transition and cultural defence are evident in the case of the Catholic Church in Scotland. (52)

It can be argued that, despite their theological and organisational differences, the Catholic Church and the Church of Scotland both performed a social control function in relation to the communities over which they presided. Even if the social control model does not provide a satisfactory, all embracing explanation for the role of the religious orders, its insights need to be taken into account given the larger social and ecclesiastical context.

In Scotland it seems clear that by the 1860s, the threat from the “lower orders” appeared to have diminished. This was the period when both political parties were preparing to extend the franchise, the New Model Unions were bringing some respectability to the middle class view of the artisan, and socialism had not reared its head to any great degree. Although we find legislation on educational measures increasing the scope of the state’s participation, this does not seem to be a function of a perceived need for social control, so much as the internal workings of the educational system requiring development. The teachers were now an organised force through the EIS, the Educational Institute of Scotland, founded in 1847 ... ‘for the purpose of promoting sound learning and of advancing the interests of education in Scotland’ and in Scotland, the Inspectorate was drawn largely from the ranks of teachers. A self-perpetuating body had developed in education whose interests were specifically “educational” as they defined education. Concern for the better teaching of specific subjects was part of this change.

While in England, education was still regarded as an essential lever in social control - the Taunton Report of 1868 clearly set out the different forms of education required for the different social classes - in Scotland, the drive towards a National System came from the need to provide learning not solely directed towards social ends. The Revised Code was bitterly attacked in Scotland, although it was in many ways ideally suited to providing a school system which would suitably train the “lower orders”. For the first part of the period of this study the main reason behind the provision and extension of education by the State and by the Church, both the Kirk and the Catholic Church, was social control. Other factors were, of course, involved. The usefulness of schools in

controlling the minds of the people led to a natural extension of its functions into the sphere of economic expansion. It was the need for social control that had finally brought about the improvement in the conditions of the parochial schoolmasters which the 1803 Act represented. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, it was largely the fear of a disordered society that promoted the growth of voluntary effort and voluntary institutions for the education of the poor. Social control is a major critique levelled at education and religion is seen as a major lever of social control. (53)

Before 1872 the state surveyed and monitored rather than provided and there was increasing pressure coming from social and economic forces added to the demands of running industry and commerce. The moral role of Government in addition to the social and economic forces at work in imperialism and trade together amounted to a recipe for a classical definition of social control. Other factors contributed also, namely:

the links with Protestant Germany, the enduring trade links with the Hanseatic League, the traffic of educational ideas across Europe and beyond, Protestant élites in Germany, the United States of America and Scotland.

In the middle of the nineteenth Century in England, it still was not realised that universal and efficient elementary education was both a public duty and a positive instrument of industrial enterprise.

In addition, there were many perceived political dangers and in these circumstances a highly restricted view of the amount of schooling or education proper, fitting or appropriate for a working man prevailed in most favoured circles. It was generally thought during the nineteenth century that the purpose of education was to rescue young people for the Christian way of life, to teach them to be docile and sober, and to be an alternative to the streets or the factory. The question of social control - how a society manages change through its institutions - was endemic throughout the nineteenth century, notably in England, where there was no tradition of parish public schools that existed in Scotland and Scandinavia. The legal formalisation of this social control was expressed in the 1870 Act in England and the 1872 Act in Scotland. (54)

When the national system was introduced in Scotland in 1872, the Scottish bishops decided to refuse state aid rather than transfer Catholic schools to the new school boards which, they believed, could not be trusted in matters of religious education.

(55)

NOTES

- 1 Anderson (1997) p4
- 2 Anderson (1983) p1
- 3 Committee of Council on Education, MS Minutes, pp6-7
- 4 Minutes of Committee of Council on Education, 1839-40, p18
- 5 Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1847-1848, vol 1, xlvii.
- 6 The Marquis of Lansdowne, Hansard, 3rd Series, Vol.xlv.,col. 351 in Birchenough (1938)
- 7 Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1847-1848, vol 1, xlvii (ibid, 1851-2, p1003)
- 8 Minutes of the Catholic School Committee, (1886) ED 9 GAA
- 9 HMI Dr Ogilvie's General Report for 1893 - in Report of Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, (1893-4) pp303-305
- 10 Minutes of the Catholic Poor School Committee, (1886) ED 9 GAA
- 11 Minutes of the Catholic Poor School Committee, (1886) ED 9 GAA
- 12 Minutes of the Catholic Poor School Committee, (1886) ED 9 GAA
- 13 Centenary Record of St Mary's, Hammersmith 1850-1950, London (1950), p4
- 14 Aspinwall (1994) pp47-70

- 15 Archbishop Ullathorne "Notes on the Education Question" published London (1857)
- 16 Archbishop Ullathorne "Notes on the Education Question" published London (1857)
- 17 Archbishop Ullathorne "Notes on the Education Question" published London (1857)
- 18 Archbishop Ullathorne's pastoral letter to the Diocese of Birmingham (1870), Birmingham Diocesan Archives
- 19 Rt Hon J Moncrieff, Lord Advocate in Hansard, 23 February 1854, col. 1153.
- 20 Stocks (1996) p214
- 21 Hunter (1968) p8
- 22 The Second Report of the Argyll Commission (1867)
- 23 Anson (1970) p326
- 24 Sister Martha Skinnider "Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow, 1818 - 1918" in Bone (ed) (1967)
- 25 Stocks (1996) p216
- 26 Figures from annual reports of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland
- 27 Report of the Religious Inspection for Schools (1878-79) p4-528
- 28 Poor Schools Committee Report (1856) in Aspinwall (1992) p139

- 29 Education Commission (Scotland) 1866 p35-36 in Handley (1947) p192
- 30 Supplement Registrar General Scotland, Births, Marriages and Deaths During the Ten Years, 1861-1870, (1874) 39.
- 31 SED Report (1878)
- 32 Report of the Committee on Education in Scotland (1874-74) p81.
- 33 Draft Memoranda on amendments at Report Stage. SED ED/14/129. See also Brother Kenneth, (1968) p92
- 34 Robertson (1937) p11. See also FitzPatrick (1986) p31
- 35 See Scottish Catholic Directory: editions from 1872 to 1918, passim.
- 36 Fitzpatrick (1986) p32
- 37 Hutcheson (1973) p138
- 38 McRoberts (1955)
- 39 The Education (Scotland) Act, (1872) Ch.62 35 & 36 Vict.
- 40 The Education (Scotland) Act, (1872) Preamble
- 41 Winters (1997) p60
- 42 Darragh (1990)
- 43 Gourlay (1990) pp119-131
- 44 Gourlay (1990) pp119-131

- 45 Anderson (1995) pp174-175
- 46 Draft Memoranda on amendments at Report Stage. SED ED/14/129. See also
 Brother Kenneth, (1968) p92
- 47 Struthers Memo to McKenna (20.11.1907), on Denominational Schools,
 Findlay (1975) pp545-550. Excerpt in Findlay (1975) p114
- 48 Hickman (2000) p49
- 49 Richards (1980): 66 in Hickman (2000) p52
- 50 Donajgradzki (1978); Richards, (1980) Corrigan and Corrigan (1979)
- 51 See Obelkevich, Roper & Samuel (1987)
- 52 Bruce (1992) p147
- 53 See Durkheim (1956 & 1973)
- 54 Boyd & King (1921) p381
- 55 See Skinnider in Bone (1967) and Treble (1978)

CHAPTER 5

THE FIRST FOUR TEACHING RELIGIOUS ORDERS AT WORK IN GLASGOW

The aim of this chapter is to examine the practical contribution to education of each of the orders in the study and to analyse their respective approaches in the particular instance of Glasgow during the period in question. In order to highlight the nature of the contributions of the orders, the contribution of important individuals who were members of the orders is analysed in an attempt to demonstrate the importance of their leadership in education during the period.

French Influence on Scottish Catholic Education

The rise of active religious orders or congregations during the nineteenth century to repair the moral wastage that Napoleon's ambitious designs had brought upon the French nation was a remarkable phenomenon in the ecclesiastical history of France, a country devastated by a generation of warfare. Napoleon was not, of course, the first ruler of France to inflict disaster on his country and indeed the French teaching institutes that arose in the early years of the nineteenth century, while specifically founded to combat what they perceived to be contemporary evils, stemmed from earlier religious congregations that had arisen to check the disorders emanating from national strife in their day. These religious societies were the seventeenth century foundations of St Vincent de Paul and St John Baptist de la Salle.

It was in the institution of the Sisters of Charity, or Daughters of Charity as he preferred to call them, that St Vincent de Paul displayed a broad, teleological vision that has undoubtedly influenced all subsequent founders of religious congregations of nuns (or as they are called now, Sisters of religious orders or congregations). A wise flexibility on his part allowed the Sisters to adapt themselves completely to the needs of the time. He insisted that they must not regard themselves as nuns who were enclosed nor allow their organisation to be so classified.

For the last eight hundred years or so women have had no public employment in the Church. Your monasteries are the houses of the sick, your cell is a hired room; your chapel, the parish church; your cloister, the streets of the city; your enclosure, obedience; your grille, the fear of God; your veil, holy modesty; for whoever says 'religious' says 'cloistered' and Daughters of Charity are bound to go everywhere. (1)

St Vincent de Paul's interpretation provided such a diversity of appeal that the Sisters of Charity, who far outnumbered all other congregations, spread their activities over a variety of good works including the conducting of hospitals, orphanages, convent schools, elementary schools, industrial schools, asylums for the visually and hearing impaired, for women with mental health problems, homes for children with physical impairment, for working girls, for women ex-convicts, guilds of various kinds, the distribution of foods and medicines and the care of the poor in their homes. More modern religious communities of women engaged in teaching and the care of the young owe much to these pioneers.

Twenty years after Vincent de Paul's death in 1660, Jean Baptist de la Salle began at Rheims his work for the Christian education of youth. A century before Pestalozzi, Froebel and Herbart, he developed, in forty years of teaching, principles of instruction that have earned him the description of "the father of modern pedagogy". (2)

Of his *Handbook of Method Conduite des ecoles chretiennes* (1724) Matthew Arnold said: "Later workers on the same subject have little improved the precepts, while they entirely lack the unction."

All religious institutes of teachers, men and women, established since his time have built their methods of instruction on the foundations laid by him and the vast majority of such institutes are French in origin.

In the first forty years of the nineteenth century twenty orders were founded in France. In his *Life of St Chantal*, M. Bougaud makes the point:

It is a curious fact that scarcely one of the religious orders developed and spread throughout the world until after it had taken root in French soil. St Benedict lived and died in Italy, but St Maurus hastened to establish himself in France. St Columba came from Ireland, St Bruno came from the banks of the Rhine, St Norbert from Germany, St Dominic from Castile, St Thomas Aquinas from Italy, St Ignatius from Pamplona. They were all foreigners, urged by some mysterious influence to come to France...because the French genius, so full of brightness and vigour, is especially fitted to impress upon those works the characteristics of simplicity, charm, nobility and greatness which attracts all minds and wins all hearts. (3)

In the case of Glasgow during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the work of all but two of the religious congregations for the instruction and welfare of the young is French in origin and inspiration. One of the exceptions is the Society of the Sisters of Mercy established in Ireland by Mother Catherine McAuley. The spirit of this institute, however, owes much to the example and influence of St Vincent de Paul's Daughters of Charity since the foundress travelled to France to gain the training and experience required for the work she was to undertake. The other exception is the Society of Jesus which was founded in Pamplona, Spain by Saint Ignatius Loyola who also travelled to France for influence and inspiration.

In addition to that, the orientation of the religious orders is different from that of lay teachers. At a time when the teaching profession was beginning to learn from educational thinkers such as Pestalozzi, Froebel, Mills and Dewey, the orders looked on a line of charismatic figures beginning with Angela Merici and Ignatius Loyola and including many of the more recent founders who have either been beatified or canonised. It would be hard to overestimate the influence of the saints upon the religious orders along with the influence of the founders and foundresses of the orders in question, and their specific influence in the field of education is a matter which has hardly yet been considered. The influence of the saints along with the influence of the founders and foundresses of the orders in question is inextricably related to the study

of the contribution of the religious orders to education in Glasgow and, as such, is related to this thesis although it is not an integral part of the thesis and would require further research in its own merit.

The teaching religious orders at work in Glasgow

The work of the five teaching congregations, the Franciscan Sisters, the Sisters of Mercy, the Marist Brothers, the Jesuits and the Sisters of Notre Dame was a crucially important factor in the development of Catholic elementary schooling in Glasgow in the pioneering years of the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s, and in Catholic secondary schooling from the 1860s onwards, since, dedicated exclusively to such a calling or vocation, they were in a position to concentrate their interests on it to a degree denied to the lay teacher. Handley, (see Bibliography) himself a Marist Brother, offers the following explanation of why members of the religious orders were such effective teachers:

The section of their Rule that dealt with the art of instruction in all its ramifications was the product of years of experimental work, garnered from members of their Societies engaged in teaching in various parts of the world, and the periodic revision of such pedagogic material at their general Chapters, attended by delegates from all Provinces, ensured a deletion of all that outlived its usefulness and an admission of what had justified approbation. Their communal way of life and their unity of work and outlook rendered easy an interchange of ideas and a pooling for the benefit of all of methods of teaching that had proved effective. (4)

The shortage of manpower meant that the contribution of the orders was essential for the development of Catholic education in Glasgow. From 1847 onwards the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy taught in schools as well as caring for the sick and marginalised, while the Marists and the Jesuits played a vital role in educating the incipient middle class and the Sisters of Notre Dame introduced teacher training to Scotland for Catholic teachers.

The Franciscans

In the summer of 1847, two Franciscan Sisters, Adelaide and Veronica arrived to work in Glasgow. In keeping with what was the custom of the Tourcoing Sisters, the first thing that the Franciscan Sister Adelaide did was to set up a private Day School in the convent at Monteith Row. The fees charged would provide the funds for their work and a means of support for themselves and it freed the other Franciscan Sister, Veronica, for the work of the orphanage at St Mary's, Abercromby Street. This was a pattern that the Franciscan Sisters adhered to wherever their work was later to take them - Inverness, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Greenock and Bothwell - the private schools provided the funding that enabled them to set up and run the many parish schools for which they were responsible. It was clearly a pattern that met the needs of the time, for by 1850, despite Mother Adelaide's premature death from cholera, Sister Veronica had 80 pupils in the Charlotte Street school, seven of whom were boarders, and she had Franciscan Sisters working in St Andrew's Girls' School, St Andrew's Square; St John's, Portugal St and St Joseph's in North Woodside Road, Cowcaddens. (5) Each of these schools had an average roll of 200 - 300 girls. There were also large numbers of girls, employed in the factories during the day, who attended the evening classes held by the Franciscan Sisters and also the Sunday Schools attended by about 2,000 girls. (6) St Andrew's and St John's were fairly accessible, but to get to St Joseph's, the Sisters, easily distinguishable in their habits, had to travel about three miles twice a day. (Appendix 18) Bound as they were by the vow of poverty, the Franciscan Sisters could ask for no remuneration for their work, except what was essential for their daily sustenance. They received both boarders and day pupils to whom they offered a course of Moral and Intellectual Training which they claimed was superior to that of "ordinary" schools in Glasgow. (Appendix 8) The Catholic Directory of 1851, commenting on the fledgling Franciscan community in the East End of Glasgow says: "It is wonderful to see the vast amount of labour, and the small number of persons to accomplish it." (7)

In the advertisement in the Catholic Directory there was emphasis on the fact that attention would be paid to the health and manners of the pupils and that every exertion would be made to promote their moral and intellectual improvement. (Appendix 8)

The progress made by the Franciscan Sisters can be gauged by the spacious new school built in Greendyke Street, near the west end of Monteith Row and facing Glasgow Green. Erected and furnished from funds collected by Father Gray in America, the school was opened in May, 1856 for the children of the St Andrew's parish. It had accommodation for one thousand pupils, with the upper floor for the Girls' School and the lower floor for the Boy's School. The upper floor was dual purpose and served on occasion as a hall for general Catholic meetings and was described as "the most commodious hall in Glasgow with the exception of the City Hall". A large Infant school was also erected beside the new St Andrew's, with accommodation for 300 infants. The pupils of St Alphonsus', Trongate, were transferred to Greendyke Street bringing the role of the Girls' School to approximately 400 day pupils, 200 evening pupils and 1,000 Sunday School pupils. Success and growth followed and, in the same year, 1856, the Parish Priest of St Patrick's Church, Anderston, Father Buckley who had been a professor in Tourcoing, asked the Franciscan Sisters to take charge of the new parochial Girls' School. This is indicative both of the demand that existed for the services of the Franciscan Sisters and the high esteem in which they were held by the growing Catholic community. Two Franciscan Sisters were allocated to St Patrick's Girls' and Infants' School, Anderston.

The building of the new schools and the upgrading of existing schools had placed a heavy financial burden on the parishes. The only grant-aided Catholic School in Glasgow was St Mary's, Calton, recognised in 1851 - the first time in over three hundred years that Catholic children had been allowed to share in government grants. The other parochial schools depended on charitable benefactors and contributions from parishioners for their upkeep. Most of the school buildings served a dual purpose, being used for lessons during the week and Church services on Sundays, and so were not eligible for Government grants. This situation was now changed and parish priests urged Bishop Murdoch to apply for government aid for all schools. This meant that the schools would be open to government inspection and the Franciscan Sisters were required to gain the necessary certificate qualifying them to undertake the training of Pupil Teachers. When this was put to the Franciscan Superior, Mother Veronica, in September 1856, she immediately called a Council Meeting, to consider the matter. The Council appears to have been very apprehensive about such a move, fearing that it would give the government too much control over the schools and those

who staffed them. Mother Veronica herself would almost certainly have found such a proposal threatening in the extreme, since she had lived through the harassment and disruption of community life that followed on the state take-over of schools in Tourcoing. Nevertheless, the Council decided to put the question to a wider forum, and called the Chapter together. Bishop Smith was invited to be present and to explain the proposal, which was then put to the vote. The majority voted against it, and declared themselves to be in favour of giving up the parish schools rather than submit to government control. Their decision, however, did not please Bishop Murdoch, who wrote to the Sisters, commanding them, under obedience, to put some Sisters forward for public examination. Four Franciscan Sisters - all in charge of parochial schools - applied to take the Certificate Examination. At this time, there were only two Normal Schools (the title given to Teacher Training Institutes) in Glasgow. One, the first Normal School in Britain, had been opened by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland at Dundas Vale, in 1836. The other was a private Training College built by the Free Church of Scotland to provide teachers for its own schools. The Sisters therefore had to go to Liverpool, which had the nearest Catholic Training College, to take their exams. Their schools were inspected by government inspectors in 1856 and the published reports were all very favourable. All the schools were organised along similar lines, with one large, airy schoolroom where the classes were arranged in semi-circles, the pupils being taught by monitors, under the supervision and instruction of two Sisters. St John's report notes:

"More progress, perhaps, has been made here in the last twelve months than in any other school in Glasgow inspected by me."

St Andrew's:

"This large department is full of promise."

St Joseph's:

"This is a pleasing school. Instruction promises to become satisfactory."

One Inspector commented on the happy atmosphere that existed in the Sisters' schools and the good relations between these "Religious Ladies" and their pupils. "The discipline is firm but kind and the girls show a respect and affection for their Mistresses which is not evident in other schools in the city." (8)

All the schools were recommended as fit for training apprentices and the Sisters were certificated to supervise the training of Pupil Teachers. This must have been a considerable help to the priests who managed the schools, for they would now qualify for building grants and would receive financial help with staff salaries. From among their pupils who showed some aptitude for teaching, the Franciscan Sisters could select one apprentice, of at least thirteen years of age, for every 30-40 pupils on the roll. Those selected spent much of their day in the classroom, gaining practical experience under the Sisters' supervision, and receiving formal instruction after school on content and methods. The beneficial results of the new educational policy, so far as Glasgow was concerned, were noted in the North British Daily Mail on 29th August, 1856. (Appendix 19) Throughout their four year apprenticeship, they were presented for examination by Government Inspectors, and if this was satisfactory, they would receive an initial salary of £10 per annum rising by increments to £20. At the end of their apprenticeship, successful candidates were awarded Queen's Scholarships to a Normal School to become certificated teachers. Since there was no Catholic Training College in Scotland, few Catholics could avail themselves of these scholarships and most remained in parochial schools as untrained Assistant Teachers. The Sister Supervisor received a government salary that was calculated on the basis of the number of pupil teachers in her charge. So the missions were relieved of much of the burden of teachers' salaries, and there was built up a corps of trained and dedicated lay teachers who were to form the backbone of Catholic education in the parochial schools until the Pupil Teacher System was abolished in 1906. By this time, four Sisters of Notre Dame had come from Liverpool, in 1894, to establish the Teacher Training College at Dowanhill. (see Chapter 6)

Meantime, as a consequence of the increase both in the numbers in Franciscan community and the numbers in the boarding school, the accommodation at Charlotte Street was once more posing a problem. In 1856, Bishop Smith proposed that another storey should be added to the convent, but that project had to be abandoned when an

architect's report declared the walls unsuitable for the additional weight. Bishop Smith then bought the adjoining property at No 58 Charlotte Street, a former Church, and this was converted into a school for day pupils and boarders. There would be no further extensions needed at the Mother House for another forty years. (Appendix 20 lower plate) By the end of 1856, Mother Veronica could contemplate the extraordinary growth and vigour of the Franciscan community in Glasgow, founded only seven years previously. By 1856, there were sixty Franciscan Sisters, including novices and postulants, engaged in the various works of the apostolate, with charge of five parochial Day and Evening Schools in the city of Glasgow as well as a thriving Convent Day and Boarding School. The Franciscan Sisters were still involved in looking after the orphanage in Abercromby Street, until, in 1862, the decision was made that this work should be transferred to another order, the Sisters of Charity, and the orphanage was moved to Smyllum, near Lanark. A block of buildings near the cemetery in Abercromby Street was then certified as an Industrial School for Catholic girls and the Franciscan Sisters took on the work of running it. This provides further evidence of their concern for yet another marginalised sector of society in Glasgow at the time. The first name on the school register is dated 20th December 1862. Thirty-two years later, more than 1200 girls had been admitted to the school. At any one time, the average roll appears to have been about 200 and the HMI Report of 1888 gives a clear idea of the range, the daily timetable and the work that was done in the school. The report states: "I have examined the schoolroom work also, 26 in Standard V, 36 in Standard 1V, 41 in Standard 11, 31 in Standard 1, and 10 infants. The classes did well and gave me satisfaction."

The day began at 6.30 am, followed by morning prayers and Mass, and then breakfast, after which the older girls did housework in the kitchen or in the washing house. By 9.30 am, one half of the school were at lessons and the other half were sewing. After lunch, this was reversed. Supper was at 6.30, after which the younger girls went to bed and the older girls had time for recreation. In terms of the "industrial work" that the girls carried out, it is recorded that in the year 1884, the girls produced 743 shirts and repaired 1,900; they knitted 690 pairs of socks and repaired 1,780; they made 193 petticoats and repaired 540...and so the list goes on through dresses, chemises, pinafores, shortgowns, aprons, flannels, night dresses, jackets, sheets, towels, pillow slips, etc. The intention was to train these children for work, and the eight Franciscan

Sisters who ran the school tried to find suitable places for the girls when they were ready to leave the school, and also tried to keep in touch with them. (9)

There is some evidence in the notebooks of the Franciscan archives that Mother Veronica's French character and outlook at times made demands on her Scottish subjects, with their very different traditions, background and culture, and perhaps this was only to be expected. Yet the founding vision and charism, the very spirit of the Franciscan Order, had come from her. She took very seriously her responsibility to communicate these, intact, to the Sisters on whom the future of the Franciscan Order would depend. According to the evidence in the North British Daily Mail of 11th May, 1857, the Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception had made a substantial contribution to Catholic education in Glasgow. (Appendix 21) In 1894 the Convent School at Charlotte Street came under government inspection and more advanced work was undertaken. In 1899 the school was recognised as a Higher Grade School and a Pupil Teacher Centre was instituted. Thereafter pupils were presented for the Intermediate Certificate and later for the University Preliminary Examination. (10)

The Sisters of Mercy

The Sisters of Mercy arrived in Glasgow from Limerick in August 1849 and were involved in work similar to that of the Franciscans, not only in the community in Glasgow but also in day schools and night schools.

During the 1850s the Sisters of Mercy were in charge of two day and two night schools, St Mary's and St Mungo's in addition to their work in the orphanage and their work in Sunday schools. The night schools averaged between 400 and 500 girls, chiefly mill workers.

In the same survey of the Glasgow schools undertaken by a special correspondent of the North British Daily Mail in the years 1856 and 1857, the report on the Girls' school in St Mungo's parish, Townhead, gives a valuable insight into how the school was run under the direction of the Sisters of Mercy. The school consisted of "two very good halls", the infants' department containing 168 pupils and the senior 112. Evening

school was also run for 140 girls over fourteen years of age who were mainly factory workers. Fees were charged for all who could afford to pay. A third of the pupils paid no fees. (11)

The report says of the school:

Great attention is evidently paid to the indoctrination of the pupils in the customs and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. A prevailing characteristic of these, as well as other Roman Catholic schools in Glasgow is the strict ecclesiastical supervision and regimen (sic) under which they are conducted. Not only do the priests take a most active interest in the schools, but the work of teaching is placed in the hands of religious orders....This system, of course, is entirely opposed to our opinion of what a common school system of education should be, but those among us, usually very ardent professedly in their Protestantism, who have stickled so hard for keeping schools in connection with churches and congregations, instead of placing them on a civil basis, may perceive in this Roman Catholic school development the natural and logical result of their views. (12)

The Scottish Education Act of 1872 brought about great changes to the Catholic community in Scotland in general and in Glasgow in particular. The pressure of pupil numbers particularly at the infant stage made schools even more dependent upon these first two female religious orders to come to work in Glasgow and endorses the viewpoint that theirs was a community building vocation and that school teaching was regarded as a community-building profession as well as a vocation:

Religion is communicated to the soul of the child more from the habit of holiness in that of the teacher than from the words of instruction addressed to its mind. (13)

Due to the efforts of the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy considerable progress in the provision of education for Catholic girls in Glasgow was made from the 1850s

onwards as is evidenced by an excerpt from the Report of the State of Education in Glasgow, 1865. (Appendix 22)

The new Convent of Mercy was opened in 1877 and the Convent School was established underneath the Chapel. In 1894, to satisfy the demands for Higher education, the Sisters of Mercy purchased the building formerly known as Buccleuch House and adapted it to school purposes. There is evidence of expansion when a large addition was built in 1906.

The scheme of Higher Studies in the 1890s was based on the requirements of the examination initiated in 1888 by Sir Henry Craik. It placed emphasis on English, Mathematics and French, and gave prominence to Drawing. Pupils were presented for the Leaving Certificate Examination and University Preliminary. One of the earliest scholars, Cecilia Smith, was among the first few women who entered Glasgow University at the early age of seventeen, in the days before 1895 when women were allowed to attend lectures and take examinations but were not granted degrees.

The report of HMI Dr Stewart of the 21 March 1899, is evidence of the high standards the Sisters of Mercy attained in the Convent of Mercy, Garnethill. An excerpt from Dr Stewart's report states:

It is pleasant to note once again the charming manners of the children who are trained in all the amenities and delicacies of becoming conduct. Moreover they show sterling honesty - take an evident interest in their work and perform it all with the greatest care, neatness and taste. Much eagerness and intelligence shown in oral answering. (14)

The Convent of Mercy school was recognised as a Higher Grade establishment in 1904 and Practical Science was begun in the same year. To meet the full requirements of Secondary education after the 1918 Act, the premises had to be further enlarged. The roll of the school was further augmented by pupils from Stirlingshire, Clackmannanshire and West Lothian. These pupils continued to come well into the 1930s when the local Education Authorities had gradually provided Catholic

Secondary Schools in accordance with the terms of the Act. (15) Like the Franciscan Sisters, in a comparatively short time, the Sisters of Mercy had made remarkable advances in the education of girls in the city of Glasgow in addition to their work with the marginalised in society.

The Marist Brothers and their contribution to the development of Catholic education in Glasgow from 1858 until 1918

In the 1850s there was the considerable problem of the lack of Catholic male teachers in Glasgow. HMI Marshall's report of 1852-53 had stated categorically that the Catholic boys' schools in Glasgow were completely inferior to the Catholic girls' schools. This was the result of the work of the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy in the girls' schools. It was largely as a result of the lack of male teachers in Glasgow that in 1855 attempts were made by the Catholic hierarchy to invite the Marists to Glasgow. In 1858 the Marist Brothers opened schools in Glasgow. They were the first religious congregation of men to settle in Scotland since the Reformation. Brother Procope, Brother Tatianus and Brother Faust, the first three Marist Brothers who came to start teaching in Glasgow in 1858, had come from St Anne's School in London at the invitation of Bishop Murdoch, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, and took immediate charge of Father Chisholm's Boys' School, St Mungo's in Glebe Street. They opened St Mungo's Academy on 23rd August 1858 in their own premises on Garngad Hill. (16) It was a fee paying school, although, just as with the Franciscans, in many cases of poverty the fee was waived. (17) St Mungo's Academy was to be the Marists' most prominent school in Glasgow as far as documented results show, but this was not until the school was built on a permanent site and had overcome many financial problems. By 1864, only six years after their arrival in Glasgow, the Marists were running four schools in the city, namely, St Andrew's, St Mary's, St Mungo's Boys School and St Mungo's Academy. To lighten financial burdens still more and to improve their educational standing, the Marist Brothers resolved to open their school to Government inspection and to introduce the pupil-teacher system. A major factor that encouraged the pupil-teacherships was that the grants awarded often meant the continued existence of the schools. Payment of the grants to the master in charge of pupil-teachers, namely, £5 for one pupil teacher; £9 for two; £12 for three and £3 for

every other one, was based upon yearly examination results. This meant that education became geared to encouraging as many pupils as possible to succeed in these yearly examinations. In order to bring the school under the aegis of the Government Department of Education and so reap the benefit of £15 to £30 a year that the Treasury granted to certificated teachers in charge, Brother Alphonsus spent session 1859-60 as a student in training at the Catholic Training College, Hammersmith. After this, pupil-teachers could be apprenticed and St Mungo's was placed under government inspection. Brother Procope took the Teacher's Certificate Examination at Christmas 1860, and in 1861 four pupil-teachers were apprenticed and the school obtained its first government grant. (18) It had received on 16 and 17 April 1860 its examination preliminary to coming under government inspection. The report, which, by twenty-first century standards is laconic and lacking in informative detail, by a Mr J R Morell, who was HMI for Catholic schools in Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire and Scotland, runs:

Scholars presented at examination, 256. One master. Premises, furniture, offices, playground, ventilation, good; discipline, good; instruction, good; This school is conducted in a very efficient manner by a religious community, the Marist Brothers. The teacher in charge proposes to extend the next Christmas examination. The grammar, dictation and arithmetic are very satisfactory. (19)

The preliminary conditions under which a school might claim the benefit of pupil-teachers were that the master or mistress of the school was competent to instruct the apprentice through the required course of instruction, that the school was well furnished and well supplied with books and apparatus, that it was divided into classes, that the instruction was skilful and so graduated according to the age of the children and the time they had been at school to show that equal care and attention had been given to each class, that the discipline was mild and fair and conducive to good order and that there was a fair prospect that the salary of the master or mistress and the ordinary expenses of the school would be provided for during the period of apprenticeship. The pupil-teachers, who were not allowed to exceed the proportion of one to every forty children, were required to teach a junior class to the satisfaction of

the Government inspector. At the end of each year they were examined by him and retained in office or rejected on his report.

There was a marked development of Marist educational institutions around this period in the 1860s, evidence of the esteem in which the Marists were held by the Catholic community in Glasgow and of the commitment of the Marist Brothers. They took over charge of St Andrew's School in Greendyke Street in 1862 and their third school, St Mary's, Abercromby Street in 1863, at the instigation of Father Peter Forbes. These schools were among the dozen or so primary schools in Glasgow that struggled despite serious difficulties to furnish the elements of education for Catholic children in the city of Glasgow by day and to provide the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic for their older brothers and sisters in the night schools. This is indicative of the Marist Brothers' commitment to teaching where there was a need.

The timetables of the Marist schools were broadly similar. The typical structure is St Mungo's Boys' School. The school was graded into six classes or standards with the headmaster conducting classes with assistants and pupil teachers. Hours of school were from 10 am - 3.15 pm with half hour midday break, and pupil teachers had to be taught, while a night class was held later in the evening. All classes were examinable by Her Majesty's Inspectorate for Government Grants based on the schools success in the "3 Rs", the basis of teaching in this period. From the description of a former pupil of St Mary's, Abercromby Street, the daily routine was obviously similar:

St Mary's Boys' School was divided into six classes, or standards as they were called. As the staff of certificated and pupil-teachers totalled six, the headmaster had to conduct one class - (the day) began at ten o'clock and finished at quarter past three, with a break of half an hour at midday.... pupil-teachers had to be instructed either before or after school, and there was night school, which was grant-earning, and therefore the tempo of work at it was as strenuous as in day-time. The day began for all pupils with prayers and singing, then religious instruction for three-quarters of an hour followed by four periods varying from three-quarters to an hour of

reading, writing, arithmetic and dictation. The opening quarter of an hour in the afternoon was given to prayers and singing. (20)

An analysis of the structure of Marist Education allows us to gauge the effect of the Revised Code on their educational provision. The Royal Commission on Education, the Argyll Commission, investigating in Scotland in 1865 reported on the state of Catholic Education in Glasgow. The investigation of the Royal Commission was conducted by unbiased observers, J Grieg and T Harvey, who worked under the Duke of Argyll. Their comments suggested that achievements of the Catholic pupils were at least equal, and in some cases superior, to equal grade Protestant schools. Buildings were often superior and the teachers were good especially those of such religious orders as the Marists. The full timetable and overcrowding made essential a rigorous discipline and the need for complete silence in classes. Also teachers and pupil teachers were taught to conduct lessons through controlled silent reading among the pupils. Further emphasis was instilled in Marist Brothers at their training in the importance of the style of teaching most conducive to obtaining the maximum effort from the pupils. Whether this involved encouraging varied methods of teaching, or changing exercise books for double line books to secure regularity in writing, it reflected the Marists' attention to detail in education. Handley's insight into the training of religious orders in general is illuminating:

Their own training as religious, with its stress on silence outside of recreation, on self-control, on custody of the senses and modesty of deportment was an excellent preparation for the task of maintaining discipline, and had a salutary effect in the classroom.
(21)

Brother John, afterwards Assistant General, and Brother Austin were appointed to St Mary's, Abercromby Street on 21 April 1863. Three years later Messrs Harvey and Greig, members of the Royal Commission on Education in Scotland, furnished an interesting note on St Mary's which ran:

The school appropriated for boys is on the lower floor of the building, and here about 300 are taught reading, writing and

arithmetic by two Marist Brothers, assisted by five pupil-teachers paid by Government. The principal master is a painstaking, anxious man and he had his school in perfect order.

It is unnecessary to enter into the system of instruction pursued in these schools [ie St Mary's Boys and Girls]. They were conducted in all respects in much the same way with the ordinary schools of the city and may be pronounced on a level with most of them. In these, however, as in the other Roman Catholic schools, the superiority in the discipline was very marked. There was no noise, except what is inseparable from the business of a school and the children were attentive and polite, as is invariably the case also . . . The children in all the departments (boys and girls) were of the lowest class; but quiet, well-behaved and attentive, as is invariably the case in Roman Catholic schools... Preparations were being made for the Government examination with a view to having the school certified... A Marist Brother visits and examines the school once a year. The number of boys on the roll was 315. (22)

The opinions of those inspectors about St Mary's, Abercromby Street, are echoed in the reminiscences of a contemporary pupil. (Appendix 23) It is a tribute to the early work of the Marist Brothers in Glasgow that nearly seventy years after his schooling under the system a pupil with a memory made vivid by affection could offer such detailed and glowing testimony about it. The dedication of the Marists is also evident in their efforts to engender a willingness to work among the pupils, to develop the motivation of their pupils. Varied methods were used to encourage a competitive spirit and provide an incentive to learn. This is evident in the Logbook entries. Punishment was a threat but there was a preference for incentives such as competitions, prizes and entertainments.

Both of the male orders who are the subject of this study, the Marists and the Jesuits, had a similar way of motivating pupils by a spirit of competition as can be seen from their method of dividing each class into two warring camps, usually named French and Austrians respectively, that fought with each other for intellectual victory in all

departments of secular instruction. Occasionally the classical motif was stressed by designating them Greeks and Romans. The camps were changed at the end of each month. All the Marist schools used 'camp' competitions, as the basis for school work. This involved dividing the school into competing groups, rearranged monthly. Camps were divided normally into 'French' and 'Austrians', or 'Greeks' and 'Austrians'. However when particular topics were taught in occasional history lessons or national conflicts of topical interest arose the camps would be renamed, such as English and French or Whigs and Tories. One can see how the system was also used to create interest in topical matters as camp names would be discussed and explained before the lessons. The competitions were for rewards in the form of sweets, pictures and the occasional half-day holiday. Marks for the competition covered the whole field of school life. (Appendix 24) Clearly this system had many purposes. It was used to reward children in such a way that they benefited financially and physically. Children could accept money and food rewards without angering parents. Secondly, entertainments and trips served as money-raising events when parents were invited and medals of distinction and daily progress bulletins increased the motivation of the pupils.

In 1869 the yearly results for St Mungo's Boy's School read:

Results of the Examination	Revised Code (Article 48)
Average attendance for past year	241
Qualified for examination	185
Number presented	169
Number passed in reading	167
Number passed in writing	157
Number passed in arithmetic	155
(23)	

Brother Procope, the Marist headmaster of St Mungo's Boy's School in 1865, commented on this system:

Commenced to classify the boys definitely for the examination, many of those who have completed the required number of

attendances are not to be got now; some are working and cannot attend even for one day, others are kept at home for want of clothes, and should all these children come out for the examination how could they pass without any immediate preparation. (24)

The impression from school logbooks and official reports is that the Marist Schools were efficient and successful. Their success was achieved despite scarcity of finance and absenteeism. These problems were overcome in a manner that is indicative of the Marist attitude to education and the willingness of the Catholic Community to better their position. There is also evidence of the work of the philanthropic sections of the community to ameliorate the situation of its immigrant population, for example, the work of the Catholic Schools Society and the St Margaret Association.

School fees were only charged when parents could afford them. Unfortunately there is not tabulated evidence to show how this was decided upon. Fees, in the case of children of poor families, were either waived at the recommendation of the Parish Priest or paid by the St Vincent de Paul Society, the Catholic Charity organisation, which also paid for meals, books, and clothing for the more impoverished pupils. Any orphans at the school had their fees paid by the City Parochial Board. However income from fees was at best erratic and so no reliance could be placed upon school fees as a ready source of money.

As stated above, the aim of the Marist Schools was to charge reasonable fees for those whose parents could afford it and by cutting costs, to try and spread these fees as far as possible. However, since the amount received was too small to pay for the schools running costs the sources of finance were expanded by fund raising events such as concerts, exhibitions, trips and prizegiving night of St Mungo's Academy which was often used as a platform to solicit donations from interested parties. (25) The problems of the Marist Schools were not solved by the 1872 Act since the financial position worsened as commitments increased and the most pressing need for Catholic schools was an increased supply of Catholic teachers. In 1874 the decision was made to open a Pupil-Teacher Centre or Juniorate at 71 Charlotte Street. The boys were to live in the community house under the immediate supervision of the Brothers, learning by daily contact the advantages of religious life and being moulded by it. The idea was not

successful, however, and the comparative failure of it was repeated later in London and Dundee. (26)

Another fund-raising scheme which met with more success and was a very obvious indicator of commitment to the poor was the “Penny Dinner” scheme introduced by the Marists. Brother Dorotheus, the Marist headmaster of St Mary’s, refers to money received from a friendly football match organised by Brother Walfrid in 1886 between the Edinburgh Hibernians and St Peter’s, Partick, and another one in the Spring of 1887 between Hibernians and Clyde which realised £50 for the “Penny Dinner” tables. Finally, in November 1887, Brother Walfrid drew up plans for the formation of the Celtic Football Club to furnish funds for the support of the “Penny Dinner” organisation in Sacred Heart, St Mary’s and St Michael’s, and the money from that charitable club was distributed weekly through the respective branches of the St Vincent de Paul Society. There was a considerable reliance upon donations. The head of St Mary’s Boy’s School received gifts including money from the school Manager (the Parish Priest acting as correspondent for the school), and from other sources which led to ‘treats’ and the distribution of clothes and books to many of its impoverished pupils. In 1885, Brother Dorotheus, Marist head of St Mary’s started a ‘penny dinner scheme’, the penny being an obligatory charge for the meal for those children whose parents were reluctant to accept charity. Premises near the school were hired as a kitchen and were soon moved to a Blacksmith’s shop in the school yard. Soon it was providing a thousand dinners per week. A similar scheme started by Brother Walfrid, Marist head of the Sacred Heart Boy’s School, shared the proceeds. Brother Dorotheus refers to football matches organised by Brother Walfrid to raise money. In 1886 Edinburgh Hibernians played St Peter’s Partick, and in 1887 the Hibernian Clyde match raised £50.00 for the ‘penny dinners scheme’. In November 1887 plans were drawn up by Brother Walfrid, for the formation of Celtic Football Club to raise funds for the ‘penny dinner’ organisations of Sacred Heart, St Mary’s and St Michael’s parishes with the money being distributed through local branches of the St Vincent de Paul Society.

This was very obvious evidence of community-building in the East End of Glasgow when the Irish Catholics realised that an established football team in their community would be an excellent financial source of free meals for poor school children. Under

the guidance of Brother Walfrid, a member of the Marist order and headmaster of Sacred Heart School in the East End of Glasgow, the idea of the forming of a football team with the title of the “Celtic Football Club” was realised. Brother Walfrid had on several occasions made use of football matches as a means of revenue and so, on 6 November 1887, promoted the formation of ‘The Celtic Football and Athletic Club.’ The reasons behind the club’s formation were explained by Brother Walfrid and a committee of fellow Catholics in a circular issued the following January:

The main object of the club is to supply the East End conferences of the St Vincent de Paul Society with the funds for the maintenance of the ‘dinner tables’ of our needy children in the missions of St Mary’s, Sacred Heart and St Michael’s. Many cases of sheer poverty are left unaided through lack of means. It is therefore with this object that we have set afloat the “Celtic” (27)

Within a short period of the founding of the football team considerable sums of money were being provided. The club provided the local branches of the St Vincent de Paul Society with tickets to sell for the various matches. Since the branches retained the money an incentive was provided for the promoters and all concerned to sell as many tickets as possible. The result was that in the first year of its existence, 1888, the club gave over £400 in charity as well as playing matches for charitable events in various parts of the country, the income for which was estimated at £150. (28) Its regular contribution was £20 a month to each of the children’s “dinner tables” of the three East End parishes. This came to an end, however, in 1893, when the coming of professionalism into football put an end to the service of charity and when a company was formed to run the club and share the profits, the children’s “dinner tables” had to look elsewhere for support.

Brother Walfrid 1840-1915

Brother Walfrid spent a long useful life working in more than one part of the British Province of the Marist Brothers, but he was chiefly associated with the Catholic East End of Glasgow, where for a quarter of a century he was an outstanding figure. He became headmaster of Sacred Heart school in 1874 when the new parish of Sacred

Heart was carved out of St Mary's and in his own sphere of action gave much assistance to Father Noonan whose task it was to build the new parish. Brother Walfrid took empty premises near the school and began the 'penny' dinners with the financial assistance of the local conference of the St Vincent de Paul Society. In addition to inducing some of the football teams to play exhibition games for the benefit of his school's 'Dinner Table and Clothing' scheme - for example, Dundee Harp against Clyde at Barrowfield and Renton against Hibernian at the same park, with cups for the winners - he formed football teams among the young men of the parish and prepared a football ground where admission might be taken. One of his teams for the boys who had left school and were members of his 'Literary Society' he called 'Columba' and rented a park for them in the neighbourhood. After building up three or four football clubs, which had a short existence, he devised a set of rules and opened a subscription list in 1887 for a football team that he proposed to form and call in honour of the country they had come from, 'Celtic Football Club'. The subscription list, headed by Archbishop Eyre, who knew nothing about football but was always prepared to support any scheme that had for its object the welfare of the Catholic poor, was a lengthy one, representative of Irish Catholic life in Glasgow at the time. (29)

Five years later in 1892, Brother Walfrid was transferred to St Anne's, Spitalfields in the East End of London, possibly to distance him from the Football Club he was instrumental in founding. Later, Brother Walfrid continued his school charities in St Anne's, London, and in the spiritual interests of the parish he maintained a Boy's Club and a Young Men's Club. He retired from active work in 1906 and died in Dumfries, 75 years of age on 17 April, 1915, and is interred in the Brothers' graveyard at Mount St Michael, Dumfries. (30)

Gallagher argues that social integration conveyed the danger of being drawn to better Protestant schools or a Protestant marriage, and a drift towards the religious and moral values of the surrounding population (31) and makes the point that whether from an Irish or non-Irish background, the clergy usually proved insistent about preserving an enclave insulated from the surrounding society. An increasingly urgent priority was to counteract external influences that would weaken the solidarity of the Catholic community and entice members away from it. The fear that Protestant soup-kitchens set up in Glasgow to combat distress might lure Catholics into apostasy along with the

allied concern about the danger to the faith of young Catholics when they first started work and associated with Protestants, partly lay behind the decision of Brother Walfrid to found Celtic football team in 1888. (32)

Gallagher (1991) gives a very reasonable account of the motives behind Brother Walfrid's work in the East End of Glasgow:

This Marist brother, along with other church activists, began to create a wide variety of organisations which were designed to absorb the energies and take up the leisure time of parishioners young and old. These bodies had distinct religious, recreational, charitable and social functions and in a parish where each of them was in place, it was felt that Catholics had no need to go further afield to look for companionship or to use up their leisure time. Strong-willed Victorian churchmen emphasising ritual and devotion and having little time for independent thought blended well with the ethos of the immigrant communities. Acutely aware of how bleak and hazardous life could be, their inhabitants yearned for the kind of certainty that unquestioning religious commitment could provide. (33.)

Bradley's research supports this:

The establishment of Celtic Football Club provided an environment where many of the Irish and their offspring congregated, and where there was a sense of security and expectation that was difficult for them to come by in other areas of life. (34)

Accordingly, the Catholic clergy was not going to encourage members of the community to assimilate into wider non-Catholic society. Communal self-help under close religious supervision, was the watchword; this ethos encouraged self-improvement but within the narrow confines of the immigrant enclave.

This immigrant enclave had grown at an unprecedented rate and with the growing roll in schools staffing became more of a problem. The new curriculum needed well-trained teachers. The pupil-teacher system was on the way out, but St Mary's, Hammersmith, was the only Catholic training College in Great Britain for male teachers; and the increase in the number of Catholic schools was absorbing as headmasters those who had come up by the pupil-teacher and Queen's Scholarship scheme. The difficulties however did not adversely affect the general high quality of the teaching. The annual reports provide evidence. They were invariably commendatory as, for example, in the HMI report for St Mary's, Abercromby Street for the last year of the century. (Appendix 25)

The Evening Continuation Classes, as the old night school was renamed in the 1890s, opened in September with a roll of generally well over a hundred, and closed in April. Drill formed part of the course. Fluent reading was taught through the medium of the *Strand Magazine*, which possibly explains why the attendance was continuously good - in the 1890s the *Strand* was carrying the 'Sherlock Holmes' series, the short stories of W W Jacobs and the contributions of John Galsworthy, Maurice Hewlett and H G Wells. The only inspector's report logged in the 1890s on the Evening Continuation Classes runs:

The school has made an excellent beginning and the results generally bear witness to intelligent and well-directed teaching. Writing is an outstanding feature of the school, combining in a marked degree rapidity of execution with uniformity, neatness and legibility. Reading although somewhat lacking in the finer qualities of taste and expression was accurate and well phrased, while the highest class came through the test of a newspaper and a magazine with great credit. Dictation in the classes corresponding to the Third and Fourth Standards was done with substantial accuracy, while composition in the Fifth and Sixth showed careful and painstaking training in sentence making. Arithmetic reached all over a very creditable level of efficiency. Grammar in the circumstances of the students was often too technical, but Algebra and Physiography were intelligently taught. A class of elderly men

did really excellent work. Evolutions in military drill were executed with praiseworthy precision. (35)

At the opening of the new century staffing remained a difficulty. For the first time in its history, in February 1900 St Mary's enlisted the services of two women teachers, but they left shortly afterwards and it was not until provision was adequate in the premises of the new school that women rejoined the staff. By 1906 new regulations of the Scottish Education Department substituted for the pupil-teacher system the Junior Studentship, under which aspirants to the teaching profession completed a full secondary course leading to the Leaving Certificate and the Training College. In the last three years of their course they spent a half-day a week in observation and occasional teaching in the primary schools under the direction of a Master of Method from the staff of their secondary school. The primary school curriculum was stabilised by the Qualifying Examination twice a year for classes about twelve years of age, with the successful pupils passing into Supplementary Classes for a final two years and sitting the Merit Certificate at the end of it. Algebra, geometry, elementary science and woodwork were the additional subjects in the Supplementary and the pupils filled in weekly their own records of work. It was hoped that the pressure of the rising roll would be lightened when the new St Anne's School opened in September 1901 and siphoned off about 150 boys from St Mary's, but the effect was only temporary. In a few years the number was over 800 and the classrooms were crowded. At a visit in November 1907, for example, the inspector drew attention to the fact that Class Junior III with 69 pupils on the register had accommodation for only 55 and Class Junior V with a roll of 79 was seated for 65. The congested conditions under which the staff worked accounted in part at least for the fact that the inspectors' reports in the early years of the new century were generally not as flattering as they had been. A new building was urgently needed. In the report for session 1908-9 we have the first reference to the possibility of it. Two years later the report noted that the plans for the new school had been approved; and by midsummer 1911 work had begun on demolishing the old building. For two years makeshift accommodation for the whole school roll was found in the hall at Henrietta Street.

On Monday 23 June 1913, five days before the summer holidays, the classes left the inadequacies of their temporary housing for what must have seemed the incredible

spaciousness of their new home. Occupying more than twice the ground of their old school and four stories in height, it provided forty-three high and airy classrooms each with accommodation for fifty pupils, with rooms for manual instruction, domestic economy, dress-making and cookery and both ground and roof playing-space for boys and for girls. Ample cloakrooms and staffrooms, four broad staircases and central ten feet wide corridors running the length of each storey were excellent adjuncts. (36)

Accommodation was crucially important. The qualities in leadership, however, must also be emphasised in order to give an accurate account and make a reliable assessment of the achievements of the Marists at this time in Glasgow.

Brother Ezechiel

Brother Ezechiel was born in 1856 at Morbecque in the north of France, and he had received his early education there at the boarding school of the Marist Brothers. After making his novitiate at Beaucamps in northern France he was sent to the Marist Brothers' house in London in 1872 and, except for an interval spent at the Marist house at Frelinghien in France, he remained in London until 1878 when he was transferred from St Patrick's school, Somerstown, to St Mungo's parish school, Glasgow. He taught there for three years, and after a period of two years at the Free Church Training College under Dr. Morrison was appointed headmaster of St Alphonsus school. Handley wrote of his contribution to St Mungo's Academy:

To his new task in St Mungo's he brought all their vigour of his thirty-six years and a vast capacity for hard work. His enthusiasm and energy as headmaster of the Academy were ably seconded by a studious disposition and a scholarly outlook of mind, an attractive dignity of presence and utterance, and an amiable crotchet for investing whatever concerned the school with a swelling importance. Minor accomplishments that were useful to him in the headmaster-cum-secretary post that charge of the Academy in those days entailed were a facility in correspondence and a penmanship of exquisite character. (37)

In the secondary sector too, therefore, the Marist Brothers continued to make a major contribution to the development of Catholic education in the East End of Glasgow. Brother Ezechiel was appointed headmaster of St Mungo's Academy on 8th August, 1892, and directed the school for the next seventeen years. His first major task was to revise the curriculum to suit the educational changes of the time. The Secretary of the Scotch Education Department, Sir Henry Craik, had initiated the Leaving Certificate in 1888, an examination for Scottish schools which involved a complete reorganisation of the studies of the advanced schools of Scotland. In this reorganisation, less prominence was given to Science and more emphasis was placed on such subjects as English, Mathematics and Modern Languages. Logbooks and prospectuses of the time used capital letters for some subjects and lower case for others. (Appendix 26) This must be indicative of the status of the subject at that time. When Brother Ezechiel applied for recognition of St Mungo's Academy as a secondary school, such was the evidence of good work in the past that it was admitted without any opposition. The Scotch Education Department made a retrospective grant of £1,600 to St Mungo's Academy. (38) The revised prospectus of St Mungo's Academy in 1899 is in Appendix 26.

The logbook for 27th January, 1893, records the visit of Dr Dyer of the Glasgow School Board to examine the provision in the school for secondary education, and a note three weeks later informs us that the managers were making efforts to secure recognition for such a type of education in the upper classes. They were successful, and Brother Ezechiel in his annual report referred to the achievement in these words:

During the course of the year committees were formed by order of the government in the counties and chief burghs of Scotland for the promotion of advanced education, and as soon as the Glasgow committee was established we invited the members to come and see for themselves the work that is being done at St Mungo's. We had visits from several members, who were all thoroughly satisfied with what they saw. We then made a formal application for recognition to this committee with the result that the school was immediately placed on the list for recommendation to the government. Shortly afterwards notice was sent us that St

Mungo's had been accepted as fulfilling all the conditions required. In consequence of the approbation twelve scholarships tenable for three years were founded by the burgh committee; but as one third of these scholarships is to be renewed this year, we were only allowed to offer four bursaries for competition the first year; and four boys have already commenced a three years' course of higher education in the advanced section of the school. (39)

The logbook for 15th September, 1899, notes:

The managers are corresponding with the Education Department for the purpose of having the Higher Section of the school recognised as a Higher Grade department. (40)

The achievements of Brother Ezechiel are summarised in the Inspector's report for 1902: "The teaching throughout is careful and sympathetic, and the general tone of the boys is all that could be desired."

Throughout his seventeen years as headmaster of St Mungo's Academy, Brother Ezechiel remained an example of the excellent work that can be accomplished by spiritualised energy in the service of others. He was responsible for a transformation in St Mungo's Academy during the period 1892-1909 similar to that made in St Aloysius' College by Father Hanson SJ during his period of office as headmaster, 1901-1926. From their arrival in Glasgow in 1858 until the revolution in Catholic education brought about by the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 and beyond, the Marist Brothers were pioneers in the development of a Catholic sector in the Scottish educational system. Their efforts were marked, as Brother Clare says in his Epilogue, by 'a virile sanctity that sought its ideals in strenuous endeavour'. (41)

The Jesuits

Jesuit Education

From its inception when Pope Paul III gave his formal approval, the Society (or Company) of Jesus was active in the mission field, and in 1547 began its work of education in schools and universities; it began, too, to meet the challenge of the Protestant Reformation, a concern in which the founder of the Society of Jesus, St Ignatius, insisted that an example of charity and moderation be given, 'without hard words or contempt for people's errors'. (42) St Ignatius of Loyola, a man of compelling personality with a notable gift for friendship, was above all a man of prayer, who received deep religious illumination. He left one famous book, *The Spiritual Exercises* which was begun at Manresa and finally published in 1548. The influence of this work during the past four hundred years has been incalculable, and not confined to Roman Catholics. A volume in English of his *Letters to Women* was published in 1960. In the time of Ignatius Loyola the progress of the Reformation had created a serious problem for the Catholic Church in Europe and the Society of Jesus involved itself in the task of halting its advances in the countries still adhering to Rome and countering them in Protestant countries. Ignatius and his followers judged that the key to the situation was in higher education and as the Jesuits grew in numbers and influence their intellectual prowess soon established them as leaders in meeting the challenges of the counter-reformation. As part of their strategy for overcoming heresy, they gradually built up all the countries where they established themselves a system of colleges and universities, resembling in general character the educational institutions of their opponents but modified to suit their own special aims. As an indication of the success they achieved, before Loyola's death in 1556 the order had a hundred colleges and houses distributed over twelve "provinces" and by 1600 the Jesuits were responsible for a very large part of the higher educational work in Catholic countries. The secret of the success of the Jesuits at this time can be attributed to the enthusiasm and devotion with which they combined learning and piety in the performance of their duties. They developed a system of education which was both in complete accord with the genius of Catholicism and fundamentally sound in its practical methods. The educational scheme of the Jesuits was not the product of any one mind but embodied the experience of the whole society. This can be explained by the fact that in 1584 Claudius Aquaviva, the fourth General, appointed a

committee of six members from different provinces to draw up a standard plan. After a careful study of many works on education and a survey of the methods followed in the best contemporary institutions, both Catholic and Protestant, they drew up a Report which, after being submitted to all the provinces, was made the basis of a working scheme. This was printed in 1591 and tried for eight years. Finally, in 1599, after constant discussion, there was issued the elaborate Plan of Studies (*Ratio Studiorum*), which regulated in an authoritative manner all the details of subject and method for the Jesuit schools and universities until it was revised and modernised in 1832. (43)

In general, conception of their methods resembles closely those of Sturm, as he himself had noted with approval. The studies prescribed fall into two courses: a lower preparatory course of literary kind with carefully graded classes culminating in rhetoric, for boys; a higher course in philosophy leading up to theology or some other special study, for adolescents and young men. But even in the literary course of the *gymnasium*, where the resemblance is evident in the importance attached to Cicero and in such details as prize-giving, promotion by examination, the subdivision of classes in groups of ten and the like, there are many differences. There were only five classes, the lowest classes being omitted for economy of effort; Greek was taught alongside Latin from the beginning; some attention was generally given to the use of the vernacular; and effective expression in speech and writing was sought by extending the highest class - the rhetoric class - over two and even three years. Still greater were the differences with regard to the treatment of the higher studies. The subjects were much the same as in Strasburg, but, following the example of Paris University, a much longer time was given to them, and a clear division was made between the preliminary course in philosophy and science, which occupied three years - corresponding to the arts course of the universities - and the higher course in theology with a four years' programme of work and two years revision. A distinctive innovation to the Jesuit system was the emphasis on the preparation of the members of the Society of Jesus for their work as teachers and professors. (44) Since Ignatius Loyola died in 1556, there has been a proliferation of Jesuit colleges, universities and schools throughout the world. In the 1990s there was a network of 90 colleges and universities as well as 430 high schools in 55 countries. (45) This is testament to the vitality of the religious humanistic vision that motivated Ignatius' conversion. This Ignatian vision evolved

and remained vibrant and relevant throughout the centuries. In this evolution lies its dynamism for there can never be a single, final and self-enclosed philosophy of Jesuit education. It is a dynamic vision that provides the permanence rooted in our own uniqueness as shared since Ignatius, and at the same time seeking action-orientated solutions to contemporary problems. (46) Donahue asserts that the unique combination of Ignatius spirituality and educational theory rests in Ignatius's "instance on keeping simultaneously and steadily in sight the most exalted ends along with the most exact and concrete means of achieving them." (47)

Few men in history have accomplished a work of such proportions as Ignatius Loyola and successfully escaped the fame that their achievement brought them. Unlike Benedict, Francis and Dominic, the founders of other great religious orders, Ignatius did not give his name to the Society he founded and did not even claim to be its founder. Instead he sought to merge himself in its creation. It was through his *Spiritual Exercises*, a small book which condensed his ideas on the spiritual life, that he influenced the course of European education and culture for two centuries and brought about a revolution in the Catholic world that is not a spent force in the twenty-first century. The impact of the manual made it possible not only for his first followers but for future generations of men and women to live as he had done, by the same personal experience of life.

The Jesuits and their contribution to the development of Catholic education in Glasgow from 1859 until 1918

The Jesuits, or the Society of Jesus, were the only order of the five orders in question who returned to Scotland during the nineteenth century. St Aloysius' College, Glasgow, was not the first Jesuit school in Scotland. The Jesuits had opened the Royal College at Holyrood House in Edinburgh in 1687, which closed somewhat abruptly in 1688. (48)

Although many difficulties were encountered and many more were expected, the Jesuits were optimistic about the future of St Aloysius' College. Numbers did increase gradually as did the regularity and punctuality of attendance indicating an

improvement in the attitude of the pupils and their parents. During the latter part of 1862 a few young men came to the College two or three times a week in the evening by the way of experiment to see if it was possible to have night classes on a small scale. The beginning was promising, but the promise was not fulfilled. Other attempts were to be made later but all failed eventually.

By 1864, St Aloysius' College, Glasgow, had achieved some impressive results. One example of this was that six pupils had passed on to Stonyhurst, Lancashire, to train to become Jesuits, while others were being prepared to go there to study and train to become Jesuits. The Jesuit house at Stonyhurst, Lancashire, had been formed by the College of the English ex-Jesuits of Liege in 1794. The English Catholic settlements abroad, in Holland and France, which had been of an educational and monastic nature, were lost as a result of the French Revolution. There is, therefore, evidence of the effect the Jesuits were beginning to have in providing more efficient education than had up until then been provided for Catholics in Glasgow. Their aim was to develop a situation where a full grammar school education would be provided for Catholic boys in Glasgow. It took some twenty more years before the students of St Aloysius' College were prepared for entry to Glasgow University.

Harvey and Greig made the following comments when they visited and examined the school in the 1865-66 Session:-

The College, under the management of Jesuit priests, is, in reality, a school of a high order. It is styled a College, but would be better described as a Grammar School. There are three main sections in the schools:-

First of boys from seven to nine or ten, receiving an elementary education. Second, of more advanced pupils (aged ten to thirteen) learning besides the ordinary branches, Latin and French, with the rudiments of algebra and geometry.

Third, of an older and more advanced class still, reading in Greek, Homer and Xenophon, and advancing before the end of the session

to Euripides and Thucydides, and in Latin, Virgil, Horace and Livy, and Italian and German Readers. The boys are also learning algebra and geometry, and are in fact receiving a high class education. We were struck with the accuracy and style in which they had been taught. What they knew they knew very thoroughly - translating, parsing, derivation of words, connection of Latin and Greek with one another and with English. In order to keep alive attention, each had a special censor or critic, whose duty it was to correct any error made. The system might lead to unpleasantness, but as far as we saw, the censor in each case did his duty well, and there was good humour shown on both sides. The terms on which Education is given were extremely moderate, and there can be no doubt the boys receive full educational value for their money, for the school will bear comparison with the High School or Glasgow Academy. (49)

By 1865 St Aloysius' College appears to have taken shape and made its mark. The Jesuits had from the time of their arrival in Glasgow the stated intention of catering for the education of middle class boys. (Appendix 27) The advertisement in the Scottish Catholic Observer, 1865, for St Aloysius' College gives a first hand account of what the Jesuits were offering the Catholic parents and boys of Glasgow. (Appendix 28) The Jesuits' move to Glasgow was motivated by what they saw as a need to create an educated Catholic middle class in the city and despite the fact that there were almost no Catholic professional men, or possibly as a consequence of this fact, in many respects they were faced with considerable obstacles. They felt that progress was slow in Glasgow because of the attitude of the Catholics of Glasgow to education. Significantly, only twenty-five boys were present on the first day, 12 September, 1859 and some months passed before the number on the roll reached fifty.

Although Catholic parents in general were interested in improving the social status of their children, these parents appeared to have no real desire to utilise education to achieve social mobility. The Jesuits succeeded in creating that desire and were thereby instrumental in changing the attitudes and values of Catholic parents in Glasgow. In order to succeed in obtaining their objective, the Jesuits gave their pupils

and the parents of their pupils not only the desire for what gives a fuller human development, but also the opportunity to obtain it. They showed the Catholic parents what was intended for the Church of the future in Glasgow as a result of the education offered at St Aloysius' College. In spite of the problems they met with in Glasgow, the Jesuit Fathers worked with a concerted will and effort, hopeful of success in the future as this quote written by a Jesuit in 1863 shows:

With respect to the actual position and prospects of the College, it is not too much to say that they afford reasonable ground for congratulation and hope. No doubt many difficulties have been encountered and many more will present themselves; but the very fact that the past difficulties have been overcome affords a fair guarantee that those which are future will not prove insurmountable. The school has progressively improved in numbers, in point of regularity and length of attendance and in tone; and these are all indications that its true character is becoming better known and appreciated by the Catholics in Glasgow. Another ground of encouragement is the very difficulty of the undertaking itself. Perhaps nowhere within the three kingdoms could a wider field be found for the operations of the Society, or one which on its own intrinsic merit could put in a stronger claim for their exercise. To form a rugged mass of 130,000 Catholics and breathe intelligence into them, to mould them into habits of virtue and religion, and make them a living power in this gloomy and desolate land, is surely no unworthy object of the highest ambition: it is one which we may well conceive would have been most warmly cherished by our holy Founder himself. (50)

On the road to the achievement of considerable success in their mission in Glasgow, many difficulties were encountered by the Jesuits, not only the attitude of the pupils and their parents, but also more practical difficulties. In 1866, Fr Weld, the Provincial of the Jesuits, with the help of Mr Hope Scott and some Glasgow friends, purchased the building which became St Aloysius' College, 21 Dalhousie Street, Garnethill, and

opened on the 14th August, 1866. The new St Aloysius' immediately ran into difficulties and disappointments. There were no trams in the 1860s in Glasgow and the expectations of increased numbers and prestige in the larger premises faded as the new College could muster only forty pupils on the roll against the seventy at Charlotte Street which had just been given up. The walk to Garnethill was too far from the homes of potential pupils. Many of the pupils who had studied at the College in Charlotte St lived in the East End of the city and left to join the Marist Brothers in St Mungo's Academy when the College moved to Garnethill. The Prefect of Studies, Fr MacLeod, tried to solve the problem by starting a house for boarders. It began, after Christmas 1867, with three boys, increased to seventeen, most of whom came from Edinburgh and Greenock. It proved not to be financially viable and in two years collapsed. The failure of this experiment seemed to take the heart out of the school and at the same time the demands of the mission, encouraged no doubt by the promise of more immediately fruitful results, began to consume all the energy of the failing staff. Thus, for example, we find Fr Anthony Foxwell SJ acting as Missioner and Prefect of Studies, merely superintending the College classes, which were taught entirely by a lay-master. One of the masters writing in 1868 reflects the depressed and pessimistic mood that seems to have settled on the school:

Many in the Province regarded it as doomed to failure. The first experiences of the College at Garnethill were gloomy and disappointing. It is to be regretted that the number of scholars does not keep pace with the facilities offered for securing a good Catholic education. This arises from the scarcity of respectable families to whom our style of education is adapted; in some degree also, from an idea that we have not paid sufficient attention to the more commercial branches of education, such as writing and arithmetic. It is attributable likewise, in some measure, to the fact that the Marist Brothers have a day school established before ours, in which a commercial education is offered at a much lower terms than we could afford. (51)

There is evidence here that, although there were similarities in the approaches of the Marists and the Jesuits to education, there were significant differences also, which

may well account for the evident rivalry between the two orders. The change of location from Charlotte Street to Dalhousie Street combined with the absence of public transport in Glasgow in the 1860s almost dealt a deathblow to the school. Combined with the growing impression amongst Glaswegians that St Aloysius' College was about to be closed, it is not too surprising to find that the number of pupils in the early 1880s was still less than fifty. It was still by no means certain that Glasgow Catholics wanted the kind of education that the Jesuits had set out to provide in St Aloysius' College at that time in the nineteenth century. Most Catholic parents could not see the point of their sons learning Latin and Greek, for example, and instead were looking for a curriculum which placed more emphasis on commercial subjects. On 1 March 1871, Fr Parkinson, in an attempt to educate the Catholic parents of Glasgow on the meaning of education, gave an address to a meeting at which the Archbishop presided. Fr Parkinson's words were:

The question is whether you wish, you Catholics of Glasgow, to have the means of procuring a high class education among you or not. Do you wish us to continue or not? The College has been to some extent in a state of suspension for the last year or two...We are determined not to abandon the ground 'till you most clearly and decidedly tell us that it is time for us to go. (52)

In July, 1875, Fr Peter Galloway, the Jesuit Provincial, paid a visit to Glasgow to find out why the College was foundering. He resolved that a new start would be made. He removed the parish school from the Scott Street building and reinforced the Jesuit teaching staff. His energetic measures infused new hope and were soon rewarded with success. In 1885, under the rectorship of Fr Gordon, reconstruction and new building was completed and St Aloysius' was from then on associated with Hill Street rather than Dalhousie Street. It is significant that a contemporary report of the opening ceremony says that: "The buildings recently opened form part only of a more comprehensive scheme which may follow later". (53)

The fortunes of St Aloysius' College were changing. In August 1886, there were seven classes and 133 pupils, rising in September of the same year to 162. Fr Chanderly gave all his time to the school, acting as Prefect of Studies, Prefect General and Master

of Syntax, with six other lay teachers helping him. The following year thirteen boys entered for the Local Examinations and all passed, four of them winning University prizes. Progress was being made; but the College diarist could still note in March 1889 that "Glasgow boys nearly all leave at 14". (54)

Another entry by the diarist of St Aloysius' College in October, 1893 suggests that the financial position was causing anxiety. He writes:

In the Tablet for yesterday (Sept. 30) there is an advertisement of our new College at Wimbledon. The Fee for 'seniors' is 20 guineas a year; how different from our £5 per annum here! Four students on such terms here would be welcome.

His successor began more optimistically. He notes, for the 21st May, 1896: "Holiday for Queen's Birthday. Masters (ie Jesuits) receive 6d each."

Less than a year later, during the Easter vacation, there are signs that his optimism was under strain; "Masters receive a solitary shilling to make themselves happy with for the week, to be reinforced by the usual sixpence on Saturday".

More hopeful and more important for the future of St Aloysius' College, was the entry for 1st July, 1894: "Glasgow Corp. Tramway Co. began operations today; very successful". (55)

In 1899, 17 March, St Patrick's Day was a whole holiday instead of the customary half "to celebrate the 200th boy". Yet when schools re-opened on the 21st August, 1900 there were only 120 boys present including nine new boys. These fluctuating numbers seem to be typical of the Glasgow of this period, and there is evidence that numbers could be maintained only by close contact and constant persuasion of the parents by the members of the teaching staff. On the 19th of August, 1901, St Aloysius' College re-opened with 111 boys, of whom 28 were new. There was also a new Prefect of Studies, Fr Eric D Hanson. In order to analyse and highlight the importance of the Jesuit philosophy in practice, it will be helpful to examine the approach and contribution of the most prominent Jesuit in Glasgow at that time, Father Hanson SJ,

and his influence on the Catholic parents of Glasgow during the period 1901 until 1926 when he was headmaster of St Aloysius' College.

St Aloysius' College sought to help to create a professional middle class among the Catholic population of Glasgow and beyond. The College focussed on providing a classical, academic education for Catholic boys in Glasgow. The aim of the Jesuits in nineteenth Century Glasgow was to provide the Catholic population of Glasgow the opportunity to enter further education and the professions by tapping into power structures and facilitating upward social mobility. The Jesuits endeavoured to change and influence society in the way that their founder had envisaged. St Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) was clear about the task of Jesuit schools. It is to bring about an 'improvement in living and learning for the greater glory of God'. Like the Marist Brothers the Jesuits were successful in providing aspirants to the clergy and religious orders. Between 1878 and 1897 sixty-six went to Blairs seminary, three to the Franciscans and seven to the Society of Jesus. (56) In a similar way to St Mungo's Academy, the influence of being taught by members of a religious order seems not only to have provided boys with a sound religious and moral education but also to have awakened in some their sense of vocation for the religious life. The teaching staff of St Aloysius' College c1896 consisted of two lay teachers and seven members of the Society of Jesus. (Appendix 29).

In the report on the school for 1908, the mission of the Jesuits in Glasgow and their aspirations for St Aloysius' College appear to have been achieved, at least to some extent:

One who looks upon the institutions existing in Glasgow for the good of souls with a farsighted appreciation, would probably pronounce St Aloysius' College the most precious of them all. The rising generation will be men of much greater wealth than their diligent parents have been; they will have the money and possessions that belong to the great ranks of society. If we can inspire their parents with a little higher ambition, and lead them to secure for their children the advantages of education as well as of fortune, these will be able to take rank as gentlemen in Glasgow,

and the Church will no longer be in the extraordinary condition in which it now finds itself, when almost the entire Catholic population belongs to the lower and uneducated ranks of life. (57)

Fr Eric D Hanson SJ

Fr Hanson is arguably the greatest figure in the history of St Aloysius' College. He made the College, materially and spiritually, and his influence on the education of the Catholic population of Glasgow, inside and outside the College can hardly be exaggerated. He was a man with the courage of his powerful convictions, fearless in pursuing what he judged to be the right course, outspoken to the point of bluntness but redeeming, if need be, any offence by his sincerity and his unflagging energy and zeal for his work. A formidable controversialist, his name soon became familiar in the Glasgow press on matters religious and educational, defending and urging the just demands of what he called in the early days the "hardly-used and oppressed Catholic minority". (58)

As a boy Father Eric Hanson was educated at Dulwich College leaving school in 1876, after three years, in order to learn engineering. In January 1877, he was legally apprenticed to the General Steam Company and took up residence at Deptford. After working for two years and nine months, his health deteriorated and he abandoned engineering to devote himself to what he described as "an ardent desire of his heart," the vocation of a foreign missionary. In January 1880, he entered St Augustine's College, Canterbury, an Anglican Theological College for preparing men to undertake the missionary work of the Society for the Promotion of the Gospel. After six months devoted to Humanities, he began theological studies which happened to include the history of the Reformation. In his unpublished memoirs Hanson recalled his influences at this time.

It was this which began the unsettlement of my mind to Anglicanism, an effect which was further increased by two books which I found in the College library, *Principles of Church Authority*, by Wilberforce, and Newman's *Essay on the*

Development of Christian Doctrine. Both these books I read many times, and by January, 1881, having lost all faith in Anglicanism, I left St Augustine's. (59)

Instead of becoming a Catholic at this stage, as he believed in retrospect he should have done, Hanson was induced to go to Oxford, as he put it, "to clear my mind" by a long suspension of religious enquiry. He says:

I had to encounter hostile influences in the direction of covert and avowed scepticism, which, in the unsettled and, for the most part, negative condition of my mind at the time, proved too strong for me. Although I seemed to have lost all positive belief in Christian Revelation I studied theology; and in 1885 I obtained a second class in the Honour Theological School. (60)

He then went to Christ Church, took a BA in 1885 and an MA in 1888. In 1886 he was received into the Church by Father Richard Clarke after having made a retreat under him at Manresa. During the next twelve months he was teaching at Downside although this was interrupted by a fear, groundless it proved, of phthisis and after another confirmative retreat at Manresa, he was definitely accepted by Fr Purbrick, and entered the Society of Jesus on September 7, 1888. After his vows he taught for two years at Stonyhurst and one at Stanford Hill which had only been opened twelve months before, when he went there in 1895. He was ordained on September 24, 1899, at the age of 39. In the early autumn of 1901, Father Hanson began what proved to be his life work, - Prefect of Studies at St Aloysius' College, Garnethill, Glasgow. In addition to the constant load of routine work connected, with the syllabus, the examinations, the timetable he set himself the task of developing a policy in the school and in the city of Glasgow too.

Father Hanson clearly saw that his main task was to educate the parents of Glasgow. He found that many Catholic parents in Glasgow were not particularly concerned with secondary education, the classical and literary courses, the refining influences of the priest in daily and constant contact with the boys. Fr Hanson persisted relentlessly in this policy of bringing to the boy the greater good, and the parents, once converted,

became anxious and competitive for places for their sons in St Aloysius'. Hanson was not, however, completely intransigent in the matter of recruitment for St Aloysius' and on many occasions he would inform parents that their sons were not of the type to profit further by their course at the College. Still the numbers grew. In 1901, they stood at 170, and by the end of Father Hanson's period they had grown to 500.

He has been credited with giving St Aloysius', Glasgow, a policy. It would be more accurate to say that he succeeded in carrying into practice what had always been the Jesuit policy, theory of education and fundamental philosophy. He quickly realised that his main task was to educate Catholic parents rather than their sons and to convince Catholics in Glasgow that secondary education was worthwhile.

In 1904 Hanson stated unequivocally in the Catholic press that Catholics were woefully behind their non-Catholic neighbours in secondary education, and made the following appeal:

I see no prospect of any great improvement in these figures until the parents of our children take the matter into their own hands. The future well-being of our people depends on them. It is not any sort of callousness, nor yet really necessitous poverty as a rule, but rather want of knowledge which has led them to act so differently from their Scotch neighbours, to deny to even exceptionally clever children the best years of education, and to mar their prospects by condemning them to pottering, unskilled employments. Comparatively few parents use the opportunity offered them. There must be many who need to be assured that by a trifling sacrifice they can immeasurably better their children's prospects in life. Boys who are industrious and intelligent should on no account be allowed to drift into unskilled occupations. The issue at stake is a far-reaching matter and concerns the prosperity of the whole Catholic body . . . Nothing can recall lost opportunities, but the future is ours to use better than we used the past. (61)

This was the leadership Catholic Glasgow needed. Two years later, in 1906 he gave to the Catholic Truth Society a remarkable, and characteristically ruthless, lecture, which shows the range of his vision:

“Here within a small radius we have a trifling number of some 200,000 Catholics. Include the whole Archdiocese and the number is 320,000. It is one of the greatest industrial centres in the world. How many Catholic employers of labour have we? Where are the master engineers or shipbuilders who are Catholics? How many Catholics among our merchant princes? or among the larger shopkeepers? It is a University city. Among the 2,500 students at Gilmorehill could we find a dozen Catholics?... Is there one reading for a degree in Arts? Is there one who has secured an open bursary there? Is there a single school master in the whole diocese, elementary or secondary, who possesses a University degree? There may be one. I don't know him. How many can you find?

He then turned to the School of Art and the Technical College:

Some men may say: ‘Engineering is overcrowded’ I agree. It is overcrowded, like all occupations, for the incompetent and uneducated worker. I have remarked that in point of mere numbers, number of heads, or let us say hands, we Catholics are utterly insignificant in Glasgow. And the reason is that nearly every road that leads to high and honourable employment, although crowded by non-Catholics, even by poor non-Catholics, is well-nigh deserted by our people. With marvellous unanimity they are as a class the least ambitious of all, the humblest in their ideals and aspirations, and least independent and enterprising, the most willing to take the back seats and to be pushed aside by others. (62)

This was plain speaking. Had Fr Hanson offered only exhortation, encouragement and reproach, it is possible that he would never have gained the respect, admiration and

support of Glasgow Catholics. He also proceeded to show what could be done. In October, 1909, it was surprising and impressive for Glaswegians to find on the list of successful candidates for the Glasgow University bursary the names of five pupils of the small and little known St Aloysius'. They took 1st, 6th, 7th, 30th and 40th places. By December, 1914 the much coveted Snell Exhibition had been won by Old Aloysians three times in four successive years. Fr Hanson always gave the credit for these achievements to his colleague Fr Charles Annacker SJ of the Staff of St Aloysius' College.

These successes and the confidence they inspired helped to raise the demand for secondary education amongst the Catholics of Glasgow. In 1907 there were 260 pupils at St Aloysius' College, and the Scott Street block was added in 1908. (Appendix 30) The appearance, fabric and quality of this building is indicative of the Jesuits' intention to be a permanent fixture in Glasgow for the purpose of fulfilling and continuing their stated mission there. In 1910 there were 300; in 1919, 400; and when Fr Hanson left in 1926 the Hill Street block had been added at the cost of £20,000 - not to make room for greater numbers but to provide better accommodation for the 500 pupils then attending. (Appendix 31)

Father Hanson's influence on educational matters was widely felt and appreciated in non-Catholic circles as well as Catholic circles. In November 1919, at a meeting of the Glasgow Branch of the Secondary Education Association of Scotland, he led an attack on the unsatisfactory inspection of secondary schools; and went on to find much fault with the methods in favour with the Scottish Education Department in the teaching of Science... "It would hardly be called the teaching of Science at all by anyone accustomed to the work done in English schools".

A year later in 1920 he caused a stir in the educational world by criticising the Leaving Certificate Examinations. In subject after subject he accused the State Department of "encouraging all-round mediocrity and woodenness," and of "frowning on excellence". This was followed by a frontal attack on the Scottish Education Department itself. In a public speech he declared that he had been a member of a deputation from the Secondary School Teachers of Glasgow to confer with the

Education Department about the Leaving Certificate Examinations. A report of his speech runs:

He could not speak with entire satisfaction of that interview . . . It remained to see whether the Department would deal with these matters. He expected very little because the Department is not in any way representative of educational feeling in the country. It was not controlled by educational experts. All other professionals were controlled by men of long proven eminence in their professions. Most curiously, it was otherwise in Education. It was rare indeed that responsible posts in the Education Departments in Scotland and England were given to men of acknowledged ability in Education. (63)

It is no over-statement to say that the history of the success of St Aloysius' College should be in the main the history of Fr Hanson. The great strength of Fr Hanson's term was the very able and permanent staff, which, in conjunction with the generous cooperation of the Education Authorities, enabled him to bring the school to the peak of its success. It is indicative of Fr Hanson's ability as a headmaster that, having been given these resources, he used them to effect. Fr Hanson not only established relations with other Glasgow schools but became a valued friend of some of the great headmasters outwith the Catholic sector in non-denominational schools. The inspiration behind his life and work is perhaps nowhere better revealed than in a private letter to his great friend Dr Kerr, formerly Head Master of Allan Glen's School:

I would say that education is valuable just so far as it teaches us how to live; and that does not mean how to get a living, though it may do that incidentally, so to speak. How to live, not a dull and ignoble life, but a life made rich by all that we can acquire of goodness, beauty and truth. A school of the right sort starts a boy on than quest, with definite standards, knowledge and guidance. His testing-time finds him not wholly unprepared. 'I have come that they may have life, and that abundantly' (64)

The combined effect of the teaching religious orders in Glasgow

The peculiar difficulties and challenges which the teaching orders were faced with when they came to Glasgow did not discourage them for they approached their task of teaching the Catholic youth of Glasgow fortified by their absorption of the Church's philosophy of Christian education, their religious training as members of orders dedicated to the active life of teaching, and their schooling in French methods of approach to the craft of instruction. Handley (1950) explains why effective teaching came so naturally to members of the religious orders:

From their earliest days in the novitiate they had been taught to appreciate the necessity for an integration of intellectual, moral and religious education - that to impart knowledge or to develop mental efficiency without forming character is fatal to the individual and to Society. Religion is not merely a subject to be taught like other lessons in the curriculum. It must embrace the whole work of the classroom and be the centre about which all school subjects are grouped and the spirit by which they are permeated. Their own school guide books had emphasised that to educate a child is to expand, strengthen and perfect all the faculties of the soul, to form the heart, the will, conscience and judgment. Their foremost duty in consequence was the religious education of the children entrusted to them. In their formative years therefore in community they had been trained in the ways of the good catechist. They had been taught that to merit the name of the catechist one must possess the art of attracting children, of captivating them and making them listen with pleasure. For this purpose it was necessary to have a sound knowledge of Christian doctrine and to nurture that knowledge by constant daily study; to acquire by reflection and experience the art of descending to the level of children's minds and consequently of speaking to them in clear and precise language; and to know how to represent holy things in such a way as to be interesting and at the same time to touch the heart. As the remote preparation for this work they had their daily life of

prayer and their lifelong study of religion, its dogmas, its morals, its worship and its history. But religious instruction was not mere tuition in the truths of Faith and the divine precepts, and their guidebooks had stressed the paramount importance of schooling their pupils in the dispositions required for the worthy reception of the sacraments, the method of hearing Holy Mass and assisting at the offices of the Church with piety and devotion, the excellence, the necessity, the obligations and conditions of prayer, the enormity of sin and the sanctification of one's actions. (65)

The members of the religious orders having been trained along these lines entered the classrooms of the schools they opened and worked in with missionary zeal. Their religious garments, their demeanour and their way of life must have had a powerful influence on the pupils and parents with whom they worked. O'Leary emphasises the effect on children of having teachers who are members of religious orders in that they, the children

...know that they are but a part of the great life which sweeps around them, and that consciousness is a more lasting influence than would be the most perfectly developed pedagogical method. It is the spirit, the ideal, the personal worth and the outlook of the educator which ultimately moulds and uplifts the child, and consequently in a religious house, where lives are dedicated to a higher calling and minds are occupied by a full and efficient service, a greater restfulness and width of outlook is possible than in the confines of a school which is a school and nothing more. (66)

In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the preservation and advancement of primary education in parish schools was the main priority for all concerned in their management, the religious orders, vowed to poverty, were in a position to establish schools for secondary education at modest fees. From the 1850s onwards, long before the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act had remedied the inequalities of the national system by offering the same opportunities to all pupils irrespective of their religion,

many Catholic parents in Glasgow and beyond who were able and prepared to make some sacrifices could ensure the benefits of higher education for their children thanks to the efforts of the teaching religious orders in question. As a result of their secondary schools, notably, Our Lady and St Francis, Charlotte Street, The Convent of Mercy, Garnethill, St Mungo's Academy, Parson Street, St Aloysius' College, Garnethill, and later Notre Dame College and Notre Dame High School, Dowanhill, the influence of the teaching religious orders who came to Glasgow between 1847 and 1894 was immense. The contribution of the Sisters of Notre Dame to the development of teacher training is dealt with in the next Chapter.

An issue that must be faced in considering the effects of the teaching religious orders in Glasgow is that of the creation of a "dependency culture". The theory of dependency culture has its origin in economics and sociology where it is used to describe the relationship between socially vulnerable groups, reliant on state support, and the state itself. The argument is that the dependency relationship existing between vulnerable groups and the state stifles initiative and inhibits development. As Stephen Smith suggests, the term is now an established one but more recently has broadened to encompass the notion of the situation of any group in a comparable position. (67)

The concept of dependency culture, when applied to the historic conditions of Glasgow's immigrant Catholic population, is one means of interpreting the relationship between the immigrant Irish and the official institutions of the Church. It is possible to argue that an over-reliance on the leadership and service of the religious orders impeded motivation and social progress and reinforced hierarchical views of society. However, there are important distinctions to be made here. It is important to understand how an élite within an institution like the Catholic Church relates to the mass of the faithful; the subtle forms through which leadership is exercised and consensus managed. The work of the religious orders complicates the "ghetto model" and its connotations of dependency by highlighting the nuanced interactions between élite and mass. The evidence shows explicitly that the explanatory power of the conventional ghetto model is soon exhausted when the detailed transactions of the religious orders with their communities are analysed in depth. The ghetto hypothesis traditionally emphasised concepts such as ecclesiastical protectionism, separation, preservation, purity, self-containment and sufficiency, segregation, internal cohesion,

disadvantage. Seen in close detail, the work of the religious orders does not quite overturn this model, although elements of it hold true, but it does complicate it significantly by highlighting the complexity of the relationships between (a) the orders and secular authority; (b) the Irish-Catholic enclave and wider Scottish society and (c) the orders and the local communities and social classes they served. What emerges from an appreciation of the work of the religious orders is a radical revision of the ghetto account of Scottish Catholicism, with far reaching implications for our understanding of the place of the Catholic community in Scotland. This revision embraces a number of important social and religious factors. First there is the broader institutional context. The evidence demonstrates clearly the desperate need that existed in nineteenth century Glasgow for leadership in an uncontrollably expanding and disadvantaged Catholic immigrant population, the dominant profile of which was poor, young and expanding. In the face of the social and economic pressures of immigration and urbanisation, the Church rightly recognised that it had to lay emphasis on the preservation of unity. Unity, however, could not be taken for granted and could not be based on coercion. The work of the religious orders shows the clever ways unity was achieved and maintained. Another means of sustaining cohesion was through the positive relationship of the orders to other manifestations of Catholic life such as voluntary associations, charity, SVDP, confraternities and sodalities.

Looking outward as well as inward, the religious orders played an important role in improving the civic and moral image of Catholicism in wider Scottish society and against a background of UK-wide expressions of religious revivalism. What the orders faced was the need to strike a delicate balance between policing the boundaries of the community and leaving them permeable to, and judiciously mediating, acceptable outside influences such as democracy, trade unionism and Irish nationalism. Different orders responded in different ways to these challenges, but it soon became clear that an essential feature of successful integration would be the slow nurtured emergence of a lay élite capable of assuming positions of civic responsibility in locations such as school boards, local politics, business and the professions. A valuable contribution to this process, only recently recognised by historians, was made by the enduring influence of old Catholic and convert families in financing the improvement in the status and confidence of the Catholic community as a whole. (68)

Taken together, these various influences helped bring about the normalisation of Catholicism as part of the tapestry of British life and the softening of its anti-establishment dimension. Only laterally, and with no small irony, did the orders come to realise that in the discharge of this mission, they were gradually doing themselves out of a job by fostering a lay élite which would eventually take over their role. (69) The eventual failure of internal self-replenishment and the resultant large scale reinterpretation of their mission in liberationist terms (ie orders should move onto new territory; natural life cycle of any apostolic witness; scarcity to abundance produces secularisation) finally led the orders to see that they had fulfilled a historically determined and transitional role in enabling a despised immigrant community to become a leading force in Scottish society. Recognition of this led the orders eventually to withdraw from education and move on to new territory at home and abroad. The theological understanding of this experience remained a positive one as the orders came to see their contribution to Glasgow as part of the narrative of any apostolic witness. Secular historians may argue that this process adheres to a classic form of economic and social development where a community moving from conditions of scarcity to abundance results in secularisation. (70) Whether this interpretation is, in the end, the correct one or not, it remains clear that dependency culture understandings of the role of religious orders failed to do full justice to the impact of the religious orders on the fortunes of the Catholic community in Glasgow.

The Scale of Operation of the Religious Orders in Glasgow

Any historical assessment of the combined effect of the teaching religious orders must take proper account of the scale of the operation in Glasgow.

The Catholic Directory of 1851 shows the scale of operation of the first two religious orders in the early period, the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy. Perusal of the statistics of Catholic schools in Glasgow in 1851 reveals that, of the estimated 3,200 pupils and students receiving education in Glasgow at the time, an estimated 1,196 were taught by Franciscan Sisters or Sisters of Mercy. (See Appendix 32) As discussed earlier in this chapter, the Marists and Jesuits made steady progress throughout the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s in Glasgow.

Analysis of the information taken from the Reports of the Religious Examination of Schools in the Archdiocese of Glasgow from 1896-1920 (Appendix 33) reveals a number of significant factors about the development of the work of the orders in the field of education. The five schools managed by the religious orders are categorised as “Upper and Middle Class schools” and “Higher Grade and Convent schools”. These schools, St Aloysius’ College and St Mungo’s Academy for boys, for girls, the Higher Grade Schools at Charlotte Street, Dowanhill and the Convent of Mercy, Garnethill, were also centres recognised and deemed well-equipped for Higher Education, a term which meant secondary education at the time. There were other centres outwith Glasgow described as “recognised and well-equipped for Higher Education”, for girls at Bothwell, Paisley and Dumbarton and for “mixed scholars” at St Mary’s, Greenock, and at Motherwell.

In the Reports of the Religious Examination of Schools many aspects of the statistics are revealing. From 1908-1909, for example, the religious orders were responsible for five of the fourteen Higher Grade and Convent Schools in the Archdiocese of Glasgow. In 1896-97, of the 827 pupils on the rolls of Upper and Middle Class schools in the Archdiocese of Glasgow, 456, more than half were taught in the schools of the religious orders. At the same time, this figure represents approximately one in a hundred of the total number on the rolls of all schools in the Archdiocese of Glasgow. Globally, the numbers are small. What is significant, however, is that, although responsible for the education of only a small proportion (one in a hundred) of the total number on the rolls of all schools in the Archdiocese of Glasgow, a very significant percentage of the pupils on the rolls of the Upper and Middle Class schools in the Archdiocese of Glasgow were taught in the schools of the religious orders. In 1909-10, 1,454 of the 1,601 on the rolls of Upper and Middle Class schools in the Archdiocese of Glasgow were taught in the schools of the religious orders. At the end of the period covered in this study, 1919-20, 2,762 of the 3,593 pupils on the rolls of Upper and Middle Class schools in the Archdiocese of Glasgow were taught in the schools of the religious orders. This indicates a significant percentage increase and it is important to emphasise that these numbers include children from a social and economic sector of huge influence in determining the future of the Roman Catholic community.

In 1918 there were twenty-two Catholic elementary schools in the city of Glasgow with 32,785 pupils and, in the Govan Parish, five with 7,828 pupils. (71) In 1967, under the Glasgow Education Authority there were twenty-seven primary schools and twenty-three secondary schools educating Catholic children. (72) Under the old system of grants such an expansion of Catholic education would have been impossible.

As a consequence of the 1918 Education Act, Catholic schools transferred to the Local Education Authority which then became responsible for financing and resourcing them. After careful consideration, the Jesuits deemed it advisable not to transfer St Aloysius' College to the Local Authority, Glasgow District. (73) They did this for a number of reasons. Chief among them was that the Jesuits, who were controlled by their Provincial in Farm St London, were cautious about surrendering any control of St Aloysius' College to the Local Education Authority. The Jesuits had always been insistent on retaining control of the religious content taught in St Aloysius' College and, as such, had not been subject to religious inspection under the auspices of the Archdiocese of Glasgow. (74) Possibly a more important reason was strongly hinted at in the Glasgow Herald coverage on the annual report of Fr Hanson, Prefect of Studies in 1920, in which he referred to the management of Catholic schools in Glasgow. The article headed "Management of Catholic Schools" casts some light on the attitude of the Jesuits to the 1918 Act and their confidence in their own ability to staff St Aloysius' College with quality staff at a time of teacher shortage. The Glasgow Herald article runs as follows:

Among the difficulties with which they had had to deal with during the past year were the anxieties due to the new Education Act, but those clouds were now lifting. That Act, as they knew, compelled Catholic primary and higher grade schools to pass under the financial control and complete educational management of the local authorities. St Aloysius' College was a secondary school, and alone of all the Catholic schools in Scotland could not be deprived of its independence. It was to remain as it always had been. One aspect of that management by Jesuit fathers was worthy of mention in those days when academically qualified secondary teachers

could not be obtained at any price, neither Catholic nor Protestant, to staff schools. Vacancies had recently occurred at St Aloysius. What could have been done by the Education Authority to fill those vacancies? But they had been immediately filled by the appointment of three Jesuit fathers, past masters in the art of teaching, and each an honours graduate in his own subject. (75)

The new Act became effective in May 1919 and by it 226 Catholic schools, including those managed by the other four teaching religious orders, besides other voluntary schools, were transferred to the new education authorities, which took the place of the old school boards. (76) Elementary schools were by far the major part of the voluntary system, and their school buildings often intimately linked with Church property, whereas with few exceptions Catholic Higher Grade schools were managed and their buildings owned by one or other of the religious teaching orders, and therefore excluded as to transfer of property.

“All Convent schools and St Mungo’s Academy are excluded from the negotiations as we have no control over them.” (77)

All of the schools which were managed by the religious orders in question with the exception of St Aloysius’ College, Garnethill, transferred to Glasgow Education Authority in 1919. Under the terms of the 1918 Act, it was open to the Catholic authorities to transfer schools property “by lease, sale or otherwise” to the Ad Hoc Committees. Glasgow decided to adopt a policy of lease rather than sale and loans for expansion at secondary level were made to the religious teaching orders. Within a decade, however, the policy of leasing was reversed and, instead of letting its schools to the various Education Authorities, the Archdiocese of Glasgow negotiated with the Authorities for the sale of the schools as the leases expired. The main reason for this *volte-face* was the demand for secondary education resulting from the financial provisions of the 1918 Act and the impossibility of meeting the costs from their own resources. (78)

As discussed elsewhere in this thesis the 1918 Act caused a complete reorganisation of the educational system. It may not have seemed so to everyone at the time but in 1918

it was seen by the religious orders as both a promise and a threat. The problems of accomodation which had to be faced everywhere were considerable. In Glasgow in 1918 it was calculated that there was a shortfall of 5,312 places in the Catholic sector. (79) Owing to the huge increase in demand for secondary places as a result of the financial provisions of the 1918 Act, the situation was to worsen. When Brother Germanus was appointed Headmaster of St Mungo's Academy in 1918 - a position he held for 26 years - he had to deal with an application of 160 pupils from 35 schools for 25 places. The roll of St Mungo's increased from 350 to 580 in one year.

By 1922 the Catholic Secondary Schools in Glasgow were all managed by the religious orders. Their rolls and status were as follows:

Our Lady and St Francis Convent School	369	Secondary Junior Student Centre
Convent of Mercy School, Garnethill	208	Intermediate
St Mungo's Academy	615	Secondary Junior Student Centre
St Aloysius' College, Garnethill	453	Secondary
Notre Dame High School	414	Junior Student Centre

While in Paisley, Dumbarton, Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, new secondary foundations were made, in Glasgow existing establishments were merely expanded as the SED Report for 1922 comments:

(the provision of new accommodation) is most marked among the RC schools, in respect of provision for Intermediate and Secondary education:....In nearly all cases the additional provision is made in the form of hutment or other more or less temporary annexes. The earlier specimens of this type of building were sometimes barely satisfactory and certainly far from beautiful... Among the Glasgow schools there appears to be a great, in some cases urgent, need for a larger and better supply of school places energies have mainly directed to meeting the demand for Intermediate and Secondary education... large additions have been completed at Garnethill Convent Intermediate School, Our Lady and St Francis Secondary School and St Mungo's Academy Secondary School ... (80)

It is clear that, with the exception of the Jesuits and for the reasons discussed above, the religious orders saw 1918 as a historically appropriate moment to incorporate their schools into a form of state provision providing ample guarantees for the protection of the Catholic sector. They thus reaped, as they saw it, all the benefits of state support with none of the penalties that such support had threatened historically.

For a decade after 1918 the provision of additional school accommodation was the responsibility of the Diocesan Education Board. By 1928 it could no longer sustain this role and in that year the parochial schools passed into the ownership of the Corporation of Glasgow after which time all new schools were provided by the Education Authority. (81)

FitzPatrick (1986) lists the improvements in accommodation made between 1918 and 1929 at the secondary level effected by the religious orders who were not involved in the leasing arrangements made by the Church and the Ad Hoc Committees in respect of their secondary schools.

At the Franciscan Convent School in Charlotte Street two additional buildings were added. Garnethill Convent School enlarged its premises in 1922, and the next year acquired in addition Garnethill House (formerly the Glasgow Sick Children's Hospital). The Marist Brothers acquired from Bow's of High Street a neighbouring building formerly used as a stable and store. While this was being adapted, accommodation was made available by the Education Authority in St. David's school in Cathedral Street, and in the former Stow College building in Cowcaddens, which had been vacated when the new college was opened at Jordanhill. For the first time St Mungo's Academy had a gymnasium; coal stoves were removed from the classrooms, and gas lighting was replaced by electricity. In 1924 the Archdiocese purchased the vacant Alexander's School in Duke Street, and this was opened as an annexe with the name of St Kentigern's School in 1925. By session 1927-28 the roll of St Mungo's Academy had risen to 1,147. (82)

Also, after 1918 the demand for teachers, primary and secondary for the Catholic schools was insatiable. To meet the shortage the Catholic Authorities had to rely at first on the increased efforts of the teaching orders and FitzPatrick describes their background and comments on their calibre:

Much of the strength of the Orders came from members whose place of origin was furth of Scotland. The Sisters of Mercy and the Marist Brothers had strong links with Ireland, the Society of Jesus and the Sisters of Notre Dame less so. The two latter had come to Scotland from England, and within them English traditions were strong, as may be seen from some of their outstanding personalities - Sister Dr. Monica Taylor and Sister Mary Hilda of Notre Dame, and Father Eric Hanson of the Society of Jesus, among others. In 1921-22 the staff of St Aloysius' College was made up of 2 Oxford, 5 London and 2 Glasgow University graduates, 1 Diplome of the Glasgow School of Art and 7 non-graduates, including the two ladies who staffed the primary division. The other major Order, the Franciscan Sisters, were by the 1920s so well established locally that much of their strength did derive from Scotland, though not only from the south-west. (83)

As already mentioned, the Franciscan Sisters had come to Scotland from France, and the Marists and Notre Dame Sisters, who came to Glasgow via Ireland and England respectively, were French and Belgian by origin. Within all the orders there was a leavening from continental countries, particularly France, which enriched the children of Glasgow. The first three headmasters of St Mungo's Academy, Brothers Procope, Tatianus and Faust were Frenchmen, Sister Chantal SND and Father Annacker SJ are other examples among many. The main source of supply of teachers however was the local community itself, and after 1918 there was a sustained campaign to increase the number, especially of men, in the Catholic schools. (84)

The sheer scale of the contribution of the religious orders can perhaps be measured by considering the extent to which it endured beyond the watershed date of 1918. The years 1918-1945 were marked by consolidation and steady rather than rapid progress.

The post 1945 era was distinguished not merely by a considerable expansion of Catholic secondary schooling in Glasgow in particular and Scotland in general but also by the organisational revolution which, from the late 1960s onwards, was linked with the move towards a comprehensive system of secondary education. In the latter part of the twentieth century there was a clearer realisation that education does not begin and end within the confines of a school building and, as the teaching profession became less reliant on the orders, the orders looked more to those for whom formal education would never be an option. Greater involvement in campaigns like Pro-Life work began as well as care for the underprivileged and marginalised in society. The orders also looked to those members of society whose physical or mental difficulties demand special care and education. There was a concomitant realisation that as education for all had become a reality in Glasgow, spirituality had become a more difficult goal. This led to involvement in chaplaincy work not only in schools but also in hospitals and prisons. (85)

The orders therefore remained a vibrant presence long after 1918 and their work has remained part of the folk memory of Glasgow's Catholic population on into the twenty-first century.

NOTES

- 1 St Vincent de Paul in Handley (1950) p24
- 2 Handley (1950) p24
- 3 Quoted in M. O'Leary Education with a Tradition (1936) p15. Also in Handley, (1950) p24
- 4 Handley (1958) p8
- 5 FSIC (1997) p157
- 6 FSIC (1997) p157
- 7 Catholic Directory (1851) GAA in FSIC (1997) p159
- 8 HMI Reports (1856)
- 9 FSIC (1997) p146
- 10 A Franciscan Sister in FitzPatrick (1986) p33. FitzPatrick notes that Anne Conway, the first former pupil of the Charlotte Street School to enter Glasgow University, graduated with First Class Honours in Classics in 1911. See NDSA 14
- 11 Handley (1947) p205
- 12 North British Daily Mail 27 May 1857
- 13 Poor Schools Committee Report (1856/5) in Aspinwall (1992) p139
- 14 Report of HMI Dr Stewart of the 21 March (1899) SRO

- 15 Convent of Mercy Magazine (1963) p11-12
- 16 FitzPatrick (1998) pp1-10
- 17 Handley (1968) p37
- 18 FitzPatrick (1998) p2
- 19 Report of Mr J R Morell, HMI (1860) in Handley (1968) p32
- 20 Handley (1968) pp34-5
- 21 Handley (1950) p32
- 22 Report of Harvey and Greig (1866) the Royal Commission on Education in Scotland quoted in Handley (1947) p193
- 23 St Mungo's Boys' School Logbook (18/5/1864) See also Annis (1973) p23
- 24 St Mungo's Boy's School Logbook (1865)
- 25 See Handley (1958) Chapter 4 pp19-44
- 26 FitzPatrick (1998) p8
- 27 Maley (1939) p14/15
- 28 Glasgow Observer (2.6.1888)
- 29 Handley (1960) p15
- 30 The Marist Family, Spring (1978) p27
- 31 Gilley (1984) p199 quoted in Devine (ed) (1991) p22

- 32 Campbell and Woods (1987)
- 33 Gallagher (1991) p21
- 34 Bradley (1995) p49
- 35 HMI Report on the Evening Continuation Classes in the 1890s in A History of St Mary's Boys' School, Calton (1863-1963) p33
- 36 A History of St Mary's Boys' School, Calton (1863-1963) p35
- 37 Handley (1958) p62
- 38 Handley (1958) p63
- 39 Annual Report for St Mungo's Academy 1893, quoted in Handley (1958) p67
- 40 St Mungo's Academy logbook for 15th September 1899
- 41 Handley (1968) p124
- 42 St Ignatius Loyola Ratio Studiorum (1599)
- 43 Boyd and King (1921) p205
- 44 Boyd and King (1921) p205-6
- 45 Bonachea (1989) p6
- 46 Bonachea (1989) p7
- 47 Bonachea (1989) p7. See also Donahue (1963)
- 48 McCabe (2000) pp25-28

- 49 The Argyll Commission Report on the State of Education in Glasgow, made in 1865 and published in 1868. See also O'Hagan (1994) pp65-77 and O'Hagan (1996) pp39-48
- 50 Letters & Notices, Vol XXIX, (1908) p523. See also McCabe (2000) pp13-14
- 51 Quoted in McCabe (2000) p32
- 52 Quoted in McCabe (2000) p32-3
- 53 Unpublished notes on the History of St Aloysius' College by Fr Thomas Calnan SJ Typescript available from the personal papers of Francis O'Hagan and from the archives of the Society of Jesus, 45 Hill St, Glasgow.
- 54 Don Bosco Journal (1949)
- 55 Don Bosco Journal (1949)
- 56 Unpublished notes on the History of St Aloysius' College by Fr Thomas Calnan SJ Typescript available from the personal papers of Francis O'Hagan and from the archives of the Society of Jesus, 45 Hill Street Glasgow
- 57 Letters & Notices, Vol XXIX (1908) p519
- 58 Don Bosco Journal (1949)
- 59 The Letters of Fr Hanson SJ in the unpublished notes of Fr T Calnan SJ
- 60 The Letters of Fr Hanson SJ in the unpublished notes of Fr T Calnan SJ
- 61 Calnan, unpublished notes on the History of St Aloysius' College: quoted in McCabe (2000) pp81-105
- 62 The Letters of Fr Hanson quoted in O'Hagan (1996) pp45-48

- 63 The Letters of Fr Hanson quoted in O'Hagan (1996) pp45-48
- 64 The Letters of Fr Hanson quoted in O'Hagan (1996) pp45-48
- 65 Handley (1950) p29
- 66 O'Leary (1936), p44-45, quoted in Handley (1950) p30
- 67 Smith (1991) p44
- 68 Aspinwall (2001) in Pope (2001) pp268-306
- 69 see FitzPatrick (1995)
- 70 Bruce (1992)
- 71 Archdiocese of Glasgow – Report of Religious Examination of Schools, 1917-1918, Archives of Dunkeld, quoted in Skinnider (1967) p63
- 72 Corporation of Glasgow Handbook (1963-64) quoted in Skinnider (1967) p63
- 73 McCabe (2000) p115
- 74 See ED 7 Religious Inspection Reports, GAA
- 75 Glasgow Herald (24.12.1920)
- 76 Handley (1959) p139
- 77 DEB Minutes 5.12.1927. See also FitzPatrick (1986) p50
- 78 FitzPatrick (1986) p51
- 79 Treble (1978) p125. See also FitzPatrick (1986) p 57
- 80 SED Report Education in Scotland (1922) quoted in FitzPatrick (1986) p59
- 81 City of Glasgow Archives D-T.C.6/486

- 82 FitzPatrick (1986) p60
- 83 See FitzPatrick (1986) p70 and p77 note 2
- 84 Treble (1978) (2) p128, footnote
- 85 FSIC (1997) p159

CHAPTER 6

THE SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHER TRAINING IN GLASGOW

The aim of this Chapter is to explain why the Sisters of Notre Dame were needed in Glasgow by the 1890s and to examine and analyse their role and assess their contribution to the development of Catholic education in Glasgow during the 24 years from their arrival in Glasgow in 1894 until the Education (Scotland) Act in 1918 and beyond.

The Sisters of Notre Dame were the last of the five religious orders who are the subject of this thesis to arrive in Glasgow during the second half of the nineteenth century and their work is an appropriate culmination to the work of the orders in Glasgow generally in as much as the other four orders were responsible for setting up and developing Catholic schools in Glasgow and the main contribution of the Sisters of Notre Dame was to train teachers to work in these and other Catholic schools. FitzPatrick explains the significance of the year 1894 for Glasgow and summarises the subsequent achievements of the Sisters of Notre Dame in Glasgow:

1894 was an *annus mirabilis* for Catholic education. Glasgow Corporation Tramway Company began operations, and city centre schools became accessible to the far-flung inhabitants of Parkhead, Springburn, Crosshill, Shettleston and Maryhill. That year a Teacher Training College was established in Dowanhill, close to the University and with ready access to schools. Two years later its first group of diplomates, 22 in number, were ready to start work in the schools. By 1918 these pioneers had been followed by more than 1,400 others. In 1897, the Notre Dame Sisters opened a High School for girls on a site adjoining the college, and set up there a Junior Training Centre for prospective teachers. The school opened with 24 pupils, a Principal, 1 certificated Assistant and 2 pupil teachers. (1)

There is a photographic record of the first 22 diplomates of Notre Dame Training College, 1896. (Appendix 34) (2)

Where the two male orders under discussion, the Jesuits and the Marists, made a significant contribution to the development of Catholic education in Glasgow from 1858 onwards, by providing an appropriate education for middle class boys, the Sisters of Notre Dame made their substantial contribution not only by providing a similar education for girls but also by providing Glasgow with its first teacher training college for Catholics. Major advances were made in Catholic education after 1894 when Notre Dame College was opened at Dowanhill. These major advances will be analysed in this chapter.

Founded by Julie Billiart, a French peasant born in Picardy in 1751, the Congregation of the Sisters of Notre Dame were to be religious whose chief apostolate would be to teach 'the poor in the most neglected places' (3), and to train the teachers who would educate them. The state of society in France which resulted from the French Revolution was a field ripe for the work which Julie Billiart was inspired to carry out. Dolan explains the consequences of the French Revolution for the Catholic Church:

The French Revolution projected the ideas of the Enlightenment into the political sphere and brought about the final dissolution of the feudal, stratified society that was so much a constituent element of medieval Catholicism. Its violent attack upon the Church was not, however, directed solely against its feudal vestiges. In destroying the close ties between the episcopacy and the state, it also attempted to uproot Christianity itself. Thus it is no exaggeration to say that Catholicism in the nineteenth century lived in the shadow of the French Revolution. (4)

It was as a reaction to the extremism of the French Revolution that the intellectuals of Europe were turned once again to the basic principles of Catholicism. The Church's response to the French Revolution was its counter-revolutionary reassertion of the importance of education for the strengthening and maintenance of the Church.

In this undertaking Julie Billiart's associate and companion was a French aristocrat, Frances Blin de Bourdon, who later became Mother St Joseph of the Sisters of Notre Dame. Both women had escaped death - Julie Billiart on several occasions - during the French Revolution. The first convent of Notre Dame was opened in Amiens, but because of misrepresentations and active hostility, Julie was driven from that town. In 1809 she sought refuge in Namur where the Sisters of Notre Dame already had a convent. She was warmly welcomed by Monsignor Pisani, Bishop of Namur. Here Julie Billiart was able to realise her aims:-

- 1 to establish an organisation of Sisters under a Superior General and
- 2 to be allowed freedom for the sisters to work wherever their services were asked for.

Owing to the nature of their apostolate the Sisters of Notre Dame were to have a modified form of enclosure. (5)

The Sisters of Notre Dame responded to the great need for teachers in Glasgow and the West of Scotland in the 1890s and by doing so made a very significant contribution to the development of Catholic education at that time and from that time on almost until the end of the twentieth century. In this respect the contribution of the Sisters of Notre Dame is the logical culmination of the work of the five teaching orders in that the first four were largely responsible for establishing and building up Catholic schools in Glasgow and the Sisters of Notre Dame provided teachers to staff those schools. The Catholic Church had an urgent concern to evangelise and reconnect with the industrial proletariat lost to the revolutionary ideas of the early nineteenth century. Historically this could be interpreted as the Church either as an agent of social control or reaction or as an emancipatory influence in working class life.

Teacher training in Scotland had only begun to evolve in the first half of the nineteenth century. There was no organised teacher training as such in Scotland before 1826. Growing dissatisfaction with the monitorial system, both on educational grounds and because of its perceived lack of moral content, led some of those people concerned with popular education to look at methods in use in European countries,

particularly with regard to training teachers of very young children, the combination of personal education with vocational training and the stress laid on character formation. Two important foundations of the 1830s influenced by the new trends were the Home and Colonial Schools Society's establishment in London, providing short periods of training in Pestalozzian methods for governesses and infant teachers, and David Stow's Glasgow Normal School, where students were trained in collective methods of teaching and four model schools offered experience of different ages and social groups. (6)

The training that was introduced to Scotland then was an attempt to provide efficient teachers for the large numbers of urban schools of all kinds which sprang up in the third decade of the nineteenth century and the principle was certainly borrowed from systems flourishing south of the border and in Prussia. The two main teaching systems in Scotland at the time were the "intellectual", based on John Wood's ideas as practised in his sessional school in Edinburgh, and the "moral" favoured by David Stow, although never expressed in a formal theory. Training in Edinburgh tended towards the "intellectual", training in Glasgow towards the "moral".(7) Stow's attitude to the importance of teacher training can be gauged by his assertion that it involved "... a system of education which, upon sound Christian principles and superintendence, could not fail under the blessing of God morally to elevate society." (8) Wood and Stow, however, agreed on the name by which a training seminary, college or institute should be known: ie a "normal" school, one in which the rule or norm could be laid down and imitated. Stow went further and stated a distinction between a Normal College, where the necessary background of Knowledge might be supplied, and a Normal Seminary, where methods of teaching would be inculcated. (9)

In Glasgow, David Stow was the prime mover of teacher training and in 1827 under the auspices of the Glasgow Infant School Society he promoted a school in Glasgow's Drygait for the instruction of children under six. The students felt initially that to acquire the skills necessary for being an effective teacher did not merit giving up much of their time. Stow wrote:

... in the course of two or three weeks a considerable number of students of different religious denominations were enrolled, with a

view to acquire the system practically, but scarcely one of these at first could be convinced that more could be necessary to sacrifice than two, or at most three weeks for such an object. (10)

Clearly, teacher training was not deemed, even by members of the teaching profession, to be a necessary prerequisite for becoming an effective teacher in the third decade of the nineteenth century. At that time broader cultural attitudes did not recognise the need for teachers to develop professional aspects of their work and this, in turn, had an influence on the perception of professionalism.

The establishment of a General Assembly Committee to investigate the state of education in Scotland and to 'increase the means of education and religious instruction' was undoubtedly an important event in the first part of the nineteenth century, and an examination of the annual reports produced during the decades following the Committee's appointment in 1824 indicates that a positive and substantial contribution was made by this Committee to the development of Scottish education. The mere existence of these reports is valuable in that they provide and preserve a fairly detailed picture of educational provision, although they tend to deal frequently in vague generalities. In the *Report of the General Assembly Committee* for 1850, for example, we find:

The numerous returns received were most satisfactory as exhibiting the general efficiency of the parochial schools, the attention paid in these schools to religious instruction, and the number of children throughout Scotland receiving instruction either at the parochial or at other schools. In the larger towns, however, and in many Highland districts, particularly those, as in Skye, in which destitution has recently prevailed, it is deeply to be regretted that the proportion of children receiving education at school is far short of what is to be desired, either for the social welfare of our country, or for the eternal interest of many of our countrymen. (11)

Since 1847 the Catholic Poor School Committee had been recognised by the Government which accepted its claim to represent all Catholic schools and agreed with it the terms on which assistance was to be given to them. (see Chapter 4) The Committee had two main functions. Firstly to secure, as far as possible, the efficiency of Catholic Elementary Schools by educating a sufficient supply of trained teachers. It did this through the medium of male and female Training Colleges. There were originally three of these, St Mary's, Hammersmith, for Masters, founded in 1850; Notre Dame, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, founded in 1855 and the Sacred Heart, Wandsworth, for Mistresses, founded in 1874. In 1894, Notre Dame, Dowanhill, Glasgow, became the fourth. In addition to what these Colleges received from the annual parliamentary grant, which paid only for results after a series of strict examinations, the Catholic Poor School Committee made an annual grant to them of that portion of their expenses which was not covered by the public grant for education.

The Catholic viewpoint had always been that religious and secular instruction were inseparable with the emphasis on "preparing man for what he must do here below in order to attain the sublime end for which he was created". (12) The high ideals with the new educational effort began, when the intention was to staff the schools with members of religious orders, had quickly to be compromised. The increasing number of schools which applied for inspection after 1847 meant that qualified teachers were needed. These teachers were expected to be "...animated by the ideals of their profession" and "imbued with a truly religious spirit". (13) The importance attached to religious instruction by the educational establishment in Scotland at the time can be gauged by the remarks of HMI Marshall who wrote :

When I have detected in any teacher ... the absence of the first and most essential condition of success in the duties of his office - steadfastness of purpose and religious care of the children committed to his trust - I have always used my influence to secure his dismissal whatever might be the superiority of his talent and knowledge. Against, such teachers I declare open war! (14)

This is indicative of the fact that the most advanced economy and society in the world at this time continued to place a major emphasis on religion and that in turn reveals

much about deeper attitudes, values and influences on Scottish society at this time in history. The failure to provide a teaching force comprised of men and women in religious orders was not a serious setback since this ideal was conceived before the problems of providing a system of schools had been encountered, but it did show that the considerable task facing the Poor School Committee had not been fully appreciated. Providing teachers for the boys' schools was the major problem. The main reason for this was clearly the poverty of the class from which the prospective teachers were to come. The five years duration of an apprenticeship and two years in a training College was a long time for a family to support a boy, especially if, at the end of that time, his salary would be less than that of a man in a trade. At this time in the nineteenth century, since Britain was an expanding commercial nation, there was the demand for men in commercial and industrial employment. The object of the Catholic Poor School Committee therefore was to act as an intermediary between the Catholic body and the Committee of Council on Education, with a view to obtaining a share of the government grants, assisting in the building and maintenance of Catholic schools and establishing training colleges for Catholic teachers. This last it saw as its priority. (15) There were four Normal Schools in Scotland for the training of teachers, but no Catholic College. The first purpose-built Normal School in Britain was at Dundas Vale in Glasgow. It incorporated three model schools - infant, juvenile and an industrial school for girls where sewing, darning, patching and knitting were taught - and a Normal Department for student teachers. (16)

Before 1872 the Catholic Church, with other religious bodies, maintained a system of voluntary schools in Scotland. The Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 took under the control of the state the education of the young, which had previously been in the hands of the churches. (see Chapter 4) The great reform of the Education Act set out to ensure that, "Efficient education for their children may be furnished and made available to the whole people of Scotland". (17) From then on the government provided schools for everyone and, what was more, sought to compel all children under thirteen to attend. However, it made no provision for the training of teachers. The task of building the new schools, finding the teachers to staff them, and generally making the new system work was given to local school boards. Every parish was entitled to a school board. As a result Glasgow was then divided into several quite separate educational areas which varied enormously in size. The Glasgow Board had

to cope with over 87,000 children of school age. As school boards were elected solely for the purpose of dealing with education they had the important advantage of being able to employ male staff who had already proved themselves to be interested in education. The need and desire for education meant that there was a demand for committed teachers, whether they were members of religious orders or not. There was considerably more success in the supply of Catholic women teachers than the supply of Catholic male teachers in the nineteenth century. The vast majority of Catholic teachers remained throughout their careers in Catholic schools despite the higher salaries which were offered in the Board Schools and it is arguable that the continuance of the Catholic faith owed much to the instruction given in Catholic schools. The generally lower salary in Catholic schools was a disincentive to any able boy to enter teaching. Many very able women on the other hand were attracted into the teaching profession and were not only to be a cheap reliable source of teachers who provided the backbone of the female teaching body, but also brought into the girls' schools educated women who, by their devotion and organisation, were able to train apprentices to a degree unmatched in boys' schools. As a result the training colleges for women were able to be supplied with a large number of adequately trained candidates. Teaching was an attractive career for lay women. Even in the second half of the nineteenth century there was little opportunity for an intelligent girl to make a career in commerce or industry and to a working class girl, a post in teaching offered the best chance of social mobility and improvement of status. Many female teachers were given accommodation and this meant that they could board their apprentices in their homes. The knowledge that their daughters would be effectively chaperoned made parents more willing to allow their daughter to move to other parts of the country when taking up an apprenticeship and this obviously helped in the recruitment of girls to the teaching profession. There were more positions open to women than to men in teaching positions in infant schools and as mistresses in girls' departments. There was also, because of the smaller salary involved, an increasing number of positions in mixed schools becoming available to women in England. With their attendant higher salaries, women could be enticed to take positions in smaller country establishments. Many of these schools had been founded by the missionary priests invited to England by Cardinal Wiseman and those teachers who went were to help consolidate the Catholic faith of these people who had been converted to

Catholicism. They were to be offered minimal pay and many extraneous duties. The Bishops were to urge women to take this work in the following terms:

The Church is in a state of struggle ... and you as children of the Church must suffer too. You must be ready to forego temporal advantages such as higher salaries for the sake of bringing up a new generation for God and his Church. (18)

In Scotland before 1872 Catholics had few schools, and since some of these were staffed by the teaching religious, the Church authorities did not consider it worthwhile to establish a training seminary north of the border. Men had to go to Dublin, women to Liverpool for teacher training. The course was long and arduous, as the following daily programme at Liverpool in 1856 shows:

5.30 to 6.15 am	Prayers
6.15 to 7.00	Private study
7 to 7.30	Chapel
7.30 to 8	Breakfast and recreation
8 to 12.30 pm	Lectures
12.30 to 2	Dinner and recreation
2 to 6.30	Lectures
(4.30-5.15	Tea and chapel)
6.30 to 7.30	Private study
7.30 to 9.00	Supper and recreation (19)

Wednesday afternoon was spent in a practising school; Saturday was a working day. There were earnest young women prepared to undertake such vocational training, but for many the expense was too great. In consequence, when the expansion after 1872 multiplied the number of Catholic schools rapidly, the standard of certification and training among their teachers was the lowest in Scotland. The problem of training teachers for their schools was peculiar to Roman Catholics and Episcopalians since they had opted to remain outside the new national system.

Roman Catholic and Episcopal schools were therefore a class apart. Roman Catholic inspected schools had increased from 22 to 176 within twenty years after the 1872 Act (compared with the modest increase in Episcopal schools from 46 to 74). (20)

Because of the fact that more than two-thirds of their women teachers and half of their men teachers were untrained, the Catholic hierarchy in Glasgow requested permission to found their own training college in Glasgow. Eventually these requests were met with a favourable response. Craik advised the Vice-President of the Committee of Council:

Whatever opinion may be held, or whatever action may be taken, in regard to denominational training colleges, I think it is clearly just that so long as the present system goes on, the Roman Catholics should have the advantage of it. (21)

During the 1890s it was clear that some Roman Catholic schools in Glasgow were providing a good, basic education but that some of them operated under very considerable difficulties. Since Catholic schools were still outside the state system, the quality of the teachers tended to be inferior to that of state schools whose teachers had been to Training College. As has been discussed in Chapter 4, too much reliance was placed on the use of pupil teachers in Catholic schools. An SED report of 1891 emphasises this point:

There is a point beyond which the work, especially in the senior classes, will not rise, a point considerably lower than that attained in board schools. This holds true after making allowances for the poorer class of children common in Roman Catholic schools. (22)

It was not until 1894 that Notre Dame Training College, Dowanhill, was established and the situation improved as a result. When the Congregation of the Sisters of Notre Dame opened a Training College and a school in Glasgow in 1894, it was working under the eye of the Scotch Education Department though not, at first, under its control. For twenty-four years, until 1918, there was collaboration between the State and the Congregation of the Sisters of Notre Dame.

There existed, therefore, in the early 1890s, a situation in Glasgow where the church, the state and the particular religious order concerned, the Sisters of Notre Dame, were, for once, unanimous about what was to happen in the West of Scotland, in Glasgow specifically, about teacher training for Catholic teachers. This convergence of interests reveals much and is indicative of deeper social, economic and cultural forces at work in Scotland at this time.

In 1893 Archbishop Charles Eyre made an urgent plea to the Sisters of Notre Dame to help establish the first Roman Catholic Training College in Scotland. Eyre, an Englishman, had become the first Archbishop of Glasgow after the Restoration of the Hierarchy in 1878. He was well aware of the standard of work being done at Mount Pleasant Training College, Liverpool, founded as far back as 1855 and of the teachers from Mount Pleasant already at work in Scottish schools. He therefore got in touch with Mount Pleasant and then opened negotiations with Namur.

There were important reasons for the urgency of Archbishop Eyre's plea which related directly to the mission of the Sisters of Notre Dame in Glasgow in particular and Scotland in general. At this time in Scotland there were two types of elementary schools - Board schools and Voluntary (Denominated) schools.

By the Education (Scotland) Act 1872:

Voluntary schools could continue to receive grants from the Government, but would have no share in the education rate administered by the School Board schools to meet all costs not covered by grant.....Thus the Act set up the anomalous situation by which the public schools of Scotland were Presbyterian denominated schools for which Catholics had to pay an education rate, while at the same time they paid for their own schools all deficit not covered by grant, and met the cost of all new buildings.

(23)

This 'deficit' which came to a considerable amount, was made up partly by the "Penny collection" contributed by the poor; other sources were the Saint Vincent de Paul Society.... balls, concerts, oratorios, bazaars and charity sermons." (24)

To increase the difficulty of the situation, the standard of Scottish education at this time was rising rapidly. Catholic schools were unable to compete educationally with Board schools particularly beyond the Infant school stage because most of the Catholic schoolteachers were uncertificated, that is, they were ex pupil-teachers who had not taken the Scholarship examination. Only 20% could afford to train in one of the two Catholic Training Colleges in England chiefly in Mount Pleasant. In the Glasgow Board schools in 1893 there were 216 teachers only 8 of whom were untrained. The numbers in the Catholic schools were 14 trained teachers and 24 untrained. (25)

Mr Stokes HMI, himself a Catholic, gave these words of warning in 1889:

Voluntary schools in general, and Catholic schools in particular are only safe when they compare favourably in efficiency with the best non-catholic schools. Demands on the schools are about to be made. Catholic schools, if they are to survive the ordeal, must be lifted to meet the demands. The teaching staff must not only be larger but it must also be more capable. (26)

The "ordeal" referred to by HMI Stokes was to maintain and staff the Catholic schools which had elected to remain outside the national system created by the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872. For Catholics, the Act of 1872 offered no real guarantee for a religious basis to education and so the seal of secularism was set on the new national system. Catholics, for whom education could then not be conceived apart from religion, elected through their leaders to remain outside the national system and it fell to the newly restored bench of bishops to abide by the consequences of that decision. Despite the use of teacher training facilities in England, Roman Catholics had more than two thirds of their women teachers and half of their men teachers untrained. Although the Inspectorate praised the managers of Catholic schools for their devotion, they were critical of the teaching, describing it as "mechanical routine that touches

neither the intellect nor the heart” and the concentration on the ability to earn grants. As the result of their dedicated, conscientious approach, Catholic teachers had achieved remarkable results in junior classes but their success with upper school classes was more limited. As one inspector put it:

It is a deficiency which no industry of the teachers, no skill of the managers, no stimulus of inspection can remedy; for it arises solely from the intellectual defects of a staff who have not received regular and thorough training. By this I mean not merely a training in the method of teaching, but a training in intellectual study. (27)

This endorses the argument that the Catholic hierarchy was seriously disadvantaging Catholic pupils in Scotland by keeping them apart from the national system after the 1872 Act albeit for understandable reasons.

Eventually the perseverance of the Roman Catholics paid off when their requests for permission to found a training college met with a favourable response. In reply to Archbishop Eyre’s appeal, Namur agreed to provide Sisters of Notre Dame for the purpose of training Catholic teachers. In June 1893 the first exploratory visit was paid by Sister Mary of St Philip. This first visit to Glasgow was mainly for the purpose of deciding on the location of the new training college. The fact that students would be coming from outwith Glasgow and also the nature of the teacher training course meant that the Training College, as well as being Roman Catholic, had to be residential. The former Seminary at Partickhill, properties in Port Glasgow, Paisley and Cathkin had all to be rejected mainly for the reason that they were too small and surroundings too restricted for future building. Edinburgh too was visited and the Sisters of Notre Dame stayed there at the Convent of Mercy. Canon Donlevy was very much in favour of the Notre Dame Sisters opening the college in Edinburgh but Sister Mary of St Philip was convinced that Glasgow was the more suitable location. Her reasons are explained in a letter she wrote to Sister Marie des Sts Angus at Namur :

I was anxiously awaiting your answer....telling whether I may come and explain matters to you at Namur..... I did not mention that Canon Donlevy said about a College in Edinburgh instead of

Glasgow..... he seems to think we should prefer Edinburgh. Everyone who knows the two towns says that there is no question as to where the College should be: that Glasgow with its 150,000 Catholics is the right place for it. We were immensely taken with that great city with its grandeur and material prosperity with its Catholic life... and we saw what I think quite an ideal site for the Training College.... (28)

The Sisters of Notre Dame favoured Dowanhill ('The Hill of the Doves') as this residential district was near the University and the Botanic gardens. (Appendix 35) The selection of the original location was made on June 16, 1893. (29) In addition to this, it was not far from three good schools which were essential for the students' teaching practice. This is indicative of the stated and perceived mission of the Sisters of Notre Dame at this time in 1893. The substantial fabric and appearance of the building, as well as its location are indicative of a serious sense of purpose, an optimistic, even ambitious attitude on the part of the Sisters of Notre Dame and their work in Glasgow. (Appendix 36) The 1960 prospectus for Notre Dame College tells of its origin: "The original buildings were twin villas known as Dowanside in the neighbourhood of Dowanhill which is within close proximity to the Glasgow Observatory, the University and other educational and cultural centres including the city's schools which are used today, as in the past, for teaching practice purposes." (30) The stated preferences of the Sisters of Notre Dame reveal an order determined to be at the heart of secular society, unafraid of hostile influences, very outward-facing and modern in approach, similar, in some respects, to the Jesuits as discussed in Chapter 5. High-powered negotiations followed in that help was sought and obtained from the Duke of Norfolk who was Chairman of the Catholic Education Committee. Other people of influence were approached to make certain that the Sisters of Notre Dame would embark upon their stated mission. Canons Chisholm and Mackintosh appealed to Scottish Members of parliament in the lobbies of the House of Commons and finally, after many setbacks, official recognition was obtained in December 1893 for the funding of a Roman Catholic residential training College in Glasgow. (31)

Sister Mary of St Philip sent off the news to Sister Marie des Sts Agnes in Namur as follows:

Mount Pleasant

Liverpool

20.12.1893

...Now about yesterday's business. You will have received Mr Hunnybun's telegram which gave just the bare intelligence of recognition. This morning he sent us the official letter and I am sending you a copy of it. I opened it with fear and trembling, dreading that there might be conditions which you would not like, but it really seems miraculous, it is so perfectly fair and straight forward. Notice that it puts Glasgow on precisely the same footing as all the denominational colleges. We are all of course liable to changes at pleasure of governments.

The proviso points to a desire to connect the Colleges more closely to the Universities, but they may not have in their power to do so for many a day. I am really astonished at the present Government acting towards us with so much fairness. We could scarcely have expected it but it must be owing to prayer, and we have much to be thankful for.... (32)

It was with some reluctance that Archbishop Eyre gave up the idea of opening Notre Dame College in January 1894 but this did not lessen his appreciation of Namur's readiness to let Sisters of Notre Dame undertake their new venture and mission in Glasgow. He wrote to the Mother General, Sister Aimée of Jesus who, as Superiors of Mount Pleasant, had helped to guide the College in the early years:

Glasgow

Jan 6th 1894

My dear Mother General

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of writing to say how grateful I am to you for consenting to allow your Sisters to take charge of the Training College in Glasgow. All of us welcome most cordially the sisters to the Archdiocese. We hope that the Training College will, in due time, have a success similar to that of Mount Pleasant, Liverpool. I am quite sure that you will arrange that the work of the College shall be started with the least possible delay.

Believe me, dear Mother General,

Very faithfully yours,

Charles, Archbishop of Glasgow

(33)

The specific mission of the Sisters of Notre Dame in Glasgow at the time is highlighted by the content and tone of a letter written by the Duke of Norfolk to Namur stating that he was endorsing the invitation of the Archbishop of Glasgow and adding in very positive terms what were the expectations of the Education Committee:

... the (Education) Committee feels strongly that, under the care of the Sisters of Notre Dame the College will not fail to attain - and maintain - the very high standard of efficiency which distinguishes the Training College of Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, and thus prove an honour and a boon to the Catholics of Scotland.

I have the honour to be, Madam,

Your faithful servant.

Norfolk.

(34)

The whole question of the nature and content of teacher training and where and when it should take place had been discussed and debated widely during the 1880s. An important source of information on teacher training in general at this time is the

Second Report of the Parker Committee which was published in 1888. Three years earlier, in 1885, Aberdeen University had made a proposal for some form of concurrent training in university and training college for selected students, and the Parker Report reflects this growing feeling that greater liaison between the universities and the teaching profession was desirable, mentioning the part played since 1874 by the SED in financing the studies of promising college students at university. Such concurrent studies were, however, according to Scotland, attracting a smaller number by the time of the Parker Report, possibly because of practical difficulties in combining university and college classes satisfactorily. The Parker Committee examined the situation in the late 1880s and made the following points:

- 1 training was centrally to continue as the job of the primarily professional colleges and all teachers must be trained but
- 2 the principle of combined liberal and professional studies through university and college must grow - with pupil teachers benefiting also from university extension classes
- 3 the pattern for graduates must become "degree plus college training", university diplomas of the type instituted in 1887 by Edinburgh and Glasgow being thought insufficient guarantee of practical ability
- 4 no need for state unification of denominational colleges since such status gave no evidence of breeding intolerance or exclusiveness.

In 1889 the pressure of Parker on the SED gave rise to improvements in teaching load and financial support for men students wishing to do a third year at university, so that graduation came within reach of more men teachers. It was not until the mid 1890s, however, that anything happened to enable universities to give combined liberal-professional studies from their own resources.

Sir John Struther's view of the limitations of teachers who were the products of "practical training" is evident from remarks he made on the subject in 1886:

.... It has been said and perhaps with some truth, that normal students who have not been pupil teachers are, to put it broadly, more intelligent than those who served an apprenticeship. The effect of an almost exclusively practical training is to deaden their intellectual faculties. But, however this may be, there can be no questioning as to the culturing effect on pupil teachers on the literary side of their normal work. Acting teachers are, in most cases, pupil teachers who have not had the benefit of this literary education..... (35)

It is worth quoting in full Struther's letter to Stewart marked 'Private' on 5 July 1916 which not only expands his view of the question of the religious in Roman Catholic schools, but also adds some fascinating depth to his personal view of women teachers in Scottish schools generally:

.... I confess I have great sympathy with the views expressed ... as to the value of a sense of vocation in the teacher. Speaking for myself quite privately, my experience from inspecting schools impressed me strongly with the essential superiority of the 'sister' (properly qualified of course) as against the lay woman as a teacher in Catholic schools. This superiority I have no doubt is to be traced back to fundamental fact that the 'sisters' in bulk – no doubt there were individual exceptions – had but a single purpose in life and, though that purpose was perhaps a narrower one than we should desire ideally in our teachers, there is no question in my mind that their influence upon the children for the essential purposes of life was a more beneficial thing than that of the lay women teachers in Catholic schools. These latter for various reasons were not very satisfactory, but the main reason undoubtedly was that they did not take their profession very seriously and were looking forward to marriage at the earliest possible moment. This does not apply in the same way (I am speaking of course of a time now passed (sic) to women teachers in the ordinary elementary schools. The great bulk of those women

undoubtedly did take their profession very seriously and, though the prospect of marriage and of a totally different range of duties was far from being excluded, they gave of their best to their professional work and did not abandon it lightly. But my own feeling is that for the raising of the level of education in the Catholic schools a considerable infusion of 'sisters' is a necessity as it is by no means a necessity, even if it were feasible, in the other schools. This statement of my personal view has run to greater length than I intended and I should not wish it to influence the views of your colleagues in any way. They have to consider a quite different question, namely, how far their acceptance of Catholic use and wont in the employment of 'sisters' even if they were satisfied that that employment were desirable on its merits, would be in reasonable accord with the sentiment of their constituents. You will regard what I have said on the subject as being very specially confidential... (36)

The role played by Sir Henry Craik in the establishment and development of Catholic Teacher Training in Scotland was crucial given the power of the Scotch Education Department at that time. The second report of the Parker Committee in 1888 advocated a position favouring the centrality of the colleges and an accepted but peripheral role for the universities in training. There was obvious underlying opposition by Craik and the SED to university involvement. This is evident from Craik's expression of views to the Universities Commission in 1892. Craik firmly resisted the possibility of direct university participation in teacher training, even in the special instance of the new university college of Dundee and its proposal to set up a college for teachers with economy of staffing in mixed rather than single sex classes - and in an area completely without training facilities. Craik's reasons were his lack of faith in the suitability of the universities' familiarity with the classroom situation, his fear of the possibility of a training falling between two stools of liberalism and professionalism and, probably his deepest fear, the chance of control passing from the hands of the SED:

It would be very difficult for us to exercise the same control in the university, or even any committee appointed by the university, which we exercise over the training colleges. They are constantly visited by our inspectors. They are under our supervision as regards their curriculum in every way. (37)

Craik expressed a preference for the separation of the university course from teacher training by the establishment of the “university graduation plus one college year” pattern. The universities themselves were for the most part willing to take a more responsible role. The result was that in 1893 the Universities Commission recommended that selected “Queen’s Scholars” be admitted to university for academic studies and training under the auspices of a University Local Committee. SED opposition was overcome in 1895 by the obvious gap in the Dundee area, so that the system did in fact start to operate in that year. This system produced mainly secondary teachers and so met the needs of that time. The years from 1892 and the Equivalent Grant resulted in an expansion of secondary schools and of the numbers entering secondary schools via Merit Certificate and taking the Leaving Certificate. It is evident that Craik was in favour of leaving the management of training institutions to the denominations and he wrote the letter in 1894 formally sanctioning the establishment of Notre Dame College (Appendix 37 and 38)

The foundation in Dowanhill, Glasgow, of Notre Dame Training College in 1895 reflected the growth of an organised West of Scotland Catholic Community by the end of the nineteenth century, the expansion of inspected Catholic schools and the desperate need to train Catholic teachers to teach in these schools and to cope with the still extensive problem of Irish Catholic illiteracy. Detailed information concerning the initial growth and development of Notre Dame College can be found in the annual reports of the Catholic School Committee:

In September, 1894, a class was opened at Dowanhill by the Sisters of Notre Dame in preparation for the December Scholarship Examination. Pupils attended from various parts of Scotland. Edinburgh, Aberdeenshire and Forfarshire sent candidates as well as Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire. Applications for admission to

the new Training College followed closely on the publication in October, of the July Scholarship List, and twenty-three future students were accepted. In 1894, the December Scholarship List was daily expected and over twenty-five Scottish candidates wrote papers for admission to Notre Dame College. If successful, these candidates were to be admitted after July 1895. The Training College was officially declared open by His Grace, Archbishop Eyre of Glasgow on January 14, 1895, when the resident students numbered 23. Of those 5 were in the first class (Scholarships) and 18 in the second. (38)

Dr Kerr, the Inspector of Training Colleges in Scotland, had visited the new College in December, 1894, and expressed himself highly satisfied with the preparatory arrangements. In the report of the Catholic School Committee for 1897 it is recorded that the number of students in training in Notre Dame College during session 1896-97 was 52, increased to 60 in the latter part of 1897 by the entrance of 30 first year students in September. At a meeting of the Catholic School Committee in May 1897, Dr Ogilvie HM Inspector for Training Colleges in Scotland said of the College and its students:

Everything was most satisfactory and it was a great advantage that the students being in a residential College under very cultivating and healthy influence. The premises were unsurpassed in Scotland.

and

In September 1897, a small Practising School was opened in the rooms of one of the villas formerly used as the students' lecture rooms. These were capable of accommodating about 70 children. (39)

There is evidence of Craik's continuing support for the work of the Sisters of Notre Dame in the report of the Catholic School Committee of 1897 and in the Autumn of the same year when he visited the College, the report of his visit runs:

He was agreeably surprised to find that the Catholics in Scotland has made such progress, and in an enthusiastic speech he congratulated the students upon their surroundings and advantages, assuring them of his friendliness towards them by any means in his power. (40)

Craik had already given proof of his friendly spirit by a letter he had sent to Notre Dame College offering the authorities of the College an increase in the number of students. From 1898, selected students attended university classes and by 1900 the college was training postgraduate students. Despite these considerable achievements, the task facing the Sisters of Notre Dame was still colossal. Basically, they were faced with the challenge of the building up of standards within a depressed Irish community which was still largely illiterate. Notre Dame College, Dowanhill, was the second College in Britain founded by the Sisters of Notre Dame. Before Notre Dame College was founded in Glasgow in 1894, the College at Mount Pleasant in Liverpool, founded in 1855, trained students from Scotland as well as those from England and a wide distribution of schools north of the border were conducted by teachers who had studied in Liverpool. From her experience in Liverpool, Sister Mary of St Wilfred was familiar with the poor background of the Irish immigrants, and with the ghetto-like mentality fostered by life in an intolerant and aggressively Protestant community. For advice she was able to look to the Secretary of the Catholic Poor School Committee, W H Hunnybun, with his considerable experience of English training colleges. (41)

Like the Episcopal College in Edinburgh, Notre Dame College, Dowanhill, was residential with an emphasis on corporate life and discipline. It was unique in having a woman Principal. The first Principal, Sister Mary of St Wilfred (Mary Adela Lescher), was, by all accounts, a woman of great vision. Under her guidance, the college was soon flourishing and the original building, described by the Chief Inspector of Schools as of “exceptional excellence” was enlarged to cater for 80 students and to provide a pupil-teacher centre. (42)

Cruickshank states that: “since students came from some of the poorest sections of the community there was no question of their paying their way as did many of the women students in the Presbyterian colleges.” (43) From the database of the Notre Dame

students who attended classes at the University of Glasgow (Appendix 39), however, it is clear that this all female College was drawing students from a wide geographical area who were predominantly from middle class or aspiring middle class families. Under the column “father’s occupation”, for example, the vast majority are skilled tradesmen and professional men and this would suggest that these students, with the influence of the Sisters of Notre Dame, would be a powerful force in the task of educating and ‘civilising’ the Catholic population of Glasgow and the West of Scotland. A situation was being created where Catholic females were becoming a powerful social agent in the process of educational, social and consequently moral and cultural amelioration. The motives of the Sisters of Notre Dame fit in with their stated mission, as discussed in Chapter Three and this is indicative of an unprecedented relationship between religious and secular forces in Scottish society. There is a crucial gender issue here, also, where the Sisters of Notre Dame and their female students were beginning to exert considerable power and influence in nineteenth century Roman Catholic and Scottish society in that they were involved in the social control of the ‘disruptive Irish immigrant community’. The aspiration and intention of the Sisters of Notre Dame to improve and develop the students socially and culturally is evident from the calibre of visitors and dignitaries who came to the College. During the early years Archbishop Eyre paid frequent and informal visits and took an active part in the growth and development of the College, presenting annually a gold and silver medal for good conduct to be awarded by student votes. Among other distinguished visitors and lecturers were the Archbishop of Westminster and two Jesuit Fathers who gave an account of their pre-Jesuit and pre-Catholic experiences in Oxford. (44)

At the end of the first year additions to the original villas had been made to accommodate increasing numbers of students. A further extension to the College was completed in 1907. This included a library, gymnasium, refectory, science, art and lecture rooms. The College actually appointed a physical instructress before the larger Glasgow Centre (45) and the science laboratory became famous under the direction of Sister Monica Taylor SND DSc. (46) As can be seen from the following outline of achievements, Sister Monica Taylor was a pioneer in many respects.

Sister Monica Taylor SND DSc

A sister of Professor Hugh Taylor, FRS, Sister Monica, a biologist, was lecturer at the College from 1901 until her retirement in 1946. She was awarded an Honorary Degree of LLD by the University of Glasgow in 1953 and the Science laboratories at the former St Andrew's College, Bearsden, were named after her as a memorial to her work. Sister Monica was the first Sister of Notre Dame or indeed any female religious order, to become a student at the University of Glasgow. In an article in the Glasgow Herald (July 11, 1963) Sister Monica explained how this came about.

When I first came to Notre Dame as a member of staff in 1901, I had no degree, but our Sister Superior, Sister Mary of St Wilfrid, was very progressive and got me permission to go to Glasgow University to do practical work in the laboratory, so that I might take an external degree of London University.

This special dispensation was given on condition that the young nun was strictly chaperoned during her visits to the laboratory, and that she must on no account attend any lectures. But the Reverend Mother General, who had given this limited permission, had not reckoned on the persuasive powers of Sir John Graham Kerr. He decided that Sister Monica must attend lectures in order to get her degree. Sister Monica continued:

I don't know to this day just what Sir John said or to whom - but permission was forthcoming and so I became the first nun to sit among other science students at Glasgow University, always with my chaperone, of course.

The London University degree safely achieved, Sir John Graham Kerr, the eminent Glasgow zoologist, encouraged Sister Monica to combine teaching science (which she did so well that Notre Dame Training College achieved a well-deserved reputation for its excellent science department) with research, for which, he recognised, she had a particular talent. (47)

For much of the first half of the twentieth century Sister Monica combined her religious and teaching duties at Dowanhill with her work as a research scientist in protozoology, the study of the most primitive animals such as the amoeba. She worked with Sir John Graham Kerr and fostered a great enthusiasm for biology at the College. The species *Amoeba Taylora* was one of the discoveries of what Sir John called 'the Dowanhill school'. It was for this ground-breaking research that she was awarded an honorary degree by the University of Glasgow. It is particularly significant that a female, who was also a Sister of Notre Dame, was given the recognition of being a leader in the field of Science, traditionally a male-dominated discipline at that time, as well as a significant pioneer in the field of education.

At intervals during the years which followed, a number of houses in the vicinity of Bowmont Gardens were purchased and adapted for College purposes. One of them later became the Notre Dame Child Guidance Clinic. The physical growth of the College was the inevitable result of administrative and curricular developments to meet the needs of a growing student body. Beginning in 1901, a new system of assessing the students' work was introduced whereby each college planned its course of study and likewise corrected the examination papers which were subsequently subject to inspection. This was a progressive step that also enhanced relationships between faculty and inspectors. (48) The curriculum followed by the students of Notre Dame College in its early years consisted of subjects divided into three main groups as can be seen in the summary of the work of second year students - midsummer 1904. (Appendix 40)

It can be deduced from the content and tone of the correspondence between the SED and the Notre Dame order that the Sisters of Notre Dame certainly had a collaborative and harmonious relationship with the Authorities in Scotland. What this shows is the skill of the Notre Dame order in reaching a rapprochement with a secular Protestant State. Despite having what would have appeared to be quite antagonistic interests, their dealings with the State were remarkably smooth and converged conveniently on the issue of teacher training and education.

Scotland was secure in its educational tradition: its democracy, its ancient Christian inheritance, its respect for learning, and was able to absorb new elements without

altering its philosophy or theirs. The creation of the Scotch Education Department in 1872 and its reorganisation thirteen years later to come directly under the control of parliament through the Secretary for Scotland, emphasised the national character of Scottish education. The setting up of a national system in Scotland in 1872 did not of itself create difficulties for the congregation of the Sisters of Notre Dame. The Sisters of Notre Dame recognised the right of the state to educate its citizens and to insist on a certain standard for them and, where the educational issue was clear, a working relationship with public authorities was quickly established. When the Congregation of the Sisters of Notre Dame opened a Training College and a school in Glasgow in 1894, it was working under the eye of the Department though not, at first, under its control. For twenty-four years, until 1918, there was collaboration with a certain caution on the side of the Congregation of the Sisters of Notre Dame in view of its experience in England and Belgium, and a willingness to wait on the part of the state. (49)

Notre Dame College, Dowanhill, like the Episcopal College in Edinburgh, remained outside the national system.

The Principal of Dowanhill was anxious to remain outside the Provincial Committee scheme. Racial and religious friction was such that she had good reason to prefer direct dealings with the central Department rather than to submit to any form of local control. (50)

In addition to the Teacher Training College the work of the Sisters of Notre Dame in Glasgow included parish schools, a pupil-teacher centre, select schools and evening classes. As far as their contribution to Catholic education in Glasgow is concerned, their most important undertaking was the Training College at Dowanhill and it was in connection with this that the relations with the state were worked out. The national system did not approve of the provision for teacher training that was outside its own control. The training of teachers was a national concern and therefore an integral part of the state system. The principle was too firmly established in Scotland for there to be any likelihood of independence lasting long and if the state considered the universities too circumscribed to take responsibility for teacher training, it would certainly be

unwilling to allow that responsibility to a religious order. As early as 1905, a minute of the Scotch Education Department divided the country for the purposes of teacher training into four provinces based on the University cities of St Andrew's, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Training in each district was to be in the hands of a provincial committee to which the denominations were invited to hand over their Colleges. Knox (1953) considers this step "a major revolution". The Church of Scotland and the United Free Churches agreed to transfer their establishments but Dowanhill and the Episcopalian College in Edinburgh, declined to enter into any agreement on the matter. The most likely explanation of this is that the Sisters of Notre Dame recognised in the Committees scheme an important step towards nationalisation and knew from that time forward that transfer to the Scotch Education Department would probably be inevitable one day. The Sisters of Notre Dame nevertheless were determined to build up the reputation of the College and to establish its character before the transfer. The intensive development of Dowanhill may have owed something of its urgency to the possibility of nationalisation and to the need to have a fully developed Catholic College when that day came. It came in 1918. Under the Act of that year the Provincial Committees were reconstituted as the National Committee for the Training of Teachers and all training agencies were placed under its control. Special committees of management were allowed for the residential colleges for women but there was no option as to status. The Scotch Education Department was responsible for the management of all colleges. In the case of Notre Dame, Dowanhill, however, the College property remained in the hands of the Catholic Education Council, the Catholicism of the College was guaranteed by Article 4 of the transfer and its continued tradition assured by the proviso that, granted satisfactory qualifications, the principal should always be a Sister of Notre Dame. (51)

In 1918, at the same time as the Training College, the Pupil Teacher Centre, the High School, and the Montessori School were transferred to the public authorities. Any doubts that might have been felt about the decision to transfer were dispelled as the years went by. Glasgow Corporation gave Notre Dame High School the unusual status of a fee-paying establishment so that it kept a wide catchment area and a selective mode of entry and the Department ensured the complement of non-selective work by building up the order's school at Dumbarton. Under no other national system was Notre Dame's connection with the state so close: the College was sanctioned by Act of

Parliament, all the schools were under the management of the Scottish Education Department, plans for future work were the concern of local councils and educational corporations.

Association with the University of Glasgow

The first Queen's student to attend Glasgow University as a matriculated undergraduate from Dowanhill registered in the year 1900. By 1903 there were nine of them and in the following year a class was formed for the "University students" of the College. Remarkably prophetically Sister Mary of St Wilfrid could even write: ".....in establishing a Training College now it seems to be of the utmost importance to be in connection with a University." (52)

She went on in 1912 to organise a post graduate training course and did important work in bringing together Catholic women graduates in the Glasgow University Catholic Women's Association. Dowanhill became a College which trained specialist (Chapter V) as well as general (Chapter III) teachers and its monopoly of this work where the Catholic students of Scotland were concerned enabled it to make a significant contribution to the Catholic life of the country. Higher education in Glasgow also led to the final step of the congregation of the Sisters of Notre Dame in the training of its Sisters: permission to attend regular courses at the University of Glasgow and to take higher degrees in view of the needs of their undergraduate students.

In conclusion, study of the role of the Sisters of Notre Dame in the development of teacher training in Glasgow reveals several important points. The work of the Sisters of Notre Dame gave Catholic girls the opportunity to continue education past the elementary stage and to aspire to 'white-collar' positions for the first time in Scotland's history.

Several Sisters of the Notre Dame order demonstrated such formidable qualities in teaching, research, educational management and leadership that they could justifiably be cited as pioneers of equality of opportunity for women. Through skilful negotiation with the State and the University, the order enabled the small and separate Catholic

schools system to attain the standards of the country at large by training a well-qualified and competent corps of teachers and, in this way, contributed significantly to a general raising of the educational and cultural standards of the Catholic community.

NOTES

- 1 FitzPatrick (1986) p33
- 2 FitzPatrick (1995) p45; Gillies (1978) p35-37
- 3 Gillies (1978) p8
- 4 Dolan (1969) p171
- 5 Gillies (1978) p8
- 6 Eaton, Longmore and Naylor (eds) (2000) p116
- 7 Scotland (1969) Vol.1 p310
- 8 Stow (1833)
- 9 Stow, cited in Scotland (1969) Vol 1 p310
- 10 Stow, cited in Scotland (1969) Vol 1 P311
- 11 General Assembly, Church of Scotland: Education Committee, Report (1850)
- 12 Shannon (1950) St Mary's College Centenary Record p84
- 13 Sister Mary of St Philip, quoted in Shannon (1950) op. cit. p10
- 14 Committee of Council on Education - Minutes and Reports 1839-1869 COC Report (1856). HMI Marshall's Report
- 15 FitzPatrick (1994) p150
- 16 FitzPatrick (1994) p148

- 17 The Education (Scotland) Act of 1872
- 18 Bishop Cornthwaite, quoted in The History of Notre Dame Training College 1856-1885, p28
- 19 Scotland (1969) Vol.1 p323
- 20 Report of Committee of Council on Education, 1894-5, p.xiii in Cruickshank (1970) p121-122
- 21 Confidential Memorandum (unpublished), 20 September 1893, Scotch Education Department.
- 22 Scotch Education Department, Education (Scotland) Report (1891) p257
- 23 Skinnider in Bone (ed)(1967) p24
- 24 Scotland (1969) p256
- 25 Skinnider in Bone (ed) (1967) p31
- 26 HMI Stokes in Gillies (1978) p14
- 27 Report of Committee of Council on Education, 1891-2, p259 quoted in Cruickshank (1970) p122
- 28 Letter quoted in Gillies (1978) p15
- 29 Gillies (1978) p15
- 30 Notre Dame Training College Prospectus (1960) p9
- 31 Gillies (1978) p16

- 32 Letter quoted in Gillies (1978) p16-17; also in Life of Sister Mary of St Wilfrid First (unpublished) draft by Sister Bernardine (Lucy Carter) SND. p105
- 33 Letter quoted in Gillies (1978) p16-17; also in Life of Sister Mary of St Wilfrid First draft by Sister Bernardine (Lucy Carter) SND. p105
- 34 Letter quoted in Gillies (1978) p16-17; also in Life of Sister Mary of St Wilfrid First (unpublished) draft by Sister Bernardine (Lucy Carter) SND. p105
- 35 Report by Struthers HMI SED Annual Report 1886-87 p301
- 36 Struthers Private Letter to HMI Stewart, 5 July 1916 ED 7/1/19 cited in Findlay (1975) pp223-224
- 37 Scottish Universities Commission (1893) Minutes of Evidence, p301
- 38 Minutes of the Catholic School Committee (1895). Five of these students became Sisters of Notre Dame
- 39 Report of the Catholic School Committee (1897)
- 40 Report of the Catholic School Committee (1897)
- 41 Cruickshank (1970) p123
- 42 Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1900-01, p585 in Cruickshank (1970) p123
- 43 Cruickshank, p123 states that each student paid an entrance fee of £5 which covered all expenses except books.
- 44 Notre Dame Golden Jubilee Magazine (1945)
- 45 Report of the Committee of Council on Education (1908-9) p21

- 46 Cruickshank (1970) p156
- 47 Glasgow Herald, Thursday, July 11, (1963)
- 48 Notre Dame Training College Magazine (1945)
- 49 Gillies (1978) p214; Linscott (1964)
- 50 Cruickshank (1970) p138. See also FitzPatrick, 1995, p49
- 51 Minute of Agreement, Minutes of the Central Executive Committee of the National Committee for the Training of Teachers, Vol 1, April-June, 1920, p263
- 52 Linscott (1964) p167

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION: 1918 AND BEYOND

The industrial revolution in conjunction with the epiphenomenon of urbanisation with its inevitable effects was fundamentally the cause of the inequitable lifestyles of people living in Glasgow during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This thesis has argued that the Copernican revolution in education that came about to ameliorate the situation did so largely as a consequence of the invitations and subsequent arrival and work of the teaching religious orders. Not only did their contribution enable Catholics to remain outside the state system after 1872 but also, by carrying out their work in Glasgow, these orders strove to combat the secularisation of schools and the prevailing orthodoxies of materialism, discrimination, prejudice, agnosticism, atheism and utter indifference which were consequences of the rapid industrialisation concomitant with the industrial revolution.

In the course of this study several dominant themes have emerged to which the historian must give serious attention. The mission of the teaching religious orders realised goals which had social ramifications and cultural consequences which were well beyond the original intentions of the pioneers. The success of their collective mission had larger consequences including emancipation, broadening of cultural horizons and an increase of the importance of the group which they came to serve. Paradoxically, this success, part of which involved higher education for a section of the Catholic population, inevitably exposed them to all the influences of secularisation and put in train a series of historical movements which would lead to the Catholic population itself taking responsibility for its own education. This explains how the situation has been arrived at in the first years of the twenty-first century where the mission of the religious orders has been devolved onto the Catholic population itself. The values of the Sisters of Notre Dame, for instance, are written into the mission statement of the Faculty of Education of the University of Glasgow and the values of each of the teaching orders now permeate the work of Catholic schools in general.

A second conspicuous theme which has emerged in the course of the study is that of service. Each of the five orders, who by the nature of their vocation were motivated by

eschatological considerations, share one common aim - a profound ethic of service to others. (1) That ethic has had an enduring influence on the Catholic community demonstrating that the orders bequeathed a quality, the effectiveness of which is to be found in the continuing ethic of service in Catholic education. Arguably there are certain ambiguities and paradoxes in this situation where the secular historian, not committed to the Catholic ethic, could argue that the dependency culture in the Catholic community has led to Catholics being socially disadvantaged as a consequence of overdependence on service. On balance, however, any risks of dependency that the roles of the orders incurred for the Catholic population are more than offset by the benefits of the example of these men and women and the standards that they set.

The concept of Catholicism has been central to the thesis. Dolan's approach to explain the concept of Catholicism based on the belief that Catholicism is the continuing work of Christ in the world has been applicable in this study. The Catholic faith, by definition is traditional in the true sense of the word, that is, it is literally "handed down" from parents to children or from generation to generation. For Dolan, man's endeavour is inextricably linked to the work of God and the Church is the context for all Catholic education. Chater's attempt, metaphorically, to 'square the circle', by attempting to realign confessional religious education and non-confessionalism, although undoubtedly valuable and epistemologically sound in a modern-day context, is anachronistic and not applicable in this study insofar as he uses a post-modern concept which does not conveniently apply to a nineteenth or early twentieth situation. The traditional definitions of Catholicism provided by, for example, Dolan, Carr and McBrien have been more useful as an explanatory frame.

The related concepts of vocation and religious orders have been an integral part of the study in that they constitute the *modus vivendi* as well as the *modus operandi* of the people who are the subject of the study. Since becoming a member of a religious order involves the taking of sacred oaths, the most obvious being the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, in the presence of God, it follows logically that members of the religious orders who, by definition have a vocation, will endeavour, by their actions and lifestyle, to follow the stated aims of their order and achieve the stated objectives or mission of that order. The analysis of the concept of mission in Chapter

Three demonstrates conclusively that, although there are certain similarities and common elements in the mission of each of the orders, at the same time, each of the orders had its own distinctive mission in Glasgow during the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. The first two of the female teaching orders to arrive in Glasgow in 1847, the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy, were hard-pressed in what might be viewed in a modern-day context as basic social services.

The thesis has argued that each of the religious orders in question made their own unique and distinctive contribution to Catholic education in Glasgow and thus to the survival and development of Catholic education in Glasgow during the period 1849-1918. But they achieved much more than this. The evidence shows that the Franciscans and the Sisters of Mercy catered for the spiritual, social, and material needs of the marginalised in society in the middle of the nineteenth century in Glasgow. In an ambitious exercise in community-building these orders showed a conscious concern for the uneducated, young women who were at risk, prostitutes, the sick, orphans, and women prisoners. If this concern for the marginalised in society was the motivation for the work of voluntary organisations in the middle of the nineteenth century, it can be cited as an example of successful good practice which could inform the situation at the beginning of the twenty-first century where many credible contemporary social commentators view the much publicised concept of 'care in the community' for the marginalised in society as merely a juxtaposition of two misnomers and a euphemism for a return to a cost-effective and convenient return to laissez-faire policy by the state.

The reason that the Society of Jesus came to Glasgow in 1859 was to fulfil their mission to provide an education for Catholic boys in Glasgow so that these boys could enter the professions and thus create a Catholic middle class. The Marists had similar aims as exemplified by their work in St Mungo's Academy. As detailed in Chapters Three and Five both orders helped to create a professional middle class among the male Catholic population of Glasgow and beyond during the period in question. This was particularly significant in that it was the first evidence of upward mobility for Catholics in Glasgow in modern times.

Chapter Six outlines the major advances which were made in Catholic education after 1894 when Notre Dame College was opened at Dowanhill to provide training for female elementary school teachers. The Sisters of Notre Dame provided Glasgow with its first Catholic teacher training college, thereby creating a supply of Catholic teachers to staff the Catholic schools which were struggling after the 1872 Act. The work of the religious orders therefore made it feasible for Catholic schools to remain outside the state system after the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act and paved the way for the considerable achievement for the Catholic community of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. The Sisters of Notre Dame, therefore, metaphorically 'put the icing on a multi-layered cake' which had a variety of ingredients already supplied by the other orders.

The social control exercised by the orders was fundamentally based on Catholicism and aimed at the amelioration of society through Catholic education and as such was antithetical to the enlightened despotism of Robert Owen and Emile Durkheim's moral education. For both Owen and Durkheim education is a function of the social organisation of society and as such definitely a social matter as opposed to a religious matter. In Chapters Three, Four, Five and Six it is apparent that each of the orders perceived the Catholic ethos and identity of their respective institutes as essential for their function. Like MacKenzie, the orders saw social control as a major function of education systems. Where MacKenzie argues that, if society abandons social control to undesirable groups, the result will not be freedom but the end of liberty, the orders viewed their social control as inextricably linked to the Catholic faith, Catholic education and its attendant values and were therefore insistent on exercising that control in their own way. The Jesuits, in particular, were instrumental in reversing the reluctance of Catholic parents, as well as children in Glasgow at the time, to accept the transmission of culture that they offered Catholic boys via their type of Catholic education. The social control exercised by the teaching religious orders complicates the standard social control model where social control is used purely to moderate, ameliorate and channel disruptive influences and sources of discontent. What the analysis in this thesis has shown clearly is that the religious orders did not breed passivity or isolationism in the community. On the contrary, instead they fostered ambition, a desire to participate and, educationally, a thirst for knowledge and self-

improvement which the Catholic community went on to use as instruments for their betterment - involvement in mainstream party politics and education proves this.

The concept of leadership and its implications for management theory is another theme which permeates the study. The inspirational and motivational leadership of headmasters like Fr Hanson SJ of St Aloysius' College and Brother Germanus of St Mungo's Academy provides an example for modern-day managers of educational institutions who strive to create ethos, identity and achievement. Many of these leaders were women. The pioneering work of Sister Veronica Cordier, Sister Adelaide Vaast, Sister Mary of St Wilfred and Sister Monica Taylor, to name only a few, indicates that the concept of gender is important in the study. The changing and developing role of women in Catholic education in Glasgow from 1847 until 1918 has been a main strand in the thesis. Three of the orders are female, the first two and the last. The women members of the first two orders demonstrated a commitment to the marginalised in society in a way not known in a Catholic context in Scotland since the late Middle Ages. The Sisters of Notre Dame and their achievements in teacher training provide evidence that the Catholic community in Glasgow had achieved a status in Glasgow that was recognised and appreciated by the Scottish Education Department and the State.

Chapter Four analyses the role of the State in dealing with the provision of education for Catholics in Scotland during the period 1847 until 1918 and how this affected and was affected by the Catholic Church and the work of the religious orders in Glasgow during that period. The re-emergence of the Roman Catholic Church as a result of the increased Irish immigration with increasing influence in Scottish society meant that in the context of religion there was a developing relationship between Roman Catholics and the State categorised by a rapprochement and a common interest in the whole question of social control. Related to this is the concept of xenophobia. Chapter Two demonstrates clearly that Catholicism was seen as a threat to Presbyterianism and, as such, had to be resisted. In a xenophobic reaction to the perceived threat from Irish immigration and the dramatic increase in the number of Catholics in Glasgow, education was to be one of the main weapons against Catholicism.

There are, inevitably, a number of concepts which have been consciously articulated in the study and have provided a clearer conceptual and explanatory frame or context for the study to take place. Among these are the related concepts of community, culture and identity. The development of the thesis has involved explanation and analysis of the treatment of and the challenges faced by a minority group ie Catholics in Glasgow from the 1840s until 1918, many of whom were distinguished by race, culture, language and religion.

Gallagher (1991) highlights that it was to prove no easy matter for Irish immigrants to acquire an identity that would sustain them in nineteenth century Scotland as they gravitated there in increasing numbers. In terms of physical distance, the journey to Scotland was among the shortest faced by the migrating Irish. But Scotland's alien culture and religious institutions, the coldness of the personal reception, and the transformation of a rural environment not unlike what had been left behind into a belching industrial inferno, was bound to have been a wrenching experience. (2)

Like other minorities on the move, the immigrant Irish brought with them significant numbers of people expounding the religion that was essential for the maintenance of their cultural identity. (3) An identifiable social world was created which gave dignity and hope to 'quite poor people who found in their Church the discipline to live upright and well-ordered lives'. (4) The Franciscan Sisters, the Sisters of Mercy, the Marist Brothers, the Jesuits and the Sisters of Notre Dame provided an essential element in the process of building that special ethos, cultural identity and community. Much of the community building in which the teaching religious orders were involved was inextricably linked to the concept of communication, not only communication within the Catholic community, essentially important as that was, but also communication with those who were outside the Catholic community. Williams has insightful and relevant observations concerning communication and community:

Communication is not only transmission; it is also reception and response. In a transitional culture it will be possible for skillful transmission to affect aspects of activity and belief, sometimes decisively. But confusedly, the whole sum of experience will reassert itself, and inhabit its own world. (5)

The Catholic community in Glasgow was identifiable and distinctive but instead of merely being inward looking, it was outward looking as well. That the work of the religious orders involved a significant contribution to Catholic education during the second half of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century could hardly be denied. The 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, which could justifiably be described as a *άπαξ*, (6) marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Catholic education in Scotland in which there has been a truly national system of education which has enabled Catholics to have an equal share in educational opportunities.

Historians traditionally see the 1918 education (Scotland) Act as a watershed in a number of spheres. It marks the entry of the religious orders into the twentieth century. On the one hand this could be viewed as a formation of the Catholic community into mainstream Catholic education and an older way of seeing Catholic education. On the other hand it could be seen as marking the end of an older apostolic philosophy of education. It is worth reflecting on what might have happened if all of the schools managed by the religious orders had not come under state control.

The 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, although regarded by many as hallowed and with favourable terms that should never be surrendered, at the time aroused deep fears in a number within the Catholic Church. In retrospect, not all those fears were groundless. Gourlay (1990) observes that opponents at the time pointed how the Church's only way of safeguarding the Catholic nature of their schools lay in the right to approve teachers who would owe their appointments and their salaries to education authorities, and not to the Church. She adds:

They feared that the schools, once part of the state system, would have a strong tendency to be assimilated into it and to seek to obscure rather than cling to the distinguishing features of confessional establishments. (7)

Under the 1918 Act, teachers for Catholic schools, however trained, had to be 'approved in terms of belief and character by the Church or denominational body in whose interest the school is conducted'. This was the main way in which the Church expected to prevent Catholic schools from becoming merely secular institutions.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the social context in which denominational education is set has changed radically. The end of the twentieth century and the beginning of a new millennium has witnessed a drastic decline in church attendance proportionately greater for Catholics than for Church of Scotland members. (8)

At the same time there is the significant multicultural dimension to modern Scotland which provokes the question of what the nature of contemporary Scottish society is. This, in turn, raises questions about the whole issue of faith-based schools and whether or not, for example, the Jewish, Muslim or Hindu communities have an equal claim on the resources of the state. These altered circumstances prompt the historian to re-evaluate the apparent watershed of the 1918 Act. Is it the fulfilment of everything the religious orders had been seeking or does it mark the beginning of the end of their influence because of the wholesale embrace of the state?

A preliminary judgement might be that, as with so many of these momentous turning points, the consequences have been mixed. Consistent with broader themes of the thesis, the 1918 Act allowed Catholic education to become a mainstream element within Scottish educational culture. It also gave the Catholic community access to unprecedented levels of resources. On the other hand, it is also possible to see the 1918 Act as the moment at which the Catholic Church acknowledged that it was no longer capable, within its own resources, of providing a modern education. It therefore inadvertently contributed to the process of secularisation by enmeshing the Church in the State's apparatus, compromising its independence and arguably its distinctiveness.

Pessimistic accounts of the 1918 Settlement have to contend with the fact that a flourishing separate Catholic school system continues to exist today. 1918 also provides a foreshadowing of Vatican II in that the young men and women of 1918 witnessed the first stirrings of the Second Vatican Council and the decision to modernise the Catholic Church through engagement with modernity rather than turning away from it.

There can be little doubt that the Glasgow Catholic community had arrived at its improved situation largely as a consequence of the contributions, individually and

collectively, of the teaching religious orders. Writing in 1998 and recognising that Catholic schools have changed considerably since they were assimilated into the state sector in 1918, Sweeney argues that as the intake of Catholic schools grows and changes, they have to review their role and broaden their objectives:

We try to provide an education which is relevant to all creeds and cultures, but remains true to the principles and traditions of Christian and Catholic education. *'Tempora mutantur et nos mutantur in illis'* - times change and we change with them. From being an oppressed immigrant minority, Catholic people now walk with confidence in Scotland's corridors of power. Catholic schools may be less monolithically Catholic than in earlier days. However, the descendants of these early immigrants are the heirs to a precious legacy of worship and teaching. As they face the ecumenical superhighway to the 21st century, it is incumbent on them to cherish the heritage they have received and to remember with gratitude those people who toiled to create it. (9)

This useful and positive perspective advocates an abandonment of blinkered, prejudiced, solipsistic perspectives and further developing not only a rapprochement or a state of peaceful coexistence but a commitment to diversity and mutual respect for one another's lifestyle, culture, heritage, race and religion.

On June 20th 2001, during a visit to Carfin Grotto in Lanarkshire, where an official memorial to the victims of the great Irish famine was unveiled, the Irish taoiseach, Mr Bertie Ahern, said that no event in Irish history could compare with the great famine of the 1840s. He added:

"Scotland and its people also shared the suffering of those terrible times. Here, too, potato blight and famine stalked the land and the highland clearances compelled proud people to set sail for distant shores." He said accurately that famine had helped shape the societies where immigrants settled. "There are few places where that impact was felt more strongly than in this part of Scotland. The Irish-born population of Scotland reached 200,000 during the famine decade and remained at that level until the 1920s."

Dedicating the memorial which includes a statue of St Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, and a Celtic cross, Mr Ahern said:

All of these generations later I want to thank the Scottish people.
In our darkest days and in spite of their difficulties they accepted
so many Irish people and gave them a new home and a new future.
(10)

Bishop John Mone of Paisley, who stood in for the late Cardinal Winning, said the Celtic cross was a symbol of the heritage that linked Scotland and Ireland and that the memorial would ensure the events of the famine which had such an impact on Scottish society would never be forgotten.

In a mark of the ecumenical nature of the service, the Very Rev Andrew McLellan, former moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, said that the story behind the memorial was a bad one for the people of Scotland:

“For my forefathers did not welcome those who came across the sea from Ireland... I regret that and I am ashamed of it and you and I together must make sure we do not repeat the mistakes of those who went before us.” He said that the great mistake those people made was to blame the victims rather than the cause and in a veiled reference to far more recent xenophobic behaviour in Glasgow, he added:

Today is world refugee day and we do make the same mistakes and
we blame the victims - they should have stayed at home, they
shouldn't have run away, they should have learned how to get on
with things. (11)

In the publication celebrating the value and purpose of 150 years of Catholic higher education at St Mary's College, Strawberry Hill, Longmore describes the volume “Commitment to Diversity” in the following terms:

In part, it is a story of survival, transformation and renewal in the
face of difficulty, but it is also an acknowledgement of the

fundamental strength of an educational philosophy which emphasises the importance and dignity of each human being. Such a philosophy based on spiritual and moral values sits uneasily with the ruthless materialism and self-centred individualism of the advanced industrial economies in the closing decades of the twentieth century. (12)

This could have been written with accuracy about Glasgow during the same period. Three of the orders in question, viz., the Franciscans, the Sisters of Mercy and the Marist Brothers worked predominantly in the East end of Glasgow. Since this was the poorest area of the city, this, to some extent, influenced the nature of the missions of these orders. On the other hand, the Sisters of Notre Dame chose their location in the West End of Glasgow specifically because they were then situated close to the University and close to several good schools where student teachers could practise teaching. The Society of Jesus undoubtedly directed its mission activities towards the ruling classes, whether in its far-flung outposts in China or Japan, or in its more modest missions in the Protestant nations of Europe. (13)

The Vatican Council of 1965 urged religious congregations to look at their roots and study their founders and early members so that they would savour and relish the atmosphere of those first days. In a letter written by Cardinal Laghi of the Congregation for Catholic Schools in 1996 to all Superior Generals of religious orders one can sense a feeling of *déjà vu* when reading:

The Church needs you to feel the same concern for education as your founders and foundresses, because you are decisive instruments for the proclamation in the school setting of the Gospel of Christ, the 'primary activity of the Church, essential and never ending' (14)

Society needs your personal and community witness in the field of schooling. You can exemplify free and unreserved self-giving in the service of others, no matter who they may be; you can show how Christian thought can be present in the cultural pluralism of

our times...In this respect our thoughts go to the young generations who are outside the school circuit, to the 130 million children and adolescents who are unable to attend school and to the 100 million or more who abandon school before completing their education. This reality, joined to the poverty of families, should move you to invest courageously your educational charism, born of the fire of charity, in new foundations where the various forms of poverty are worst, and in pedagogical responses adapted to the new requirements of the integral formation of youth. (15)

The theme of identity and the related key features of continuity and change have been dominant throughout the study. An assessment of how successful the religious orders were in maintaining the identity of the Catholic community during the period from 1847 until 1918 has indicated that the one important lesson learned from the contribution of the religious orders is that identity is preserved not by isolationism but by living out the Catholic faith actively and publicly. Irish Catholics were not a sect but they belonged to a church which was universal and international - catholic in the true sense of the word. The Catholic community learned that, although there are certain principles which are protected, the most obvious being the right to have religious education, this did not entail the Catholic community becoming a sect.

This was ensured when in 1918 the Catholic community agreed to accept the national system of education and embrace the Scottish curriculum. Rather than withdrawing, the Catholic community proclaimed its identity by being active, demonstrating not social control but giving control of society back to the people who were not besieged by a hostile secular environment but were prepared and equipped to go out and engage with it. The religious orders, therefore, provided a model of Catholic education, the ultimate virtue of which lies in its acceptance of change, its flexibility and its openness to innovation. This has been demonstrated in more recent times when, as the physical presence of the religious orders has diminished, their legacy has helped to secure Catholic education by showing that, in order to survive, it has constantly to renew. Despite features of the Catholic education system which, to some, have appeared to be conservative, authoritarian, fearful of the world and even introspective, Catholic education in Scotland continues to flourish, not by its denial or severance from society

but by its engagement with it. Globally, the educational worldview of the religious orders, considered objectively, as this thesis demonstrates, was characterised by openness and engagement with the world as authentically represented in its openness for learning, desire for dialogue and readiness to embrace the untold possibilities that education offered as the 'toolkit' for making the world a better place. This 'engagement with the world' is indicative of the fact that, basically, at its best, Catholic education is simply following the mandate of the gospel.

This research offers description, explanation, interpretation, assessment and analysis of the work and influence of these five orders which has been largely omitted in the history of education in Glasgow and Scotland. That the religious orders cited in this study merit greater historical recognition is shown by the sources examined for the first time in this thesis. Moreover, it places the work and influence of these orders in the wider context of the development of educational thought and sociology in Scotland and Britain.

Suggestion for further research

What this thesis does not deal with is the contribution of the large number of religious orders who were not directly involved with teaching in schools in Glasgow during the period in question. The religious orders of men began to return to Scotland in the latter part of the 1850's. Oblates of Mary Immaculate (1859) at Leith, the Jesuits (1859) at Edinburgh and Glasgow, the Vincentians (1859) at Lanark, the Marist Brothers (1858) at Glasgow, the Passionist Fathers (1859) at Glasgow (16). Of these, only the Jesuits and the Marist Brothers opened schools in Glasgow and therefore the contribution of these two orders to the development of Catholic education in Glasgow during the period from 1858 until 1918 is considered as part of this thesis.

Two of the female orders who are the subject of this study, the Sisters of Mercy and the Franciscans, were involved in teaching in St Mary's Industrial School for girls, Abercromby Street, from the 1850s onwards. The work in the Industrial school involved training the girls for domestic service or similar work and in 1898 a branch of the St Mary's Industrial school was opened in Bishopbriggs in the mansion house

of Kenmure which had extensive grounds. Although this was an important aspect of their work in Glasgow, it is not an integral part of this thesis and would merit further research in its own right.

Catholic education as offered by the religious orders during the period in question was the major factor in the survival and development of Catholic education and it would not have been feasible for Catholic schools in Glasgow to survive on their own, outside the state system during the period 1872 until 1918, had it not been for the work of the religious orders.

What would have happened to Catholic education in Glasgow had it not been for the contribution of the religious orders who have been the subject of this study remains a matter of debate and speculation.

This thesis highlights the very considerable number of converts to the Catholic faith who played a major role in the development of Catholic education. This is another area which would appear to be worthy of further research but for which space is not available in this thesis.

The database of the students of Notre Dame College who also attended the University of Glasgow is a rich source which would benefit from further analysis and research in the fields of demography, sociology, geography as well as religion and history. FitzPatrick (1995) began the task of identifying the individual diplomates in the archive photograph (Appendix 32). A variety of archive photographs have been included in the appendices of this study as a means of endorsing strands of the thesis. These and other photographs which are housed in the University of Glasgow Archive Services, 77-87 Dumbarton Road, Glasgow, in conjunction with the large collection of primary sources housed there, could conceivably form the basis of further research perhaps in conjunction with the database of the students of Notre Dame College who also attended the University of Glasgow.

NOTES

- 1 As a technical term, eschatology (from the Greek *εσχατον*) = the furthest, the last) is used commonly in theology to refer to the doctrine about the ultimate destiny of humanity and of the world. Since the early 1960s, biblical theology has underscored the development of a future-consciousness throughout the centuries of biblical history. If this is seen as a form of evolving eschatological consciousness, then eschatology can be said to lie close to the heart of the revelatory process. Viewed from this perspective, eschatology is closely tied to a theology of history. It reflects the sense that history is essentially incomplete until it finds its consummation in the aim God has set for it from the beginning. See Glazier and Hellwig (1994) pp285-286.
- 2 Gallagher (1991) in Devine (ed) p19
- 3 Gallagher (1991) op. cit. p20
- 4 Gilley (1984), p198
- 5 Williams (1958) p313
- 6 *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* (hapax legomenon) is a term usually found in scripture meaning 'a thing said only once'.
- 7 Gourlay (1990) pp119-121
- 8 Bruce (1992) pp151-152
- 9 See Tribute to Education's Catholic heritage by Pat Sweeney, TES 9.10.98
- 10 The Herald, 20.6.01 p3
- 11 The Herald, 20.6.01 p3

- 12 Eaton, Longmore and Naylor (eds) (2000)
- 13 Johnson (1983) p35
- 14 Vatican Council 78
- 15 Letter written by Cardinal Laghi of the Congregation for Catholic Schools in 1996 to all Superior Generals of religious orders in Commemorative Volume 150 years of Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception in Glasgow, p159
- 16 Anson (1970) p291. See also Dealy (1945) pp130-137

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of People involved in collection of data for PhD research

Bernard Aspinwall	University of Strathclyde
Father Peter Granger Banyard SJ	St Aloysius College, 45 Hill Street, Glasgow
Sr Elizabeth Dickson SND	Formerly Lecturer in Music Notre Dame College
Mr George Dorrian	Formerly Principal Teacher of History, Our Lady and St Francis Secondary
Sister Felicitas OFS	Formerly Headmistress of Our Lady and St Francis Secondary
Dr Thomas FitzPatrick	Formerly Vice-Principal of Notre Dame College, Bearsden
Sr Doreen Grant SND	Formerly Lecturer in Religious Education, St Andrew's College
Father John Hughes	Religious and Pastoral Formation, University of Glasgow
Dr John Kieran	Formerly Subject Leader in History at St Andrew's College, Bearsden
Sister Loyola OFS	Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception
Dr John McCaffrey	Formerly Senior Lecturer in History, University of Glasgow
Dr Raymond McCluskey	St Aloysius College, 45 Hill Street, Glasgow
Father McCoog SJ	Archivist, Jesuit Archives, Farm Street, London
Brother John Ogilvie OFM	Formerly Head Teacher of St Andrew's Secondary, Glasgow
Sister Patricia Orr RSM	Convent of Mercy, Hill Street, Garnethill, Glasgow. Religious and Pastoral Formation, University of Glasgow
Dr Fiona Skelton	Lecturer in Educational Studies, University of Glasgow
Sr Isobel Smyth SND	Formerly Lecturer in Religious Education at St Andrew's College, Bearsden

Sr Dorothea Sweeney SND

**Formerly Vice Principal of St Andrew’s College,
Bearsden**

Dr Richard Winters

**Lecturer in Educational Studies, University of
Glasgow**

Appendix 2: List of abbreviations used in the text

ASJL	Jesuit Archives, Farm Street, London
CCM	Committee of the Privy Council on Education in Scotland, Minutes and Reports 1839-1939. HMSO annually
FMS	Fratelli Maristi Scholarum
FSIC	Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception
GAA	Glasgow Archdiocesan Archives
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate
JAR	Jesuit Archives, Generalate, Rome
IPGB	Independent Press of Great Britain
OSF	Order of St Francis
RSM	Religious Sisters of Mercy
SCAR	Scots College Archives, Rome
SCD	Scottish Catholic Directory
SED	Scottish Education Department
SED	Scotch Education Department until 1872
SND	Sister of Notre Dame
SJ	The Society of Jesus
IPGB	Independent Press of Great Britain
NDSA	Notre Dame Sound Archives

Appendix 3: Growth in Population of Glasgow 1801 – 1871

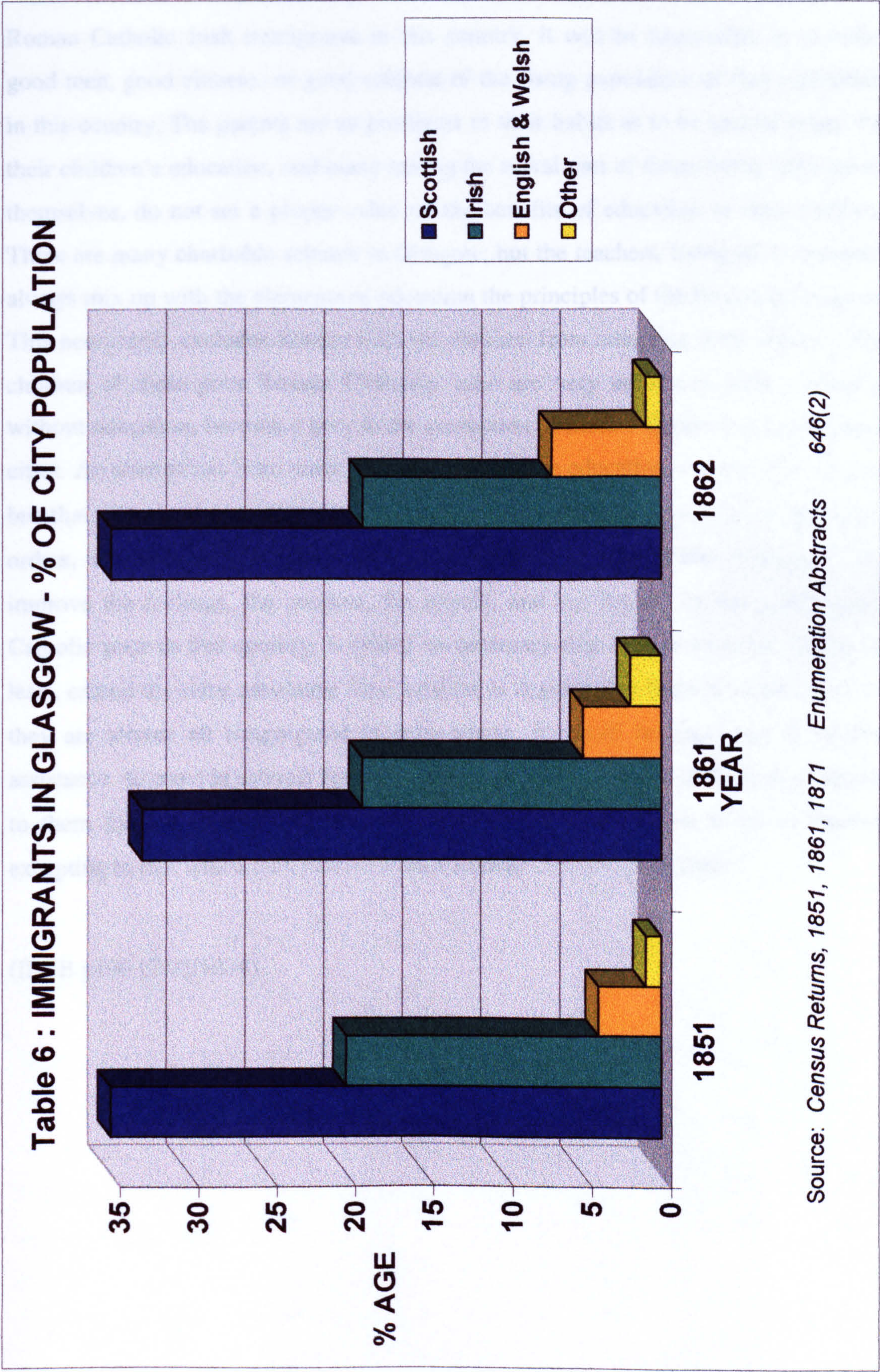
Year	Population
1801	77 385
1811	100 749
1821	147 043
1831	202 426
1841	255 650
1851	329 096
1861	395 503
1871	477 710

**Source: Vital Social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow, 1871, Nicol, J.
Glasgow: James McNab**

Appendix 4: Physical Growth of Glasgow 1801 – 1871

Year	Acreage of City	Persons per Acre
1801	1864	15
1811	1864	20
1821	1864	28
1831	2180	38
1841	2180	50
1851	5063	65
1861	5063	78
1871	5063	94

Source: Cunnison, J and Gilfillan, J B S. (1958) The City of Glasgow - The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, Glasgow: Wm. Collins & Company Ltd.



Source: Census Returns, 1851, 1861, 1871 Enumeration Abstracts 646(2)

Appendix 6: Bishop Scott's Plea for Government Aid

“...till such time as means can be provided for the education of the children of the poor Roman Catholic Irish immigrants in this country, it will be impossible to to make good men, good citizens, or good subjects of the rising population of that persuasion in this country. The parents are so profligate in their habits as to be unable to pay for their children's education, and many among the moral part of them, being uneducated themselves, do not set a proper value on the benefits of education to their children. There are many charitable schools in Glasgow; but the teachers, being all Protestants, always mix up with the elements of education the principles of the Protestant religion. This necessarily excludes Roman Catholic children from attending these schools. The children of these poor Roman Catholics, who are very numerous, must naturally, without education, become a prey to the corruption of morals always existing in large cities. An attempt has been made to get schools for the education of these poor people, but that attempt, for want of funds, and the daily increasing poverty of the lower orders, will render it impossible for them to keep up schools for themselves. To improve the feelings, the conduct, the morals, and the loyalty of the Irish Roman Catholic poor in this country, it would be necessary that the Government should, at least, extend the same assistance for education as is granted to them in Ireland; and, as they are almost all congregated in large towns, it would be necessary to receive assistance to provide schools for their education, and to support clergymen to impart to them the benefit of religious instruction, for they will listen to no instruction excepting to that which they receive from a Roman Catholic clergyman.”

(IPGB p106 (27/2/1834))

Appendix 7: Extract from The Witness 25.1.1847

Popery is peculiarly a religion of dependency and indigence, and it is its direct tendency to militate against the self-relying spirit. How much trouble, for instance, has it not cost Government during the past winter and spring to prevent poor degraded Ireland from squatting down in abject, apathetic sloth and indifference, a pensionary on British exertion? To conceive rightly of the difference which obtains between Protestantism and Popery in this respect one has but to take one's stand for a few minutes beside the Roman Catholic chapel in Lothian Street (Edinburgh), when the people are gathering and dismissing. The Protestantism of the kingdom possesses no such congregation - no such array of looped and windowed raggedness, or where harsh-handed and not unremunerative labour may be seen, bearing with it so unabashed to the place of Sabbath worship the soil and stain of its week-day occupation. The Reformed religion wherever it exists as a vitality, is a developing principle, intellectual and industrial, and operates with beneficial effect on the wordly circumstances of its professors."

Appendix 8: Prospectus of the Fransciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, Charlotte Street, Glasgow

AMDG

PROSPECTUS

of the

Convent of the Immaculate Conception, Charlotte Street, Glasgow 1851

The Franciscan Sisters of the Convent of the Immaculate Conception beg leave to inform the Catholics of the Western District of Scotland that they opened their Establishment, under the patronage of the Right Rev Dr Murdoch, with the prospect of imparting a good Religious and Secular Education to the Children of such Catholic Parents as are capable of affording their Children that great blessing.

The leading objects of this Religious Order are to teach the Young (poor and rich), and to perform every other work of Mercy and Charity which may come within their reach. Bound as they are by the vow of poverty, they seek no worldly remuneration for their labours, excepting what is essential for their daily sustenance. They are now prepared to receive Boarders and Day Scholars, on whom they will bestow every care, both for their advancement in a useful and ornamental education, and the preservation of their health. They sincerely trust that, from the many advantages which their course of Moral and Intellectual Training will possess over anything which can be obtained in ordinary schools, and the very moderate scale of their charges, they will meet with every encouragement from the Catholics of the West of Scotland.

Terms per Quarter (Payable in Advance)

For Board and General Education, and Plain and Ornamental Sewing:	£4.10.00
For Washing:	£0.10.00
For Day Scholars: Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Plain Sewing:	7.00
For Day Scholars with Geography, History, Grammar and Ornamental Sewing:	10.06
Extras	
French Language	16.00

Italian Language	£1.00.00
Drawing	£1.00.00
Music	£1.00.00

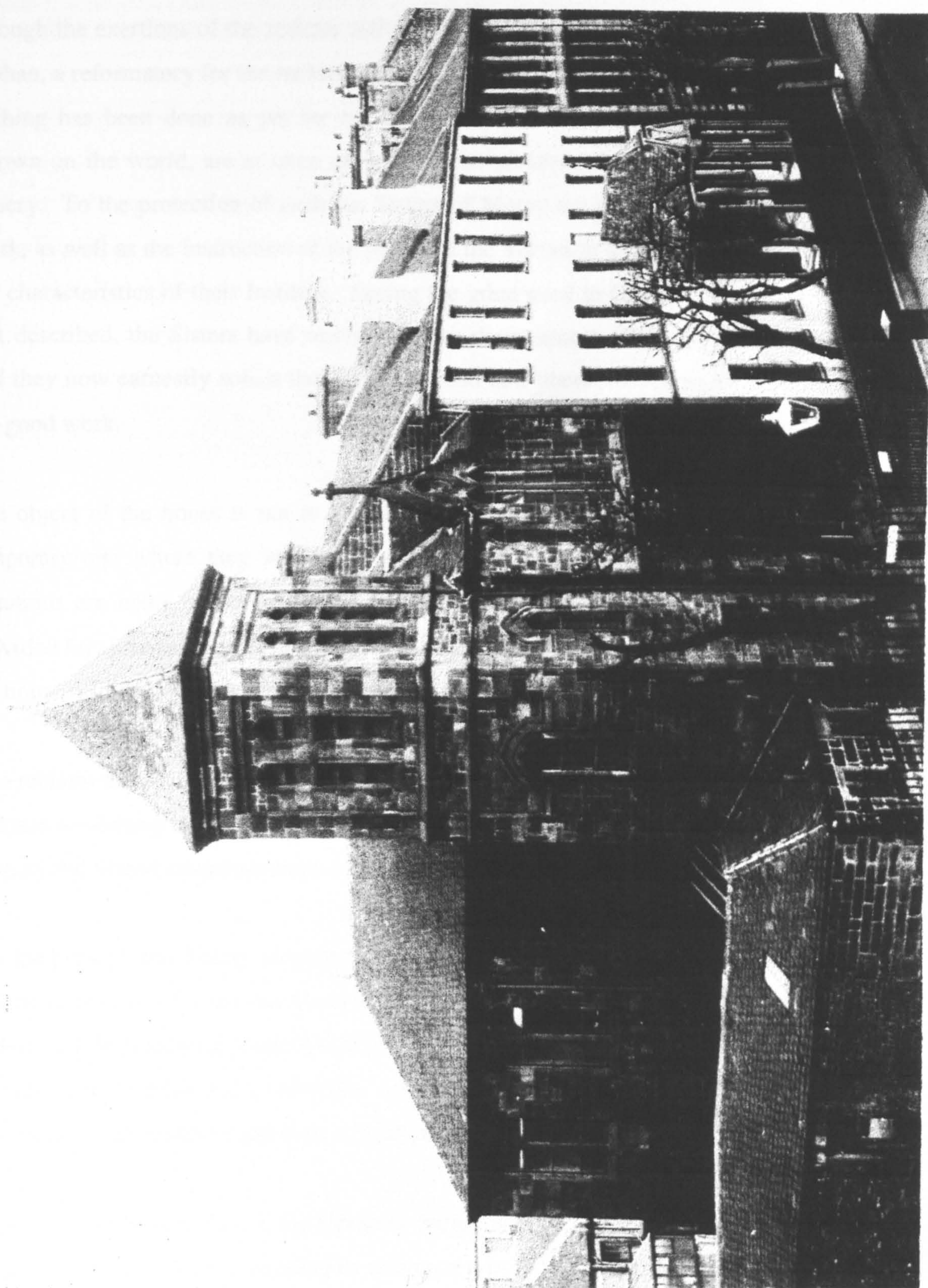
NB Two or more of the same family, for the extras, will be entitled to 5/- reduction for each; and two or more of the same family, as Day Scholars, will each be entitled to 2/- reduction on their Fees for the ordinary Branches.

References for further information may be made to the present Superior, Madame Veronica Cordier, Charlotte Street, or to any of the Bishops or clergymen of Glasgow.
(Glasgow Archdiocesan Archives)

Appendix 9: Convent of Mercy, 62 Hill Street, Garnethill, Glasgow

The Sisters of Mercy have been in Glasgow since 1847. The province of Glasgow is one of the largest in the world, and is much exposed to the influence of the world through the exertions of the Sisters. It is a religious community, a reformatory for the world, and a refuge for the poor. Nothing has been done in the world, and no other mission on the world, as in the mission of the Sisters. To the protection of the world as well as the mission of the Sisters, the character of their work is just described, the Sisters have and they now certainly are engaged in the good work.

The object of the convent is to provide a refuge for the poor and to provide a refuge for the poor. The convent is a refuge for the poor and a refuge for the poor. The convent is a refuge for the poor and a refuge for the poor.



Appendix 10: Letter from John Gray, Vicar Apostolic, 2.8.1868

“The Sisters of Mercy have long been desirous of establishing in Glasgow a house for the protection of destitute good girls, who from their poverty and destitute conditions are so much exposed to danger in the low lodging-houses of this great city. Already, through the exertions of the zealous and charitable, a home has been provided for the orphan, a reformatory for the recklessly living, and an asylum for the penitent girl, but nothing has been done as yet for the destitute poor ones of good character, who, thrown on the world, are at once exposed to the withering blight of temptation and misery. To the protection of such the Sisters of Mercy are peculiarly devoted. This work, as well as the instruction of the poor and the visitation of the sick, being one of the characteristics of their Institute. Seeing the great need in Glasgow of the ‘Home’ just described, the Sisters have resolved to use their utmost efforts to establish one, and they now earnestly solicit the aid of the kind and liberal to enable them to begin the good work.

The object of the house is not to provide a permanent home for the inmates, but a temporary one where they will be lodged and fed while taught to work or while situations are being procured for them. As each inmate leaves, a vacancy will be provided for some newcomer, and thus not a few but many will be helped and saved in the house of distress and trial.

If to reclaim the erring, or to shelter the fallen be a great and noble charity before it is reckless something higher still; and justly then may the new House of Mercy hope for support and liberal encouragement on every side.

For the present, the Sisters propose to rent a house where industrial and other work will be undertaken for the maintenance of the inmates. Connected but not identified with it, will be a lodging-house where girls already able to support themselves will be provided with suitable and comfortable lodgings at the usual rate of payment, and thus secured from the miseries and evils of cramped and mixed lodging-houses.

Once thoroughly established, the House of mercy will be self-supporting; and by the purchase later of a suitable building its existence will be rendered permanently secure.

Having thus explained the object proposed, the Sisters confidently appeal to the generosity of the Catholic public in aid of this work of mercy, and most gratefully will every contribution be received and acknowledged by them, while the prayers of the community are daily offered for all benefactors. I highly approve of this Home (or House of mercy) as proposed by these good religious. I deem it not only an excellent but a necessary work in a city like Glasgow, and I wish these generous and self-sacrificing Sisters every success in their noble undertaking. It cannot be begun without considerable outlay and it would be ungenerous to leave the whole burden and responsibility of the work upon these devoted Sisters. I therefore very warmly commend this undertaking to the charity of the faithful, and I trust that all will contribute most generously to its support."

John Gray, Vic Aps.

Glasgow 2 August 1868

Appendix 11: House of Mercy – Sewing



Appendix 12: House of Mercy – Cooking



Appendix 13: House of Mercy – Laundry



Appendix 14: House of Mercy – Dormitory



**Appendix 15: Advertisement for St Mungo's Academy, Glasgow in The
Scottish Catholic Observer 1865**

In 1865 the Marist Brothers had an advertisement placed in the Catholic press in the Scottish Catholic Observer which read:

**ST MUNGO'S CATHOLIC ACADEMY
ST MUNGO STREET, TOWNHEAD, GLASGOW.
CONDUCTED BY THE MARIST BROTHERS**

This Academy was established in 1858, with the special object of providing a suitable Education for the children of the Middle Classes and the efforts made by the Marist Brothers to promote this very desirable class of education seem to be better appreciated from year to year by the Catholics of Glasgow, as may be seen by the constant increase in the Academy, who numbered only 12 in 1858, 20 in 59, 34 in 60, and upwards of 70 at present.

The Course pursued at the Academy is strictly based upon Religion, and comprises all the Branches necessary to mercantile pursuits, including DRAWING, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, MATHEMATICS, BOOK-KEEPING and VOCAL MUSIC.

Terms per Quarter, 7s 6d., 10s 6d., or according to attainments. FRENCH and PIANOFORTE are extras.

Full particulars may be had of the Brother Director at the above address.

Appendix 16:

Second Year Class 1901, St Mungo's Academy in Handley
(1958) p80-81

SECOND YEAR, 1901



SIX OF THIS CLASS BECAME PRIESTS, viz :

Front Row. *Third from left* : John J. Murphy ; *sixth from left* : Alexander Hamilton. Second Row. *Second from left* : John Donnelly ;
Fourth Row. *Second from left* : David Quigley ; *eighth from left* : James McGroary. (*Missing* : Andrew McArdle)

Appendix 17: Pupil Teachers Timetable 1864 .

Monday	-	Grammar, Analysis, Composition
Tuesday	-	Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra
Wednesday	-	Geography
Thursday	-	French
Friday	-	History and Drawing

Catechism to be taught every day.

Source: James Handley – History of St Mary’s Boys’ School (1963) page 11

**Appendix 18: The Charlotte Street Sisters who staffed the first Parish Schools
in Glasgow**

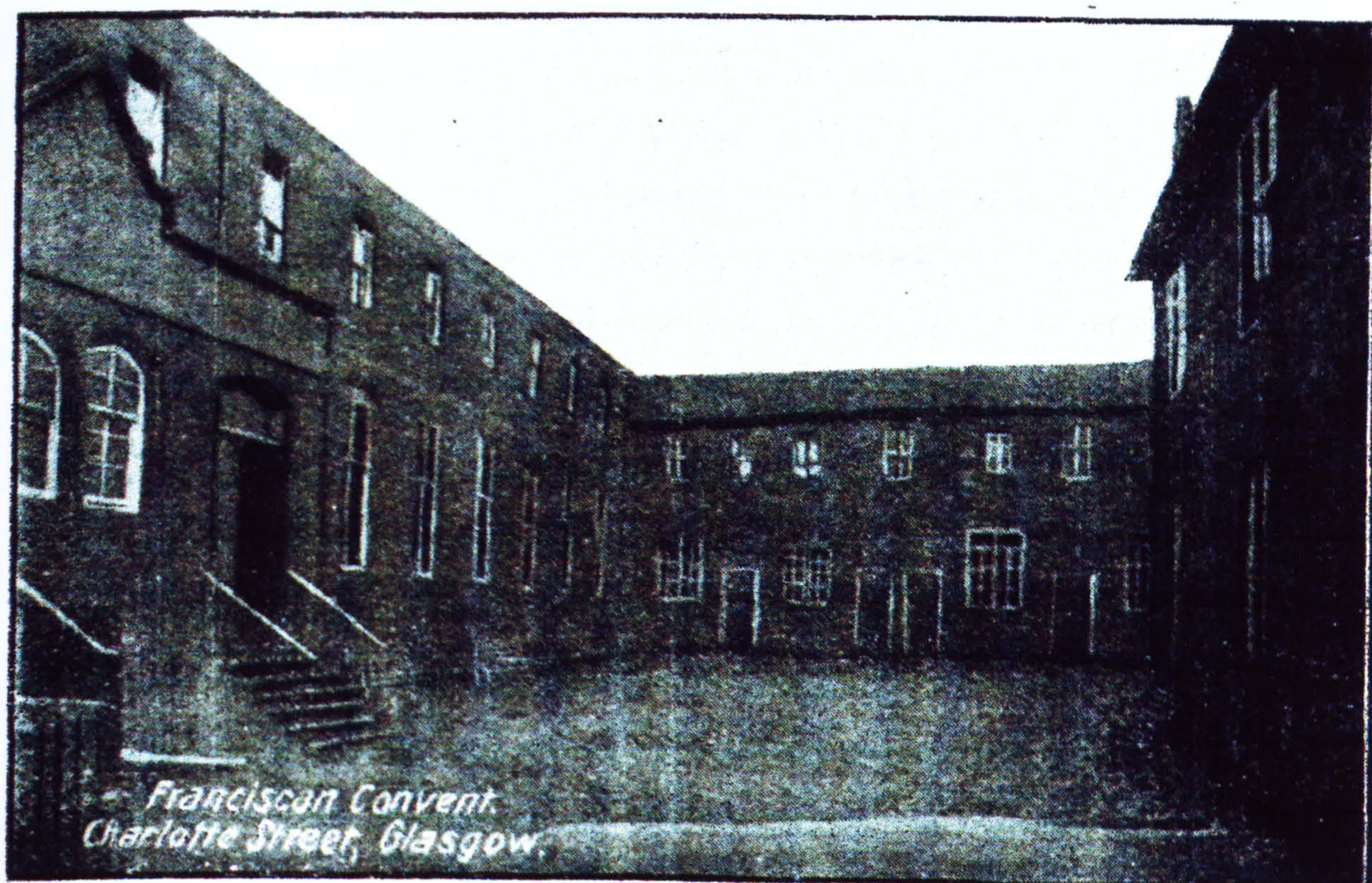


Appendix 19: Report in the North British Daily Mail on 29th August 1856

“On Monday 18th instant Scott Naysmith Stokes, Esq., her Majesty’s inspector of Catholic schools, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Glenie, principal of St. Mary’s College, Hammersmith, inspected the new schools of St. Andrew’s, Greendyke Street. There were upwards of 700 children present, including male, female and infant departments. Mr. Stokes expressed himself highly satisfied with every department of the schools. There were twenty candidates examined for pupil teacherships. Both boys and girls had a remarkably respectable appearance, and acquitted themselves very creditably, so much so that Mr. Stokes said that they were the best candidates he had ever examined in Glasgow. It must be very gratifying to Father Gray to hear Messrs. Stokes and Glenie pronounce his new schools to be, without exception, the noblest halls dedicated to elementary education in Great Britain.”

(North British Daily Mail – 19.8.1856 in Handley, 1947, p202-3)

Appendix 20: Lower Plate: Franciscan Convent, Charlotte Street, Glasgow



Appendix 21: Article in the North British Daily Mail 11.5.1857

“The St. Andrew’s Roman Catholic school... is certainly a gratifying proof of the attention paid by the Roman Catholic body to the interests of education. The house, newly built, is large, handsome, most excellently ventilated, and well furnished with all the necessary apparatus of education. It occupies a fine site on the edge of the Green, and has playgrounds within the gates. In erecting and endowing this fine school, the Roman Catholics have taken full advantage of the Privy Council grants. The upper storey of the building is used as the girls’ department, and the lower as the boys’. The maximum attendance of girls since the school was opened in June last is 470, and the average attendance about 430. This department is under the charge of four Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, aided by ten pupil teachers. The attendance in the boys’ department is about 270. The master, a young man regularly trained and certificated as a teacher, is aided by an assistant and seven pupil teachers. All these pupil teachers in each department receive the Privy Council allowances of £10, besides the fees of from £3 to £5 each to the master for the instruction imparted to themselves. The school in its local management is entirely under the charge of the Roman Catholic clergy, and the arrangements made by the reverend gentlemen are well adapted to encourage education among the masses of that body. The highest fee is only twopence, and the lowest a penny per week; but the priests, in their visitations to the peoples’ houses, find parents too poor or too bad to pay the school fees, they supply tickets, on presenting which to the teachers of the school the children are educated free. There are upwards of seventy boys at present on the gratis list. The fees all go into a general fund, out of which the master of the boys’ department is paid a salary of £100 per annum. The scholars are mostly very young, not exceeding fifteen, and few being above ten or eleven years of age. The great majority, of course, are the children of Roman Catholics, but ‘a few Protestants’, according to the report given us, ‘attend both the upper and lower schools’. The walls are hung round with large maps, on which the scholars are exercised in geography; the books are the school-books of the Irish National Board; and music forms one of the branches of tuition. The teaching staff is abundantly large for the number of scholars, and if too much time be not devoted to religious instruction and ceremonies, to which excess there is a natural tendency in institutions so complete under the direction of the Church, there can be no doubt that a very good English education may be imparted in this school at a very

cheap rate, and under most excellent sanitary conditions. The school is under government inspection. There are evening classes attended by about 200 young persons employed in works during the day."

(North British Daily Mail 11.5.57 in Handley, 1947,p203.)

Appendix 22: Excerpt from the Report on the State of Education in Glasgow, 1865

"The teaching of the elementary branches is most creditable. We say this all the more strongly because, perhaps, we expected to find the schools in a marked degree inferior to sessional or mission schools. They are not so but, after making due allowance for the age and irregular attendance of the children, they come quite up to the average standard. The teachers, male and female are zealous and painstaking. Some of them, ladies of good social position, have not only devoted themselves to their task of educating the poorer classes but in order to qualify themselves for the position they have even undergone the examination for a Government certificate. Those who know what it is to pass an examination after a certain time of life, and when professional training has not led up to it, will appreciate the self-denial involved in this. Apart from the education, we were struck, in the girls' schools especially, with the harmony existing between the Nuns or Sisters and their charges. The good manners and respectful tone of the children contrasted favourably with any other school for the same class in Glasgow. There is indeed something attractive and pleasing in the Sisters' schools. There is an air of tranquillity and refinement about the Sisters themselves. There is generally also considerable taste and neatness displayed in school arrangements. These seem sensibly to have affected the children, who are orderly and affectionate in their bearing. Probably the knowledge that the Sisters have devoted themselves in a purely unselfish spirit to the task of educating the young without fee or reward begets on the part of parents and children a corresponding gratitude and respect. It is to be borne in mind also that the children are nearly all Irish, and are perhaps more demonstrative than others. At all events, we saw more instances in the Roman Catholic schools for girls of affection and confidence between the Sisters and the children than elsewhere. The accommodation is mostly very good... The fees are very moderate, mostly a penny a week, and are by no means rigidly exacted. In one school, for instance, with an attendance of 100 girls, we found that the school-pence for one week amounted only to two shillings. Had all paid, this should have been eight or nine shillings. The irregular attendance of the children is as great as in the mission schools. Most of the children are under eleven. They go as soon as they can get work to potteries and mills, to shops and elsewhere to run errands, and to all the miscellaneous occupations in which a great city abounds."

Appendix 23: Reminiscences of a former pupil of St Mary's, Abercromby St

The Marist Brothers' school, St Mary's, Abercromby Street, was the first Catholic school I attended, as I had passed my earlier years in Renfrew where at the time there was neither church nor school. I attended that school from some time in 1871 to the beginning of 1872. The head Brother, as we called him, was Brother James, and his assistant, Brother Philip. There was also a Junior School under Brother Walfrid. The two Brothers in the boys' department were assisted by some young men - two, I believe. The Brother and the assistant teachers were very highly esteemed by the pupils for their kindness, their ability and their religious spirit . . .

All the school activities were concerned in learning our reading, arithmetic, writing in copybooks, etc. The two outstanding features of the day's work were the lesson in Catechism given by Brother James from the rostrum and the singing of hymns. The Catechism lesson was looked forward to and a great silence allowed the words of the speaker to reach every part of the school. The lesson was eminently practical: all important points were illustrated by stories, biblical and others, and the application of the stories to our youthful needs were skilfully made. These stories and their moral made a deep impression on my imagination and for years formed a criterion of conduct. The singing of the hymns from St Patrick's Hymn Book, compiled by the Brothers, formed the pleasant feature of each day's routine. The singing was, if somewhat vigorous, conducive to piety, and the words in pleasant poetical language conveyed much good Catholic doctrine to the participants. It was, if I recall right, the only music we had in school. These two, the catechetical lesson and the singing of hymns, were the outstanding exercises of the school day and left something permanently abiding in the minds of the pupils.

The schoolroom was satisfactory enough for unsophisticated youngsters - one large room with perhaps 200 boys all seated at long desks on iron legs and permanently fixed benches with plenty of room. The classes or Standards were separated for each other by a space of three or four feet, and each had its own teacher who stood in front of his class and, let me say, with no other weapon than his piece of chalk for the blackboard, which stood facing us and of which great use was made. I do not recollect any maps or printed diagrams of any kind. On the wall were some holy pictures, and

above the head Brother's rostrum a great crucifix. I cannot give the dimensions of this room; it appeared to me to be very large, very severe and rather dingy, but well lighted and warm in the winter of 1871.

The textbooks, which each pupil bought for himself, were limited to a Reader (Burns & Oates' Catholic Publication), an arithmetic book, catechism and hymn book. There may have been others in the higher classes, my own class being Third of Fourth Standard. We also bought our own stationery, dispensed by Brother Philip from a small cupboard, consisting of exercise book for writing, such as transcription from the reading book, copybooks for penmanship, which was highly praised and cultivated, slates for arithmetic exercises, penholders, pencils, stocks of nibs, and some ambitious ones went to the extravagance of an ink-eraser and an India rubber.

Discipline was good. I never saw a boy punished in any way for inattention or disobedience to the class teacher. The only time I saw corporal punishment inflicted was for coming in late, and that was administered by means of a leather strap by the head Brother. I do not wish to convey the impression that our teachers were perfect in their preventive measures, or that the pupils were imbued with passionate zeal for their advancement in learning.

In all, the Catholic spirit was the inspiring atmosphere of the school. We were happy and good. There was no bullying or servility. We had implicit confidence in our teachers, who sought only to make us good Catholics, good sons to our parents and good scholars. The means employed for these ends were of two kinds: the first by instilling into us a true love of God and the Blessed Virgin, the other by rewards. And these again I may divide into two kinds: the providing of free entertainment such as magic-lantern shows and wonderful chemical experiments, the latter dexterously performed and admirably explained by Brother John, who was then director of Charlotte Street house, and the occasional distribution of prizes to deserving boys, and these somehow formed 75% of the roll. I remember how reverently and proudly I carried home my holy picture all coloured and framed and how I made for it a little altar in my own room - for in those days I was somebody of importance, being the eldest son and already eight years old. (Unpublished notes on the History of the Marist Order in Glasgow by Brother Clare, J E Handley)

Appendix 24: Mark System for Camps

10 marks for Day School and 10 for Night School.

2 for punctuality

2 for full attendance in classes

2 for discipline

2 for progress in class

2 for general attention and efficiency

2 for attendance

2 for punctuality

2 for amount of lessons

2 for quality of exercises

2 for attention and diligence during lessons

Source St. Andrew's Boys' School Logbook Dated entry 30.8.1872

Appendix 25: HMI Report for St Mary's Abercromby Street, 1899

The work of the school is in every respect excellent. Criticism is unnecessary and a detailed analysis of the work would be superfluous. The classes are graded with great skill. In the Standards in which paper work is done the exercises performed during the year are arranged, dated and preserved. The records of work done are very methodically kept. It is thus possible to measure progress during the year with perfect accuracy. In all the classes a very superior style of writing is practised. Spelling and arithmetic are almost faultless. Reading and recitation are admirably phrased and unusually expressive. The boys explain the meaning of their reading lessons lucidly and readily, and calculations in mental arithmetic are rapidly performed. In each class grammar, geography and history have been taught with care and intelligence, and answering in these subjects is singularly full and accurate. The candidates for Merit Certificate show marked proficiency. A great movement has taken place in singing since last year, and drill is effectively taught. A very pleasant air of intelligence, cheerfulness and industry prevails in the school.

Appendix 26: The Revised Prospectus of St Mungo's Academy, 1899

The course of education pursued at the Academy is based on religion, and the curriculum provides instruction in such branches of knowledge as are expected to prove of practical utility to the pupils in after life. The school is divided into three sections - the preparatory, the elementary and the higher. The preparatory and the elementary sections are classified in accordance with the requirements of the elementary education code (Scotland), and comprise, with the exception of elementary science, all the subjects prescribed for the six standards of a boys' school, with the addition of the initiatory stages of mathematics, Latin, French, and book-keeping.

In the classes of the higher section the studies are adapted to the career intended to be pursued by the pupils at the termination of their school course: those destined for commercial pursuits devoting special time and attention to book-keeping and kindred subjects; those for the professions, to literature and classics.

The study of science is duly encouraged, and the classrooms of this section are provided with complete sets of all the apparatus requisite for the teaching of those branches which are deemed of chief importance in the district...A special class is organised for such boys as are preparing for public examinations in connection with the Leaving Certificates of the Scotch Education Department, the university preliminaries, the Science and Art Department, the Hutcheson Trust and the Marshall Trust Technical and School Bursaries; their studies are directed accordingly. No pupil is admitted into the higher section of the school without first passing a satisfactory examination in the subjects laid down on the programme for the most advanced class in the elementary section.

Vocal music and drawing are taught in all sections.

Appendix 27: The First Prospectus of St Aloysius’ College, Glasgow, 1859

AMDG

**The Catholic College, Glasgow
77 Charlotte Street
September 12, 1859**

The object of the College is to afford a Religious, Literary and Commercial Education to Catholic Middle Classes of Glasgow. The Professors of the College are members of the Society of Jesus.

The course of Education, besides the ordinary elements, comprises a course of Latin and Greek classics, French and Mathematics.

Terms:

For one Pupil	£1 10 0 per quarter
For Two Brothers	£2 10 0 per quarter
For Three Brothers	£3 10 0 per quarter

No extra charge except for school books.

Mass is still said daily in the College Chapel at half-past eight. The parents of the pupils are earnestly requested to secure the punctual attendance of their children at Mass, and to inspect and sign the Judgement books with which the pupils are furnished.

The scholars living at a distance will be provided with means of preparing any refreshments which they may bring with them.

Application for admission to be made at :-

77 Charlotte Street, or at St Joseph’s, North Woodside Road

LDS

Appendix 28: Advertisement for St Aloysius' College, 1865

AMDG

**ST ALOYSIUS' COLLEGE,
77 CHARLOTTE STREET**

At the invitation of their Lordships, the VICARS APOSTOLIC, the Fathers of the SOCIETY OF JESUS have opened this Collegiate Institution, that the Catholics of Glasgow may be able to procure for their children a Literary and Commercial Education. They trust that increased co-operation and support will enable them to continue a work the want of which was so long felt by Catholic parents.

Particular attention is paid to the Religious Instruction of the Scholars.

For Terms of Admission, and other particulars, apply to the Superior.

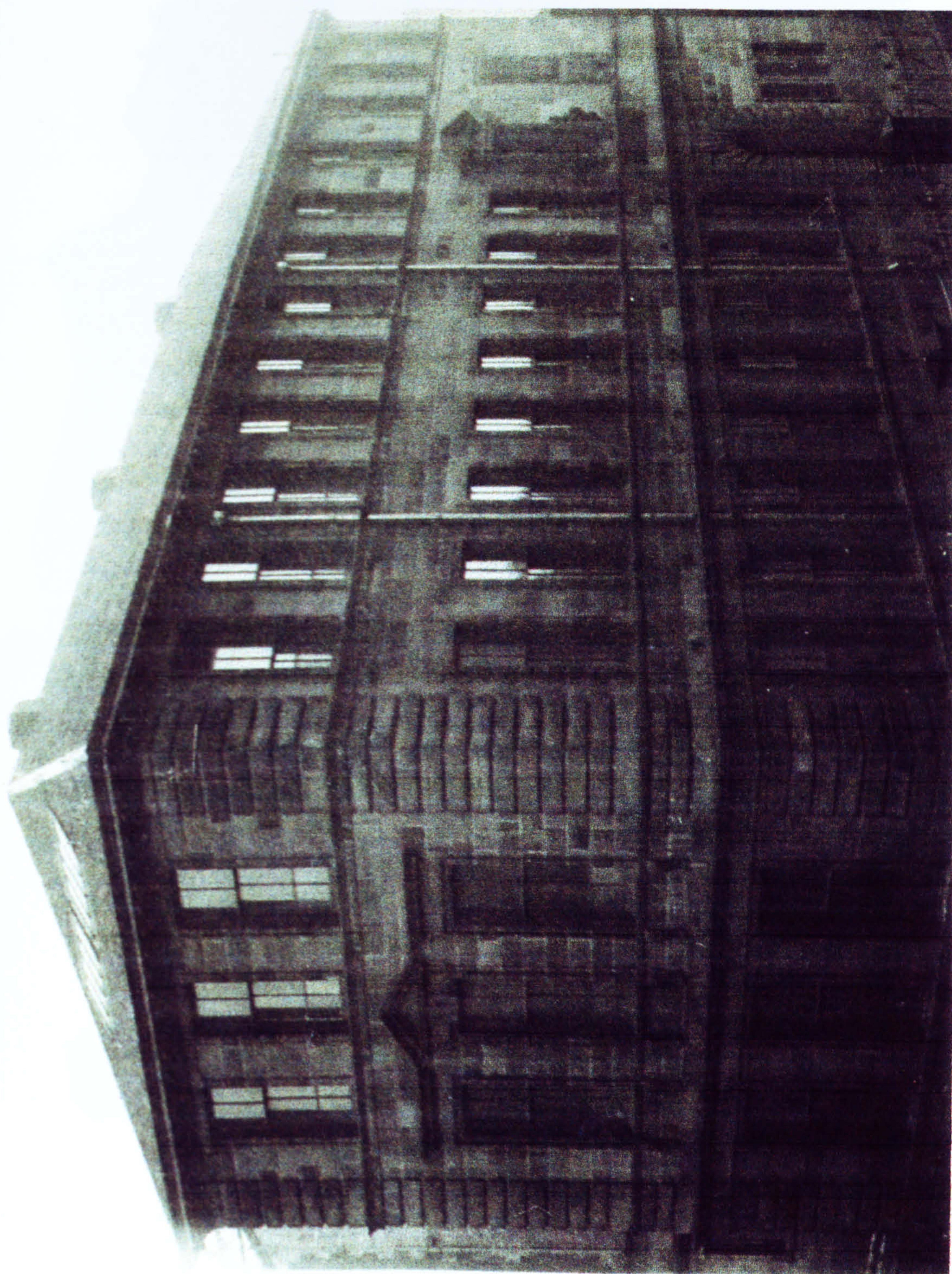
Rev. Thomas Brown Parkinson, Superior.

Appendix 29: Staff of St Aloysius' College c.1896

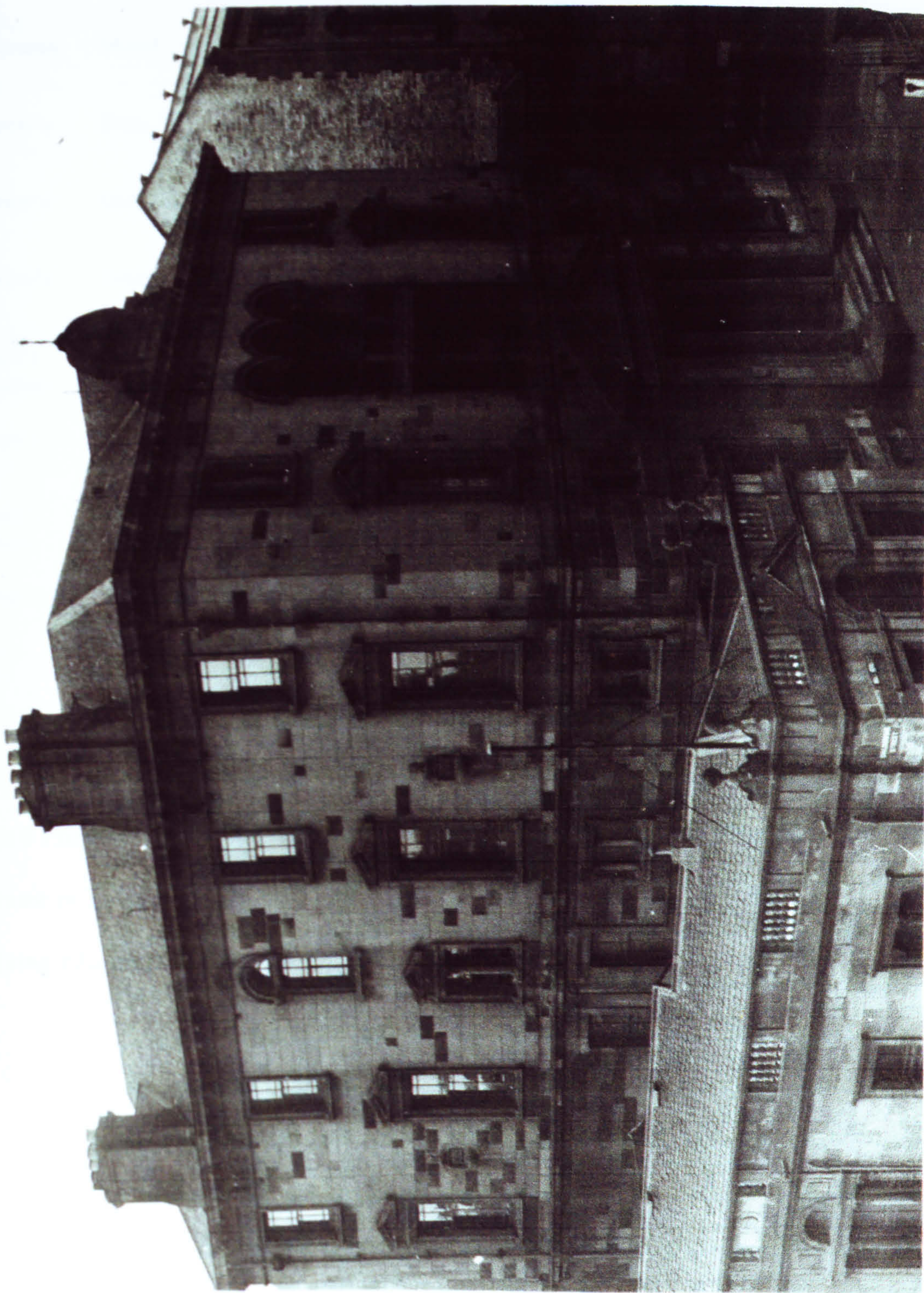


THE COLLEGE STAFF c. 1896

Appendix 30: St Aloysius' College, Scott Street block added in 1908



Appendix 31: St Aloysius' College, 45 Hill Street built in 1885



Appendix 32: Catholic Schools in Glasgow in 1851

Parish	Boys/Girls	Where	Teachers	Day/Evening	Av No
St Mary's	Boys	E Rose St	2 teachers	Both	300
Calton	Girls	Abercrombie St	Sisters of Mercy	Both	400
St Alphonsus	Mixed	Trongate	Master/ Mistress	Both	250
St Andrew's City	Boys	Stockwell St	1 Teacher	Both	250
St Andrew's	Girls	St Andrew's Sq	Franciscan Sisters	Both	250
St Andrew's	Female	Charlotte St	Franciscan Sisters	Day	76
St Joseph's Cowcaddens	Boys	N Woodside Rd	1 Teacher	Both	204
St Joseph's Sisters	Girls	N Woodside Rd	Franciscan	Both	220
St Patrick's Anderston	Mixed	Anderston	Master/ Mistress	Both	200
St Mungo's	2 schools for Boys and Girls will soon be opened				
St John's Gorbals	Boys	Portugal St	1 Teacher	Both	150
St John's	Girls	Portugal St	Franciscan Sisters	Both	250
					<u>2700</u>
In 5 or 6 Private Schools taught by Catholics, about					200
In Private or Public Schools taught by Protestants					300
Receiving education in Glasgow					3200

Sunday Schools

St Mary's Boys, superintended by Monitors, about	300
St Alphonsus and St Mungo's, ditto	300
St Andrew's, ditto	450
St Joseph's, ditto	250
St Patrick's, ditto	150
St John's, ditto	200

Boys: 1650

St Mary's Females, superintended by Sisters of Mercy	600
St Alphonsus & St Mungo's, by Sisters of Mercy and Monitors	400
St Andrew's, St John's & St Joseph's, by Franciscan Nuns	1800
St Patrick's, by Female Monitors	200

Girls: 3000

Boys: 1650

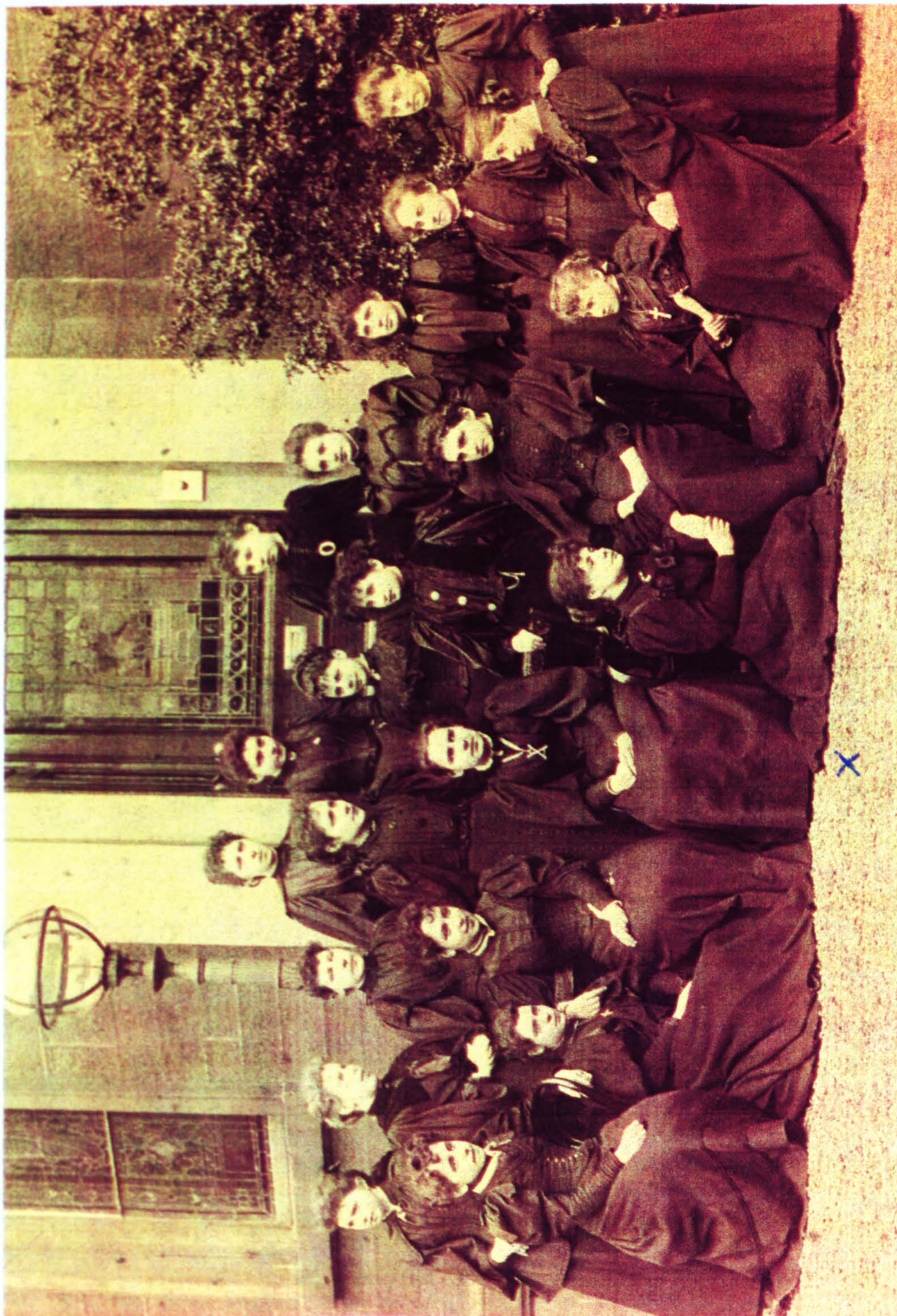
Total Sunday Scholars 4650

(Catholic Directory 1851, Curial Archives)

Appendix 33:
Extracts from the Reports of the Religious Examination of Schools in the Archdiocese of Glasgow from 1896-1920: School Rolls – Primary and Secondary

Extracts from the Reports of the Religious Examination of Schools in the Archdiocese of Glasgow from 1896-1920:																
School Rolls - Primary and Secondary																
Name of School		1896-97	1898-99	1900-01	1901-02	1902-03	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09				
Charlotte Street Convent Day School		145	185	209	240	230	255	248	270	293	283	330				
Garnethill Convent Day School		136	121	119	122	130	145	165	175	206	190	198				
St Mungo's Academy		175	183	195	221	221	202	203	242	266	290	290				
Dowanhill, Glasgow, Practising School		-	93	128	147	145	185	185	197	307	312	324				
St Aloysius' College		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	267	267	241	289				
Total number on rolls of Upper and Middle																
Class schools in the Archdiocese of Glasgow		827	935	938	972	960	1022	1059	1135	1443	1492	1431				
Total number on rolls of all schools in the																
Archdiocese of Glasgow		43700	46296	51490	54609	57527	58700	60797	61069	64194	66649	67742				
Name of School		1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20				
Charlotte Street Convent Day School		313	315	386	400	441	552	491	529	562	574	707				
Garnethill Convent Day School		215	210	265	213	267	257	297	320	330	365	388				
St Mungo's Academy		320	309	298	334	380	418	450	505	534	574	615				
Dowanhill, Glasgow, Practising School		315	310	346	370	413	481	526	524	520	480	716				
St Aloysius' College		291	300	295	303	357	336	336	336	336	336	336				
Total number on rolls of Upper and Middle																
Class schools in the Archdiocese of Glasgow		1601	1444	1580	1620	1858	2376	2742	2975	3151	2926	3593				
Total number on rolls of all schools in the																
Archdiocese of Glasgow		70505	70505	72968	76053	76455	77412	79555	81056	82682	83184	87504				

Appendix 34: Photograph of the first diplomates of Notre Dame College, 1896



Appendix 35: Map of Dowanhill area, 1894, showing Dowanside, the site purchased by the Notre Dame Institute, and Bowmont Gardens, where Archbishop Eyre had his residence



Appendix 36: Photograph of Convent of Notre Dame, Dowanhill



CONVENT OF NOTRE DAME, DOWANHILL.
1894

Sir,

I am to state that the proposal for the establishment of a Roman Catholic Training College for mistresses in Glasgow, which was brought before the Department by his Grace the Duke of Norfolk and others, and in regard to which it was desired that the decision of the Department should be communicated to you, has been under consideration.

My Lords find that the facts of the case entitle the proposed College to recognition on the usual conditions, and have accordingly decided, on the fulfilment of the necessary preliminaries, to place it on the list of those conditionally credited with grants under Articles * 86-90 of the Scotch Code.

It would be well that a Correspondent should be named, who is to act on behalf of the College in Glasgow, with whom the Department may hereafter communicate.

My Lords wish it to be distinctly understood that the present decision does not in any way commit them to the permanent recognition of Training Colleges on their present footing, and that while extending to this undertaking the advantages enjoyed by Colleges connected with other denominations under the present system, they reserve to themselves the right hereafter of reviewing the relations generally of the Training Colleges to the Department.

I have &c

H. Craik.

Appendix 38: Transcript of the letter from Sir Henry Craik, 1894, sanctioning the opening of Notre Dame College, Dowanhill

“I am to state that the proposal for the establishment of a Roman Catholic Training College for mistresses in Glasgow, which was brought before the Department by his grace, the Duke of Norfolk and others, and in regard to which it was desired that the decision of the Department should be communicated to you, has been under consideration.

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(ND Archives now relocated in the University of Glasgow Archives Services, 77-87 Dumbarton Road, Glasgow)

Appendix 39: Excerpt from Database of the Notre Dame students who attended classes at the University of Glasgow

SURNAME:	CHRISTIAN NAME(S):	FATHER'S OCCUPATION:	HOME ADDRESS:	SESSION 1:	SESSION 2:	SESSION 3:	SESSION 4:	SESSION 5:	SESSION 6:
Barley	Isabella	Superior Customs & Excise	284 Bath Street, Glasgow	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15
Bennett	Margaret	Teacher, Lecturer 1913-14	40 Claremont Street Glasgow 1907/08, 1910-11	1907-08	1910-11	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915/16-1919/20
Bisset	Ann	Farm Manager of Walter Elches Home Farm	Walter Elches, Aberlour, Banffshire	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	n/a	n/a	n/a
Bogdan	Ann	Master Mariner	72 York Drive, Hyndland, Glasgow (W)	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	n/a	n/a
Boyle	Rose Ann	Shoemaker	48 Windsor Road, Blinkbonny, Falkirk	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
Brannan	Julia	Water Fittings Inspector, Glasgow Corporation	30 Balmora Road, Postpark, Glasgow	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	n/a	n/a
Brown	Mary Gordon	Chartered Accountant	Holyrood Quadrant, Glasgow	1900-01	n/a	n/a	1918-19	n/a	n/a
Cameron	Ethel Catherine	Tramway Motor Man	48 Eastwood Avenue, Shawlands, Glasgow	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	n/a	n/a
Carron	Rose Montague	Army	Armillan, Dynamite Road, Stevenston, Ayrshire	1919-20	n/a	n/a	n/a	1911-13	1914-15
Carter	Lucy Agnes	Land Agent, retired Estate Agent	Convent of Notre Dame, Glasgow	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	n/a	n/a
Cassidy	Elizabeth	Accountant	48 Dalry Street, Crosshill, Glasgow	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	n/a	n/a
Cheadle	Gerrude May	Japaner - manager, painter, dept foreman, manager of works 1909-10	3 Rosebery Place, Clydebank	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11
Clarence	Mary	In electric power station, labourer, electrical worker	79 Old Govan Road, Glasgow	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24
Clark	Marie Shannon	Chartered Secretary	1 Kingsley Avenue, Crosshill, Glasgow	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25
Clarke	Anne Elizabeth	Farmer	Hightown, Kiltuan, Co West Meath, Ireland	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	n/a	n/a
Colvin	Margaret McKnight	Singalman (railway clerk 1907/8)	77 Graham Street, Withaw	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12
Conlan	Elizabeth	Dynamite worker, Nobels Explosive, Co, Fireman	18 Burnbank Street, Stevenston	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	n/a	n/a
Cornack	Katherine Mary	Furniture Dealer	24 Bow Street, Stirling	1900-01	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Creedon	Dorothy	Merchant	23 Walker Street, Paisley	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	n/a	n/a
Curran	Margaret (Maggie)	Passenger Guard (Caledonian Railway)	32 Dalry Street, Govanhill (1909/10)	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15
Daly	Catherine	Farmer	641 Burnham Terrace, Scotstoun, Glasgow	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	n/a	n/a
Devine	Helen	Invalid	28 Church Street, Coatbridge	1911-12	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Doherty	Philomena	Farmer	60 Aryle Road, Saltcoats, Ayrshire	1945-1957	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Donnelly	Edith Josephine	Roll-marker	Craig-Newky, Barnhead, Renfrewshire	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	n/a	n/a
Doran	Margaret	Shoemaker	2 Westport Street, Kilsyth, Stirlingshire	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	n/a	n/a
Dougan	Catherine	Miner	26 Bank Street, Cambuslang	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	n/a	n/a
Dougan	Annie	Labourer (Miner)	26 Bank Street, Cambuslang	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	n/a	n/a
Doyle	Monica	Stone-cutter	6 Backrow Lane, Port-Glasgow	1910-11	1911-12	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Doyle	Margaret Ellen	Wine & Spirit Merchant (Stone cutter see remarks)	2 Bowmount Gardens, Hillhead	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	n/a	n/a
Duffy	Mary Josephine	Spirit Merchant	112 South Brae Drive, Jordanhill (Glasgow)	1912-13	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Dunne	Margaret	Boatbuilder, Labourer (1906/7); Shipwright (1909/10)	83 Roadspark Street, Govan	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	1909-10	1910-11
Edgar	Agnes Brown	Hoiser	17 Victoria Terrace, Glasgow	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	n/a	n/a
Farry	Mary Catherine	Foreman	St Patrick's Terrace, Armagh, Ireland	1906-07	1907-08	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Filbin	Mary Josephine	Dispatch Clerk	23 Kevinside Gardens, Glasgow	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	n/a	n/a
Fitzpatrick	Rose Marie [McKean grad schedule]	Engineer (1918/9 Government Engineer)	Rosegarth, Bearnden, Dunbartonshire	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21
Forrester	Jennie	Police Constable	12 White Street, Partick, Glasgow	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	n/a	n/a
Foxworthy	Annie Theresa	Stevardess	21 Minerva Street, Glasgow	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	n/a	n/a
Gallacher	Jessie	Foreman, iron shipbuilder	Woodside, Lilybank, Port Glasgow	1899-1900	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Gallacher	Helen	Retired (1909/10 Merchant)	24 Princess Square, Regent Park, Glasgow	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	n/a	n/a
Gallagher	Bridget	Corporal 5th Scottish Rifles	14 Laurence Street, Glasgow	1915-16	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Geddes	Helen Johnston	Unknown	Firth View, 7 Cluny Terrace, Buckie	1907-08	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Geddes	Isabella	Farmer	Upper Duffel, Fochabers, Morayshire	1905-06	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Gillies	Dorothy Frances	Engineer	146 Main Street, Bridgeton, Glasgow	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	n/a	n/a
Graham	Alice	Steelworker	Iveagh, Wilson Street, Motherwell	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	n/a	n/a
Graham	Mary	Steelworker	Iveagh, Wilson Street, Motherwell	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	n/a	n/a
Hadley	Mary Milburga	Clerk, Steward, Local Government Officer	Calow End, nr Worcester	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	n/a	n/a
Hancock	Julia	Warehouseman	44 Shipcote Terrace, Gatehead	1897-98	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Hayes	Bridget (Grand Album) Teresa Josephine	Farmer	Lisnacree, Ennis, Co Clare	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14
Healey	Catherine	Farmer	Notre Dame, Downhill, Glasgow	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	n/a
Henry	Jane Frances	Engineer	n/a	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18
Hetherington	Susan	Insurance Agent	12 Cross Street, Partick	1900-01	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Hillon	Alice Maud	Master Mariner (Sea captain)	26 Camperdown Road, Scotstoun	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	n/a	n/a
Hoskin	Josephine	Treasurer, Scottish Legal Life Assurance Society	Berryknowe, Rutherglen	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	n/a	n/a
Hughes	Agnes Theresa	Admiralty Overseer (Foreman in HM Dockyard)	20 Balthagray Avenue, Partick	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	n/a	n/a
Hughes	Mary Agnes	Farmer	The Park, Johnstown, Kilkenny, Ireland	1910-11	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Joyce	Lizzie	Farmer	23 Lawrence Street, Glasgow (Partickhill)	n/a	1912-13	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
		Blacksmith	Sawmill House, Buckie	1900-01	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

SURNAME:	CHRISTIAN NAME(S):	FATHER'S OCCUPATION:	HOME ADDRESS 1:	SESSION 1:	SESSION 2:	SESSION 3:	SESSION 4:	SESSION 5:	SESSION 6:
Keane	Sara Marie	Customs & Excise Officer	11 Fiddland Munitions, Hyndland, Glasgow	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	n/a	n/a
Kelly	Annie Josephine	Officer of the Inland Revenue	Glencoth, Menstrie, Clackmannanshire	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	n/a	n/a	n/a
Kelly	Norah	Officer of HM Customs & Excise	Glencoth, Menstrie, Clackmannanshire	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	n/a	n/a
Kelly	Mary Frances	Officer of Inland Revenue	Glencoth, Menstrie, Clackmannanshire	1902-03	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Kelly	Agnes Josephine	Invalid (Engineer 1912/3)	8 Crossfist Crescent, Paisley	1911-12	1912-13	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Kelly	Eleanor Heald	Officer of the Inland Revenue (Custom & Excise 1909-10)	Glencoth, Menstrie, Clackmannanshire	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	n/a	n/a
Kellm	Mary Josephine	Commission Agent	91 Kent Road, Glasgow (Anderson)	1911-12	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Kennedy	Mary	Wine Merchant	115 Broomhill Drive, Broomhill, Glasgow	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19
Kinsella	Annie	Blacksmith	144 Kirk Road, Wishaw	1919-20	1920-21	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Kitson	Eva	Commercial Traveller	5 Ethel Terrace, Portobello, Edinburgh	1898-99	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Kivitchan	Agnes	Woolen/Tweed Manufacturer/Manager of Rosefield Mills, Dumfries	St Columba's, Rothell Road, Marcelltown, Dumfriesshire	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	n/a	n/a
Kivitchan	Constance Flora Leslie	Woolen Manufacturer	St Columba's, Rothell Road, Dumfries	1913-14	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Lee	Mary	Engineer	23 Ashfield Terrace West, Newcastle upon Tyne	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	n/a	n/a
Leighton	Catherine Mary	Clerk; Probate Court	4 Cambridge Street, Edgbaston, Birmingham	1904-05	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Lomax	Janet	Teacher	15 Clarendon Street, Glasgow	1906-07	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
MacCabe	Mary	Wine & Spirit Merchant	West End House, West Calder, Midlothian	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	n/a	n/a	n/a
Macdonald	Mary Helen	Water Meter Inspector	45 Rose Street, Garnethill, Glasgow	1914-15	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
MacFarlane	Evelyn Agnes	Clerk (Jeweller's salesman 1917/8)	35 Scotland Street, Edinburgh	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	n/a	n/a
MacFarlane	Georgina Bride	General Merchant	Span Bridge	1900-01	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Magauran	Emily Maria	None given	13 Sutherland Street, Hillhead, Glasgow	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	n/a	n/a
Malone	Pauline	Teacher (mother)	129 Cardross Street, Dennistoun	1919-20	1920-21	1922-23	n/a	n/a	n/a
Martin	Margaret	Signalman	Ashgrove Road, Kilwinning	1903-06	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McAleer	Maureen	Produce Merchant	18 Corrie Grove, Muirhead, Glasgow	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	n/a	n/a	n/a
McAllister	Ada Cecilia	Retired Auctioneer	1 Holywood Quadrant, Glasgow W	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	n/a
McAloon	Mary	Miner	218 Jellyhill, Bishopbriggs, Glasgow	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	n/a	n/a
McArdle	Charlotte	Wine & Spirit Merchant	The Brig Inn, Grahamston, Falkirk	1919-20	1920-21	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McAvin	Josephine Mary	Landowner	26 Upper St Columba's Road, Drumcondra, Dublin	1907-08	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McAvin	Margaret	Landowner	26 Upper St Columba's Road, Drumcondra, Dublin	1907-08	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McCann	Kathleen	Wine & Spirit Merchant	48 Craigpark, Dennistoun, Glasgow	1919-20	1920-21	1922-23	n/a	n/a	n/a
McCann	Jane	Butcher	54 Kelbourne Street, Kelvinside, Glasgow	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1920-21	1921-22	n/a
McCluskey	Margaret Carroll	Colliery Fireman	345 Main Street, Maryhill, Glasgow	1911-12	1912-13	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McCrosan	Margaret	Publican	4 Park Avenue, Stirling	1909-10	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McCrosan	Bridget Mary Magdalen	Wine & Spirit Merchant	6 Minard Road, Hyndland, Glasgow	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	n/a	n/a	n/a
McCusker	Gertrude	Provision Merchant	The Cottage, Neilston, Renfrewshire	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	n/a
McCusker	Margaret Mary	Merchant	The Cottage, Neilston	1904-05	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McDermott	Sarah	Spirit Merchant	6 Princess Street, Port Glasgow	1919-20	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McDonald	Annie	Hotelkeeper	Commercial Hotel, Lennontown, Stirlingshire	1897-98	1898-99	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McDonald	Elizabeth	Wire Manufacturer/Merchant	14 Aspley Place, Glasgow	1897-98	1909-10	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McDonald	Catherine	Live Stock Attendant	19 Queen Street, Stirling	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	n/a	n/a	n/a
McDonnell	Margaret	Marble-mason (sculptor 1906-07)	12 Robert Street, Lancaster	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1910-11	n/a	n/a
McDougall	Annie Margaret	Scientific Instrument Maker	475 Gallowgate Street, Glasgow	1912-13	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McGhee	Ellen Gillian	Riveter's holder-up (shipbuilding yard)	106 White Street, Govan	1907-08	1908-09	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McGhee	Elizabeth	General Dealer	4 Bellgrove Street, Dennistoun	1919-20	1920-21	1922-23	n/a	n/a	n/a
McGill	Elizabeth Gertrude	Labourer	178 Main Street, Maryhill, Glasgow	1916-17	1917-18	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McGuire	Isabella Patricia	Munition worker (machine man 1917/9)	22 Whitevale Street, Dennistoun	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	n/a	n/a
McKenzie	Elizabeth Margaret Penon	Storekeeper	St Benedict's, Lenzie Road, Stepps	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1930-31	1939-40	1940-41
McKillop	Elizabeth	Fish merchant	145 King Street, Pollockshaws, Glasgow	1898-99	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McLauchlan	Helen	Timber Merchant	24 Viewmount Drive, Maryhill	1897-98	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McManus	Mary	Wholesale Tobacconist	83 Taylor Street, Townhead, Glasgow	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	n/a	n/a
McNally	Nora	Steelworker	396 Windmillhill Street, Flemington, Motherwell	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	n/a	n/a	n/a
McNama	Emma Kathleen	Merchant	Easkey, Co Sligo	1908-09	1909-10	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Meere	Margaret Mary	Customs & Excise Officer	46 Knox Road, Forest Gate, Essex	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	n/a	n/a
Mulvihill	Margaret	Rate collector	Tarbert, Kerry	1900-01	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Murphy	Shelagh Patricia	Customs & Excise Officer	Carbost, Portree, Isle of Skye	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	n/a	n/a
Murray	Elizabeth McLean	Librarian	32 Canal Street, Perth	1919-20	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Murray	Catherine	Labourer	61 College Street, Dumbarton	1917-18	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
McConnachie	Mabel Margaret Mary	Civil Service Official	52 Great Clyde Street, Glasgow	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	n/a	n/a

SURNAME:	CHRISTIAN NAME(S):	FATHER'S OCCUPATION:	HOME ADDRESS 1:	SESSION 1:	SESSION 2:	SESSION 3:	SESSION 4:	SESSION 5:	SESSION 6:
Nolan	Kathleen Mary	Bank Manager	Ulster Bank House, Castlereagh, Ireland	1900-01	1901-02	1902-03	1903-04	1904-05	n/a
O'Brien	Mary Josephine	Pawnbroker - Jeweller	Lindores, Strawberry Bank, Dundee	1919-20	1920-21	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
O'Doherty	?	Clerk	145 Petershill Road, Springburn, Glasgow	1913-14	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
O'Doherty	Frances	Retired from business (Wine & Spirit Merchant)	637 Kame's Terrace, Cathart Road, Crosshill, Glasgow	1902-03	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1907-08	n/a
O'Hanlon	Bridget	Insurance Agent	Convent of Notre Dame, Dowanhill, Glasgow	1923-24	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	n/a
O'Hanlon	Annie	Customs & Excise Officer (retired 1912/3)	9 Birtlefield Gardens, Langside, Glasgow	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	n/a	n/a
O'Kane	Susan	Merchant	51 Shaw Street, Greenock	1899-1900	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
O'Kane	Catherine	Platelayer	19 Cairn Road, Maryhill, Glasgow	1912-13	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
O'Sullivan	Nora	Merchant	11 Upper Castle Street, Tralee, Co Kerry	1900-01	1901-02	1902-03	1904-05	n/a	n/a
Peterson	Mary	Yeasman - Baker	Greenview, Whine Road, Alloa	1912-13	1913-14	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Pemberton	Mary	Commission Agent	4 Steel Street, Glasgow	1898-99	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Perry	Louisa	Architect	Training College, Dowanhill	1916-17	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Rea	Eunice	Teacher	107 Whitehead Road, Aston Manor, Birmingham	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	n/a	n/a
Riordan	Gertrude Mary	Officer of Inland Revenue (Excise officer)	96 Bowman Street, Crosshill, Glasgow	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	n/a
Robertson	Isabella	Distiller	Rosebank, Keith	1899-1900	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Robertson	Claire (Sister in Graduate schedule)	Mauritius Civil Servant	Training College, Dowanhill, Glasgow	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1919-20	n/a	n/a
Rogers	Annie (Ann)	Traffic Inspector/Timekeeper, Glasgow Corporation Tramways	9 Walton Street, Shawlands, Glasgow	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1919-20	n/a
Rogers	Mary	Traffic Inspector/Timekeeper, Glasgow Corporation Tramways	9 Walton Street, Shawlands, Glasgow	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1920-21	1921-22
Rooney	Mary	Wine Merchant	Margaret Cottage, 27 Thomson Street, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	n/a	n/a	n/a
Rooney	Mary	Spirit Merchant	27 Thomson Street, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	n/a	n/a	n/a
Scouller	Agnes	Customs & Excise Officer	107 Albert Road, Crosshill, Glasgow	1907-08	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Shannon	Rose	Plater's helper (1921/2 Hairdresser)	1200 Govan Road, Govan, Glasgow	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	n/a	n/a
Sharkey	Mary Frances	Bottle-maker/blower	4 Forth Street, Alloa	1910-11	1911-12	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Skinner	Florence Chisholm	Journalist	Linduden, Whitehaugh Drive, Paisley	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	n/a	n/a
Skinnider	Martha (Mary?)	Company Secretary	21 Moss Street, Paisley, Renfrewshire	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46	1946-47	n/a	n/a
Smith	Eleanor	Doctor of Medicine	50 Queen Mary Avenue, Crosshill, Glasgow	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	n/a	n/a
Storey	Kathleen	Excise Officer	55 Eglinton Street, Glasgow	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	n/a
Stuart	Elizabeth	Clothier & Draper	Conglass, Turniff	1899-1900	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Sweeney	Dorothea Margaret Elizabeth	Estimating Clerk	309 Great Western Road, Glasgow	1955-59 ?	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Taylor	Monica (Sister Monica)	Sheep Farmer	Convent of Notre Dame, Dowanhill	1906-07	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13
Thomson	Annie	Butcher	Pacific Terrace, Aberlour, Banffshire	1903-04	1904-05	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Thomson	Bella Jane	Tailor	26 High Street, Buckie, Banffshire	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	n/a
Tully	Edith	Postman (Town porter 1917/8, Civil servant GPO 1918/9)	29 Lauriston Gardens, Edinburgh	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	n/a	n/a
Walsh	Kathleen	Traveller (Manager 1910-11)	74 Black Street, Glasgow	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13
Walters	Clare	House Furnisher	7 Bowmount Gardens, Glasgow	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	n/a	n/a
Ward	Jeanette Frances	Toolmaker	176 Langholm Street, Glasgow W4	1946-47	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
White	Marion	Head Postman	179 Crown Street, Glasgow	1916-17	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

**Appendix 40: Summary of the work of second year students – midsummer
1904, ND Archives**

Group A

- 1 Physical Drill
- 2 English
- 3 History
- 4 Mathematics
- 5 Physical Science
 Natural Science
- 6 Geography

Group B

- 1 Phonetics
- 2 Drawing
- 3 Singing
- 4 Needlework

Group C

- 1 Principles of Education
- 2 School method and practice in Teaching (including Infant School Method)

Other subjects that students could study in addition to the above included: French, German, Latin, Manual Work, Household Management and Laws of Health. The students were assessed in each of the subjects and graded according to six categories:

- E Excellent
- EG Very Good
- G Good
- F Fair
- O Unsatisfactory
- X Recognised

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Papers and correspondence of Fr Thomas Calnan S J

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A Pastoral Letter to the Faithful of the Diocese of Birmingham, by William Bernard Ullathorne (27 Oct,1870), 4 B4854

Notes on the Education Question by William Bernard Ullathorne (1857)

Glasgow Archdiocesan Archives

ED 1 Diocesan Education Board/ Poor School Committee,

4 October 1870-26 April 1878

Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education

Reports of the Catholic Poor School Committee/Catholic School Committee

ED 2 Diocesan Education Board, Papers, 1892-1909

ED 2 Diocesan Education Board, Papers, 1910-1919

ED 7 Religious Inspection, 1878-1909

ED 9 Poor School Committee

ED 12 Secondary Education and Pupil Teachers

ED 17 School Log Books/School Minute Books -3 School Account Books 1898-1903

ED 18 Education Papers, General, 1869-1880

ED 19 Education Papers, General, 1881-1890

ED 20 Education Papers, General, 1891-1900

ED 21 Education Papers, General, 1901-1905

ED 22 Education Papers, General, 1906-1910

ED 23 Education Papers, General, 1911-1916

ED 24 Education Papers, General, 1916-1920

ED 36 Western District, late 19th Century, and up to the 1920s but mainly concerning the effects of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918

ED 37 ditto

ED 38 ditto

ED 41 ditto

ED 48 (1) History of St Mary's Boys' School, Calton, Glasgow, 1863-1963, (Bound Volume)

Our Lady and St Francis School, Charlotte Street Log Book from 29 January, 1894 till 23 December 1921

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St Mungo's Roman Catholic School, Glasgow

Glasgow City Archives D ED7 1/3/1864 - 1888 247 1 (1)

Glasgow City Archives D ED7 1/2/1889 - 1911 247 1 (2)

Report of the State of Education in Glasgow. Education Commission (Scotland) 1866

Draft memo on Amendments to the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, SED/ED/14/129

Notre Dame College of Education Archives/St Andrew's College Archives

1860

- 1 Photocopy of aerial plan of Dowanside.

1893

- 1 Photocopies of letters relating to the foundation of a College in Glasgow.
- 2 Photocopies of letters from Catholic School Committee relating to the foundation of a Female Training College in Glasgow. Addressed to Sr. Superior.
- 3 Photocopy of letter from Canon J. Cameron, Maryhill, regarding the setting up of a Training College in Glasgow. (12.5.1893)
- 4 Letter from Lord Ripon at Stadley Royal Ripon to Sr. Mary of St Philip regarding the Catholic Training College in Glasgow. (8.10.1893)
- 5 Letter from Lord Ripon (1/12/1893) 9 Chelsea Embankment to 'Sister' regarding Training College in Glasgow. (Photocopy)
- 6 Letter from St Bennet's, Greenhill, Edinburgh to Sr. Mary of St Philip regarding proposed Training College in Glasgow. (Photocopy) From Angus Macdonald.
- 7 Photocopies of telegrams regarding the recognition of the College. (22.12.1893)
- 8 Letter to Archbishop Eyre from Sr. Mary of St Philip regarding Sisters taking charge of new Teaching College.
- 9 Photograph of Dowanhill Site.
- 10 Letter from H. Craik regarding the proposal for the foundation of a Roman Catholic Training College for Mistresses in Glasgow. (Photocopy)
- 11 Letters to Sr. Mary of St Philip from Archbishop of Glasgow regarding the foundation of a Training College.(Photocopies not very legible).

- 12 Photocopy of letter from Hugh Chisholm to Sr. Superior at Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, regarding setting up of a training college.
- 13 Transcription of letter from St Mary of St Philip to Sr. Marie des Sts. Anges on the progress of the setting up of a Notre Dame Teacher Training College in Glasgow.

1894

- 1 Photocopies of letters relating to the foundation of a Training College in Glasgow.
- 2 Photocopies of letters from the Catholic School Committee relating to the foundation of a Training College in Glasgow. Addressed to Sr. Superior, Sr. Wilfrid.
- 3 Letter from William, Bishop of Galloway to Canon Chisholm regarding the Training School in Glasgow. (Photocopy).
- 4 Letter from Angus Macdonald, St Bennet's, Greenhill, Edinburgh to Canon Chisholm regarding Training College. (Photocopy).
- 5 Photocopies of telegrams from Canon Mackintosh to Sr. Superior regarding establishment of College, advising immediate start.
- 6 Photocopy of telegram from Canon Mackintosh to Sr. Wilfrid regarding establishment of Training College.
- 7 Photograph of Convent of Notre Dame, Dowanhill.
- 8 Photograph of Convent of Notre Dame, 1894. Also photograph of Blessed Julie Billiart, and Mère St Joseph.
- 9 Letter from Archbishop of Glasgow to Mother General of Sisters of Notre Dame, regarding establishment of College in Glasgow. (Photocopy) Also photocopy of photograph of Révérende Mère Aimée de Jesus, Superior General of Notre Dame, 1888 – 1907

1895

- 1 Photocopies of letters relating to the foundation of a Training College in Glasgow.
 - 9.1.1895, letter to Archbishop Eyre regarding proportion of taxes.
 - 17.1.1895, letter from Mitchells Johnston & Co, to Canon Mackintosh regarding purchase of property.
 - 23.3.1895, letter from Angus McDonald to Mrs. Rattray regarding help from Lord Bute noting the growing demand from all parts of Scotland.

- 14.5.1895, from 60 Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. Deeds and documents relating to Dowanhill East.
- 18.5.1895, letter from Mitchells Johnston & Co. to Sr. Superior regarding purchase and deeds.

1896

- 1 Letter to Sr. Mary of St Wilfrid relating to foundation of a Training College in Glasgow. (11.10.1896)
- 2 List of students who completed training in 1896.
- 3 Photograph of first group of students who graduated from Dowanhill, July 1896.
- 4 Original of 3/1, plus attempts at identification.
- 5 Parchment of Janet Mallender, July 1896. Photograph of list group of graduate students. Janet marked with X front row.
- 6 Photocopy of photograph of Dowanhill. The building on the right is West Dowanside and East Dowanside. The university observatory is in the background.
- 7 Photocopies of aerial plans of Dowanhill.

1897

- 1 Letters from Sr. Rose of St Joseph (Mount Pleasant) to Sr. Mary of St Wilfrid re accounting.
- 2 List of students who completed training in 1897.
- 3 Photocopies of Margaret Stevenson's certificates dating from 1897-1917. Also photocopies (2) of William Gray's (husband?) certificates.

1898

- 1 Letter from Mr. Hamilton, Council Offices to Miss Lescher re accounting for private students.
- 2 List of students who completed training in 1898. 29 completed 2 year course.

1899

- 1 List of students who completed training in 1899. 29 finished 2 year course.
- 2 Photocopy of the Report for the year 1899 by T A Stewart, HMI of Schools and Inspector of Training Colleges in Scotland on the Training Colleges of Scotland.

1900

- 1 List of students who completed training in 1900. 37 completed 2 year course.
- 2 Photograph of students. (Provisional date)

1901

- 1 List of students who completed training in 1901. 42 completed 2 year course.
- 2 Lab of old Tin Science Room, HMI, Frank Young examining. (see 1902, 2/1).

1902

- 1 List of students who completed training in 1902. 50 completed training.
- 2 Photograph of examination in Science. Inspector F.W. Young. (See 1901, 2/1).
- 3 Photograph of the Tin Science Room.
- 4 Scotch Education Department. Training of Teachers, Results of Training

1903

- 1 List of students who completed training in 1903. 43 completed 2 year course.
- 2 Scotch Education Department. Training of Teachers. Schedule showing results of students of second year who completed their training in Midsummer 1903.
- 3 Photocopies of minutes of Glasgow Training College Committee, 25.6.1903.

1904

- 1 List of students who completed training in 1904. 52 completed 2 year course.
- 2 Scotch Education Department. Training of Teachers. Schedule showing the results of students of the second and third years who completed their course Midsummer 1904.
- 3 Photograph of article from "Catholic Times" 32.12.1904, notifying of the death of Sr. Mary of St Philip. (Frances Mary Lescher)

1905

- 1** List of students who completed training in 1905. 52 completed 2 year course, 4 completed 3 year course.
- 2** Scotch Education Department. Schedule showing the results of those students of second and third years who completed their course at Midsummer 1905.
- 3** Scotch Education Department. Schedule showing the marks awarded to those students who are proceeding to a third year of training.
- 4** Certificate of Margaret Stevenson from Glasgow Roman Catholic Training College. Signed by Monica Taylor, Instructor. (Photocopy)

1906

- 1** List of students who completed training in 1906. 56 completed 2 year course, 3 completed 3 year course.
- 2** Scotch Education Department. Schedule showing the results of the training of students of second or third year who completed their course of training at Midsummer, 1906.

1907

- 1** List of students who completed training in 1907. 57 completed 2 year course.
- 2** Photograph. Unidentified group of students.
- 3** Scotch Education Department. Schedule showing the results of the training of the students of the second or third year who completed their course Midsummer 1907.
- 4** Newspaper report of the Garden Party at Notre Dame. (2 Photographs)
- 5** Birthday book of those students in second year in 1907, with photograph.
- 6** Photograph of Nora Mary O'Brien, College President. Graduated 1907.

1908

- 1** List of students who completed training in 1908. 73 completed 2 year course.
- 2** Photocopy of telegram from Duke of Norfolk.
- 3** Original of telegram from Duke of Norfolk. (Pasted on to card)
- 4** Booklet to mark the death of The Very Reverend Hugh Provost Chisholm by A S S (The author is A S Skinnider)

1909

- 1** List of students who completed training in 1909. 103 completed 2 year course, 3 completed 3 year course.
- 2** Photocopy of letter to Miss A. Lescher from Scotch Education Department on curricula in Roman Catholic Training College - 23.11.1909.
- 3** Photocopy of letter to Miss A. Lescher from Scotch Education Department on outgoing students from the College - 10.11.1909.
- 4** Birthday book of those students in second year in 1909. Photograph of group on cover.

1910

- 1** List of students who completed training in 1910. 79 completed 2 year course, 2 completed 1 year course.
- 2** Letters from Scotch Education Department to Miss M.A. Lescher regarding students at Roman Catholic Training College. (20.10.1910, 5.11.1910)
- 3** Birthday book of those students in second year in 1910, including photograph.
- 4** 'Yearbook' of those students in second year in 1910, photocopy of 3.

1911

- 1** List of students who completed training in 1911. 81 completed 2 year course.
- 2** Letter to Miss M.A. Lescher from Scotch Education Department regarding adequate supply of student teachers and shortage of RC candidates who have some preliminary training. (Photocopy)
- 3** Letter to Miss M.A. Lescher from Scotch Education Department regarding placement of Irish trained teachers as staff of St Bridget's Roman Catholic School, Kilbirnie, Ayr. There is to be no recognition for Irish trained teachers if a Scottish trained teacher is available. (Photocopy)
- 4** Photocopy of time-table for summer session 1911.
- 5** Photocopy of time-table for winter session 1911-12.

1912

- 1** List of students who completed training in 1912. 85 completed 2 year course.
- 2** Letter from Scotch Education Department regarding payment of fees by students in 1906. (Photocopy)

- 3 Letter from Scotch Education Department to Miss M.A. Lescher regarding the syllabus followed in training of teachers. (Photocopy)
- 4 Letter from Scotch Education Department to Miss M.A. Lescher regarding admission to training of English candidates. (Photocopy)
- 5 Letter from Scotch Education Department regarding curricula in Roman Catholic Training College. (Photocopy)
- 6 Letter from Scotch Education Department to Miss M.A. Lescher regarding short supply of teachers for Scottish schools. 5 outgoing students going to England, and 8 vacancies not filled in Scotland. (Photocopy)
- 7 Photograph of outgoing students.
- 8 Photocopies of letters from Burnbank Roman Catholic School regarding placement of Irish trained teacher on the staff.

1913

- 1 List of students who completed training in 1913.
- 2 Letter from Scotch Education Department re the teaching of Religious Knowledge. (Photocopy)
- 3 Letter from Scotch Education Department regarding admission of English candidates to Training College. (Photocopy)
- 4 Letter from Scotch Education Department regarding admission of English candidates and maintenance of Scottish standards. (Photocopy)
- 5 Photocopy of aerial plan of Victoria Circus and surrounding area.

1914

- 1 List of students who completed training in 1914.
- 2 Letter to Miss Lescher regarding fees. (Photocopy)
- 3 Regulations for the preliminary education, training and certificates of teachers for various grades of schools. (Booklet)
- 4 Photograph, marquee on lawn in front of original villas. Entertaining soldiers during 1st World War.
- 5 Evening Times, Sunday August 2, 1914. "The War Cloud Bursts".

1915

- 1** List of students who completed training n 1915.
- 2** Letter regarding students who have not paid fees prior to 1908. (Photocopy)
- 3** Higher Education Scotland Intermediate Certificate 1915. Awarded to Mary Haney, Dowanhill Roman Catholic Higher Grade School. (see 1917 3/1& 1919 4/1)

1916

- 1** List of Students who completed training in 1916.
- 2** Letter from Scotch Education Department - 25.1.1916, regarding conditions for probationary teaching. (Photocopy)
- 3** Letter from Scotch Education Department - 9.3.1916, regarding the training of teachers. (Photocopy)
- 4** Photocopy of letter from Scotch Education Department -- 5.7.1916, regarding Miss Norah Gilfillan.

1917

- 1** List of students who completed training in 1917.
- 2** Notification of appointment of Clare Walters, authorised by Scotch Education Department. Notification of appointment of Margaret Doyle as above.
- 3** Higher Education Scotland Learning Certificate 1917. Awarded to Mary Haney, Dowanhill Roman Catholic Higher Grade School. (see 1915 3/1 & 1919 4/1)

1918

- 1** List of students who completed training in 1918.
- 2** Regulations regarding the approval of Catholic teachers subsequent to 1918 Education (Scotland) Act.

1919

- 1** List of students who completed training in 1919.
- 2** Letters from Sr. Mary of St Wilfrid to Canon Ritchie regarding the status of the College.
- 3** Papers regarding the number of students at the College.

- 4 Certificate of Graduation and Training Record of Mary Haney. Completed course at Notre Dame Roman Catholic Training College midsummer 1919. (see 1915 3/1 & 1917 3/1)
- 5 Report on Training Colleges and Hostel, November 19th, 1919. (Diocesan Report)
- 6 Sixteenth report of the Catholic Education Council for England, Wales and Scotland for 1919, page 1-6 only.
- 7 Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, 1919, altering the constitution of the Committees for the Training of Teachers established under the Minute of 30th January, 1905 and abrogating the other provisions of that Minute.
- 8 Approval and appointment of teachers. (For the Clergy only). Memorandum from Henry G. Graham.

1920

- 1 List of students who completed training in 1920.
- 2 Copy of the Minute of Agreement between National Committee for training of teachers and Catholic Education Council of Great Britain - 10.2.1920.
- 3 National Committee for the training of teachers. Report of a meeting of Sub-Committee on Transference of Colleges - 21.10.1920. (2 copies)
- 4 Proposed conditions of transference of Notre Dame Training College, Dowanhill, Glasgow - 5.11.1920.
- 5 Regulations for the preliminary education, training and certificate of teachers for various grades of schools.
- 6 Minutes of Agreement between National Committee for the training of teachers and Catholic Educational Council of Great Britain - 10.2.1920 and conditions of transference of Notre Dame Training College, Dowanhill. Glasgow to National Committee.
- 7 Correspondence regarding the proposed transference of Notre Dame Training College to the National Committee for the training of Teachers.
- 8 Letter from Charles Mackay, Secretary, Scottish Catholic Teachers Federation to Sr. Superior, regarding nomination of Miss Catherine McGady as her representative. (Copy)
- 9 Prospectus 1920-21.
- 10 Minutes of Meeting of the Schools Transfer Board held in Diocesan Hall, 26th January, 1920.

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