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'The Empire of Learning'

The School Board of Glasgow and elementary education, 1872 - 1885, with
particular reference to the work of William Mitchell.

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Summary

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 legislated for the establishment of school boards and universal elementary educational provision for all children between the ages of 5 and 13 years. In the often chaotic and rapid urbanisation experienced by the city of Glasgow, the task of providing new school accommodation and of encouraging greater and more regular attendance fell to the School Board of Glasgow.

This thesis examines the operations of the successive Glasgow Boards between 1872 and 1885. It considers the social and educational condition of Glasgow prior to 1872 and describes the massive problems of poor housing, ill-health and educational deprivation suffered by a great many of the poor.

It is shown that much of the philanthropic zeal being displayed during this period was effectively harnessed by the Glasgow Board. Working within the legislative structure imposed by the 1872 Act, many of the School Board members were able to continue previous voluntary work more successfully in an official setting.

The agenda of the School Board in building new schools, carefully planned to provide a safe and hygienic environment, is closely studied. The necessary use made of temporary accommodation over the first six years of the Board's term is also examined. It is shown that, although conscious of costs, the Glasgow School Board followed the policy of siting new schools in areas of greatest educational deprivation.

The nature and conditions of the teaching force are also investigated. Teachers employed by the Glasgow Board were well qualified for the period and the Board made efforts to allow staff to continue with their professional development. The structure of salary scales for teachers and Headmasters provoked dispute after the 1879 School Board elections which brought to the Board some new members

who were primarily concerned with Board finance. A new salary structure for teachers was instituted after this date.

In the sphere of social welfare the development of official legislation ran parallel with the involvement of voluntary agencies and this trend is examined. It is seen that voluntarism and philanthropic action often led by example, and prepared the ground for municipal and national responses.

Educational finance over the term of the first four School Boards is studied. Using the debates on school fees, free education and possible changes to the educational endowments of Glasgow, it is shown how finance began to play an increasing role in School Board activity. It is also shown that the stance adopted in these debates by certain Board members displays a continuation of their philanthropic idealism. The conclusion of these debates, due principally to the part played by these same members, allowed the centre of decision-making in educational matters to remain with the School Board.

Throughout the period covered by the thesis, this particular group of members - former pupils of the High School of Glasgow and strong supporters of the Established and Free Churches - consistently argued the case of the poorer and less able sections of society, and in particular for the betterment of the social and educational condition of children.

The thesis studies in detail, William Mitchell, one of the most prominent and longest serving members of the Glasgow Board. Close scrutiny is given to his work on the School Board and to his involvement with charitable agencies dealing with children. It is shown how Mitchell combined official and voluntary action by using the School Board as a network for the centripetal conveyance and regulation of information leading to a more efficient centrifugal direction of action.

Mitchell is seen as a complex character whose motivation for charitable work is the product of varying forces, including his deep religious faith. Through the work of members such as William Mitchell it is seen that the Glasgow School Board was as much involved with questions of social welfare as with education. The idea of social reform for William Mitchell encompassed questions of housing and health as much as education.

The work of the Glasgow School Board in the period under review illustrates the complexity of the forces - social, religious, economic - affecting education in the late nineteenth century, and the important role of key individuals in the transition from voluntary to state provision.

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Introduction

Methodology and Structure

Introduction

'...no human society is content unless it knows how it came to be, and why it adopted the shape and institutions which it finds' (1).

The selection of sources of data provided the first stage of the study. Hockett has said that: 'The historian like the geologist interprets past events by the traces they have left; he deals with the evidence of men's past acts and thoughts' (2). With this in mind it was decided that the vast bulk of the research would concentrate on primary sources; that is, those items of various kinds both original and peculiar to the matter under study. Over 90% of the material used in the thesis comes from primary and original material, a great deal of which is being considered for the first time.

Primary Sources

The majority of the primary material used was of a documentary nature. In the case of the Glasgow School Board, for example, official minutes of both full Board meetings and those of the various Committees, letter books of official correspondence, school log books, Annual Reports, Architect's Reports on existing and newly constructed schools, and Board documentation on educational endowments for Glasgow. It should be stated at this point that some material sought, and believed relevant to the study, is missing; for example, Mitchell's pamphlet of 1874 on the Parochial Boards and Poor Children, Finance Committee Minutes for the early 1880's and Forms 10 and 17 of the Attendance Committee on Notice to Parents and Guardians - Warning against Neglect and Regulations as to Certificates of Exemption

respectively. Despite efforts by the author and the Archivist of the Regional Archives in the Mitchell Library, the material remained unfound.

Primary legislation and documentation where necessary, was widely used. For example, the 1872 Education Act set the parameters within which the early School Boards would operate; the 1878 Education Act gave the Board power over some conditions relating to the employment of children while the 1878 Juvenile Delinquency Act, peculiar to Glasgow, allowed the establishment of Day Industrial Schools. Newspapers and periodicals directly concerned with the period were also widely used, as were pamphlets and articles relating directly to the School Board. The use of such material was deemed necessary to avoid bias and to qualify some School Board material which was not always universally accepted at the time. All figures, tables and graphs used in the study are taken from the original material; for example, official Census figures, the Statistical Returns of the City Chamberlain of Glasgow for the period and the original figures used by the Argyll Commissioners for Glasgow. Using figures directly from, or tabulated from, original material lessened the possibility of mistakes through multiplicative effects.

In dealing with a relatively modern period, the nineteenth century, a problem faced was that of selecting what was significant from a wealth of material. Two criteria were adopted in selection: (a) the degree of significance to be attached to the material, for example, all official School Board material such as Minutes and Reports were considered crucial, as was contemporary evidence which disputed School Board claims and conclusions: (b) the extent to which some details could be considered typical, for example, was Mitchell's (and the Board's) behaviour towards

attendance defaulters typical of their treatment of children and parents in general ?

Secondary material was less extensively used and was employed essentially for two purposes. First, to obtain a wider view of the period with regard to topics such as health and housing; Ferguson (3) for health and welfare issues; Butt (4) for questions of housing. Education in a more general context was given by Anderson (5) while Checkland (6) gave an excellent account of philanthropy in Scotland for the period. In other areas, for example, the question of literacy, Houston (7) provided material for debate. A second purpose of secondary material was to acknowledge and then synthesise the various viewpoints. By examining a more compact time period the author attempted to view the strengths and weaknesses of varying contemporary views, for example, Skinnider's study of Roman Catholic education in Glasgow (8).

Location of Sources

The most comprehensive task in this study involved the identification and location of primary and original material.

The bulk of information concerning the city of Glasgow was found in the Glasgow Room of the Mitchell Library. In some cases this involved the staff in a deep and prolonged search as the material had not been used for decades or more; some older material was discovered to be either wrongly or only superficially categorized. The majority of official papers concerning the School Board were found in the Glasgow Room while others, such as school log books and some Committee Reports, were traced to Strathclyde Regional Archives (now Glasgow City Archives). Periodicals, newspapers, reports on population, trade and health, and early Glasgow City maps were located in either of the above sites. The Religion Room of the Mitchell Library provided material on

the churches of the period.

In the study of original material references to contemporaneous material on the debates and events were assiduously followed and their significance for the main study analysed. Some official Government Papers were found in the Mitchell Library, for example, Reports of the Board of Education for the 1870's.

Most Government material was found, however, in the National Library of Scotland - Acts of Parliament and official Reports. The National Library also provided the original copies of the Educational News. Some official documentation of the Glasgow School Board was traced to the National Library and found by the author, as also was written material by William Mitchell. The Scottish Records Office provided the early material on William Mitchell, birth and marriage records from the Old Parish Records (pre-1855), death certificates after 1855 and Mitchell's Will and Inventory.

Individual libraries were used for specific studies; Dumbarton and Partick District Libraries were a source of material on Mitchell in Partick in the 1860's and his earlier period at Dalmonach Printworks. The author visited the former schoolhouse at the printworks. In order to see the remaining physical evidence of the period under study, the author visited those few of the original 1873 - 1882 school buildings still in existence. Although most have ceased their educational wanderings, the author found the visits helpful when preparing the chapter on the construction of School Board schools. The author also visited East Park Home where he was given unrestricted access to the Minute Books and Annual Reports.

Searching for original material was the most demanding, but the most intrinsically interesting, part of the study; material was located in

diverse sites and was not always indexed and classified as precisely as it might have been.

Structure of the Study

The author had to be particularly careful about two possible sources of error. Firstly, that of projecting current beliefs and debate backwards onto a historical background, leading inevitably to distortion. And secondly, describing events in a vacuum and failing to show the relationship of the education system to society. A deliberate attempt was made, therefore, to show the School Board of Glasgow and various other aspects of society, such as voluntary agencies, reacting with one another.

The thesis is structured to adopt a wide view of the conditions within which the early Glasgow Boards operated. The opening chapter is a study of the social and economic conditions, and in particular the state of schooling in Glasgow prior to the establishment of the first School Board in 1873. An examination of the 1872 Education Act and the elections to the Glasgow School Board in 1873 are the focus of the second chapter, and sets the early Boards in their social and political context.

In order to provide a structure on the study and to act as a further aid in the selection of material a series of questions were asked. This also assisted in the organisation and analysis of the material used. The first two chapters helped answer two of the questions:

- (1) What specific problems connected with elementary schooling faced the Glasgow School Board when it took office in 1873?
- (2) Were the problems primarily of a social, educational, political, economic or religious nature?

The third chapter looks at the progress of school building by the Board from 1873 - 1882, the financing of such work and the closure,

sometimes premature, of existing schools. The chapter also examines the dealings of the Board in connection with defaulting parents. The fourth chapter studies the nature and conditions of the teaching force under the School Board over the same period; here a qualification should be added. In the General Summary of the School Board of Glasgow 1873 - 1882, it is stated that the first three years of Board activity concentrated on providing school accommodation (Chapter 3). The third School Board [1879 - 1882] concerned itself with teachers' qualifications and salaries (Chapter 4). The second term of the Board [1876 - 1879] was, according to the General Summary, concerned principally with teaching methods and curriculum content. It was considered by the author that such a topic was substantial enough to require a study of its own and consequently, this area of School Board work is not studied. Two further questions were answered by Chapters 3 and 4:

(3) Did the Glasgow School Board, between 1873 and 1882, make a significant contribution to elementary school provision in the city?

(4) Did the Glasgow School Board, between 1873 and 1882, make a significant contribution to the social welfare of children in the city?

Chapter Five traces the parallel growth of official legislation in the area of child welfare with the involvement of the School Board in those agencies which laid the basis for further official action. A question asked was answered in this chapter:

(5) In what respect, if any, was the Glasgow School Board responsible for promoting greater official action in the social condition of Glasgow children?

Chapter Six examines Board finances from 1879 to 1885, educational endowments and the payment of school fees, and considers the part

played by individuals such as William Mitchell in these debates; it considers how the character of much School Board action was determined by individual influence. This chapter answered another question:

(6) What role did individuals play in the work and character of the School Board of Glasgow?

In answering these questions note was taken of the comment by Cohen/Manion that, "...historical research in education may concern itself with an individual, a group or an institution' (9). They emphasise that none of the above can be viewed in isolation and that all are intimately connected. In the present context, it is these relationships which are studied; the individual is William Mitchell, the group is that consisting of former High School pupils (including Mitchell) who were prominent members of the early School Boards of Glasgow, and the institution studied is the School Board of Glasgow between 1873 and 1885.

It is stated in the title of the thesis that particular reference is given in the study to William Mitchell. Mitchell appears throughout, both directly as a School Board member and also in relation to the official and semi-official dealings which the Board had with various agencies. His ubiquity in the area of child welfare is a constant feature of the study. Chapter Seven focuses on Mitchell specifically and a short biography is given in the Appendices.

Methodology and Structure

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Chapter One

The 'Vast and Crowded Hive'

Introduction

By the latter half of the nineteenth century the cumulative effects of the Industrial Revolution had broken the well-ordered symmetry of a once predominately rural society. Greater government involvement through legislation in areas previously viewed as sacrosanct, or as best left to philanthropy or church, was evident. The sheer scale of the emerging problems in the rapidly expanding industrial and urban society made such intervention almost inevitable.

Children of the period were seen by many legislators as perambulatory tabula rasa, malleable clay on which could be imprinted the ideas and standards prevalent at the time. It was little understood that a child's education began pre-natally; that the circumstances and environment into which a child was born would provide him or her with a wealth of experiences which would be part of his or her character when formal schooling, if any, began. Rousseau had recognised the diverse forces at work; '...education comes to us from nature or from men or from things' (1). In general, however, such factors as parental attitude, social class and economic condition, housing and health, were not fully recognised as crucial elements in determining the effectiveness of the learning process in schools.

Only very slowly over the second half of the nineteenth century were some people beginning to realise that education was not a simple procedure and that schools were only a part, albeit a necessary and integral part, of the process. While schools could be set up and legislation enacted in order to promote greater provision and attendance, for many this was not enough, burdened as they were by crushing poverty and debilitating living conditions. Through the accumulation

of official reports, such as the Argyll Commission and Edwin Chadwick's work in public health, such factors were beginning to be viewed as impediments to schooling.

The necessary social reform and advances in social welfare arrived slowly; for the powerful in society to admit explicitly that such conditions, and not inherent qualities, played a major role in intelligence, ability and learning, was to admit that the structure of society itself was imbalanced. Change was, therefore, gradual. Change came through the ideas and beliefs of individuals who refused to see schooling solely as a simple organisational problem. Social welfare was promoted by the last of the Victorian philanthropists who viewed the increasing statistical evidence as something to be acted upon rather than to use it, as did some of the bureaucrats, simply to confirm that distress existed. The culture of reliance on examination results as indicators of efficiency reflected the social and economic ideologies of the day and bureaucracy could become introspective and self-reinforcing. The essence of education and its liberating qualities stood in danger of becoming subordinate to the Victorian predilection for facts and figures as proof of success.

One way of characterising the last few decades of the nineteenth century, as far as Scottish education is concerned, would be to say that it was a period of growing bureaucracy... (2).

It was fortuitous that the period was also one of progress and enlightenment in other fields such as medicine and health care, engineering, technology and science; fields which made, either directly or indirectly, the path to the school door a little easier to negotiate.

The work of philanthropic men and women, either as individuals or within the mushrooming societies and organisations concerned with

social welfare, helped temper some of the bureaucracy; they added an experience and humanity sometimes missing amongst new administrators. These philanthropists sought a balance between on the one hand, a rise in living standards and a concern for the individual, and on the other hand a retention of social stability and cohesion.

This chapter will examine the social conditions existing in Glasgow in the period prior to 1872. It will sketch the rapid rise in population due to industrialisation and immigration and the changes brought about by both. The state of housing in the city, and its consequent effect on health, is examined together with some of the measures adopted to ease the problems. The chapter finally examines in some detail, the multifarious nature of schooling in Glasgow before the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 and comments upon the results and recommendations of the Argyll Commission.

Population and Economy

Over a period of seventy years, Glasgow grew in population by an astonishing 600% [Table 1]. For a city on the periphery of Europe, far from the main market centres and clustered around a shallow and sluggish river, it was an incredible phenomenon.

It was this rate of growth which brought unequalled economic achievement in the later Victorian period; it was also this growth which was responsible for some of the worst living conditions in Europe. Somers stated that the city was below the level of, '...the abject and superstitious dregs of Europe' (3). 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 [Table 2].

This centripetal movement of population was both caused by, and

helped to sustain, the great industrial miracle of Glasgow. Highland landlords and Irish potato blight both provided Glasgow with a source of raw labour at the very moment in history when it was most needed.

Although at the North West corner of Europe, Glasgow's position in the eighteenth century was in fact, advantageous. America was fourteen to twenty days sailing time nearer from Glasgow than London. This propitious fact introduced and aided the era of the Tobacco Lords. International in outlook and shrewd in business, these men made fortunes and placed Glasgow on the world map before the American War of Independence in 1776 led to the collapse of the trade.

New outlets, however, quickly became evident to the flexing economic muscle of the city. The sea access to America, the advances in textile machinery and Glasgow's damp climate were all ideal for a new trade in cotton. Textile factories sprouted both in and around Glasgow, especially in the 1820's and the following decades, drawing the immigrants with the promise of employment and wages. By 1861 there were factories working in cotton, flax and jute, wool and silk; within the city there were 1,104,472 spindles, 22,813 power-looms, steam engines of an aggregate 13,214 horse-power and 28,489 operatives of both sexes (4). Glasgow was gaining a growing reputation for the amount and quality of her textile work and but for the American Civil War of 1861, which cut the main sources of supply, the trade may well have continued.

From the opening of the nineteenth century some Glasgow men had been working on the problem of the steam engine. Contemporaneously, others had been experimenting with the process of iron and steel-making. Glasgow's great industrial flowering came from a marriage of iron and steel-making and engineering; the progeny of this union was Glasgow's ultimate success - shipbuilding.

The first iron steamship in Scotland was the *Anglaia*, of 30 tons, built by David Napier in 1827. At the same time came the patenting of the hot-air blast process in the furnaces by J.B. Neilson, manager of the Glasgow Gas Company. The plentiful local supplies of coal and blackband iron fitted perfectly the industrial jigsaw that was beginning to assemble. By 1830, 27 furnaces had a production of 37,500 tons of pig-iron annually; by 1870 the annual production of all furnaces was 1,206,000 tons and Dixon and Beardmore were becoming household names (5).

From the beginning, the pace of growth in steel-making, marine engineering and shipbuilding proceeded rapidly. The widening and deepening of the River Clyde and the construction of new harbours gave visual evidence of this growth [Table 3]. The steamship gradually replaced sail [Table 4] and the tonnage of imports and exports on the Clyde showed an inspiring increase [Table 5]. 'Shipbuilding in the vicinity of Glasgow was becoming more and more of a staple industry' (6).

By 1871, the City Chamberlain was able to call shipbuilding, '...this prodigiously developed branch of industry' (7). Glasgow was en route to becoming the Second City of the Empire. The city was the great commercial link and distributor for the huge steel-making concerns; known as 'the Ring', the manufacturers set the price standards taken throughout the world. Other industry flowed from this centre; three of the four largest locomotive builders in the world were situated in Glasgow and the huge chemical works of St. Rollox, although entering its period of decline, was still a vast concern employing thousands.

Glasgow had become a world economic power whose future seemed assured. Yet there was an obverse side to the coin. In 1865 there were

77,895 registered poor in the city (8).

For continued economic growth some problems had to be solved. Increasing complexity in industrial processes and the ability to manipulate ever-advancing and changing machinery demanded a better educated workforce. The old parish school system had played its part but there was now a need for greater quantity as well as greater skill. Social stability was considered by some as crucial for economic soundness and it was believed that education could help. Industrial unrest was viewed as intolerable; many of the great manufacturers took a paternalistic approach, especially towards the more skilled employees, keeping them on the wage roll during slack periods, not only for humanitarian reasons in some cases, but to have a pool of skilled labour available when business revived. Such workers tended to owe allegiance to their employers rather than to infant trade unionism.

The hugely successful economy of Glasgow had been built by men of individual qualities, many of whom became genuinely philanthropic in other fields. As the trend towards municipalism grew, many of these men brought not only their experience of management and organisation for the benefit of the city, they brought also their own individual beliefs and ideas. For reasons both selfish and altruistic, these men, who had made Glasgow what it was, brought their individualism to bear on the problems of the city.

Housing and Health

In 1856, Nathaniel Hawthorne, the American Consul based in Liverpool, visited Glasgow and found it to be,

...a modern-built city, with streets mostly wide and regular, and handsome houses... (9).

Wandering into the courts and wynds around the old College area in the High Street, Hawthorne witnessed the hidden face of Glasgow, the growing housing problem with all its associated evils;

I think the poorer classes of Glasgow excel even those in Liverpool in the bad eminence of filth, uncombed and unwashed children, drunkenness, disorderly deportment, evil smell, and all that makes city poverty disgusting (10).

'Rapidity of growth did the mischief...' (11). Undeniably, the fast pace of urban growth, unplanned and unlegislated, brought undreamed problems of overcrowding and appalling health conditions to the ever-increasing population of the city. There was an inevitable narrowing of perspectives; employment was often short-lived and brought permanent uncertainty over income. Children were often viewed as an extra means of family income; laws and regulations where they existed, such as the Factory Acts, were to be evaded in the basic struggle for survival.

Throughout the 1850's and 1860's, embryonic legislation began, 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.

By the 1850's the middle class of Glasgow were well established in

their exodus westwards towards such areas as Hillhead and Kelvinside. Some of the more 'respectable' working class had followed to where new industry and jobs were located, mostly to the east, north and south; others stayed, using the new train lines and later the tramways to commute. Such centrifugal movement led to what Best has called, '...absorptive growth' (12). Although this demographic trend eventually widened the physical boundaries of the city, there was an opposite and more negative effect. As the middle and more skilled working classes continued their outward expansion from the core of the old city, the less skilful and less able, poor and often of immigrant stock, were left, casualties amidst the selfish dereliction bequeathed by an indiscriminate past. Holms speaks of those remaining in the old slum areas, '...the condition of which is a disgrace to our civilization, and a reproach to our humanity' (13). Many of the better-off perceived this situation in terms, perhaps, too blindingly simple; they believed that the life-style of the poor - their fecundity, their apparent lack of Christian faith and their over-indulgence in alcohol - was the cause of their economic hardship and their sub-standard living conditions.

Immigrants, in the 1850's and 1860's, made up a substantial percentage of the city population [Table 6], and tended to congregate in defensive units in the cheaper housing areas of the old town.

The densely-packed warrens of cheap housing in the central districts exerted a magnetic influence on all immigrants, but especially the Irish (14).

Most of the incomers originated from a rural background, usually very poor and often escaping certain starvation. Used to living standards which many of the indigenous population found unwholesome, immigrants came with, '...imperfect ideas of domestic comfort' (15). Often used to some degree of overcrowding in their rural

setting, the greater intensity of the new urban landscape meant that, '...the sense of decency is injured inevitably' (16). Such habits and conditions of many incomers were intensified from generation to generation and there could be a positive deterioration followed by a total loss, '...of the instincts of the family' (17). Nor was the high fertility rate of the immigrants diminished by the poor conditions but was perhaps promoted by the restrictiveness of the urban setting which aggravated the proximity and intimacy of numbers.

It was the possible consequences of bad housing and overcrowding which eventually helped stimulate official action rather than overcrowding per se. The anonymity and mobility of disease terrified the more affluent; the unseen bacteria and germs which stalked the slum areas threatened to emerge and infiltrate, with catastrophic effect, the new suburbs and squares.

It is impossible to discuss housing in the Glasgow of the period without continual mention of the problem of health; bad housing and poor health were essential and integral collaborators in promoting misery.

We may take it as admitted that overcrowding is perhaps the greatest cause of disease in our great towns, and that it is also very intimately connected, in some way or other, with the social degradation and misery of a very large portion of our working classes (18).

By those who took an active interest in public health, the slum areas were being increasingly viewed as the locus classicus of disease, depravity, crime and early mortality. Holms called overcrowded and fever districts, '...almost synonymous terms' (19). Overcrowding, in respect of people per room and the often economically viable but

unhealthy close construction of buildings, had a devastating effect on the older and poorer areas of Glasgow [Table 7], especially where the rate of child deaths in the first five years was concerned [Table 8]. Action during the Victorian period was mostly slow and cumbersome. A great deal depended on the will and foresight of individuals, the perception and knowledge, often limited, of the problem and the possible consequences for self-interest. Official action tended to build up over decades, often being prompted by what was being done unofficially. Official response too often picked superficially at a problem before realising that only greater commitment and finance would prove to be helpful in the longer term. Such became the magnitude of the problems of housing and health that the municipal authorities, ‘...through conscience or necessity...’ (20), were forced to intervene to a larger degree.

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 fresh water to much of the city by the early 1860’s. 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. The Act of 1866, without itself being greatly effective in practical terms, set a precedent for municipal involvement in housing. The appointment of a Medical Officer opened an official entryway for individuals like Gairdner and later Russell and Chalmers, all M.O.H.’s for Glasgow, whose own rugged determination gave effectiveness to their office.

One of Gairdner’s first acts was to attack overcrowding by introducing the system of ‘ticketed houses’. Houses of three rooms or

less, not exceeding 2,000 cubic feet, had their capacity inscribed on a metal plate affixed to the door or lintel, together with the number of occupants allowed by law, at the rate of 300 cubic feet for every person over 8 years of age. By the 1880's there were 23,228 such premises in Glasgow. Inspection brought some of the worst cases to light; such, however, was the need for living space that a communal conspiracy evolved which kept the majority of offenders from the inspector's eyes.

Gairdner recognised disease, crime and alcoholism, not as inherent weaknesses of the poor, but as products of bad housing, ill-health and poverty.

It is the internal discomfort, it is the dreadful want of fresh air and of anything to relieve the monotony and dulness [Sic] of life at home, that drives many to the public house... (21).

These conditions were to be found,

...among the lowest classes in our great towns, at the very time - observe, I speak of the last fifty years - when the upper and middle classes have everywhere improved in their habits... (22).

Glasgow was fortunate to have a man such as Gairdner in an influential position. He was able, with authority, to associate the questions of housing and health; one problem rather than two;

...the question of house accommodation is at the very root of sanitary reform, and all else is mere surface work' (23).

The problem with house-building for the poorer classes was twofold:

(a) most houses were built by small scale builders and investors eager for a profit and, (b) the inability of the very poor to pay a regular rent. By mid-century and after, offices and factories began to compete for

inner-city sites, making space at a premium and costs expensive. Many builders, therefore, unable or unwilling to risk too great an outlay, indulged in overbuilding; infilling on any available space in already overcrowded land, or by overletting - altering existing stock by 'making down', where premises were subdivided to accommodate more tenants. With space restricted, buildings tended to go upwards as more tenements appeared, '...the vertical accumulation of houses by the imposition of successive flats' (24).

In 1869, the annual rent for a one apartment house in the packed Blackfriars district was from £3 to £5. In the more open Northern district a similar apartment began at £5 and moved upwards. Corresponding rents for two apartments in the same districts were £4 10s to £6 per annum and £8 5s to £9 15s per annum respectively (25). By relying on children's wages and/or taking in lodgers, many people attempted to pay even the minimal rent for what was essentially a hovel. In 1871, 23% of Glasgow families had lodgers and of these, 20% lived in one apartments while 48% lived in two apartments. The very poor packed, '...a little closer, and became a little more degraded than formally' (26).

In many of these dwellings it was erroneous to talk of the family unit, its values and attitudes, as perceived by the middle class. In such conditions family membership could be illusionary and transitory; it was often a mutual relationship between the drifting spectres of society who needed lodgings and the nominal rentpayer, based not on any form of nepotism but on sound economic principles. To many of the publicly abstemious and virtuous better-off, these living conditions were self inflicted, the result of the poor leading a hedonistic life where income was wasted on orgiastic and Rabelasian outbursts. There were few safety

nets for those who fell from grace. Unmarried mothers, for example, should not be assisted as they, '...have transgressed the moral law...', and they should not be relieved of, '...the temporal consequences...' (27) of their actions. Through either self-delusion or ignorance, the middle and upper classes (and many respectable working class) did not know, or refused to acknowledge the dreadful condition of the slums. J.B. Russell later argued for greater factual knowledge to be disseminated;

...if the cup of cold water has not been borne to the
parched lips, it is not because of want of sympathy,
but because of want of knowledge' (28).

Philanthropy was restricted by diversity and diffuseness. An organised structure within which individuals could harness and co-ordinate their efforts more efficiently was necessary. Superficial treatment had to be replaced by a deeper purpose, practicality had to supercede visuality;

...do not let us confine our efforts to the growing of
grass in our parks and the luxury of looking at it
over an iron railing' (29).

Effort had to be directed against the conditions rather than those who experienced them.

Fever and respiratory disease were the main killers of Glaswegians in the poorer districts throughout the 1860's [Table 9]. Typhus, spread by body lice, was rife in the overcrowded conditions and lack of proper ventilation caused terrible problems through tuberculosis and bronchitis. A study of the Blackfriars district gives some impression of the narrowness of the alleys and wynds and the close proximity of the dwellings [Map 1]. Young children suffered particularly badly. In 1851, the percentage deaths for under five years of age to the total number of deaths in the city was 49.97% (30). By 1861, this had only fallen to

48.85% (31). Russell remarked:

From beginning to rapid-ending the lives of these children are short parts in a continuous tragedy (32)

In 1862 alone, 90 children (almost 2 per week) died for reasons given as violence and privation. In 1884, the Glasgow Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children made its appearance [see Chapter Five].

Increasing official intervention in health-related matters continued through the 1860's. In 1864, typhus fever killed 2,700 people and prompted the opening of a fever hospital in Parliamentary Road in 1865. A municipal disinfecting and wash-house opened in High Street in the same year. When relapsing fever struck in 1870, a second fever hospital was opened at Belvedere and under the 1867 Public Health (Scotland) Act the City Sanitary Department was extended.

The City Improvement Trust

In 1866, the City Improvement Act was passed. It spoke of buildings, '...so densely inhabited, as to be highly injurious to the moral and physical welfare of the inhabitants'. In essence, the Act was to enable the municipal authority to clear the festering slums and adequately re-house the inhabitants [Map 2]. It was,

...the first recognition that a free market and private philanthropy and public health regulation could not provide an adequate solution to overcrowded slums (33).

Whatever the initial success of the Trust, and it was limited, a precedent had been set; municipal involvement in housing was seen by some as not only desirable, but necessary.

Demolition was the main work of the Trust but while cutting a swathe through some of the worst areas of slum housing and opening

up new streets, the work left many of the inhabitants homeless. By 1874, the Trust had demolished the houses of 15,425 people, aggravating the housing shortage. As many of the newly dispossessed could not afford the new Trust rents, they moved back into the remaining slums and infills provided by the private builders. During its lifetime the Trust rehoused about 10,000 people, fewer than were housed in any one year by private builders. The fact that in the first year of the Trust a fixed assessment of 6d in the £ was charged on the rates and 4d the following year, did not make it too popular with those having to pay the assessment.

By 1875, the Trust had made no significant difference to overcrowding. In the old dwellings, the average number of people in one apartment homes had been 3.6 persons, while in the new Trust homes it was 3.3 persons; in two apartment homes the figure was 4.6 persons for both old and new (34). Of the 4,110 houses sanctioned to be built by the Trust in 1867 - 68 (1,014 of one apartment and 1,845 of two apartment), the range of rent payable was from £5 to £10 per annum - too expensive for most of those dispossessed. The majority of houses demolished by the Trust over the same period had annual rents of £3 and under. The Trust was more successful in opening up new and wider streets and in opening Model Lodging Houses, creating seven such institutions between 1871 and 1879.

Simultaneous to the Trust, railways entered the heart of the city. Having purchased the old College ground in High Street, the City of Glasgow Union Railway began to demolish anything in its proposed path. Railway lines ran through Gallowgate, Saltmarket, Bridgegate and Glasgow Cross, the old and asphyxiated city core. In 1867 - 68, the Union Railway demolished 1,090 houses, the majority being those with a rent of

£3 and under per annum.

The City Improvement Trust was the first municipal attempt to evacuate and cauterize the rapidly widening wound of ill-housing and ill-health which tormented Glasgow. The problem was massive and had been growing long before the appearance of the Trust.

The evil which the City Improvement Trust sets itself to remedy was worked in successive generations... (35).

The new trend of official involvement in housing and health had as one purpose the idea of physically bettering the condition of the poor, in addition to that of self-preservation against disease by the more affluent. For many in the slums, life's horizons were limited by the narrow closes and alleys and the claustrophobically high walls of the packed dwellings. Life's choices were limited by the inability to see further than the next meal, the next temporary employment or the next premature death in the family.

The State of Schooling

Although reasonably well served in the past by the parish schools, the rapidly evolving social and economic fabric of the mid- and late-Victorian period, especially the unprecedented rate of urbanisation, threatened to swamp the system. The patchwork and paucity of provision in situ by the 1850's was proving increasingly ineffective in the fast growing and relatively uncontrolled Glasgow conurbation. Not enough school places could be provided by the religious bodies, private means or, despite its high ideals, philanthropic effort [Appendix 1 is an example of a school established on a bequest]. Children's school attendance, unchecked and often characterised by official procrastination, meant that many had either too little or no schooling. The

multifarious nature of the schools provided no general conformity to what was taught, how it was taught or under what conditions it was taught. The increasing gaps in both material and intellectual inequality brought by the new social conditions were simultaneously reinforced by the present school system. By mid-century and for over twenty years beyond, acquiring an effective education in Glasgow was based on the ability to pay; economic pressures put the benefits of anything but the most basic literary skills outwith the reach of a great many of the people.

In his 1851 Census, Strang concluded that there were 34,343 children between 5 and 10 years, and 32,202 between 10 and 15 years in the city. He stated that in Glasgow, ‘...composed as it is of a large proportion of the labouring classes...’ (36), the majority of the children would have left school by 10 years of age. Strang believed that of the 34,343 children between 5 and 10 years, some 13,300 were not attending school, a percentage of 38.7% for that age group. Of this group, however, Strang allowed for 50% to have been missing at Census time; he further allowed for those who, although having had some schooling, had left by the age of 10 years. In so doing, Strang reduced this group [5 to 10 years] to, ‘...about 6,000 or 7,000...’ (37) non-attenders. Relieved at having reduced the figures, Strang stated that, nevertheless, they were enough;

...to tell us that there are many among us who are receiving no education at all, and are spending the important period of life between 5 and 10 years of age without any benefit from the schoolmaster (38).

Strang went on to praise the work done in providing schooling by the various churches and philanthropists; such, however, was the destitution in the city and the ever increasing population that he believed that greater educational provision could only be attained, ‘...by some Governmental and unsectarian system of tuition’ (39). After the

Disruption of 1843, the Free Church showed formidable enthusiasm in building and staffing its own schools, separate from those of the Established Church. It meant, however, that the two principal Protestant churches administered different education systems.

Since 1844, the Factory Act had been the sole official vehicle for ensuring that some children spent at least part of their day in school. Only applicable to textile factories, the Act stipulated a maximum 6.5 hours working day for children under 10 years. The employer was made responsible for payment of the schoolmaster's fee, not to exceed two pence per week per child. By 1867, the Factory Act had been extended to prevent employment of children under 8 years and stipulated 10 hours schooling each week for children aged 8 to 13 years. The Act, however, was kept more in spirit than in practice; it was, '...frequently evaded...' (40). Using children as cheap labour was the preferred option for many employers, resulting in, '...the educational regulations of the Factory Act being a dead letter' (41). The Act would only work some said, '...if manufacturers and those interested in commercial pursuits would have some regard for the mental progress of the community' (42). By the 1870's, increased use of machinery helped reduce the incidence of child labour although reformers continued to attack the Act which they believed enriched, '...a small section of the community at the ulterior expense of all the rest' (43).

A major problem in getting children to attend school regularly, if at all, was the reticence shown by many parents to forego the extra income earned from child labour. In the mid - 1860's, in the iron foundries, potteries, glass and bottle works of Glasgow, wages for adults could be £1 to £3 per week during good times. With children working in the same industries, 2s to 5s per week for each child was a healthy addition to the

family income. There were, for example, 500 boys under 10 years of age employed in the city tobacco trade, working an 11 hour day for 1s to 3s per week. According to the Commissioners of the Argyll Report, this demand for child labour both from industrialists and from parents, '...seriously affected...' (44), school attendance.

In his 1857 inquiry into Glasgow schools, Somers found that one particular problem was the overall length of time a child spent at school. This ranged from an average of 1.5 years in the missionary and poorer schools to 4.5 years in the schools attended by the middle and upper classes. The majority of working class children received less than 3 years total education.

The period of life at which school instruction begins is well-marked and pretty uniform in all classes of society. The period at which it terminates is less distinct, and as various almost as the rank and occupations of the people' (45).

This, '...immense obstacle...' (46) to education was not solely a matter of choice as;

The rich localities were better stocked [with schools] than the poor. Some of the poorer parishes were also the most destitute of the means of education...' (47).

Lack of finance and legislation, allied with this inequitable distribution, meant that very many schools in the poorer districts, where they were available at all, were, '...extraordinary scenes of wretchedness, stench and squalor' (48).

Geographical location, in terms of socio-economic class, by the 1850's and 1860's was increasingly coming to determine the amount and quality of education available to the children of Glasgow. As the middle class moved westward so too did the 'good' schools, while in the

overcrowded, antique core, schools were too often synonymous with deprivation and inefficiency. In the new urban landscape of Glasgow, '...this vast and crowded hive...', the, '...diversities of life and social position have all their deeply modifying effects on education' (49).

In 1857, there were 213 schools in Glasgow as enumerated by Somers [Appendix 2]. Somers characterized 84 of the schools as 'tolerable' and 41 as 'bad'; the remainder were 'good' or 'reasonable'. Some of the schools he viewed as merely extensions of a slum dwelling from which children would receive no benefit.

There are many schools in Glasgow which are hot beds of disease, both generating fevers, and spreading these plagues with fearful rapidity among the young... (50).

Somers believed that for the future well-being of the city, the concept of a healthy environment should be an essential part of educational thinking. At the present, he maintained,

...education, one chief object of which should be to develope [Sic] the physical strength of our youth, thus becomes the means of its destruction' (51).

At a time when, especially in parts of the burgeoning suburbs, spires rose skywards and new terraces told a story of self-confidence and progress, the often lazy condescension of many of the middle class towards the struggling poor angered Somers;

...the liberality and piety which have so richly adorned our places of worship, would be well employed in improving our places of education' (52).

Mention has already been made of the parental preference in many cases for an enhanced family income through children's wages. Some viewed such parents through a moral lens, labelling them as a selfish class who

saw their children as, '...inconvenient evils when they are not bread winners' (53). That this income was needed, in an era where decent health, housing, education and wholesome food depended on total income, is indisputable. For many of the poor, child income may have been the sole means of subsistence in the absence of parental employment. Between 1864 and 1873, the average weekly cost of maintaining an inmate in the City Poorhouse at a basic level of subsistence was 3s 03/4d per head. In a family of, for example, two adults and three children, at a time of high adult unemployment, the loss of even one weekly wage from a child was potentially devastating.

To such people the benefits of schooling were viewed, if viewed at all, as inchoate. Apathy towards schooling was a natural by-product of an existence measured only from day to day, always involved with the necessities of the present and perhaps, as a psychological sanctuary, deliberately unthinking of the future. It was amongst this, '...very miserable and degraded population...' (55), that the problem of non-attendance at school lay. The necessarily restricted view of life held by such a group, passed from parent to child attitudes and values which exaggerated the chances of failure and narrowed even further the range of choices available in the increasingly complex and impersonal society.

The Argyll Commission in Glasgow

When, on 10th. June, 1864, the Vice-President of the Committee of the Privy Council, H.R. Bruce, announced the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the state of schools in Scotland, it seemed to many a long overdue statement. The anger felt in Scotland towards Lowe's Revised Code and the need to ensure the political goodwill of the 40 Liberal MP's in Scotland, as well as the obvious inability of the present

system to cope with the changing and increasing demands, pushed Bruce towards a positive response.

In their researches, Greig and Harvey, Argyll Commissioners for Glasgow, visited the claustrophobic and fever-ridden alleys and wynds of some of the most overcrowded and poorer parts of the city, '...where the schoolmaster has not penetrated' (56). They observed children running freely in the streets and closes and playing in the festering gutters. Here children often saw and learned from adults the *modus operandi* of crime. In 1857, the Chief Constable of Glasgow reported that children accounted for 11% of all those charged with crimes (57). Some years later, seeing similar conditions, J.B. Russell stated;

...the nature of the play is very much a matter of education and of opportunity; and the opportunity of the child is the education of the adult (58).

The Commissioners believed that blame for non-attendance should not, as had been the case previously, be placed with the child but upon the parents. By legislating against the parents, Greig and Harvey hoped to promote greater attendance:

The law is called upon too frequently to punish in children the criminal neglect of parents (59).

There was a class of the population, '...which furnish most of the poverty and crime...' (60), who were unable or unwilling to improve themselves or their children. Simple persuasion, the Commissioners believed, would not suffice and there is the implicit suggestion of compulsion in their statement that, '...they are often best protected when protected from themselves...' (61). This was regarded by the Commissioners as essential, for parental apathy was one of, '...the chief causes...' (62), of non-attendance.

Unable to conduct a census of their own when they began in

February, 1865, Greig and Harvey relied on the Census figures from 1861. Their instructions were to include as part of the potential school population, those children aged between 3 and 15 years.

Dividing the city into its ten registration districts, the Commissioners concluded that there were, in 1861, 98,767 children of school age, almost exactly one quarter of the whole city population. Of this number they found that only 35,565 were in some measure of school attendance [Table 10], a ratio of 1 in 11.1 of the population. Greig and Harvet recognised the fact that these figures were out of date by four years; due to natural increase and immigration these numbers now stood, ‘...in a disheartening proportion to the population’ (63). The situation at the time of their Report, they believed, would be, ‘...all the more gloomy’ (64).

A note of caution should be added. It was thought by many that the age range being considered by the Commissioners was too great and, ‘...it would be difficult to find many attending school under 5 years of age’ (65). Deducting the number of children between 3 and 4 years and also those between 13 and 14 years, who were likely to be in, or actively looking for employment, reduces the possible school population:

Number of children from 3-15 years in 1861	98,767
Of those between 3-4 years, inclusive	19,752
“ “ “ 13-14 years, inclusive	<u>14,718</u>
	<u>34,470</u>
Remainder	<u>64,297</u> (66)

Despite this caveat, however, the Commissioners persisted with their original instructions and used the 3 to 15 years age range. Going by the Commissioners figures and using the test of attendance rather than the number on the roll, they calculated as follows:

Number of children of school age (3 to 15 years)	98,767
“ “ “ attending school	<u>35,565</u>
Children not attending school	<u>63,202</u> (67)

(Note - even the age-amended figures would have shown 29,732 not in attendance.)

Paradoxically, it was as well a high number did not attend school, for accommodation was a serious problem; there simply were not enough places.

Children of school age (3 to 15 years) in 1861	98,767
Accommodation provided for	<u>45,041</u>
Deficiency of school places	<u>53,726</u> (68)

This figure changed for the worse when the Commissioners, like Somers previously, classified schools into Good, Indifferent and Bad accommodation.

Children of school age (3 to 15 years) in 1861	98,767
Accommodation available in Good schools	<u>36,794</u>
Deficiency of Good school accommodation	<u>61,973</u> (69)

The Commissioners were therefore able to make their famous statement that, 'Glasgow provides for little more than a third of the children of school age' (70). The statement as can be seen, however, should be qualified; the age range used was wide and the accommodation was restricted to what the Commissioners considered satisfactory.

In general terms, however, the findings were 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. It was

this realisation which came with the Argyll Report. Other areas of society, such as health and some civic planning, were being aided by the growing tendency for official legislation; the present school system had to, at the very least, be supplemented by either government or municipal action if it were not to be swamped completely.

Greig and Harvey hoped their Report would help with future change,

...when a system more commensurate with the necessities of the case shall have been adopted (71).

Somers had viewed one possible outcome in a prophetic sentence in 1857, when he suggested that,

...the Town Council, acting through a school committee, with necessary powers, is the most obvious agent... (72).

In their evidence to the Argyll Commission, the Association of Certified Schoolmasters of Scotland had stated:

A national system of education, based on the present parish schools, is not only possible, but the only thing that will suit the country (73).

By 1867, decent education, like decent health, housing and general living conditions was being viewed more and more as a necessity, morally, economically and socially.

Public opinion was growing in favour of compulsory education (74).

Conclusion

As the citizens and their city entered the latter half of the nineteenth century, there was a recognition that Glasgow was irrevocably changing from the confident adolescence of semi-rural life to full maturity as an important industrial and urban centre.

In both national and international terms her economy and reputation were growing rapidly; the Church was beginning to lose its great influence and, by degrees, control of the education system. New municipal initiatives were appearing with increasing swiftness to help solve the endemic problems which had been allowed to grow. Of inestimable value to Glasgow at this time, was the fact that people who in the past, through belief, conscience or religious zeal had contributed to the relief of suffering, continued to do so. The new structures and official bodies which came into being at this time could do little in themselves; the people who participated in those bodies made the difference. While their beliefs and ideals remained constant, these people now had some official vehicles, backed by legislation and some finance, which gave them greater opportunity than previously.

Working with the younger generation especially, some believed, would provide the best hope for the future. It was hoped that education would change some attitudes and values of the poor; that morally, education would, '...bring them round all right' (75). It was believed that education could contribute to the betterment of living conditions by giving people greater responsibility; 'What we want to teach the children of the people is hygiene...' (76). It was also recognised that this would be a Herculean task.

Somers and the Argyll Commission had shown the extent of educational destitution in the city and, further, consideration would have to be taken of the type of child who might be receiving an organised and compulsory education for the first time. J.B. Russell wrote in 1873:

A gutter-child from the Bridgegate is a very complicated production. More forces have contributed to the pitiable result than those which

have operated within the short span of his own life
(77).

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- (64) *Ibid* p126
- (65) Nicol J. (1871) - *op. cit.*
- (66) *Argyll* (1867) - *op. cit.* p127
- (67) *Ibid* p127
- (68) *Ibid* p127
- (69) *Ibid* p127
- (70) *Ibid* p130
- (71) *Ibid* p2
- (72) Somers R. (1857) - *op. cit.* p29
- (73) *Argyll* (1867) - *op. cit.* p154
- (74) Campbell,J.D. *Phil. Soc. Glas. op. cit.* p185
- (75) Mitchell W. (1885) *Rescue the Children (or Twelve Years Dealing with neglected Girls and Boys)* London: Wm. Isbister Ltd p16
- (76) Laurie S.S. (1881) *On the Educational Wants of Scotland*, Introductory lecture, Session 1881 - 82, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons
- (77) Russell, J.B. *Phil. Soc. Glas. op. cit.* p207

Chapter Two

The Philanthropist's Net

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a useful background to subsequent discussion of the work of the early Glasgow School Boards, by viewing some aspects of education and society in Scotland and Glasgow, both prior to and shortly after, 1872.

The Established Church, once the sole power over learning and moral teaching, began, for various reasons, to lose its predominance over both schooling and society in general. The chapter looks at some of those reasons. The legacy of the Scottish Enlightenment played a role in forming educational and social beliefs in Victorian Glasgow and specific mention is made of the peculiar part which the city played in the Enlightenment movement.

The chapter reviews the circumstances surrounding the eventual passing of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 and makes a close study of the Act itself, emphasising those aspects which retained the spirit of much earlier Scottish educational thinking. The position and tenure of teachers was affected by the 1872 Act and the chapter looks at the condition of teachers before and after 1872. The chapter then studies how the national system of education was to be administered and financed through the new school boards. Comment is made on the legal powers of school boards and parents after 1872.

There is some discussion of the elections for the first School Board of Glasgow, and the chapter looks at those elected to the Board in March, 1873.

The Weakening of Church Power

In the centuries prior to 1872, education in Scotland had been under

the aegis of the Established Church whose strength, while giving a national vision and regulations, lay in strong, local community links.

From the First Book of Discipline in 1560 the ideal had been a school in every parish and the chance for all who had the intellectual ability, regardless of social position, to attain an education even up to university level [Appendix 3]. Although never completely realised in practice, the ideal remained, reiterated in the Act of 1696 [Appendix 3] and was to remain a constant and continuing part of the Scottish psyche. Scotland absorbed a respect for education, a belief that it would lead Man to moral rightness and to God.

Inevitably, times changed. New ideas, new sciences, new technologies, new ways of interpreting society and the world were being investigated. The traditional power of the Church, based on a predominately rural setting, came under increasing pressure as simple geographical proximity to congregations became more impractical and unmanageable in the more anonymous landscape of the growing urban areas.

During the century before 1872, the Church of Scotland, once the sole arbiter on matters of morality, belief and education, became seriously weakened. Four main events contributed to this reduction of power and prestige.

The Bothwell Case shook the Church in 1793. A Bothwell parish minister disagreed with the heritors of the school over the appointment of a teacher who was unable to speak Latin. The minister carried his case successfully at the Synod but the schoolmaster appealed to the Court of Session. Crushing for the Church, the Court decided in favour of the schoolmaster, and further decided that supervision of schools was not an intrinsic right of the Church but merely a duty delegated by the

State. Although later overturned by the Lords, an Act of 1803 on provision for parochial schoolmasters undermined the judgement of the Upper House by permitting appeal in such matters to the civil courts.

The results of the Religious Census of 1851 dealt a further blow to the Established Church [Appendix 4]. The Census revealed that of the 60.7% of the population who attended some form of religious worship on that particular Sunday, only 19.7% of that number attended Church of Scotland services. The Free Church and the United Presbyterians between them accounted for 30.9%, over half the total attenders. The Established Church could no longer command the unqualified support of most of the nation. It had lost its unique position of responsibility.

Thirdly, in 1861, the Parochial and Burgh Schoolmasters (Scotland) Act was passed. There was no longer any compulsion on the schoolmaster to sign the Confession of Faith or the Formula of the Church of Scotland. Examination of teachers was withdrawn from the Church and made the responsibility of the universities. Although the schoolmaster had to sign a Declaration that he would not deliberately teach anything contrary to the teachings of the Church, involvement in education was moving from the spiritual to the temporal.

However, the greatest blow to the national standing of the Established Church had come with the Disruption of 1843.

At the opening of the nineteenth century, the Church of Scotland consisted of two internal groupings; the Moderates, the party of the political and ecclesiastical establishment but relatively liberal in their theological thinking, and the Evangelicals, who believed in a more aggressive proselytising and a greater emphasis on pastoral work. Thomas Chalmers, initially a Moderate till converting to Evangelicalism after an illness in 1811, was the great force behind this movement, and it

was as such that he became Moderator of the Church of Scotland in 1832.

The Evangelicals viewed the new society created by industrialisation as an affront before God; the employer was increasingly grasping for profit and the employee increasingly deprived by his condition.

While Chalmers and the Evangelicals envisaged no radical change to the social structure, they wanted an alleviation of the often appalling living and working conditions which they saw as a consequence of industrialism. They sought a new religious Commonwealth, an alliance between Church and State with the latter playing the role of paymaster (1). The Church, secure and backed financially, they saw as a bulwark against rampant capitalism.

The Evangelicals' reading of the London based Government's position, however, was wrong. Melbourne, the Prime Minister, refused to use Parliamentary funds for church and school building. Indeed, in 1837, when the Established Church protested to the University Commissioners that no changes should be made to syllabus or curriculum without their knowledge, Melbourne stated that it would be an unnecessary move to concede any rights at all to the Church of Scotland on a question of educational reform (2). A distant Government, closely allied to a different Established Church, looked first to its own backyard rather than to the argument of its northern neighbour.

Eventually, when the split between the Moderates and the Evangelicals came, the catalyst was the question of patronage.

In 1834, the General Assembly, under the control of the Evangelicals, passed a Veto Act giving congregations the right to elect or reject a minister. The Court of Session declared this unlawful and no

Government, whichever the administration, was willing, or even inclined, to change this decision.

By 1843, the Evangelicals were again about to challenge the practice of patronage but many of their supporters, those with pastoral and not civil functions admitted under the Chapel Act of 1834, were excluded from the Assembly. Realising that no progress could be made under the present conditions, Chalmers and the seceders left the Assembly and declared the Free Church of Scotland. Within a few days 470 ministers (and 360 parish schoolmasters) had left the Church of Scotland and signed the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission. After the Disruption, Cockburn was to say of the Established Church; 'To a greatly increased extent it has ceased to be the Church of the people' (3).

For many of the Free Church supporters the Government in London became even more distant. These supporters reaffirmed their Scottishness and their belief that they now represented the true national church. R.S. Candlish, a leading Free Church minister said, '...we are not seceders from the Church, but are the Church separated from the State...' (4). Chalmers added, '...we are the advocates for a national recognition and national support for religion...' (5). This rhetoric, however, could not compensate for the fact that there was no longer one established church with the authority to speak for the nation.

The Free Church began almost immediately to establish its own distinctive institutions, often paralleling those of the Church of Scotland - teacher-training colleges, childrens' homes such as those of William Quarrier, and other agencies for the poor. Many of those who embraced the Free Church were from the urban areas, often middle-class or wealthy industrialists. Wishing no radical change to society, they nonetheless, like Chalmers, believed in helping the less fortunate.

Wealth to them brought with it the incumbent duty of philanthropy. A great deal of valuable work was effected by these people - and by their counterparts in the Established Church. Much of their effort suffered, however, through the constant weakness of philanthropic endeavour - patchy, unsystematic and never enough money. These people could be, at times, too censorious rather than understanding, often viewing complex social issues as a matter of personal morality. Too often this over simple approach alienated many of the poor.

Education became the prime arena in the struggle between the different denominational factions; but a struggle over providing school places rather than any deep theological divide. In Glasgow in 1857, the relative school provision given by each was, 42 Sessional Schools, 21 Free Church Schools, 25 run by the Congregationalist, and 22 Public or Subscription Schools, out of a total of 213 [Appendix 2]. In the same year there were 2 Normal (Teacher Training) Schools in the city, 1 each run by the Church of Scotland and the Free Church. Schooling was also being viewed increasingly as a means of enabling people to remain above the poverty line, with the churches as the main moral and socializing force;

To remove the causes of pauperism by an improvement of the social, sanitary, educational, moral and religious condition of the people... (6).

The number of registered poor in Glasgow in 1855 was 79,887; this figure had only fallen to 77,895 by 1865. Between 1864 and 1873 the average weekly cost of maintaining an inmate in the Poorhouse - food, fuel, clothing, light - was 3s 0d per head. With many schools charging from 1d to 5d per week in fees, many people believed that; 'Churches cost less than jails; and schools less than poor law workhouses' (7).

By the 1860's, economic realism made it obvious that the State

would have to assume greater responsibility for education. In 1869, the United Presbyterians changed their previous position against the use of State funds. Both the Free Church and the Church of Scotland realised that they could no longer afford to fund schools in a continually growing society.

Almost all were now willing to agree to State funding for primarily secular education. The old tradition of national provision cut across the factional divides. Under certain conditions provision would be made for religious instruction; it would allow agreement while accommodating principles. A resolution was carried narrowly in the Lords by 216 to 209 votes on May, 2nd., 1872;

That having regard to the principles and history of the past educational legislation and practice of Scotland which provides for instruction in the Holy Scriptures as an essential part of education this House, while desirous of passing a measure during the present session that the law and practice of Scotland in this respect should be continued by provisions in the Bill now before Parliament (8).

With no truly national church in terms of popular and unified support it was the best that could be expected. Religion in Scotland had become a *communitas communitatum*, with consequent weaknesses. The prestige of the Established Church was greatly diminished and without its own Parliament overseeing the finance, control of education in Scotland inevitably drained south.

The Pre - 1872 Legacy

Scotland was a poor country in terms of natural resources and wealth. Inevitably, its chief exports were men and ideas. Scots were

European and international in outlook; the country's universities had close continental links and high reputations. The Enlightenment of the eighteenth century was one of the ablest periods in Scottish thought, art and culture. The writing, teaching and work of men like Francis Hutcheson, Hume, Smith, Black and Cullen transcended borders both geographical and social. The latter two men held Chairs in succession at Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities. They were practical scientists who saw science in a social context with social implications. They despised specialisation as it narrowed their fields of study; knowledge for them was pragmatic and breadth of study brought understanding and tolerance.

The men of the Enlightenment were the products of the general degree of the Scottish Universities, a course of study based on philosophy, beginning with first principles before moving to the more specific. As Davie has pointed out (9), it was conducted in an open and democratic atmosphere, similar in many respects to some continental establishments but alien to its southern neighbour.

The openness and practicality of much Enlightenment thought came to the fore at the close of the eighteenth century and the opening of the nineteenth; ideas which were dynamic rather than conservative. By 1797, John Anderson, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University had set up Anderson's Institute. It was his professed hope to diffuse knowledge widely to those who could not attend university under normal conditions; nor was there any restriction put on the attendance of women. In 1823, George Birkbeck set up the Mechanic's [Sic] Institute in Glasgow, a year before moving south and setting up the same in London.

The city of Glasgow played a prominent role in Enlightenment

thought; the galaxy of professors who taught at the university added greatly to art and science as these lines from John Mayne's 1783 poem observe;

Here great Buchanan learnt to scan
The verse that makes him mair than man!
Cullen and Hunter here began
Their first probations;
And Smith, frae Glasgow, form'd his plan,
The Wealth o' Nations ! (10).

Glasgow's trade in the eighteenth century was principally focused to the west and the American colonies. The Tobacco Lords of Glasgow were at their most influential by the 1770's. In 1771, tobacco imports reached a record 47 million pounds. It was recognised that trade also brought an influx of ideas and a knowledge of different cultures to the benefit of the city.

To commerce we owe our present happy state of civilization, and our emerging from that profound ignorance and barbarism, which, like a thich-cloud [Sic], for many ages, overspread the western part of the world (11).

In such an atmosphere of considerable prosperity within the city, intellectual stimulation was given a chance to develop. Between 1740 and 1790, 36 out of 166 tobacco merchants in Glasgow had matriculated at Glasgow University. Others were members of Glasgow clubs and societies which indulged in political and literary debate, for example, the Anderson Club, the Morning and Evening Club which was primarily interested in following the political debate of the American Revolution, for both intellectual and business reasons. Enlightenment Glasgow, due to her unique trading position, became a crucible for many political and cultural ideas. It was said of Glasgow;

She bids her sons to fly from pole to pole,
Where Sol enlightens or where ocean roll,
And in her fleets bring to their native strand,
The arts and treasures of each foreign land (12).

After the Union of 1707, Scotland was left without a Parliament of its own. In matters of finance, defence, home and foreign policy, London called the tune. Culturally, Scotland was fortunate, at least in the short term; in a still predominately rural setting it retained control of socially binding institutions such as Law, the Church and Education. Through these a distinctive Scottish character remained.

Scottish society combined an inherent belief in justice linked with the paternalism of wealth. The old aristocratic families had set up schools and established educational endowments to help those who were capable of taking advantage;

The glory of the parochial system consists in the
provision it makes for leading the poorest man's
son to the gates of the University (13).

The lad o' parts was a very real figure although often characterized in substance by his paucity rather than profusion (14). There has been a continually stated ethos throughout the past four hundred years of Scottish social thinking that learning is not a commodity but a prerogative for all. Whilst the practicalities were not always universal, the national perception of that ideal remained, and has remained, constant. As Humes has significantly stated, '...it is the *idea* of the Scottish educational tradition, *rather than the substance* [emphasis added], that matters (15).

For political reasons, Scottish society and its distinct cultural artifacts such as education were increasingly being viewed with suspicion by the Government. The growing number of poor in English urban

centres, and especially London, were seen as a threat to an established, rigid, hierarchical society. Both religion and education were seen as social controls, maintaining the status quo and simultaneously keeping tranquil and submissive the mass of the population (16). In a society like that of Scotland where the ideal, more often than not, was basic elementary learning for all, and, where higher education produced intellectualism rather than narrow classicism, the central Government feared too great a tendency for the tools of learning and free thinking to be given to the majority of the population. David Hume had said;

It has been found as the experience of mankind increases, that the people are no such dangerous monsters as they have been represented, and that it is in every respect better to guide them like rational creatures than to lead or drive them like brute beasts (17).

This was altogether too dangerous a sentiment for the Establishment in England. It was therefore inevitable that for social and political reasons Scotland would have to become more British.

The Report of the Universities Commission of 1831 made an early attack, proposing the abandonment of the old general degree and a concentration on more specialist study. Specialisation was being viewed as more pertinent to the needs of industry and economic growth. Much opinion in Scotland was vehemently opposed to such change, both the Moderator and Ex-Moderator of the Church of Scotland standing firm for the tradition of general education. The Report was primarily about the acquisition of wealth and the emphasis was to be on efficiency through education rather than understanding and intellectual development.

It was worrying, therefore, for the Government to hear men like Francis Jeffrey speak to the 1837 Commissioners about Scottish education

in these terms;

...it enables large numbers of people to get - not indeed profound learning, for that is not to be spoken of - but that knowledge which tends to liberalise and make intelligent the mass of our population, more than anything else (18).

In 1858, the attack on the Scottish Universities continued with examinations, marking and graduation ceremony brought into the system. It would be wrong to assume that all Scots were against such change; a powerful minority believed that only by changing could Scotland hope to compete in the new age. The poor showing of Scots candidates in the Indian Civil Service examinations in 1858 provided ammunition for such a view. In defence of the Scots, however, the examinations were set by, and based on, the teachings and forms of Oxford and Cambridge.

While the educational system of Scotland was under outside pressure, their continuing ideal of education brought Scots of different political, social and religious beliefs much closer. In 1834, George Lewis, commenting on parochial churches and parochial schools, wrote; 'In these alone we survive as a nation - set apart from and superior to England' (19). The idea of national identity was strongly allied to the idea of a separate education system.

Scottish society was becoming more impersonal due to the unprecedented growth of the urban areas. Such demographic trends had weakened the power of the Established Church, further debilitated and demoralized by the Disruption; these trends not only partly incapacitated the Church but reduced the power of the independent tripartate - Law, Church and Education - to speak with one authoritative voice. Although, in relative terms, less socially divisive

than England, Scotland could not ignore the negative possibilities inherent in unchecked urban growth where no national legislative body existed to help reduce the problem.

In 1848, Cockburn wrote: 'The man must be very blind who does not see the shadow of the popular tree is enlarging and darkening...' (20). Where previously that inhibiting presence which, '...may naturally be supposed to be excercised by the supervision, authority, and example of the classes of a society of a higher grade...' (21), had positive results, the sheer scale and movement of population now rendered this impossible. Previously, opinion had been formed within the narrow parameters of the Church, the family or the local community; such agencies of social cohesion were becoming less effective. Less respect was being shown for accepted ideas on standards and beliefs and it was further down the social scale that these trends were to be most clearly seen.

It must remain a matter of philosophical debate rather than a hypothetical, historical assumption whether different solutions to the changing conditions would have been found had there existed a Scottish Parliament in the nineteenth century. Increasingly, Scotland was viewed by the Government as part of an economic unit rather than a culturally distinct nation; a part whose different social ideals would have to be mostly sacrificed for the greater good of the whole.

The Making of the Net

Paradoxically, and coincidental with the hiss of anger amongst Scottish MP's when the 1870 Education Act for England and Wales went through Parliament, was a sigh of relief as the 1870 Bill stated explicitly, '...this Act shall not extend to Scotland and Ireland' (22).

An earlier Bill, specific to Scotland and presented by the Duke of

Argyll in 1869, had run out of Parliamentary time due to the many amendments put forward. It seemed for an uncomfortable moment that Scotland might lose out on greater and more integrated educational provision. The Government made it clear, however, that after 1870 a corresponding Bill would follow for the country and there was hope that the Scottish legislation would contain something of the spirit peculiar to Scottish education.

The Education (Scotland) Act was finally passed on 6th August, 1872. One principal grumble about the Act was the emphasis placed by Lord Advocate Young on financial considerations; and further, that money voted by Parliament should be administered centrally at the seat of Government in London. Although a Board of Education for Scotland was set up in Edinburgh it would merely be an administrative and temporary body; it would have no power to initiate either policy or finance. Voices had already been raised against such a proposal; Lyon Playfair called it, '...a mere organising commission...' and that, '...the vast majority of the petitions that had been presented to Parliament on the Bill were in favour of a thoroughly Scotch Board...' (23). Such a debate about the locus of decision-making in Scottish education worried the Government, itself always aware of encouraging any nascent Scottish nationalism on a large scale. The Board of Education was not, however, to be a permanent fixture on the educational landscape and by being toothless, held no great fear for the powerful centralists in the Lords. As the **Glasgow Herald** commented at the beginning of August:

There is no prospect that the House of Lords will disagree with the House of Commons, because the later [Sic] body has made the Board temporary, instead of permanent, and taken from it the power of drawing the Scotch Code (24).

The 1872 Act was;

...to amend and extend the provisions 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 (25).

Even allowing for the two year delay as against the English Act, Scotland had a more substantial, and less fragmented, basis on which to build. The parish system, on which the Act was primarily based, was in situ although parochial schools constituted a minority of the total number of establishments (26). To date it had proved relatively successful in providing some form of basic literacy for a high percentage of the population, and importantly, the idea of the parish school was generally held in high regard. William Mitchell of the Glasgow School Board called the parish schools, '...that admirable system which, in times past, produced such marvellous results in Scotland...' (27). By 1870, some 90% of Scottish men and women could sign their names on the marriage registration document (28). However, signing a name may not be the best criterion in judging literacy; ability to sign a name does not necessarily imply an ability to read or to write with any degree of fluency.

The astonishing rate of urban growth was outpacing the system. Under such conditions the parish school could no longer be an '...equalizing agency...' (29), as too many new factors now began to impinge on the lives of children. All the voluntary effort in providing schools served, '...only to evince the entire impotency of the voluntary system to educate an entire nation, or an entire city' (30). William Mitchell believed urbanisation to be the main cause of the demise of the

parish system and the need for the new legislation of 1872. Educational provision was insufficient, '...especially in large towns, and so legislation became necessary, and hence our present system' (31).

It was in the large towns where people were increasingly open to ideas through the new medium of print. Printed material was becoming more accessible due to the paper-making machines introduced to Britain in 1803. The Church of Scotland had attempted to provide libraries since the late seventeenth century, many cheap and some free. The Public Libraries (Scotland) Act of 1854 allowed burghs to levy a penny rate in the pound for the provision of free libraries, perhaps the first instance of a general tax towards the dissemination of knowledge and information. Technical advances in printing, the removal of the advertisements duty in 1853, removal of the Compulsory Stamp in 1855 and the disappearance of the Paper Duty in 1861; all made newspapers and reading material much cheaper and put them in the hands of a wider readership. The United Presbyterian Church recognised the trend; it wanted better educated ministers to deal with, '...the growing intelligence of the country...' (32).

It is against such a background that the literacy promoted by the parish and other schools should be viewed, though there are difficulties in establishing just how literate was the population as a whole. It may be assumed that *at least some* linguistic ability accompanied signature signing. Using this criterion, Anderson has shown that between 1861 and 1870, the percentage of men in Glasgow able to sign their names was 84% while for women it was 67%. Over the same period the figures for mainland rural districts was 92% and 85% respectively (33). Smout has pointed out that urban/industrial areas in general tended to have a lower percentage literacy level than their rural counterparts (34), and

that the migration into towns of large numbers may have reduced what had previously been an equally high percentage figure for these conurbations.

Viewing the census returns for 1871 (35), just over a year before the 1872 Education Act, it can be seen that religious denomination also appears to have a bearing on literacy levels. Using the same criteria as before, the percentage literacy levels for married couples is given as - Church of Scotland men 93% and women 83%, Free Church men 93% and women 84%, United Presbyterian men 96% and women 88%, and Roman Catholic men 54% and women 38%. The comparatively low rates for Roman Catholics can be accounted for by the fact that (a) Roman Catholics tended to be mostly Irish immigrants with little or no educational tradition who congregated in densely packed urban areas, (b) there were very few trained R. C. teachers to work in the too few R.C. schools, (c) the occupational status of most Irish immigrants, as shall be seen, did not lend itself to a need for greater schooling.

For the majority of people literacy was a practical tool. It was individual, and before 1872, there were no universal standards. On literacy, Houston has remarked;

Attainments were firmly related to factors such as social class, economic need and the sort of environment in which people lived and worked (36).

These three factors interacted with and mutually reinforced one another.

The Argyll Commission had pointed out that the need for extra income induced many parents to send young children to work and that this trend had a detrimental effect on school attendance (37). Robert Buchanan, minister and member of the first Glasgow School Board, had

said that for young boys who could, ‘...scrawl their names...’, there was employment in the warehouses and shops, while, ‘...for a still less educated class...’ (38), there were positions in the match factories and tobacco works. The Argyll Commission concluded that the lower down the social scale, the less time a child was likely to spend at school (39).

The children of the growing middle class in Glasgow spent a greater period of time in education. Many required a form of schooling which they would employ in business and commerce, a level of literacy needed to indulge in church activities and the expanding number of leisure pastimes. There was also retained amongst the solid church-going middle class the tradition of Bible reading and hymn singing at home, both of which needed and encouraged a fairly high degree of literacy.

As Buchanan’s comments above suggest, there were different attitudes to schooling within the broad sweep of the working class itself. Artisans, skilled and semi-skilled workers, office workers and clerks were needed in larger numbers for the skilled trades of the new industries and for the burgeoning bureaucracy of the new society. The printed and written word was the new medium for progress, survival and change. The inferior employment prospects of the very poor reinforced an already indifferent attitude to schooling; there was little need for improved literacy in the often temporary, manual labour market and with little education the chances of escaping from such a position were negated or at the very least, seriously hampered. It was a situation in which many of the poor Irish, R.C. immigrants found themselves, with the added handicap of too little school provision for their children.

The Argyll Commission had concluded that 35,565 children in Glasgow were attending school (40). However, it must be remembered

that the criteria used - age range applied and only schools which the Commissioners considered good - gave too pessimistic a figure; it is likely that more children were receiving schooling than the figures suggest. It may prove a better judge of literacy to view the numbers who actually attended school for whatever period of time. What is undoubted from the Commission findings is that amongst the poor and indigent, '...who were a significant number in Glasgow...' (41), lay the main problem of illiteracy.

The element of compulsion, peculiar in its form to the Scottish Act, was a recognition of this fact and was essential in putting children from the slum areas into schools. The 1872 Act set universal standards in literacy and numeracy, making their acquisition a requirement by law rather than being solely dependent on social status or economic need. Compulsory schooling could offer a commonality of experience in childhood, absent in most of the previous generation, to the diverse cultural, socio-economic and religious groups within the city.

The religious problems associated with schooling experienced in England, did not have as great a force in Scotland. Most Scottish MP's were, in fact, in favour of secular education and in 1872, '...the complaint of denominational militants was that few Scots MP's showed any zeal for denominational interests' (42). The main religious argument in Scotland centred on whether religion should be taught at all in schools and in what form, rather than the fierce factional disputes over proselytizing a particular faith which characterized 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: (43).

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.

Aspects of the Act

[In this section, all references given in { } parenthesis refer to Clauses of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 Ch. 62]

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 employed most of its clauses to set forth the parameters of the financial and management provisions of the new educational system and the new school boards. Around seventy per cent of the Act contained details of finance and management procedures. Not until the last third of the document's eighty clauses does it deal with matters which could be considered more particularly educational in nature. *Pari passu*, in its dealings with teachers there is a bias towards finance rather than pedagogy. The Act of 1872 was principally a vehicle for determining the management, finance and locus of decision-making for a national system of schools; by such methods it attempted to raise standards, both of teachers and scholars, and to reduce the handicap suffered by children of thoughtless and unprincipled parents.

The Board of Education - Following the Preamble and a definition of terms, the Act regulated for the establishment of a Board of Education for Scotland. Located in Edinburgh, initially on a temporary basis for three years, it was instantly obvious that control of education in terms of finance and content would rest with the Government in London; '...the Board and the members thereof shall be responsible to the Scotch Education Department...' { Clause 3 (6) }. The Board was permitted to submit conditions for the distribution of the Parliamentary Grant but the duty for actually deciding upon the allocation of money would remain with, '...the Scotch Education Department' { Clause 5 }.

The Board would consist of five members, three of whom, including the Chairman, would be paid salaries decided upon by the Treasury. All reports and discussions of the Board had to be passed to the Scotch Education Department before being forwarded to Parliament. Even for essential daily work, such as the appointment of, '...necessary clerks and officers...', these must be, '...sanctioned by the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury' { Clause 3 (3) }. These hermetic regulations for establishing and maintaining the temporary (it lasted until 1879) Board of Education, made explicit that control of education in Scotland would be fixed, through the medium of the Scotch Education Department, in London.

The MP for Leith said; 'Scotland would be deprived of what she wanted, which was a native board to regulate its own educational affairs' (44), to which W.E. Forster replied;

Parliament must hold the Government of the day responsible for the application of their money. It would never do to give a local Board power over the grants (45).

The Board of Education for Scotland was emasculated even before

birth, leaving Playfair to wonder what, '...this mysterious Scotch Department really was to be...' (46).

Financing the system and the position of Teachers - A duty required of the new school boards was the appointment of a treasurer whose salary and conditions were to be determined by the board itself. Glasgow appointed Mr. McWhammell in October, 1873 (47). The audits of the school board were to be scrutinized by a separate accountant appointed by the Board of Education.

The treasurer would be responsible for all financial matters concerning the school board, especially the School Fund. The money for this fund came from the Parliamentary Grant, school fees, loans and the local rate, to be set at not less than 3d in the £, imposed for, '...satisfying present and future liabilities' { Clause 44 }. With the new ratepayers in mind perceptive school boards could carefully plan ahead as, '...any surplus of school rate which may arise in any one year shall be applied for the purposes of the following year' {Clause 44}, such surplus possibly allowing some boards to reduce the school rate. Such emphasis on the rate and on spending was to prove crucial in the 1879 school board elections in Glasgow when economy rather than schooling dominated the proceedings. In any case, the new rate had not met with universal approval: 'The school rates will certainly be a heavy burden on many people who have not been accustomed to pay them...' (48).

The Parliamentary Grant, paid per pupil on attendance and examination pass rate, was to be given to schools inspected by the Scotch Education Department. This money was for educational purposes only and must not go towards instruction in religious subjects nor, '...in aid of building, enlarging, improving or fitting up any school...' { Clause 67 }, unless on written application for permission to the S.E.D. In the

payment of grants care would be taken by the S.E.D. that, '...as far as possible, as high a standard shall be maintained in all schools' { Clause 67 }.

This very strict control of money, dependent on a still problematic attendance level and rigorously following the Scotch Code did not recommend itself wholeheartedly to many, especially to Scottish teachers. It provoked a fear that Scotland would be drawn into the payment by results system and that schooling would become a mechanical process carried out by technicians [Appendix 5].

Although unable to use the Grant in school construction, the school boards were empowered to borrow money with Board of Education approval for, '...providing or enlarging a schoolhouse' { Clause 45 }. This money was to be borrowed on the security of the School Fund and school rate from the Public Works Loan Commissioners at an interest of 3.5% per annum. School boards were also allowed to accept property or funds given to schools and the board had the duty to administer any such only according to the wishes of the donors, so as to, '...raise the standard of education and otherwise increase the educational efficiency...' of schools { Clause 47 }. Property or money for educational purposes, vested in heritors or the kirk session of a parish prior to 1872, was to be accounted for and paid over to the school board in accordance with the original instructions of the trust and the rights of all teachers so employed were to be protected { Clause 46 }.

The relationship between money spent (or saved), school buildings opened and reliance on the examination results of the Scotch Code, came to be equated by the central authorities with efficient and effective education.

School boards were to determine the school fees paid by scholars,

'...for attendance at each school under their management' { Clause 53}. For those children whose parents were, '...unable from poverty...' to contribute any or part of the fee, the board could pay such fees from the poor fund { Clause 69 }. A record of payment of school fees was to be kept in a separate account and the board were empowered, if they so wished, to pay the teachers from the total fees and to divide, '...the same among them as the school board determines' { Clause 53 }. The size and socio-economic status of a school board area could therefore determine the income from fees. Upon this income could depend to some extent, the income of teachers. As an editorial in the **Glasgow Herald** pointed out:

Now that the Scottish Education Bill is passed, and the schoolmasters of the future are to trust to the unrestricted law of supply and demand, and be paid high or low like other workmen, according as there is a dearth or glut in the market... (49).

Teachers, defined as, '...every person who forms part of the educational staff of a school...' { Clause 1 }, could be appointed and paid by the school board, '...such salaries or emoluments as they think fit...' { Clause 55 }. Teachers in schools taken over by a new board had their rights and conditions protected, this being a, '...condition of the transference of the School [Sic] to the school board' { Clause 38 }.

There was a tightening of what may be termed the professionalism of teachers. No person could be appointed principal teacher of a school without first gaining a, '...certificate of competency...' { Clause 58 }. The conditions and regulations governing the certificate, like those of the grants, were carefully controlled by the S.E.D. Examiners had to satisfy themselves on the applicant's skill, '...in the theory and practice of teaching...' { Clause 58 }, and such a certificate must specify, '...the

subjects to which it applies' { Clause 58 }. In reality, the examiners tested the candidate's knowledge of subjects rather than ability to impart learning to children. Where the person held a degree in arts or science from any U.K. university, examiners could, '...lawfully dispense...' with a test { Clause 59 }. In Higher Class Public Schools, the teachers tended to be better qualified academically than their colleagues in public elementary schools. Teachers in the former were to concentrate more on specific academic areas and subject matter and were not to spend time on basic literacy and numeracy as, '...the time of the teachers, may be more exclusively applied to giving instruction in the higher branches' { Clause 63 (4) }.

Conduct and competence were covered. Teachers appointed prior to 1872 could be dismissed for, '...immoral conduct or cruel or improper treatment of scholars...' { Clause 60 (1) }. This was already covered by the Act of 1861. Now, the former parochial schoolmasters could be dismissed if they were, '...incompetent, unfit or inefficient' { Clause 60 (2) }, the school board having the right to ask for a report on the teacher from an Inspector. It was notoriously difficult to dismiss a teacher in post before 1872. Such teachers considered themselves employed *ad vitum aut culpam* and generally, if they took a dismissal dispute to court, won their case.

Teachers employed after 1872 did not have the same security of tenure. They were appointed by the school board and, '...every appointment shall be during the pleasure of the school board' { Clause 55 }. They could be dismissed without the approval of any other authority, without right of appeal and without the reasons for dismissal being given by the school board.

School Boards, Parents and Compulsion

Clause 8 of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act reads:

Within twelve months after the passing of this Act
a school board shall be elected in each and every
parish and burgh...

This short clause retained the conviction and tradition of Scottish education, seen earlier in the Act of 1696. The 1872 Act accommodated the idea of a universal and national system of education in its truest sense, making it distinctive from its southern neighbour. As the English legislation was principally to fill the gaps in an already much fragmented system then, '...only where there is an insufficient amount of accommodation...' (50), would the Education Department step in and, '...a school shall be formed in such district' (51). Some districts in England could therefore be left without a school board, relying as before on voluntary provision.

From the outset, the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 was intended to cover the whole country. Using this national net of school boards:

There shall be provided for every parish and burgh
a sufficient amount of accommodation in public
schools available for all persons resident in such
parish or burgh... { Clause 26 }.

And further,

...all public schools, whether existing at the passing
of this Act, or subsequently supplied in manner
provided by this Act, shall be vested in and shall be
under the management of the school board...

{ Clause 26 }.

Conditions for the election of school boards were carefully laid down. In size, boards would vary from a minimum of five to a maximum of fifteen members; the Board of Education would be

responsible for deciding the number for each parish { Clause 12 (1) }. Electors were to be owners of land or occupiers of houses of a value not less than £4 per annum; they must also appear on the latest valuation roll made up not less than one month in advance of the election { Clause 12 (2) }. Providing they held the requisite property qualifications, women were given equal voting rights with men. Town Councils were to organize the elections and pay for them. Cumulative voting was to be used in the hope of giving minorities representation on the boards, each voter having the number of votes equal to the number of candidates to be elected. The voter could give all the votes to one candidate or could distribute them freely amongst several.

Two main duties of school boards were firstly, to '...take into consideration the educational requirements of such parish or burgh... { Clause 27 }. If there were too few places in schools, it was the duty of the boards to provide more in order that, '...there shall be at all times sufficient and available provision for the efficient education of all the children resident in such parish or burgh' { Clause 27 }. Secondly, it was the duty of boards to, '...maintain and keep efficient every school under their management...' { Clause 36 }.

Where the former parochial system had failed to keep pace with the rapid growth of urban centres, it was now the duty of the school boards to do so; given the acknowledged difficulties, the goal of universal provision would demand continuing effort and scrutiny.

It has been the vox populi for well over a century that the Act of 1872 made school attendance compulsory in Scotland for children between five and thirteen years of age. Yet, nowhere in the Act does the word compulsory appear when dealing with school attendance. A more specific injunction to attend school appears, in fact, in the English

legislation of 1870. School boards in England were empowered, if they so wished, to pass a by-law, '...to cause such children to attend school'(52). This chance was not taken up wholeheartedly and attendance remained for many years voluntary and sporadic.

What then made the Scottish Act of 1872 different? With no specific injunction to attend school in the legislation, why was compulsory attendance assumed and acted upon?

The Act of 1872 did not make either the State or the new school boards responsible for the education of children. State and boards were responsible for giving, '*...sufficient and available provision* [emphasis added] for the education of all the children resident in such parish or burgh...' { Clause 27 }. It was the *means of procuring the education*, '*...for their children...*' { Preamble } which was made available to all parents. The radical step in 1872 came with:

It shall be *the duty of every parent* [emphasis added] to provide elementary education in reading, writing, and arithmetic for his children, between five and thirteen years of age... { Clause 69 }
(Clause 69 was commonly referred to as the Compulsory Clause).

The Argyll Commission had emphasised the problem of attendance. It had stated: 'The law is called upon too frequently to punish in children the criminal neglect of parents' (53). As many parents, especially in the overcrowded slum areas were semi-literate or illiterate, it would be impossible for them to fulfill their duties under the new Act without using the new provision which the State was now providing, free if necessary. It would from now on, therefore, be the parent and not the child who would be liable for prosecution for failing to fulfill a duty on behalf of the child. There could be a fine up to a

maximum of 20s. every three months and a maximum term of imprisonment of fourteen days. This, it was hoped, would bring home to the vast majority of parents that their duty concerning their child's education was synonymous with school attendance.

It was a form of indirect compulsion. Children were increasingly being viewed as victims of circumstances over which they had no control. A parental duty could now be used to protect and guarantee, as far as possible, the right of children to schooling.

People who employed children under thirteen years of age, '...as a domestic servant, or who employs as a farm servant, or as a worker in a mine, factory or workshop, or assistant in a shop...' { Clause 72 }, did not escape responsibility. They had to, '...undertake the duty of a parent...' { Clause 72 }. Unless the child employed had attended school regularly for a period of three years and could read or write, the employer had the duty of ensuring the child's attendance at a school. Failure to do so resulted in the employer suffering the same penalties as parents. This clause did not exempt parents of such children from their duty under the law.

Although reliance on child labour was weakening, it was still a necessary part of the economy in such non-technological occupations as , for example, match-making. Rather than completely alienate some employers, most of whom would be contributors to the local education rate, and to allow children with a basic elementary education to find gainful employment, an exemption clause was inserted into the Act. A certificate of ability to read and write and a knowledge of elementary arithmetic could be granted by an Inspector, thus exempting both parent and employer from prosecution.

The basic net for universal education, using many strands from the

parochial system, was woven in the 1872 Act. Within these strands lay some of the old ideals of Scottish education. It would be the responsibility of the school boards to interpret the legislation in a distinctive and advantageous manner.

Casting the Net

Not all were in agreement when in February, 1873, the Lord Provost as returning officer for Glasgow, set the date of the first school board election for 25th. March.

The Reverend John Page-Hopps, minister of the Unitarian Church in Bath Street and prolific letter writer, asked: 'Is it too late to save the City the worry, the expense and the bad feeling of a School Board contest?' (54). Others, enfranchised for the first time by the relatively low £4 property qualification, were enthusiastic to exercise their new right. At a meeting of the United Co-operative Masons' Association (Glasgow Branch) held in the Trongate, the hope was expressed that the respectable working man would take an interest in the new boards (55).

The estimated cost of £6,000 for the election which was to be paid by the ratepayers, did not prevent the vote from proceeding. The total number of electors on the roll was 101,871, an increase of 44,760 over the parliamentary list. Such an increase and the fact that women were included on an equal footing kept many wondering about similarities with Disraeli's 'leap in the dark' over the Reform Bill of 1867. 'It is absolutely impossible to predict what turn matters are likely to take', said the **Glasgow Herald** on 4th. March. The fact that the ballot was secret and with a cumulative vote gave hope to working men but caused anxiety amongst others that the most able would not be elected. A fear was expressed, '...that the men most fitted to do School Board work will

not come forward as candidates...' (56).

Candidates were, however, whether of the correct type or not, coming forward. By 20th. March, the Lord Provost reduced the numbers from 53 to 39, the former number being considered too large. [Those last to apply were first to be dropped from the list.]

Argument amongst the candidates did not turn wholly on the question of providing greater educational provision for the city; it also became a debate on whether religious instruction could or should be taught in schools. Some candidates, those most closely associated with the main Protestant churches, wished to continue the system of 'use and wont' (the Bible and the Shorter Catechism) which had been traditional. Others, such as the Reverend Page-Hopps, were outright secularists. Another large group was the Roman Catholics who viewed full state control of education as unacceptable. There were those, like the Trades Delegates, the Congregationalists and the Evangelicals, who wished to see the Bible read in all schools but no catechisms.

The 1872 Act had not emphasised the vexed question of religious instruction in schools to any great extent; it had allowed the continuation of custom but with parents being free to withdraw children, '...without forfeiting any of the other advantages of the schools...' { Preamble }. School Boards would be, '...at liberty...' {Preamble} to continue the tradition if they so wished. Universal coverage of the country for secular education was the basis of the Act, '...for all persons resident in such parish or burgh...' { Clause 26 }. In terms of finance and administration the 1872 Act was secular. Parliamentary grants were to be paid to schools which were, '...efficiently contributing to the secular education of the parish or burgh...' { Clause 67 (2) }. Nor was there to be Inspection, '...into any instruction in religious

subjects...' { Clause 68 }. The Act stated specifically that no parliamentary grant was to be given for, '...instruction in religious subjects' { Clause 67 (2)a }.

This conscience clause made the matter plain. Public schools, '...shall be open to children of all denominations...' { Clause 68 }. Children could be withdrawn without suffering any disadvantage in respect of the secular education given. Further, times for religious instruction were to be specified, making withdrawal easier.

Why then, did the sectarian issue in Glasgow become so overwhelmingly important for some candidates to the board and for many of the electors? If, in essence, a universal and non-denominational system of schooling was instituted, why did the Roman Catholic community and for a time the Evangelicals, remain apart, although voting their representatives on to the school board?

The cumulative system of voting returned a number of Roman Catholic members to the board roughly proportionate to their population in the city. Although the local education rate was paid by Roman Catholic property holders, none of that payment would be used for existing or future Roman Catholic schools. It is natural that they would stand, however, for the school board, simply in order, '...to keep a check in their own interests, on excessive expenditure' (57).

Roxburgh states, '...there was no reason why the Catholic schools should not have become part of the Board system in 1873' (58). In the strictest terms of the Act of 1872 this is a true statement; education had been, '...made available to the whole people of Scotland...' { Preamble }, regardless of religious persuasion. However, the Roman Catholic Church saw more than one reason for remaining apart.

Historically, since the Reformation, Glasgow had been a Protestant

city, sometimes aggressively so. The idea of education had been synonymous with control and supervision by the Protestant Church. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Roman Catholicism was not viewed as an immediate or demographic threat to the city; in 1818 when St. Andrews R.C. Chapel opened in Clyde Street there was a congregation on only 3,000 (59), out of a total population of 140,000. By 1831 there were 35,000 Irish immigrants in Glasgow, mostly Roman Catholic, representing 50% of the total increase in the city population. There was growing resentment on the part of many Protestants who, apart from their dislike of Catholicism, saw these immigrants take employment where available, and at much cheaper rates of pay. Many also complained of the Irish (and Highland) tendency to accept very sub-standard housing, helping at one and the same time to increase the slum areas of the city and lowering the value of other property.

Nevertheless, from 1817 attempts were made to help. The Catholic Schools Society was founded by Kirkman Findlay, MP for Glasgow and strong supporter of the Established Church. For many years the Society received most of its funds from Protestant sources, especially preachers of the Established Church like Thomas Chalmers who gave sermons towards fund-raising. All the teachers in the schools were Catholic although the Protestant version of the Bible was used. According to the Argyll Commission, in many parts of Scotland Roman Catholic children had attended Protestant schools without too much difficulty on either side. The problem in Glasgow was the Irish dimension, large numbers of whom lived in poverty and without the least knowledge of reading and writing. Nor did they possess the same tradition of education which had been so important to Scotland over the previous centuries. For many Protestants, wealthy and poor alike, the Irish became a fear

factor; a group which exaggerated the already growing problems of the city.

By 1872, Skinnider believes, '...Catholic schools were needed if Catholics were to become literate' (60). The view of the Roman Catholic Church in 1872 could perhaps, be more subtly expressed - Catholic schools were needed if children were to become literate Catholics. Glasgow was a Protestant city and Scotland a Protestant country; for a community that felt itself under seige, control of education by such a State was unacceptable to the Roman Catholic Church. In the new urban and increasingly secular conditions early proselytising through the schools was essential if the Roman Catholic Church were to maintain its influence and numbers.

Perhaps the greatest weakness of the Roman Catholic community in terms of schooling was its lack of trained teachers. Certainly, a weakness of the 1872 Act had been the deliberate omission of reference to the teacher training colleges. These institutions were consequently left in the charge of the Protestant churches. Roman Catholic trainees had to travel to Liverpool while both the Established Church and the Free Church had establishments in Glasgow. Teachers trained by the two main Protestant churches were, not unnaturally, unacceptable to the Roman Catholic authorities. Not until 1895 was an R.C. teacher training college opened in Glasgow.

Given the undoubted prejudice and ignorance involved in the sectarian issue and the fact that the problems of poverty, poor housing and ill-health affected all sides, it is not too much of a speculation to comment that a judicious use of the conscience clause and mutual understanding between the leaders of the communities may have made denominationalism in Scottish schools an historical aberration.

Some days previous to the election, the Central Committee of the Catholic Association sent a call to Roman Catholics: 'If you will come to the poll we can return three Catholic candidates' (61). Careful organisation resulted in the setting up of committee rooms where supporters were told how to mark the ballot paper so that each of their three candidates (Munro, Chisolm, Kerr) received five votes. An earlier letter to the **Glasgow Herald** (62) had questioned the procedure to be followed in cases of illiteracy ; some ballot papers were eventually marked by the presiding officers. The number of such papers was 4,021 , many of them said to be those of Roman Catholics (63).

At the opposite end of the sectarian divide stood Harry Alfred Long. Born in Cambridge, Long was well known for his work in the Bridgeton area as Director of the Glasgow Working Men's Evangelical Association. Long drew immense crowds to Glasgow Green to hear his speeches. He was an Orangeman who said of school board elections: 'The crisis was national, and a million children the prize' (64). His main purpose was to ensure that the 'Orange' vote topped the poll. He organised the carrying of men on their sick beds on polling day and had others tramping through the wet streets and wynds (it was raining heavily on polling day), encouraging out as many supporters as possible.

It is not surprising that the two extremes in the sectarian dispute took top placings in the final poll. 'The Orangeman and the Catholics alone have voted like a well-drilled army...' (65). Both played on the fears of their respective supporters, many of whom found it easier to respond emotively to heated rhetoric rather than rational debate. Neither side entered the election in the spirit of the 1872 Act. Their casting of the net was for theological rather than educational reasons.

Membership of the Board

Between these Scylla and Charybdis came the remaining eleven members of the first School Board of Glasgow [Appendix 6]. The traditionalists of 'use and wont' were in the majority, only two outright secularists (Waddell and Hopps) gaining seats. The **Bailie** was to comment;

We have got among the fifteen men entrusted with the management of the teaching of our children a Unitarian Secularist, a Green Sunday bawler and three Roman Catholic priests (66).

Once 'use and wont' had been decided as the method of religious instruction in Glasgow schools, it is to the credit of the first Board that their considerable energies and experience were turned against the appalling educational problems of the city. William Kennedy, Clerk to the School Board was later to say:

I think that in 1873 when the figures were produced, and members saw the bad state of Glasgow educationally, it had a very decided effect in getting them to work harmoniously (67).

The first Chairman of the School Board of Glasgow was Alexander Whitelaw, industrialist and partner in the Eglinton and Gartsherrie Iron Works and a Director of the Chamber of Commerce. His firm, William Baird & Co., had long been involved in educational philanthropy, catering for 4,500 children annually, and it was said that the firm, '...has built, equipped, maintained, and superintended more good schools than any other firm in Scotland...' (68). Whitelaw left the Board before the completion of his period of office to become an MP.

His eventual successor was Michael Connal, born in Miller Street and head of a merchant and shipping company. Connal had carried on voluntary work for many years in the East End of the city, founding the

Spoutmouth Bible Institute in 1848 in Graeme Street off the Gallowgate. He introduced many of the young men from the Institute to the idea of the Penny Savings Bank and was the forerunner of the idea of the later Fresh Air Fortnight movement. Connal's, '...whole life has been dedicated to the welfare of the whole working class...' (69). Of his work with the Glasgow School Board, it was later said that he was, '...a valuable and painstaking member and gave great assistance in shaping its policy and in controlling its finances' (70). Essentially a shy and retiring man, Connal gave his own reason in deciding to stand for election; it was, '...in the hope of doing good to my native city, and in a way that will tell for the future above all others' (71).

Another important member was J.A. Campbell, the brother of Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who was later to become Prime Minister. The Campbells were involved with wholesale drapery and warehouses and owned property in and around Glasgow; the School Board offices in Bath Street were purchased from the Campbells in 1878. J.A. Campbell was no stranger to educational matters, for before 1872 he was closely involved, '...with some of the old parochial schools' (72). A strong supporter of the Established Church, he was associated in 1865 with fund-raising for the new university building at Gilmorehill; he was a member of the Argyll Commission and as an MP sat on the Balfour Commission on educational endowments. It was said of Campbell that he was, '...known to have a hand in every good work in Glasgow' (73).

Lesser known figures, at least initially, were William Mitchell and William Kidston. Mitchell and Kidston were both strong members of Free St. Enoch Church. In the 1840's, Kidston was secretary to the Sabbath School Society Union which carried out missionary work in the Old and New Wynds. The Sabbath Society also ran a Free Reading Club

which Kidston helped organize along with Alexander Mitchell, brother of William (74). Kidston was known to visit the slum areas of the city, candle in hand, to check on members of the Sabbath Society who had been absent from meetings (75); a trait which, as shall be shown later, he passed to his friend, William Mitchell. Kidston was termed, '...a Free Kirk anachronism...' (76). He believed that the Church should arbitrate on all social matters and that by Act of Parliament virtue could be given to all men. William Kidston, who lived in Helensburgh but had business in Glasgow, gained respect as a hard working member of the Board.

William Mitchell was a calico printer and business man. A strong supporter of the Free Church, he received the least number of votes of those elected to the School Board in March, 1873. As shall be seen, he went on to serve the Board for almost thirty years, his ideas, energy, practicality and humanity forming much of the ethical and social approach of successive Boards to the problems of the city.

The remainder of the Board consisted of ordained ministers of religion such as Robert Buchanan, minister of the Tron Church and later Free College Church. During his time at the former, Buchanan did much good work in the surrounding area. He was a member of the Glasgow Educational Association and was responsible for the setting up of two schools - Millers Place and Old Wynd. He wrote a well-known pamphlet, 'A Schoolmaster in the Wynds', in 1858, chronicling his experiences with poor children. He was Moderator of the Free Church in 1860 and it was said that he had, '...a clear head and a cool temper. No breezes of passion are suffered to disturb the calm of his intellect and interfere with its exercise' (77). Buchanan, an able man, died in Rome two years after his election to the Board.

The Reverend John Logan Aikman served on the School Board for seven years. He took an active part in educational matters, helping to found the Anderson Academy and was a ready member of the Deaf and Dumb Institution of Glasgow. As clergymen all the remaining members of the Board had some connection with congregations and either sessional or Free Church schools; all were acutely conscious of the social and educational problems which faced Glasgow.

Some members of the first Glasgow School Board, Mitchell, Campbell and Kidston, were former pupils of the High School and knew each other well from school days. Like most of the Board members they had been schooled in the traditional Scottish manner of 'use and wont'. They believed that individual, practical action rather than organisational structure made the difference to any enterprise. Their view of society, like their view in all things, was broad. For them, educational deprivation was not to be considered in a vacuum; educational deprivation was not an obstacle to be negotiated by simply providing more schools. They recognised that other aspects of social life impinged on education. On administering the 1872 Act, William Mitchell said that there had been shown, '...many a dark and hidden corner...' (78), and that until other matters such as housing, health and poverty were dealt with, '...education will only be a mockery' (79). The pragmatism and practical good sense of such men did much to power, sustain and coalesce the first School Board. Mitchell commented that practicality would, '...do more for the welfare of the children than any stereotyped system however good...' (80).

The **Glasgow Herald** displayed some optimism about the new school boards:

It will be strange, indeed, if in a country that has

prided itself on the excellence of its schools, there is not a significant amount of spontaneous educational enthusiasm to furnish us with Boards good enough for all practical purposes, especially when those purposes are essentially practical (81).

Of the 101,871 electors eligible to vote in March, 1873, a total of 52,804 went to the polls. Initial enthusiasm, the secret ballot, the right of women to vote and the sectarian issue - all contributed in ensuring a turn-out of over 50%. The members of the first School Board of Glasgow were closer and more accountable to their electorate than at any time before or since. At no future point in the nineteenth century did the citizens of Glasgow show such enthusiasm for their school board [Appendix 7]; votes cast dropped dramatically, early idealism being replaced by a concern for efficiency and value for money.

It was the task of the School Board to get children into school although those schools would first have to be built. At their first meeting, which Connal found, '...courteous and business like...' (82), the Board requested the Police authorities, '...to furnish this Board at the earliest possible date with a list of all schools of every description...' (83). The police were asked to give the name or designation and the number of scholars for each school. Immediately, the work had begun.

There was now a framework within which the once diverse energies and solutions to the educational problems of the city could be co-ordinated and targeted. The 1872 Act was a legislative net which grateful philanthropists in Glasgow were able to cast over the deep and less accessible areas of the educational sea and draw in a much more substantial catch than previously.

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Chapter Three

The New Olympians

Introduction

This chapter will study the work of the Glasgow School Board from 1873 to 1882. It will look firstly, at the manner in which the Board approached the difficult problem of school accommodation, highlighted by the Educational Census which began in 1873. The new schools built and the method by which they were financed will be closely viewed, as will the criteria used by the Board in deciding the geographical location of the schools. The problems posed for the Board by the premature closure of pre-1872 schools is also studied.

The special work of the Attendance Committee and in particular the influence of the Chairman, William Mitchell, will be examined. It will be shown that, over the period, the Board were successful in both providing greater and more appropriate school accommodation and in getting more children than had previously been the case into schools.

The humane approach adopted towards the problem of attendance defaulters by members such as Connal and Mitchell, is contrasted with the more rigid and less personal approach of members like Collins from 1879 onwards.

The chapter concludes with an inquiry into the problem of schooling versus employment and wage earning. It examines the manner in which the Attendance Committee dealt with the problem - lobbying for changes to the 1878 Education Act, making special provision for half-timers and the overall attempt, by William Mitchell especially, to retain the family environment in these situations as a keystone for progress.

The New Olympians

...in those days there were no beneficent Olympians to shower their bounties upon us...(1)
[on pre-1872 schooling]

Under the terms of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, school boards were required to conduct a census. It was the duty of the school board to, '...take into their consideration the educational requirements...' (2) , of the district which they served. If the census were to indicate that these requirements exceeded existing provision, it would be;

...the duty of the school board to determine the extent to which, and the manner in which additional school accommodation ought to be and may most conveniently and advantageously be provided... (3).

Police authorities had already provided the School Board of Glasgow with, '...a list of schools and some rough statistics...' (4) , a helpful but by no means comprehensive guide on which to base immediate and future action. It was obvious that the most pressing problem was the lack of suitable accommodation in which to educate the children who would now, through parental duty, have to attend school. The Argyll Commission had starkly shown the numbers receiving no education and those figures were now already out of date.

On April, 29th., 1873, one month after taking office, the School Board informed the clerk, William Kennedy,

...to proceed with arrangements for ascertaining the extent and quality of the means for supplying the Educational [Sic] requirements of Glasgow... (5).

Kennedy was further instructed, as Michael Connal had produced ordinance maps of the city, '...to get the schools plainly marked on these maps' (6).

Realising the extent of the problem with which they were confronted, the Board appointed a sub-committee in May, 1873 - the Sites and Buildings Committee (later called the Property Committee) whose initial remit was to. '...ascertain the nature and extent of the school provision in Glasgow in 1873' (7). Thereafter, it would be the task of the Committee,

...to make all necessary arrangements and exercise all necessary powers for the erection of schools; and with power also to lease schools where they may be required... (8).

The urgency with which the Committee approached the problem of school accommodation is shown by a note attached to the first recorded minutes in August of that year. Between its appointment in May and 22nd. August, the Committee, '...had held many meetings in the office and in all parts of the city, which were not formally minuted' (9).

Architects had been appointed to carry out the educational census; they were to report, '...very minutely...' (10), on each school in Glasgow - on the condition of the building, dimensions, sanitary conditions and to conclude whether they considered it suitable or not for school purposes. In the interim, the work of the Sites and Buildings Committee continued. By July, 1873 the Committee had purchased a site in Sister Street, Bridgeton; 1960 square yards at 25s per square yard, except for a portion of 86 square yards at 50s per square yard. The Committee was also able to report to the full Board that there were several other sites under consideration (11).

At the same meeting a breadth was added to the original problem by William Mitchell. He asked for an investigation into, '...the nature and *character* [italics added] of the Educational Destitution' (12). For Mitchell it was not acceptable simply to know the logistics of too little

accommodation. Too many other factors could impinge upon a child and adversely affect the hoped-for benefits of schooling. ‘The education of children does not mainly consist in what is acquired at school’ (13). Unwilling to submit the causes of poor education to Occam’s razor, Mitchell was to ensure that in Glasgow, the protection and welfare of children and education were closely linked.

By October, 1873, the results of the educational census were reported to the School Board. The figures were, ‘...even greater than previous statistics had led the Board to expect’ (14).

Educational Census, October, 1873

Population (including Springburn and Maryhill)	513,665
Children of school age (between 5 and 13 years)	87,294
One-sixth of population	85,611
Number of schools	228
Accommodation	57,290
Number on roll	52,644
Number in average attendance	42,655 (15).

From a total of 87,294 children of school age there was accommodation for only 57,290, a deficiency of 30,004. Allied to the fact that only 52,644 children appeared on school rolls, the number of children not receiving any schooling was 34,650. If the number in average attendance is used, the educational deprivation is even greater.

Using the architects’ reports the Board was able to see that some of the available accommodation was, ‘...very unsatisfactory...’ (16) , and included, ‘...some very unsuitable buildings’ (17). Crucially, the Board recognised that there were both geographical and social aspects involved in the massive educational deficiency in the city; there were, in fact, some districts, ‘...in a state of almost entire educational destitution’ (18).

The 1872 Act stipulated that school boards who applied before the close of 1873, intimating that they had a fixed site for a school and producing proof of approval from the Board of Education, would be eligible to receive a grant in aid of building costs. Aware of the time-scale, and after viewing the results of the educational census, the Glasgow School Board intimated to the Board of Education on 13th. October, that, taking into consideration that some voluntary schools would remain open and secondly, that a number of scholars could not be expected to attend for the whole time between 5 and 13 years, the School Board would provide additional accommodation for 22,000 scholars in some 30 new schools. With just over two and a half months to go before the closing date for grant submission, '...no time was lost in commencing operations' (19). By the close of 1873 the Board had lodged twenty eight applications for building purposes. Appendix 8 shows the number of schools run by and planned by the Board as of December, 1873.

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 allowed school boards to incur expenses in providing or enlarging schools. Boards were permitted to borrow money, on the security of the school fund and school rate, from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, repayable over a number of years not exceeding fifty, at 3.5% per annum interest (20). The Glasgow School Board were satisfied that these financial arrangements, '...would be only temporary...' (21). Coupled with the statistics from the educational census, therefore, the Board, '...were stimulated to proceed as energetically as possible with school building' (22). This did not mean, however, an unconstrained programme of building at any cost. Although twenty eight grant applications had been forwarded to the Scotch Education Department, the Board did not expect to build all

twenty eight schools immediately.

Containing some pragmatic business men, the Board realised that judicious forward planning would pay dividends. In the wake of the 1872 Act the Board perceived that, '...erection of so many new schools here, and in different parts of the country, has tended considerably to increase the cost of building' (23). Such foresight was justified. By applying for building grants and especially the loans under Clause 45 of the 1872 Act, the Board were guaranteed to pay only the 3.5% interest, for by 1879, the Public Works Loan Commissioners were authorized to increase the rate on loans granted under the Act. In future the rate would be 3.5% for loans repayable in 20 years or less, 3.75% if repaid between 20 and 30 years; between 30 and 40 years a rate of interest of 4% would be charged and if repaid over more than 40 years the loan would incur a rate of 4.25% (24). After the change of rate, the Board negotiated only one more loan with the Public Works Loan Commissioners - a sum of £20,000 , a Supplementary Loan granted for completing schools for which loans had already been received. The Supplementary Loan was charged at 3.75% interest over 30 years and was paid by the Board in 60 half-yearly amounts [Appendix 9. The Supplementary Loan is number 7]

Loans were strictly controlled. Under section 36 of the Public Works Loans Act, 1875, the Local Government Board had to satisfy themselves that the loans were applied to the purpose for which they had been granted. Accordingly, the Finance Committee of the School Board had to furnish the Local Government Board with the name of the school, date of payment, amount of payment, to whom payment was made and the nature of the expense in respect of which payment was made.

By 1881 the Finance Committee, realising that a substantial amount

of money was still needed for constructing new schools, made inquiries with different insurance companies in the hope of obtaining loans on more favourable terms. They finally made arrangements with the National Security Savings Bank of Glasgow, receiving loans at a fixed rate of 4% and repayable in 50 years.

The original loan and grant applications having been made by the end of 1873, the Board felt it prudent not to push on with too many buildings at one time but, '...to distribute the building over a considerable period' (25). This policy would allow the Board to oversee the construction of school buildings more carefully, '...with more deliberation and safety...' (26). By such action the Board would be able to take into consideration the effects of the shifting population due to rebuilding, demolition and the drift towards new factories and industries, often on the perimeter of the city. Taking note of this constant increase and decrease of population in the various districts, the Board could target the, '...exact localities...' (27), in which schools were needed. To have built without such consideration would have been an uneconomical exercise, placing schools in districts which, for the reasons given above, may have had a short but costly life-span.

With sites acquired and loan applications delivered, the Board could afford to be a little more patient. In viewing the site for the future Overnewton School, the Board decided;

Population is rapidly increasing and will increase more rapidly when displaced from Anderston by the removal of several old streets... The building of this school may be deferred for a little, but the ground should be acquired (28).

An early challenge to the autonomy of the School Board over the final say in the construction and shape of schools came from the Scotch

Education Department in London. It was normal practice in Glasgow and some other Scottish towns to have schools of at least two storeys in height and where space permitted, built on the square principle. The S.E.D. insisted that the sites should be made larger, should be single storey structures and should contain school rooms no wider than 22 feet. In the urban context of Glasgow in particular, this would have necessitated larger sites being purchased at much greater cost, at a time. '...when there was more than usual inflation of the building trade' (29). Further, the Glasgow School Board were of the opinion that narrower rooms were, '...not so well suited for educational purposes' (30). Not until a deputation had travelled to London, comprising members of Glasgow, Govan and Dundee School Boards, was the dispute resolved - in favour of the School Boards [Appendix 10].

Although the Boards had won the argument on grounds of, '...economy and educational efficiency...' (31), the Scotch Education Department insisted on having the final word on the matter of segregation between boys and girls. The Glasgow Board were used to the system of mixed schools and it was, '...the popular one in Scotland...' (32); there was an advantage from, '...an economic point of view...' (33), in continuing the system. Internally, however, at the insistence of the S.E.D., segregation of the sexes would be rigid; separate entrances, exits and playgrounds, giving the inside of Glasgow schools unique arrangements of stairways and doors. Although eventually together in class, '...the boys form a portion of the class by themselves, and the girls a portion by themselves' (34).

Each succeeding year brought a steady rise in the number of schools under the jurisdiction of the Glasgow School Board [Appendix 11]. Of the forty four Board schools in operation at the end of 1881, twenty seven

were newly built. Out of a total number of 33,000 available places at this time, fully 25,267 were to be found in the new schools [Appendix 12].

Premature Closures

A major problem caused by Clauses 38 and 39 of the 1872 Act threatened the early efforts of the School Board of Glasgow in terms of providing school places for children. Using these clauses, schools already in operation prior to August, 1872, could make application to the School Board to have themselves transferred to the Board's jurisdiction. In accepting such schools, the Board became responsible for the teachers (and their wages) and had to allow use of the premises by the original owners when the building was not in school use. The Board usually purchased the furniture and apparatus of the school at a valuation.

With a national system of state-financed education in being, some institutions which had previously functioned through grant aid, mostly run by the churches, and others which had relied on private contributions, reviewed their position;

...school managers were very generally of opinion that the necessity for their schools no longer existed, and the schools were being shut with a rapidity that threatened greatly to impede the Board's operations (35).

It was a problem of which the Board were well aware. A Minute was therefore sent to all city school managers and teachers:

The Board having taken into consideration what duties most urgently require their immediate attention are strongly of opinion that they should devote themselves, in the first instance, to provide for the supply of the Educational destitution which inquiries they have made, prove exist. To enable them to do this without distraction, they have to express the hope, that those who have hitherto by

voluntary efforts, been contributing to supply the educational wants of the city, will endeavour [Sic] to maintain their schools in efficiency for sometime to come, and will not decide upon discontinuing them without adequate previous intimation to the Board (36).

The plea fell, for the most part, on deaf ears. New Vennal Subscription School applied in June for transfer, followed by St. Peter's Sessional School and Cathcart Street School in the same month. Other schools gave notice that they would discontinue immediately (37). In parallel to dealing with transfer applications and notices of closure, the Board were actively looking at sites for new schools - East Hope Street, Barrowfield, Springfield, Rumford Street, were all considered in July (38) - and leasing properties to provide temporary accommodation: Campbellfield Hall and Grove Street Hall were leased for a period of two years, the former at a cost of £60 per annum (39).

For many church congregations their voluntary education fund was becoming something of a burden and could not be expected to meet the repair costs necessary to some very old church schools. Government grants were now withdrawn from these schools. Church congregations, charitable in the past, were most likely the people who would be paying the new school rate. For some, philanthropic zeal was now tempered by municipal compulsion.

From March, 1873, when the first Board took office till the end of November, 1874, a total of 43 schools were discontinued by their managers with the loss of 7,335 places [Appendix 13].

Managers of schools who wished to transfer to the School Board were required by the 1872 Act to, '...transfer such school, together with the site thereof and any land or teacher's house...' (40); the transfer was

to be an outright gift. Some, however, were unwilling to do so without some financial return on their previous outlay.

The Reverend I. Johnston, Manager of Springburn Subscription School wrote to the Board in October, 1874. A previous application for transfer had been refused as the sole teacher was not certificated. The Reverend Johnston was now happy to inform the School Board that, '...Mr. Gordon, the teacher is now certificated...'; he also had two additional certificated teachers and two pupil teachers in attendance. The school was now visited by the Inspectorate and, '...so far as the teaching was concerned got a very favourable report...'. The school fittings Reverend Johnston had paid for himself and was £50 out of pocket, '...but none of this will be charged against the Board if they agree to take over the school'. However,

...if your Board at the same time can see their way to give any sum in consideration of the fittings, it will to some extent relieve the weight of a burden which I never should have been called upon to bear and which I have borne purely in the interests of the education of the young in the district (41).

In some instances Managers were determined to close the school but would not transfer the building. The Board, urgently needing accommodation, were happy to resolve the problem in their own way;

...in cases where the managers refuse to transfer, but desired us to carry on the school, is that we carry it on [Sic], paying simply the expense of tuition, the managers being at liberty to resume possession on giving reasonable notice (42).

Alternatively, in schools owned by the Board the premises were allowed to be used outwith school hours, but at a fee. The Reverend R.K. Monteath of Hutchesontown Established Church used the top floor

and part of the middle floor of Rose Street School for Sabbath Schools at a cost of £20 per annum (43).

As quickly as the School Board acquired sites, applied for loans, and took the necessary step of using temporary accommodation, many pre-1872 institutions discontinued. In January, 1874, the detrimental effect of abandoning schools too quickly was pointed out in the First Report of the Progress in the Preparation for Providing New Public Schools [Appendix 14]. Between June, 1873 and January, 1882, ‘...managers shut their schools more rapidly than the Board could erect new ones...’ (44). Over this period a total of 132 schools were discontinued. Taken together with a reduction in the size of some schools, the total available school accommodation lost to Glasgow was 25,280 places [Appendix 15]. By January, 1882, a total of 38 schools had been opened by parties outwith the Board; for example, Private, Charitable and Industrial Schools. When allowance is made for an increase in some pre-1872 schools, the total number of places available to Glasgow from these outside parties was 12,367 [Appendix 16].

Some suitable schools were bought outright by the Board. Charles Tennant, the industrialist and owner of the giant chemical works in the northern part of the city, wrote to the Board:

Sir,

St. Rollox School

We understand that the School Board is looking out for ground in this district on which to build additional schools, and as we have had under consideration whether we would offer the above school for sale to the School Board we think this the right time to intimate that we have now decided on doing so, and make this communication in regard to which we will be glad to hear from you

at your convenience.

(signed Charles Tennant) (45).

The Sites and Buildings Committee inspected St. Rollox School and approved the sale as, '...the building is substantial and in good condition' (46). St. Rollox was purchased and extended from a capacity of 474 to 807 places at a total cost of £7,002 4s 11d (47). The other school which the Board had purchased, Dobbie's Loan, was altered and repaired at a cost of £3,227 17s 5d., its capacity remaining at 470 places.

In order to, '...meet the pressing need for accommodation...' (48), the Board initially, '...had to apply a more lenient test...' (49), with regard to suitability. Any building which could be modified for school use was considered by the Board, '...halls, old factories, derelict churches that had long ago finished their theological voyaging...' (50); anything usable was pressed into service, even those buildings which were, '...picturesque in their decay' (51). Such was the urgency and immediacy of the accommodation problem that, if by minor repairs and alterations a structure could be used, then it was considered by the Board. As an extension to Gorbals Free Church School, the Sites and Buildings Committee even studied the Wheat Sheaf Inn which comprised three large rooms and some smaller rooms. The Board proposed to lease the Inn from the Caledonian Railway Company at £60 per annum (52). H.H. Maclure, a popular architect with the Board, was told to proceed with alterations to the Inn and these were completed by June, 1874 at a cost of £233.

Such temporary structures heralded the beginning of a national system of education in the the city of Glasgow. Although some of these buildings, even after repairs, had numerous faults and let in, '...celestial light...' (53), necessitating the use of an umbrella by some teachers while

hearing reading, such was the situation of educational deprivation in Glasgow that, '...if ever a noble end justified unconventional means...' (54), it was the interim use of such buildings.

In the new schools built by the School Board much stricter parameters were followed, '...not only as regards comfort and attention to the laws of health...' (55), but in matters of safety. In the original plans for Sister Street School, heating was to be provided by open fire-places. Aware of the obvious dangers, the Board, '...reconsidered architects' plans for a school at Sister Street and discussed the question of substituting hot water [pipes]...' (56). Heating by a system of hot water pipes was to become the norm in Glasgow schools.

The architects' reports for Glasgow schools of October, 1873, had shown some of the unwholesome, unhygienic and dangerous conditions under which many pre-1872 schools operated. The Eastern Institute Mixed in Main Street, Bridgeton, a public subscription school, was to the rear of a tenement and was constructed of wood; the sanitary arrangements were described as '...bad...' and as a whole the building was laconically understated as, '...unsuitable for school purposes' (57).

Not even for the briefest of periods and in dire need of school places would the School Board of Glasgow consider such a building.

The New Schools

A study of the first twenty seven schools built by the close of 1879 reveals that cost was not the main criterion with respect to where in the city the schools were placed.

The growing population in the east end of the city needed, not necessarily more, but better schools with greater and more suitable accommodation. Camlachie, Calton and Bridgeton districts had grown

rapidly as people moved to be near the printworks and factories. By 1882, in an area roughly 1.5 miles by 1.5 miles and overlapping the three districts, there were 8 thread mills/cotton factories, 2 iron foundries, 3 brick/pottery/tile works, 1 large bleaching ground, 1 carpet factory and 1 new gas works (58). For over a decade these three districts had epitomized the worst effects of industrial and urban change.

In 1871, Calton/Camlachie had an infant mortality rate of 49.03% while that of Bridgeton stood at 55.71% [see Ch.1]. Nine of the first twenty seven schools were situated in these areas. The data collected in the Board census had shown where there was the greatest educational and social need. Although always conscious of cost, the Board nevertheless built in these areas at an early stage. Sister Street School in Bridgeton and Camlachie School cost £11,414 14s 1d and £11,459 0s 9d respectively. Thomson Street School in Dennistoun, a much more affluent area at the time, cost £10,892 10s 11d. In terms of school fees being brought into the school fund, Thomson Street was by far the best prospect. Importantly, however, the applications for loans were made, in the case of Sister Street and Camlachie, *before* the application to build on the Thomson Street site. The census figures on educational deprivation were showing a high correlation with results of studies on poor housing, poor sanitation and high incidence of diseases related to such conditions.

The School Board had, while realising that educational deprivation was, '...great all over...', also recognized that some parts of the city, '...the eastern and southern for instance...' (59), were much worse. South of the river in the Tradeston, Gorbals, Hutcheston areas, a school population of 18,331 was served by, '...only 8,143 places of all kinds, including some very unsuitable buildings' (60). Eight of the first twenty

seven schools were built to serve these areas. Of the first five loan applications made by the Glasgow School Board, two were for the east end (Barrowfield and Camlachie) and three for south of the river (Camden Street, Crookston Street, Greenside Street). The same trend is repeated in the Milton district to the north of the city centre - with an infant mortality rate of 54.04%, this district had eight of the first twenty seven schools.

From the architects' reports of October, 1873, it was seen that Bridgeton was served by 22 schools, ranging from the good to the downright dangerous. Some, usually those run by churches and seeking grant, were inspected by the Scotch Education Department, while others were inspected under the Factory Acts of 1833 and 1844, and the Workshops Act of 1867. Privately run institutions, Free and Charitable schools were for the most part uninspected. Appendix 17 (A - E) containing extracts from the architects' reports of 1873, gives varying examples. Some of the schools were patently not suitable for Board purposes. Calton Parish Sessional School (17A) was well conducted and of a recent construction, while Dale Street School (17D), within easy walking distance of the former, was most unsuitable.

Within ten years, by February, 1882, the School Board ran three schools in Bridgeton (Bridgeton, Rumford Street, Hozier Street) and had two others under construction (John Street and Springfield). In Calton/Camlachie, served by 19 schools in early 1873, there were eight newly built Board schools by February, 1882, and one temporary school for half-timers. In Bridgeton, 3,429 children were being provided for in Board schools; in Calton/Camlachie the figure was 6,254 (excluding half-timers). It should be stated that the cost of land was cheaper in the poorer areas; however, as shall be seen, knowledge of School Board

interest in a site invariably led to a steep rise in value.

The initial building programme of the Glasgow School Board was targeted to the areas of greatest need. Twenty five of the first twenty seven schools were built in working class areas and while cost was important, it played a secondary role in determining the location of schools between 1873 and 1882.

Bigger and Better

On the 15th. October, 1873, the Board, ‘...gave it as their opinion and determination...’ (61) to provide additional accommodation for 22,000 scholars and that this should be provided by building 30 additional schools.

How successful were the School Board of Glasgow in fulfilling this target? There is no short and simple answer, for other areas of educational provision, outwith the control of the Board, did not remain static; the changing economic climate for the voluntarists and demographic movement elsewhere played a large part in the final equation.

In terms of erecting new schools and of increasing the amount of available accommodation, the most productive period in the history of the Glasgow Board came between March, 1873 and January, 1882. Twenty seven new schools were erected, an average of 3.37 new schools per year. At no other period in the 45 year term of the Board was such a figure reached; in just over 16% of the Board’s life, no less than 36% of the total number of schools eventually erected were completed.

From 228 Glasgow schools in 1873 the number fell to 166 by the opening of 1882; the accommodation in 1873 was 57,290 and had risen to 73,150, an increase of 15,860 places, by January, 1882. Although the

number of schools fell, accommodation rose because Board schools in Glasgow tended to be large, often taking between 800 and 1200 children. Bishop Street School, opened in August, 1877, with a capacity of 1410, replaced 9 discontinued schools (62). There were economic advantages to building large schools. William Kennedy, Clerk to the Glasgow Board pointed out that; 'Where ground is expensive, the site of one large school is much cheaper than those of two or three small ones' (63). There were, as far as Kennedy was concerned, also educational advantages in large schools;

...a large school renders it possible to secure uniformity of plan and arrangement in the instruction of a large number of children, from the commencement to the end of their school life (64).

(Ironically, there are similarities here with the factory model).

In the crowded urban setting of Glasgow, where large numbers were often concentrated in a small area;

It is obviously of advantage, therefore, that in large towns as many children should be accommodated on a single site as is compatible with sanitary and educational efficiency (65).

From a position of owning no schools in 1873, the Board owned 44 out of 166 in 1882.

By October, 1881, the Board schools, both new and temporary, had accommodation for 33,800 scholars [Appendix 18]. When the same years are studied in terms of pupils on the roll and in average monthly attendance, the move towards greater provision by the School Board is more marked [Appendix 19]. By 1879, after six years in office, the pupils enrolled with Board schools stood at almost 50% of the total roll of the city. The number of schools discontinued between June, 1873 and January, 1882, was 132, with a consequent loss in school places of 25,280

[Appendix 15]. Schools opened or extended over the same period numbered 38, providing 12,367 places [Appendix 16].

The original target of housing 22,000 pupils in 30 new schools had almost been met. The 27 new schools opened by the beginning of 1882 took 25,267 pupils. Had not large numbers of schools been discontinued, the Board would not have had to replace so many lost places. What is important, however, is the quality of the newly created places. In terms of buildings especially suited to children, apparatus used and the quality of the teaching, the School Board provision stood second to none. As a consequence, the number of unsatisfactory schools fell from 33 in 1873, catering for 3,018 pupils to 7 such schools with only 452 pupils in 1881. One major success of the early School Board work was that, by offering better schools, free if necessary, it caused the swift demise of institutions which had been a caricature of education for too long. Parents could see physical evidence of the Board's work as new and modern buildings sprang up throughout the city. [Map 3 shows the schools, new and temporary, in use by February, 1882. A comparison with Appendix 12 shows the newly built schools]. The Board itself was sure that, '...the excellence and attractiveness of the buildings cannot fail to exercise a salutary influence on both scholars and teachers' (66).

Lord Moncreiff, addressing an audience at the opening of Kent Street School in April, 1886, said that education was, '...a thoroughly practical question' (67). On looking back at the first two Boards, he remarked that they were comprised of, '...men who feel the nobility and grandeur of their mission...'; men who had, '...the stamp of enthusiasm' (68). John McMath, City Master of Works, in a presentation to the Philosophical Society of Glasgow in 1892, spoke of, '...the strong individuality...' of the first Board in particular. Those following, he

believed, ‘...should gratefully recognise the able work performed by the first School Board’ (69).

Glasgow children, by the late 1870’s and early 1880’s, were increasingly brought into an officially organised and formal structure of education, without the diversity which had characterized previous provision from a plethora of sources.

The Problem of Attendance

In determining the success or failure of the School Board’s efforts in promoting better attendance, it may be observed that this was the area in which the greatest amount of disagreement was to be found. The method by which attendance figures were calculated became, for some, a cause of concern and further, the figures on which the calculations were based did not command universal consensus. Such was the nature of the shifting urban population in many parts of Glasgow that any census taken had to be considered an estimate. It was such inexactitude which was to cause disagreement and confusion.

School attendance was closely related to social conditions. Through the work of the Attendance Committee, such conditions came to be viewed, by both Committee supporters and opponents alike, as the pre-eminent factor in determining the extent of a child’s opportunity to attend and benefit from school.

In their Report on Glasgow Schools for the Argyll Commission, the reporters (Greig and Harvey) took a particular interest in the reasons which they believed accounted for so great a number of non- and irregular attenders. It was their opinion that the indifference and apathy of parents were the chief cause of poor school attendance (70). Amongst the labouring classes especially, in the case of both boys and girls (more

usually girls) there was frequently the need for their service at home, assisting with household duties if the mother was out at work or taking charge of the younger children. For boys and girls the running of parental errands also too often kept them from school.

The Assistant Commissioners did not believe that poor attendance was any form of reaction against incompetent teaching, an inadequate supply or the inconvenient situation of schools. Nor, ‘...most emphatically...’ (71), was poor attendance due to parents having a different religious belief from that which was taught in the majority of schools. The demand, often the necessity, for children’s wages seriously affected attendance, although this began to decline in importance as the century progressed. If parental income was low it was less likely that they could afford more than one penny per week for a child’s education, thus excluding some children from the better sessional schools as, ‘...they [the parents] have neither the ability nor inclination to pay a month in advance’ (72).

The Assistant Commissioners believed that the distribution of schools in the city had a major bearing on attendance.

The rich localities were better served than the poor.

Some of the poorest parishes were also the most destitute of the means of education... (73).

A situation, as has been shown, to which the first School Board gave immediate attention.

Implicit in the Assistant Commissioners’ comment is the acknowledgement of a positive correlation between social deprivation and poor attendance. It had become accepted to expect the more affluent and respectable parents to value education, while the poorer classes through apathy, intemperance and abject poverty, placed schooling lower in their list of priorities.

When the Attendance Committee was appointed in August, 1873, these same reasons still applied to attendance at school and were of increasing importance due to the continued increase in the population. William Mitchell was appointed Chairman of the Attendance Committee; a man who believed in the hierarchical structure of society but, importantly for many of Glasgow's poor, realised that the poverty, ill-health and unwholesome life-style of a large proportion of the population must be addressed before education could be considered of any real and lasting value. He saw that poverty did not manifest itself as a single phenomenon; there were degrees of poverty and neglect and there were varying responses by those so affected. These ranged from, '...honest struggling poverty...', to, '...the most criminal intemperate misconduct...' (74).

Mitchell did not wonder that under such conditions people viewed their own reality very differently from that considered normal by the more affluent. He stated; '...it must often have been present to the minds of the Members [of the School Board] whether, after all Education is, in the circumstances, the primary consideration' (75). Of utmost importance to Mitchell was that children, through schooling and other social agencies, should be rescued from their poor and miserable condition.

The Work and Nature of the Attendance Committee

The main aim of the Attendance Committee was,

...to make such arrangements as they deem best calculated to attain the ends proposed in the 69th and 70th sections of the Act (76).

[Appendix 21 reproduces both sections of the 1872 Act]

The 1871 Census had shown the number of children in Glasgow

who were of school age (5 - 13 years) to be 80,979 (77). By 1873, when the Committee first took office, both Maryhill and Springburn districts had been included; coupled with a proportional increase over the previous two years, the population of the city was given as 513,665. It was estimated that the number of children of school age had risen to 87,294. In the same year [1873], according to the educational survey carried out by the Board, the number appearing on the roll of Glasgow's 228 schools was 52,644 and the number in average attendance was 42,655 (78). The corresponding figures in the 1873 Attendance Report are 53,796 on the roll and 43,803 in average attendance, the discrepancy being explained by the fact that in Attendance Reports, children in Industrial and Reformatory Schools are included, although both were outwith the remit of the School Board.

Using the figures given in the General Summary of the School Board (1873 - 1882) and based on the 1873 survey returns - from a total of 87,294 children eligible for school in 1873, there were 52,644 on the roll, suggesting that 34,650 were receiving no education at all. If the figures for average attendance are considered, it would appear that a further 9,989 children were receiving schooling only sporadically. Some qualification, however, is necessary.

Allowance was made by the Attendance Committee for children under 6 years who were not at school. It had been the custom in Scotland to keep children at home till they were above this age as, '...they were considered by their parents as too young for school...' (79). The Glasgow School Board initially accepted the right of parents, '...to judge of this matter' (80). This approach eased the pressure for school places at a time when new accommodation was in process of being built and temporary structures were being used. Allowance was also made for

infirm children, unable physically to attend school and for those children aged 11 - 13 years who were attending evening schools. A further reduction of 10% (81) was allowed for reasons of sickness, house removals, large families where the eldest was often kept at home and, '...wife desertion...' (82). Even with these reductions those thought to be defaulting in attendance were considered to be a, '...gross amount of more than 20,000...' (83). Such qualifications to the figures were made each year by the Attendance Committee in formulating its reports. It was glaringly obvious, no matter the reductions from the total, that a very considerable number of children were receiving little or no education.

With a view to securing greater school attendance, the Committee developed a monitoring system which they believed would be both efficient and successful; efficient in producing positive results and successful in using persuasion rather than prosecution towards defaulting parents.

How to deal in the most effectual, and yet most kindly and considerate manner with these parents and children became one of the earliest questions at the Board (84).

By the end of August, 1873, Mitchell reported to the Board that, following advertisements for Attendance Officers (initially called Compulsory Officers), there had been 1,100 applicants. Five candidates had been interviewed and given posts at £1 10s per week (85). Mitchell further proposed that the Officers should have a uniform for which he himself, ever practical, would acquire a sample coat, vest and hat (86). The monitoring system, which would form the basis of the Attendance Department for over three decades, was put swiftly into action.

Once each week, on Fridays, attendance officers called at schools

within their district. They were supplied, by the teachers, with a list of children who did not have a minimum of six attendances for that week (the equivalent of 3 full days). The city was divided into 12 educational districts [Appendix 22]. On Saturday mornings, the officers arranged the lists and entered the names of children into their visiting books. On Monday and for the remainder of the week, officers made their visits and, where necessary, remonstrated with parents of absentees and, if appropriate, served some with a warning notice.

In order to reduce the number of double visits, officers on the Saturday morning would exchange names of children who were on the roll of a school in their own district but whose address lay in the territory of a brother officer. By the following Friday the officers would report to the teachers on the results of their visits and receive new lists for the subsequent week.

The system was certainly bureaucratic and time-consuming. Inevitably, at a time when communication was predominately by the written and spoken word there was no other course to follow. Yet, although somewhat involved, ‘...the system is found to be effective...’ (87). Much depended on, ‘...a constant and easy interchange among the Officers...’ (88). All the officers were housed in one large room each Saturday, ‘...with ready access to the books of their districts, to the Clerks and Principal Officer [who reported directly to the Attendance Committee], and to one another’ (89).

There was no precedent for such a system and, although new and often cumbersome, it did allow close liaison between officers and teachers on a regular basis. As in all School Board activities the lines of communication were kept as short as possible.

Mitchell was to observe; ‘ It is one thing to get children to school

and quite another and a different thing to keep them there ' (90). A distinction was made between Irregulars, those absent for a time but returning to school once a visit had been made to the home, and the Defaulters, those parents who after two or more visits by attendance officers still continued to neglect the education of their children. It should be emphasised that, in the eyes of the Board, it was the parents who were the Defaulters and not the children; '...the real difficulty is not with the children, but with the parents' (91). Once names were moved from the Irregular to the Default book and children had still not been sent to school within a reasonable time, their parents would be summoned to appear before the Board.

Special officers, in addition to the ordinary officers, were used when dealing with defaulters. This relieved the latter from wasting time on too many visits to the same parent and, secondly, it was thought that the use of these special officers would have an effect on parents. If a defaulting case were to end in prosecution it was also necessary for the Board to have two witnesses.

It was noted above that Mitchell, as Chairman of the Attendance Committee, wished to deal kindly but effectively with defaulting parents. He realised, however, that some examples of prosecution could have a salutary effect on others. At the beginning of 1874, he asked the Board,

...that he be authorized to call if necessary a special meeting of the Board to deal with defaulting parents under the 70th and other sections of the Education Act (92).

The Board agreed and appointed W. Cluny MacPherson of Messrs. Galbraith and MacPherson to conduct prosecutions under the 70th, 71st and 72nd sections of the 1872 Act (93). By May of that year, the Board brought prosecutions against six parents, informing Cluny MacPherson

that these parents were;

...grossly and without reasonable excuse failing to discharge the duty of providing elementary education for their children, as required by the 70th section of the Education Act (94).

In 1874, the School Board met with a total of 474 defaulting parents. Only 34 were brought up for prosecution (95).

Between 1874 and 1881, the Board summoned a total of 11,217 defaulting parents of whom 462 were prosecuted (96). Mitchell's deliberate policy of being conciliatory towards defaulters was eventually to attract strong criticism. Nevertheless, he firmly believed that, '...friendly words spoken have been of more avail than any amount of harshness or prosecution would have been' (97). Prosecution, Mitchell believed, should only be exhibited as a warning to others but, '...it is not effectual as a means of reclamation (98).

Always, through its Chairman, there was in the dealings of the Attendance Committee the notion, not of punishment, but of rehabilitation.

Face to Face

A prominent feature of the School Board was that,

...which exhibits the personal dealing by the Board with defaulting parents and Children [Sic] at their weekly or fortnightly meetings (99).

These meetings were held in a selected district. The parents were served with a summons by the attendance officer and most, though usually the mothers, appeared at the chosen school by eleven o'clock in the morning. Some rooms were set aside, table and chairs for the Board members and a bench provided for the defaulting family. From the

outset, Sir Michael Connal, Chairman of the School Board from 1876, took an active interest, interviewing the parents and, Mitchell believed, had,

...done much by his example to show the other members [of the School Board] how wisely and considerately, yet firmly and kindly, parents and guardians may be dealt with in the way of counsel, remonstrance and warning (100).

Aided by a clerk and by the attendance officer of the district, the School Board members carried out the interviews and made the necessary decisions on the future course of action to be followed in each case. By 1879, the number of defaulters summoned before the Board had risen to 2,101 for that year, necessitating defaulters meetings being put on a more systematic footing; two full meetings per year for each educational district of the city [Appendix 23].

It was the complexity and diversity of cases appearing before the Board,

...converging hither from all points of the compass, and from all the streets, lanes, and alleys of the district, a downcast poverty-stricken company of men, women and children... (101),

which Mitchell felt most keenly. He believed;

...it is not possible to formulate a theory of dealing or to establish a system sufficiently uniform and universal to embrace all the varieties and shades and types of poverty, default, and evil with which we are called upon to deal (102).

Mitchell believed, not in an equality of treatment, but in an equality of concern, giving appropriate treatment in individual cases. There was no, '...omnipotent remedy...' (103). The more he viewed the casualties produced by the changing and complex society, the more Mitchell

realised that schooling was only one factor, important as it was, which affected the development of children. Children, he saw, were increasingly appearing before the Board, '...exciting more pity for their want of food and clothes than for their want of schooling' (104).

Decisions taken by Board members at defaulters' meetings were often more to do with social welfare than school attendance. Perhaps the final flashes of mid-Victorian paternalism at its best, a municipal philanthropy in a legislative setting, were to be seen in the face to face dealings of the Glasgow School Board and parents [Appendix 24 and 25].

As shown above, the number of defaulters grew rapidly between 1874 and 1881. Mitchell had believed that after a few years the numbers would fall; 'The fountain, alas! is perennial' (105). The Attendance Committee Report for 1879 noted that, '...the whole subject of poor and neglected Children [Sic] will form the educational problem of many future years' (106).

By 1883, after ten years as Chairman of the Attendance Committee, even William Mitchell was prone to bouts of pessimism. Greater resources were, he believed, needed in all aspects of children's lives. While there had been some improvement in attendance, it had only been to a limited extent, not as much as there may have been, '...had their [children's] social condition received as much attention as their Education [Sic]' (107).

Opposing Arithmetic and Opposing Philosophies

At a meeting in Dovehill School with defaulting parents in 1883 and attended by one of Her Majesty's Inspectors, it was rather reproachfully brought to the attention of the Glasgow School Board members present that a great number of older children were appearing

before them who, in the Inspector's opinion, had not reached an acceptable standard of competence. This complaint, together with an observation on the number of children running freely about the streets of the city, was mentioned in the annual report of the Attendance Committee later that year (108).

The question of school attendance, especially adequate school attendance, constantly taxed Board members. To Mitchell it was, '...the problem of the day' (109). It was a continuing problem and one which the Board, using only its own resources, found difficult to resolve. Too many other factors were now identified as determinants of a child's attendance; while poor health may predominate in one case, lack of clothing could affect another. Often it was a multiplicity of such reasons which prevented regular attendance. Mr. Hoy, Headteacher of Camlachie Public School, noted that, '...many of the scholars being so poorly clad that they cannot leave the house' (110).

A study of Appendix 26 shows that between 1873 and October, 1881, 17,209 more children were in average attendance by the later date, while the numbers on the roll rose by 18,562. The percentage rise in average attendance was from 81.5% in 1873, fluctuating slightly and arriving at 84.33% in 1881. In Board schools the numbers rose from zero in 1873 to 37,263 on the roll by 1881. (As a comparison of numbers - for the year 1875 there were 66,661 registered poor in the city of Glasgow) (111). While such figures show a steady increase in the numbers both enrolling and attending, they do not necessarily show the full number of children eligible for school.

Superficially, there would seem to have been a great improvement over the first six years of School Board activity. After the election of the third Board in March, 1879, however, critical voices appeared. Some

members, led by A.G. Collins, had been elected on the promise of greater accountability to ratepayers; these new members hoped to ensure that the city received value for money. In 1879, Collins attacked the Attendance Committee, especially Mitchell, on the manner used to calculate school attendance figures and the way in which the Board dealt with defaulting parents.

In 1879, the City Chamberlain (along with the Register General) gave the population of Glasgow as 578,156 while the City Assessor, taking into consideration the demolition of some crowded areas, gave 539,600 as the figure. The Attendance Committee, in formulating their results for that year, took an average between the two and used as their population total 558,000 [Appendix 26 shows Attendance Committee calculations of attendance 1873 - 1881].

As Collins pointed out (112), however, the City Assessor based his figures solely on the number of occupied houses and made no allowance for the considerable number of families (Collins believed it to be vast numbers) who were unable to pay rent and were joint tenants of premises previously owned by one family. As shown earlier [Chapter 1], demolition of slum areas often led to greater overcrowding than before. In 1871, 23.3% of families kept lodgers but this was the official figure and made no allowance for numbers not appearing in returns.

Collins argued that, (a) the 1872 Act gave the school age as 5 - 13 years and he therefore wondered, '...whether the Act should not be enforced as soon as possible...' (113), and, (b) that the 10% reduction should not be taken from the total 5 - 13 age group but only from those appearing on the roll. The methods employed by the Board, he believed, hid a large number of children who did not even appear on school rolls.

Collins argued that the educational state of the city should be based on average attendance rather than numbers on the roll. In moving an amendment to the 1879 Attendance Committee Report, he stated that the figure given for children being educated in Glasgow, '...is based on principles altogether misleading' (114). Mitchell replied (115) that both number on the roll and average attendance figures were given; what was of importance, he believed, was the rising percentage correlation between the two sets of figures.

It was noted that the increase in attendance between 1873 and 1879 was 17,209. From this, Collins deducted 7,390 children, accountable through the increase in the population and who would have appeared on school rolls in any case. This meant that an extra 9,819 children represented the real rise in school numbers which could be credited to the Attendance Committee after six years work. Further, he believed that the majority of the number were infants and that their attendance;

...has been caused more by the large and convenient supply of superior accommodation than by the weak attempts either by attraction or compulsion to secure the attendance of the class for whom the Act was chiefly contemplated (116).

A universal system, Collins believed, should be adopted in schools when removing children from the roll. He thought the diversity of methods used was farcical. In some schools a child's name was removed after one, two, three or even four weeks while in others it might be a full year. This could mean children appearing on the roll of more than one school simultaneously, thereby inflating attendance figures (117). Mitchell retorted that, '...frequent removal of the working classes make this quite a frequent occurrence' (118). It was also the case that a child arriving at school after the register had been taken was

marked absent for that particular attendance. Mitchell pointed out that the number of attendances required for the Government grant was 250 and had to be made in one school. Consideration of the numbers presented would give a better idea of the level of attendance. The average school attendance in Scotland, calculated in this manner, in 1878 was 69% while in England it was 66%. In Glasgow the figure was 73%.

Even Collins did not expect all children of school age to be at school but he believed that all children, '...should be at least attached to a school' (119). He believed that even allowing for those under 6 years and those over 12 years there were still too many children lost to education.

For 1879 the number in average attendance was 59,968 [Appendix 26], a deficit of 10,975 compared with the number on the roll. School rolls, however, were not static but fluid; they changed weekly in many parts of the city. It was pointed out (120) that children both enrolled and left school during the course of the year; those who attended evening classes, for example, aged 12 - 13 years, did not appear on the roll, but may have been earlier in the school year, so inflating the total yearly roll figure. In 1879, for example, 9,494 pupils attended evening schools in the city (121). Due to continual fluctuation, school rolls showed the number of children at a given time who were registered; they did not show the number who had received some schooling and no longer appeared on the roll.

The Attendance Committee were of the opinion that 8,000 to 10,000 children left school each year, through age, population movement and exemption. These numbers would have to be replaced simply for school rolls to keep apace; yet, year by year, the school roll numbers increased. Even allowing for an increase in population the Attendance Committee *must* have been successful in getting others to school.

The greatest increase in school attendance was achieved over the first three years of the Board. Collins criticised the Board for not maintaining such percentage increases while Mitchell believed that such, '...an educational bound...', was caused by, '...the new provisions of the Education Act being for the first time in force...' (122). To maintain such a rate of growth was simply not possible.

In further replying to Collins' criticism, Mitchell remarked how the 1879 figures denied the charge of continuing large scale educational deprivation in the city. If, as the School Board calculated, the population for 1879 was 558,000 and one sixth was assumed to be the group in the school age category, then the total of such category was 93,000. On the school rolls were 70,943. Taking the lowest estimate of those leaving that year as 8,000 (123), and those in evening classes as 9,494 (124) - and to this is added the number of children under 6 years not at school (125) - there is then a total of 26,049 children who do not appear on the school rolls *but who are receiving or have already received* some education or who are considered by their parents as being too young. The fact that these figures give a total above 93,000 is accounted for by the different methods adopted by schools in removing names from the rolls.

The Attendance Committee was justified, therefore, in claiming that the majority of children in Glasgow received adequate schooling. The 1872 Act was used as a further justification:

The Education Act does not enact that children between 5 and 13 must be constantly and regularly and every day at school, but that it shall be the duty of every parent to provide elementary education for his children between the ages of 5 and 13, leaving a wise discretion to the School Board to judge as to

how far this provision is being fairly and reasonably carried out (126).

It was the belief of the Board, laying emphasis on the word elementary, that;

...four to five years regular attendance at school is sufficient to enable any child of ordinary ability to pass an examination in the *elementary* branches of education (127).

Elected in March, 1879, on an economy ticket and promising the ratepayers value for money, Collins compared Glasgow with some English cities. For what he believed were poorer results in enforcing attendance, Glasgow was being charged a higher rate [Appendix 27]. He stated that whereas previously, ‘...Glasgow occupied a much higher position educationally than almost any city in the kingdom...’ (128), he believed that now, ‘...the other principal towns in England, are much in advance of Glasgow...’ (129).

Collins kept his most vitriolic attack for the Attendance Committee, criticising the manner in which it conducted its affairs, especially in the way it dealt with defaulters. He called the approach of the Committee, ‘...dilatory, inefficient and costly...’ (130). Far too great a length of time was being taken in finally prosecuting the pitifully small number of defaulting parents that the Board eventually brought to task. Appendix 28 is an example given by Collins of the slow pace which he believed the Board adopted in bringing forward prosecutions.

Collins had little patience with those who for various reasons could not pay a fee for their child’s education. Those who truly could not afford a fee should, he recommended, be compulsorily referred to the Parochial Board, and if the Parochial Board saw no reason to pay then Collins believed the child should be given free education, but only on a

temporary basis. For that large class of children whose parents, '...are drunken and dissolute...' (131); for those who drank the money necessary to feed and clothe their children he would have, '...firm, speedy and severe dealing...' (132).

The awarding of prizes for both attendance and '...intelligence...' as a means of persuading children to attend school was proposed by Collins; then, '...the humblest boy and girl in our city...' (133), could receive a higher education and go on to university. An association to pay for such prizes, independent of the School Board, would be set up and Collins claimed to have spoken to several philanthropists who would lend their support. Such measures as proposed by Collins, even the amorphous promise of a future university place, would have had no meaning for the large mass of the poor. A multitude of social factors would have prevented them from gaining any advantage.

Mitchell, naturally, disagreed with Collins. The system in use was, '...not too rigid and arbitrary, but capable of constant adaptation to new and changing circumstances...' (134); it was a system which considered individual cases, '...firmly and energetically, but yet with kindness and forbearance' (135). He pointed out that Collins had ignored the breadth of view taken by the Board in its relations with charitable agencies in the city (the Poor Childrens' Dinner Table Society, for example) and that while such work, '...may not be part and parcel of the system,...it has been associated and wrought in connection with it' (136). Mitchell asked:

How far can you prevent children who have a fair knowledge of the three R's, and who belong to poor and starving households, from going to work?
(137).

Collins believed in competition as the route to success. No amount

of social deprivation would prevent, he considered, ability reaching the top; in the interests also of value for money, he would have kept strictly to the terms of the 1872 Act. With the arrival of Collins and his group a new factor took its place prominently in the considerations of the School Board.

Collins' Amendment

In August, 1879, Collins laid down an amendment to the Attendance Committee Report of that year. It contained three points:

1st. To securing the attendance of children of 5 to 13 not previously at school - each Officer to be responsible for the Defaulters and Vagrants residing in his district.

2nd. To visit only children whom the teacher has ascertained to be inexcusably absent; and to save delay in calling on and verifying, each school will furnish (with or without Officer's assistance) a separate list for each Officer, who will call from such slips without any copying whatever.

3rd. All cases that require further dealing will, when entered in Officer's Default Book, be immediately served with printed warning form , which failing, to be summoned to the Board within one month (138).

Mitchell believed the amendment, ' ...ingenious, if not at all points very intelligible' (139). The first point of the amendment, enforcing attendance from 5 years, was something the Board had deliberately not implemented. The implications for available accommodation have already been mentioned.

As for the second point; Mitchell called it one of Collins', '...pet theories...' (140). It would have meant a great deal more administrative

work for teachers. There were 28 attendance districts in the city and in most large schools children could be scattered over anything from 8 to 10 different districts. How, asked Mitchell, in filling up these separate lists, were teachers to learn the geography of the various districts? The lists were to be used by the Officers as given, no recording in a visiting book, no sorting in the office into some manageable order. Officers under Collins' scheme, said Mitchell, were to travel around the districts, lists in hand and calling at homes as best they could, '...like a kind of educational will o' the wisp' (141). Mitchell declined even to address Collins' third point: 'I will not follow the amendment further...' (142).

On 8th. September, 1879, Collins' amendment was lost by 9 votes to 5.

Work and Learning

The subject of wage-earning and schooling were never far apart, whether arising from the necessity of a child to add to the family income or a parent, often a widow or widower, who was in work but who found it difficult to make daytime arrangements for their children.

Under the Factory and Workshops Act of 1867 (the most recent of a line of similar legislation), children between 10 and 14 years were allowed to work in certain trades on condition that they attended school on a half-time basis. The Act laid down a bewildering array of permutations for such attenders, ranging from some mornings and some afternoons to full days and part days, often different over consecutive weeks.

The Glasgow School Board made arrangements for such children but insisted on attendance over alternate days in order to lessen disruption which could be caused to other children. 'Mixing them with

other regular scholars is unsatisfactory to both' (143). The Board were never satisfied with the idea of half-time education and were thankful that, '...the half-time system has never taken root in Glasgow' (144). The numbers concerned were never large although the Board had to admit that its estimate could be on the conservative side: ' The Board cannot form an accurate estimate of these children [9 to 13 years] at work...' (145). Many employers were unwilling to return numbers and it was relatively easy to put children out of sight when the Factory Inspector called.

In an effort to prevent over-mixing (teachers often mentioned the disruptive behaviour of half-timers) and to give as reasonable a chance of schooling as possible, the Board took out leases on two temporary schools, London Road and Glenpark, to be used exclusively for half-timers. The leases lapsed in 1881 by which time the Campbellfield Street building for half-timers had been leased (see map) and opened in May, 1880.

The number of half-timers in 1881 was given as 753 pupils (249 boys and 504 girls) of whom 642 were in Board schools. Girls always made up the majority as most of the half-timers were employed in textiles and employers preferred to use the nimble fingers of young girls. Attendance among half-timers was poor. To qualify for the Government grant, half-timers had to make 150 attendances per year, the normal number being 250. In 1881, 60% of half-timers in Glasgow did not reach that number. In the early 1880's, in parallel with the decline of the cotton trade, the number of half-timers faded to an insignificant amount.

Exemption from day school was another method used in adding to the family income. It was by far the main reason given when applying

for exemption; applications were made, ‘...on the score of poverty and desire for work...’ (146). Once application was made, the child was examined by the School Board; ‘...the child is examined in reading, writing and the compound rules of arithmetic’ (147). On passing at Standard IV of the Scotch Code, children of 11 years and over were exempted from day school on condition of attendance at evening school till they passed Standard V. By 1881, children could be exempted from day school completely if passed at Standard V; if 12 years old and passed at Standard IV they again would attend evening school till passing Standard V or reaching 13 years of age. The number of children in Glasgow gaining exemption was not exceptionally high; in 1880, 7 boys and 5 girls under 12 years and 269 boys and 168 girls over 12 years.

One reason why those termed vagrant children were a problem was their high visibility; children of school age openly playing, misbehaving or doing casual work on the streets. The average number of such children caught by the four Vagrant Officers in 1878 was 361 each week, the same names often appearing more than once. Mitchell suggested that ordinary attendance officers as well as those specifically for vagrants should rotate their districts and go in plain clothes on a day specified by the Principal Officer, the hope being that unknown faces would have more success.

The homes of children caught under these circumstances were visited and the parents encouraged to send them to school. If, after a reasonable time, the parents had not complied they were classed as defaulters and the normal procedure followed.

Some vagrant children had been earning a little money selling matches, helping stallholders and other assorted jobs. While they could be prevented from doing so during school hours by the Board, nothing

could be done either before or, especially, after school. Mitchell and the Board were well aware of this and by lobbying MP's, managed to have a clause inserted into the 1878 Education Act. This allowed children to work only till 7 .00 pm in winter and till 9 .00pm in summer. Outwith those hours both parents and employers were liable for prosecution.

Aware of the necessity in many cases of children earning wages, the 1878 Act was of some benefit Mitchell believed, as at least the street environment was often better than home.

The children are better in many cases turning an honest penny in the streets than if they were confined to the unhealthy closes and dwellings... (148).

Mitchell was adamant that the police should not be used to clear the streets of vagrant children simply because, '...they offend the sense of respectable citizens' (149). Such a move would simply return them to their unwholesome homes.

With the passing of the Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Repression Act of 1878, Day Industrial Schools (150) were established in the city. They were controlled by the Juvenile Delinquency Board which could charge a rate of up to 1d in the £ for the maintenance of the schools. Green Street in Calton district in 1879 and Rottenrow in 1882 were the first to be opened.

Pupils at Day Industrial Schools were the children of parents, often single, who worked but could make no arrangements for their children's supervision. Such children, whose home circumstances put their well-being and school attendance at risk, '...and are constantly found on the streets...' (151), could be dealt with by the School Board and a recommendation made to the parents that the children should go to these schools.

Unlike Reformatories, Day Industrial Schools did not board children. Pupils were able to report from 6. 00am each day and lessons began at 8. 30am. They were given three meals a day before returning home at 6. 00pm. For this, parents were charged 1s to 2s per week. Mitchell was in no doubt that;

...many a poor boy or girl who was reported as irreclaimably bad has developed qualities of obedience, truthfulness, and honesty most gratifying to the teachers and directors (152).

A further benefit, as far as Mitchell was concerned, lay in the fact that, '...it has been the aim of the Board to keep families together, and to encourage domesticity so far as possible' (153).

The concept of the family as a stabilizing influence on society was not new. The City Parochial Board for many years had preferred to board out orphans and deserted children. Rather than put them all under one roof they had boarded many out to selected families as;

The family circle is the most natural one for the bringing up of children. It is of Divine appointment...(154).

Between 1879 and the close of 1881, 228 boys and 107 girls were put under the charge of Glasgow's Day Industrial Schools (155).

A Question of Control

It was shown in an earlier section that many schools closed very quickly after the passing of the 1872 Act and transferred to the School Board. A word should be included about the church schools which closed.

Between 1873 and 1882 a total of 132 schools were discontinued in Glasgow. The majority were Private schools with 57, then those of the

Established Church with 22, the Free Church 15, the United Presbyterian Church 14 and other Protestant churches with 6 schools discontinued. It has been too readily assumed that the churches simply wished to rid themselves of a financial burden and that the saving of money took precedence over the saving of souls, no Protestant church being willing to pay the costs of ensuring a Christian education by retaining schools under its control (156). This is, however, whilst containing some element of truth, too simplistic and too easy an explanation.

Although the Churches, in educational matters, were less powerful than previously, and teachers were no longer required to sign the Confession of Faith before employment, teachers *were* compelled to sign a Declaration [Appendix 20], in which they undertook not to teach anything which might be considered contrary to the teachings of the Established Church. Furthermore, the training of teachers was left, by the 1872 Act, in the hands of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church. The new schools of the Board, *with their church-trained teachers*, were far superior to anything which the churches could provide. If the School Board so wished, the Bible and Shorter Catechism would continue to be taught in schools, as sanctioned by the Act of 1872.

With such provision it was expected that higher and better standards could be attained in literacy and numeracy, and especially, a good moral grounding; were not many members of the early Boards in Glasgow pillars of their respective churches? A.G. Collins, critic and member of the third Board, spoke caustically of; 'The strictly denominational character of the first Glasgow School Board'...(157). Candidates, he went on, were not elected due to their personal qualities but, '...according to the numerical strength of the various religious denominations' (158). Five members of the first Board were staunch

supporters of the Free Church while another three were members of the Established Church.

Although no longer having the power to officially determine the course of education in Glasgow, the main Protestant Churches, by their locum tenentes on the School Board, could ensure that their beliefs and values would continue to be taught in schools, without having to continue the financial upkeep.

Something more and something better

The implementation, in Glasgow, of the 1872 Education Act opened to critical gaze areas of social behaviour other than education. Through the operations of the School Board, '...a light is being thrown into many a dark and hidden corner...' (159). With greater clarity than previously, the horrors of poverty, ill-health and unsuitable living conditions were brought more forcibly to the fore. A social conscience was stimulated among many of the more affluent who were forced to adopt a new and necessary approach to the cumulative effects of rapid social change.

It had been early recognised by influential members of the School Board such as Mitchell and Connal, that there existed a strong relationship between poor school attendance and deprivation, social, intellectual and economic. The assault on educational deprivation became, therefore, a campaign on a broad front;

The School Board is something more and something better than a mere agency for building schools and securing the attendance of children. It is charged not only with providing the most suitable literary education for all, but with looking after the best interests of the most humble, raising them so far as possible from the low social conditions in which they lie... (160).

The question of educational progress is often convoluted; many varied factors must be considered. It is also a truism that the emphasis put on such factors and the means of measurement differ greatly. Using two objective factors - the construction of purpose-built schools and the application of measures to promote and encourage attendance - then the efforts of the early Glasgow School Boards towards educational progress must be viewed as positive.

It has been shown that with the school building programme, the Board was largely successful in meeting its initial target [of 22,00 places], and that with respect to the growing numbers in attendance each subsequent year, the Board could claim with some justification that this, '...has been owing to the large, numerous, and admirable schools which are now located in all parts of the City' (161). Once offered, such an experience for an increasing number of children could not be easily denied in the future. A base line was established below which neither the Board nor the population at large would consider falling.

Although the arithmetical contortions of both pro- and anti-Attendance Committee factions leave an exact statement impossible, there is no doubt that, spurred by the 1872 Act, the Attendance Committee procedures did help to get more children into school. The Board were within their right to claim that much of the success was,

...owing to the zeal and energy of your School Board officers, and their increasing familiarity with the quarters of the City and the families where neglect and carelessness most abound (162).

Between 1873 and 1882, the Glasgow School Board ensured that greater schooling and learning took place for the majority of children where, for many, inadequate or no schooling had taken place before. Whatever their beliefs in the future development of society and what

schooling *should* become, the early Boards laid the foundation of what schooling *did* become.

Schools in Glasgow were not a new phenomenon. However, schools administered by one popularly elected authority, giving children, as far as possible, a similarity of educational provision, were completely new. The 1872 Act began a process of evolutionary change for schooling in Glasgow; it allowed the energy and enthusiasm of philanthropy to flourish in an official and municipal setting, and, like health and to some extent housing, schooling progressed - it bettered what had gone before.

In a retrospective look at these early Boards, John McMath recognised the importance and quality of the task accomplished. While conscious of the city's many successes in various fields of endeavour, McMath wished to; ' Let Glasgow's glory be in the empire of learning' (163).

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Chapter Four

' Men, high-minded Men'

Introduction

This chapter will examine the relationship between the first three Glasgow School Boards and their teachers, especially with regard to qualifications and salaries. A relatively cordial working partnership existed from 1873 to 1879 but by the latter date the arrival on the Board of a more financially stringent group changed attitudes and perceptions of the teachers' worth. A new policy on salaries provoked conflict and dispute which some longer serving members found unnecessary. For others, the economic costs involved in maintaining the fledgling education system in Glasgow took precedence over good relationships and communication with the schools.

In one sense, teachers became more accountable; value for money, associated with the recent introduction of the Revised Code and the reliance on pass rates, was demanded by ratepayers to a much greater degree than previously. The initial enthusiasm for schooling which Glasgow had shown in 1872 was being cooled by the realisation that such a commitment, growing continually, must be paid for.

The controversy over teachers' salaries, beginning with the 1879 School Board elections, marked a watershed for the Glasgow School Board. Whilst not disappearing altogether, the individual drive and philanthropic idealism of the earlier Boards was tempered by the knowledge that, even supported by legislation, or perhaps because of it, finances for education were finite.

Providing Efficient Teachers

The providing of efficient teachers and school appliances, the fixing of salaries of teachers, and the management of schools... (1).

So was described one of the major branches of the work of the

School Board of Glasgow. The Committee on Teachers and Teaching was appointed on 29th January, 1874; not immediately after the first Board elections, '...as the number of schools under the Board was very limited for some time...' (2), but fully nine months before the first school (Rose Street in October, 1874) to be officially opened by the Board itself.

The Committee was charged with reporting to the full Board;

...on the qualifications of Candidates for the office of Teacher, on their character and conduct and on the efficiency with which they discharged their duties...
(3).

Between January, 1874 and January, 1882, the Board considered the qualifications of more than 600 Head and Assistant Masters and more than 600 Mistresses.

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 changed the conditions of teachers' tenure; their appointment was now to be, '...during the pleasure of the school board' (4), and not the *ad vitum aut culpam* which had been the generally accepted position prior to 1872. It was not until 1882 that a Bill was passed to regulate the procedure to be followed by school boards in the dismissal of teachers (5). This was to;

...secure that no certified teacher appointed by and holding office under a School Board in Scotland shall be dismissed from such office without due notice to the teacher and due deliberation on the part of the School Board...(6).

A teacher would now have to be given three weeks notice and a majority of the full school board would have to be in agreement. Pre-1872 teachers were exempted under the 1872 Act.

As had also been demanded by teachers' organisations, there was a tightening with respect to qualifications [the E.I.S. had been calling for greater teacher training since their Congress of 1853]. A person

appointed principal of a public school must now hold a, ‘...certificate of competency...’ (7), gained after being examined according to regulations set by the Scotch Education Department and judged on his, ‘...theory and practice of teaching...’ (8). The divide between the graduate and non-graduate teacher was perpetuated in the 1872 Act, for if a person held a University degree in the Arts or Science from a United Kingdom University the examination for the certificate could be dispensed with.

Many of the meetings of the Committee on Teachers and Teaching were held at the Normal Schools where candidates for teaching posts were interviewed. As they expressly wished to provide, ‘...efficient teachers...’ (9), the policy of the Glasgow School Board was to employ only trained teachers, although for practical and legal reasons many of the untrained staff of the pre-1872 schools which transferred to the Board were retained.

University graduates with no practical training in teaching did not receive a favourable response from the School Board of Glasgow. Glasgow,

...while fully recognising the advantage of adding university education, were unanimous and decided in preferring the Training College man, not only to the acting teacher, but to the average untrained graduate...(10).

From the outset, the Board viewed teaching, certainly in the elementary schools, as a practical activity, using personnel trained specifically for the task. This pragmatic approach, believed Lord Moncreiff, was best: for, ‘...the best any system [of education] can do is to teach the pupils to educate themselves...’, and giving, ‘...practical meaning is the best fruit of the child’s schooling’ (11).

The first two Glasgow School Boards in particular realised the scale

and importance of their task; they recognised that to have a truly effective system of education the schools needed to be staffed by what the Clerk to the Board, William Kennedy, called; ' Men, high-minded men' (12). For Kennedy, the classroom teacher was crucially important; 'Make the system what you please, still the Master is everything' (13). Wishing to launch a programme of basic education which would cater effectively for the majority of the city's children, therefore;

...in these early years the Board equipped newly erected schools with a complete and efficient staff of Teachers (14).

In a sense, the Board could be criticized for not utilizing the wider and greater learning of the university graduate and thereby expanding the curriculum in schools. The exception was the High School of Glasgow where graduates were preferred but, it should be remembered that the members of the School Board did not wish to radically alter the social structure; the High School, of which some members of the Board were former pupils, was always treated as a separate entity, giving an education appropriate to the sons of the more affluent.

For the majority, basic instruction to raise the general standard of education and to enable people to develop further than they could previously was the requisite of the time. It was not a deliberate attempt to restrict and stifle the learning of the majority for social purposes. It was a genuine endeavour, given both the period and the size of the problem, to better many aspects of life for the inhabitants of the rapidly expanding city. By its policy on teacher employment, the Board hoped to solve two problems which George Lewis had identified over three decades before;

Left at present to any system or to no system, young teachers blunder on as best they can; and the effect of this leaving them without any professional

education, is to give to the rich the most enterprising, successful and experienced teachers - and to leave to the poor, too generally, the sluggards and novices of the profession (15).

To its credit, the Board wished for the highest standards possible in its teaching staff. A combination of teacher training college and a university education was the preferred form of qualification, as Kennedy had intimated some years earlier in his Presidential Address to the Educational Institute of Scotland in 1866; '...a combination of the two courses, the university and the normal shool' (16). The Glasgow School Board actively encouraged practicing teachers who wished to pursue a university course by allowing them time off, on full salary, from their normal duties to attend Glasgow University; '...the Board are anxious to do all in their power to encourage Assistant Teachers to prosecute their studies...' (17). Further, the Board showed an early interest in staff development, wishing teachers to continue with their education and venturing, '...to express the hope that this continues to be eagerly done, even after their University course is finished...' (18). Of the 98 Assistant Masters employed by the Board in January, 1882 (19), 35 applied that year and were in attendance at university (20); 11 of the 44 Head Masters were graduates or had attended university for two sessions or more (21). Such a policy was viewed as a sign of progress (22), not only for the profession but for education as a whole. Parents, apart from seeing their children educated in splendid new buildings, also recognised that properly qualified personnel (apart from the pre-1872 staff) were responsible for the lessons. The physical characteristics of the new schools were complemented by the proficiency of the new teachers.

An initial objective of the Board, '...was to put each school under the superintendence of one Head Master with a suitable staff of

Assistants' (23). It was a system which the Board found, '...to be both economical and efficient' (24). Members of the Board had a close relationship with the city schools; Mitchell relates how some members felt that an, '...hour spent in the morning when the Bible lesson was being given has been among the pleasantest hours of the day' (25). Teachers could write directly to the Board with regard to salary matters; for example, Mr. Cameron of Stirling Street School, Mr. Paterson of Rumford Street School and Miss Robertson of Graeme Street School, all communicated with the Board asking for an increase in salary (26). Head Masters were left to decide (apart from the compulsory subjects of the Scotch Code) which Specific Subjects were to be taught; Head Masters were also left to decide which books should be used in their schools (27). There were few intermediaries between the schools and the members of the Board.

Whereas before 1872, '...the three R's ruled with an iron hand...' (28), the Glasgow Board did attempt to widen the curriculum for children. The teaching of basic literacy and numeracy remained, necessarily, to the fore in order to maintain a high level of examination passes and maximise the Government grant but the Board did encourage other areas of experience into the schools. Mr. Miller, Lecturer on Music in the Free Church Training College, was appointed to visit Board schools and determine the best means of teaching music. Although beginning very simply, after a number of years children were participating in, '...a number of choruses from the Oratorios of Handel, Haydn, and other composers' (29). Nor were these activities, '...confined to selected pupils, but are taught to the classes as such and in class hours' (30). Cookery was being taught (to girls only) in 11 schools by 1882, pupils from neighbouring districts often travelling to one of

these schools for instruction. By 1882, 115 Board teachers held a Certificate from the Science and Art Department in Drawing. Swimming lessons for pupils began in 1879 and in 1876 Penny Savings Banks were started in several Board schools.

The Glasgow School Board viewed the moral aspect of schooling as vitally important. Head Masters were given instruction on the teaching of Temperance and the Board had continued with the custom of instruction in Religion and the Shorter Catechism (subject to the conscience clause). William Mitchell enjoyed visiting schools during the morning Bible lessons; he viewed such lessons as suitable for inculcating,

...those moral and scriptural precepts of diligence,
obedience, kindness and general good conduct...(31)

For Mitchell, these were the qualities which promoted a better life; he lived by them himself. It was, however, not his intention to regiment people but to improve their condition.

In January, 1882, the Board employed, '...more than 300 ex-pupil teachers and pupil teachers (32). The former had completed their training time in school and were awaiting entry to the Normal Schools. If, as pupil teachers, they had passed well in a minimum of three out of four annual examinations during their apprenticeship, they were retained by the Board till the July entrance examination for entry to the Training College. Two chances at gaining entry were allowed; however, failure at the second attempt meant dismissal. The quality and social background of male Pupil Teachers in general had come in for criticism (33). Some were said to leave school, '...with very shallow attainments indeed...' (34), and it was noted that, '...aspirants to teach are not necessarily teachers...' (35). The Glasgow School Board was aware of such criticism

and was, '...particularly anxious that all their Pupil Teachers should have the benefit of a complete course of training at the Normal School' (36).

By January, 1882, teaching staff in the Board's 44 elementary schools stood at - 44 Head Masters, 17 Second Masters, 98 Assistant Masters, 160 Assistant Mistresses, 4 Special Teachers of Vocal Music, 15 Teachers of Pianoforte and over 300 ex-Pupil and Pupil Teachers.

Throughout its first two terms the School Board of Glasgow had worked assiduously to provide what it believed to be the best and most appropriate form of staffing in the schools. Financial cost had not played a major part in Board thinking and relationships with the teaching profession were generally cordial; teachers, qualified teachers, were very necessary and therefore were employed.

By the third triennial election, however, the darkening clouds of economy had begun to sweep over the city. When the storm broke it was fortunate for the system that the Board policy of employing trained teachers was in place and also that teachers themselves were more organised and confident in their role than previously.

Initial Payments

Following the passing of the 1872 Act and the rapid increase in the number of Board schools over the next few years, the question of salaries for teaching staff did not provoke any significant conflict in the deliberations of the School Board. A partial explanation may be that the Free Church and Established Church parties were in the majority and it was their policies which tended to be implemented; although they tried to minimise overpayments when purchasing school sites, finance was not the main concern.

The dual thrust which concentrated the attention of Board

members had been in the providing of schools and encouraging attendance at those schools by the city children. Simultaneously, they had wished to see those schools managed by good professionals, and, '...they did so from the conviction that this was the method best fitted to attract scholars and thereby fill the schools (37).

Initially, no fixed salary structure existed for the payment of Head Masters. The salary paid in the first years of the Board to new appointees was almost an afterthought. In agreeing to appoint Mr. John Maclachlan as Head Master of Bishop Street School, the minutes stated that the appointment would be, '...at such salary as shall be afterwards agreed upon' (38). Mr. Harvey, appointed to Rockvilla School, was to have, '...his emoluments to be as afterwards determined' (39). Such a laissez-faire and trusting policy on salary is not too surprising during the early years of School Board activity in Glasgow. Schools were being rapidly transferred and temporary accommodation sought. Under the 1872 Act (Clause 38) teachers who transferred to the Board would retain their previous conditions and salaries; it was with the new appointments where retrospective salary agreements seemed to be the norm. These people may well have been willing to accept this situation as the new legislative body could have seemed a more substantial and enduring prospect than either the private or sessional schools which would most likely have been their previous experience.

By 1874, from owning no schools at all in March the previous year, the Glasgow Board were now responsible for twenty six schools with 10,552 children on the roll (40). With this increase in their school population and the fact that Government grants were now beginning to arrive as, '...the amount of Government Grant earned for one year did not come in till the following year...' (41), the Board would have to

decide in which proportion grant money and fees would be paid out in salaries. In this they were simply following past convention.

Whitelaw, the Board Chairman, asked that the Board, ‘...be empowered to make a temporary provision as to salaries to be paid...’ (42). In order therefore, to allow the schools to become fully operational, to receive an inspection and subsequent grants, the Board guaranteed a fixed income of £300 to the Head Master for the first year in which the school was operating (43). Where schools were much smaller, £250 was the figure.

More definitely known are the salaries of monitors and pupil teachers, the former being paid 15s per month. Pupil teachers were paid on a sliding scale over their five year apprenticeship:

1st year	£12
2nd year	£15
3rd year	£18
4th year	£21
5th year	£25

As a check on their efficiency and suitability, only two thirds of these sums were received without conditions (salaries being paid monthly). The remainder of the sum was,

...only to be made after the pupil teacher has passed the examination before Her Majesty’s Inspector and produced a certificate of good conduct and attention to duties from the Head Master (44).

Ex- pupil teachers received the same as senior pupil teachers but, as was noted earlier, their future prospects depended on gaining entry to Normal School.

In 1875, the male assistant teacher was receiving a salary which ranged from £52 to £90 per annum; the majority were earning from £70 to £80. Four years later most were earning over £80 while a small

number received £120, £150 and one assistant teacher, £170. Those people on very high payments were graded Second Masters, a term and a position which was later to be called for officially by the Glasgow Assistant Masters in their dealings with the third School Board. By 1879, the majority of male assistants had moved to the £80 to £90 salary range. The majority of women, however, were grouped at a much lower level [Appendix 29].

Women were never considered for headships and were very limited in their promotion prospects. Such discrimination began early. Female pupil teachers, despite having passed the examination for the Normal School, had to forfeit their place to a male student if the intake numbers were limited. It was not that the School Board wished to dispense with women teachers; teaching was viewed as a particularly appropriate vocation for women. In 1876, the City Chamberlain, speaking of women said that, '...the educational department, is peculiarly and righteously the one wherein their influence is, or ought to be, paramount' (45). That influence was to be focused on teaching and training children and not on the decision-making process.

Assistants' salaries, both male and female, were based on a fixed scale. If they wished for an increase they wrote directly to the Board. [It was shown previously that, in 1876, Mr.Cameron, Mr.Paterson and Miss Robertson, all wrote to the School Board requesting an increase in salary]. During the terms of the first two Boards such demands were remitted to the Teachers and Teaching Committee under the Chairmanship of William Kidston. Advice was sought from the Head Master of the school concerned with regard to the teacher's efficiency and character. Increases in salary for those receiving a good report were not uncommon.

Although on a basic salary of less than their male counterparts, the mentoring of pupil teachers allowed many women to increase their income. The Government grant for the training of pupil teachers was paid directly to the teacher concerned. As there were more female than male pupil teachers, and as Clause 70(c) of the Scotch Code stated that pupil teachers must be of the same sex as the teacher with whom they served, women necessarily became the mentors in the vast number of cases. Appendix 30 shows the revised salaries of female assistants when pupil teacher payments are taken into account. It was an incidence of the late Victorian idea on the protection of young girls while simultaneously denying their elder sisters full and equal rights. While typical of the paternalism of the period, it should not be viewed in a pejorative sense using present day constructs. It must be seen as part of the accepted (by the majority) convention and morality of the time.

Head Masters' Salaries 1873 - 1879

The Committee on Teachers and Teaching initially recommended that, once schools were in full operation, the income of Head Masters, '...should be made of a fixed salary, a proportion of the Fees, and a proportion of the Government Grant' (46).

This universal formula could not at first be implemented. Some Head Masters had transferred to Board schools from the pre-1872 system and were often managing exactly the same school as before. Under the 1872 Act their salary could not be any less than previously; such situations led to a plethora of payments in some city schools. An example will help; Mr. Donald was the Head Master of St. Rollox School, run with generosity by Charles Tennant, when it was transferred to the Board in 1874. Mr. Donald's salary for the year 1875-76 was a payment of

£400, for a school roll of 400 pupils. A school with a similar roll, London Road with 409 pupils, had a newly appointed Head Master who in 1875-76 received £250, the fixed salary paid in the school's first year of operation. Mr. Donald, with previous experience and a previous salary, fared better with the Board, who were, it should be said in their favour, paying more (of necessity) but were receiving an experienced man into the system. Only when the appointment was to a new Board school did the Board implement its own system of payment.

Mr. Donald was transferred in late 1876 from St. Rollox to the new Thomson Street with a roll of 886 pupils. In 1877, the first year of operation, he received the fixed salary of £300. In 1878, his salary was based on the Board formula - £80 per annum salary + $\frac{1}{3}$ of the fees + $\frac{1}{3}$ of the grant. This furnished Mr. Donald in 1878 with a salary of £598 18s. Similarly, Mr. Laidlaw of the much larger Crookston Street School received his £300 in 1877 (the first year of operation) and in 1878 received, using the Board formula, the sum of £730 2s 9d. As more new schools were opened between 1873 and 1879, more new Head Masters were appointed and, after their initial year and salary of £300 or £250, were able to earn far greater sums under the Board scheme.

In applying this system of payment the Board believed that the more efficient Head Master would prosper as, by extension, would the school and the pupils. Basing payment on fees and grants meant that, as far as the Board were concerned, the Head Master would strive all the more to encourage attendance and to promote good examination results.

In its genuine enthusiasm the Board had overlooked the fact that the indirect compulsion to attend contained in the 1872 Act made the task of the Head Master easier; in effect, he had a captive audience and generally the fees were paid. By insisting on modern schools,

equipment and trained teachers, the School Board actually ensured that the teaching standards and ultimately the examination pass rates would be higher than previously. Board schools also tended to be much larger than their predecessors, sometimes incorporating four or five schools in one new building. Obviously, the income from fees and grants would be much higher.

It could be argued that the incentive to enhance income by good teaching and efficient school management would be reduced due to the large numbers in school and the element of compulsion. That, however, would be unfair both to the Board and to the schools. The newly trained teachers entering schools between 1873 - 1879 did a remarkable job. Between 1873 and 1879 the average percentage passes in grant examinations rose in Glasgow Board schools from 89% to 93.3%; in arithmetic alone there was an 8.7% rise in the average percentage of passes (47).

In the General Summary of the Glasgow School Board, written in 1882 close to the end of the third Board term of office, there is the following statement from the Finance Committee:

...during their first three years of office the erection of schools formed their most pressing duty, while during the second, they had to devise the principles on which the teaching of the schools should be carried on, and during the third, their prominent work was to settle the question of teachers' emoluments on sound principles (48).

This statement was written after the main power, through control of the distribution of money, had mostly passed from the original group of members to newer members whose perceived financial realism took precedence over earlier idealism. The complexion of the School Board

of Glasgow changed after the 1879 elections. Consideration will now be given to the educational significance of this change.

An Exercise in Power

The professed policy of the Ratepayers candidates at the 1879 triennial School Board election was to cut what they saw as the too liberal spending of the previous two Boards. The Boards were criticised, ‘...for their want of economy in the management of the large funds at their disposal...’ (49), and efforts should be made, ‘...to secure an infusion of new blood into the Board...’ (50).

Teachers’ salaries, especially those of Head Masters, became the main focus of the attack: ‘...in 1879 it appeared to the Board [after the March elections] that the Emoluments of some Head Teachers were too high...’ (51).

The election of 1879 was not simply a contest over payment of teachers’ salaries; a struggle took place over basic principles, a struggle for power which would define future relationships and institutional structure. Several reasons converged in time and place to make such a struggle inevitable; the prevailing financial climate, the suspicion of the old philanthropists by the new economy minded business men, the fear of the Roman Catholic authorities that the new Board schools would swamp their separate system, the distrust by many towards the Established and Free Church representation on the School Board. Each played a part in determining a change of direction and redistribution of power after 1879.

In October, 1878, the City of Glasgow Bank crashed with liabilities of £12,400,000 and assets of only £7,200,000. The Bank had become too dependent on the London money market and had carried on a great deal

of business abroad. It had invested in the Racine and Mississippi Railroad (later the Western Union) and by 1878 was taking credit in its books for interest due from the railroad of £314,089. By the latter part of 1878 the railroad account had a debt of £1,016,000.

The City Bank had also financed James Morton & Co., chief sponsors of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company. Morton & Co. were backed by London brokers, Overand Gurney & Co. and when they failed the full financial support for Morton fell upon the Bank.

The Bank had also allowed a small number of business houses to increase their borrowing rather than spreading the load. By 1878, three firms alone owed the Bank £5,379,000 as against total loans of £12 million. The problem was exacerbated as the more competent bankers and business men had left when they recognised what was happening, leaving the less able in charge. At the collapse, the greatest cause for scandal came with the fact that the Bank directors had been deliberately falsifying the balance sheets for years. Despite attempts at rescue, including some advances from other Scottish banks, the City of Glasgow Bank stopped trading on 1st. October, 1878.

The effects were widespread. ‘ Great distress and commercial depression prevailed after the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank’ (52). Shares in the Union Bank (used by the School Board) dropped from £276 to £169 and in the Clydesdale Bank from £176 to £165. At a meeting a few months later, Sir James Watson (an unsuccessful candidate in the 1879 School Board election) said,

...in the opinion of this meeting the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank is a national calamity... so disastrous in its widespread effects on the community at large...(53).

The year 1878 had in general not been good for trade; a report from

the Board of Trade in 1879 spoke of, '...the languishing state of our industries which prevailed during the whole of last year...' (54). Of the 1,819 shareholders in the City of Glasgow Bank, only 254 remained solvent; nearly 2,000 families in Glasgow suffered severe loss, many being ruined altogether.

It is little wonder that in the first few months of 1879 the business community in Glasgow were nervous and perhaps over-cautious on money matters.

Sir, In these days of commercial frauds and disasters, when the air is full of rumours, and when men's hearts are failing them for fear of further disclosures, it will be well to consider what additional safeguards can be provided to prevent the repetition of such reckless trading and banking as have been brought to light within these few months past (55).

It is not to be thought surprising that in such a climate there would be a call for greater control of public money and a consequent attack on those who were now viewed as having been too liberal in its disposal. Sympathy could be expressed for those who provided the funds through taxation and rates, or in the case of the City Bank through investment; those who were responsible for spending and investing money could be blamed when problems arose. A City Bank Relief Fund and a proposed lottery had been set up to help investors while great venom and resentment was directed at the Bank directors who came to trial.

There were two main foci of attack by the Ratepayers candidates in the lead up to the School Board election of March, 1879. Firstly, they believed the salaries of Head Masters especially were too high. It was their belief that Head Masters' salaries and those of other teachers should not, in total, be an amount greater than the sum raised through both

school fees and Government grants. Appendix 31 shows the fees and grants, teachers' salaries, average attendance and salary excess over fees/grants income from 1875 to 1881. As the new schools came on line over this period and the number of children attending increased, the amount received from fees/grants automatically rose. However, more schools meant more teachers and salary costs also rose. The year 1878, significantly that preceeding the election year, shows the greatest difference between fees/grants income and salaries. Yet while grants were up for 1878, fee intake was reduced, a result of the downturn in trade and industry. Head Masters were known to often turn a blind eye to fee arrears and the Board itself, while wishing to follow up on non-payment, did allow parents to pay in instalments. There was a sliding scale of payment for those with large families (56). The proposed policy of the Ratepayers candidates would ensure that salaries, which took up a large part of the educational expenditure, would have no effect on the school rate.

A second attack was directed at the school building programme carried out by the Board over the previous six years. A.G. Collins believed that too many schools had been erected unnecessarily and stated that the new grouping on the Board, '...would stop the building of new schools until those erected were fully occupied...' (57). The previous chapter showed how the rate of school building slowed dramatically after 1879. Collins took no account of the stated Board policy of building in the areas of greatest need and, specifically, of planning for the future intake. William Mitchell reminded Collins that the Board looked at, '...not only present but at future requirements...' (58).

The criticism of the school building programme received support

from other sources. In a letter to the **Glasgow Herald**, a correspondent wrote, '...I would urge the ratepayers to insist on the School Board stopping their suicidal policy of building any more schools...' (59). The writer went on to agree with Dr. Munro, a Roman Catholic member of the Board, who had stated that he believed schools outwith the Board system were of a better quality. The new custom-built schools, however, could be viewed as a threat to the Roman Catholic Church; they [the new schools] offered trained teachers, modern apparatus and comfortable and healthy surroundings. Remaining outside the new national system, the Roman Catholic Church could not hope to compete, and there was always the possibility of some parents placing a secular education before religious upbringing. Certainly, Roman Catholic ratepayers had no choice when it came to paying the school rate but did have a choice in the school their child would attend.

Over the first two triennial Boards there had been no significant disagreement over the school building programme and the R.C. schools had worked, like their counterparts in the Board system, closely with the Attendance Department. Now the Roman Catholic members moved perceptibly towards the Ratepayers party and began to distance themselves from the liberal minded members of the Established and Free Churches. Fleming, soon to be a successful Ratepayer candidate, believed there were too many clergymen on the Board; for him, business men should look after the affairs of this world and clergymen the affairs of the next (60). The Board should be, '...composed mainly of gentlemen who were engaged in business...', for such a Board, '...was more likely to be economically managed...' (61). Yet without the support of the R.C. clergymen on the Board, the Ratepayers party could not have built the power base which they eventually did.

The Ratepayers party did not believe that the salaries of teachers were deserved on grounds of efficiency. At a meeting on 13th. March, it was pointed out that the average paid to Head Masters throughout Scotland was £137 3s but that in Glasgow the average was £424; no mention was made of the fact that, in general, the Glasgow schools were larger.

If that extravagance had led to efficiency they might not have the same objection to it, but when the opposite was the case it surely argued that the teachers were not only overpaid but that they were deficient in efficiency as well (62).

A.G. Collins wished the sitting Board members to stand down at the 1879 election; he believed only fifteen names should be put forward for the election, excluding those of the present Board, and thus save the city the cost of an election. In fact the 1879 election was the least expensive to date; 1879 cost £2,644 14s 3d, 1876 cost £3,315 19s 1d and 1873 cost £7,206 5s 6d (63). Another complaint of Collins was to the effect that, the Board took no notice of the views of others and were secretive about how money was spent. He mentioned, '...the extravagant and high-handed policy of the members of the School Board...' (64). This attitude particularly annoyed William Mitchell who quickly pointed out that he always gave very detailed monthly reports at Public Meetings; further he, Mitchell, had missed only one meeting since 1873. Would the new members, he asked, be prepared to give up such an amount of time, not to save the ratepayers money, but to help poor and neglected children? (65). Collins was eventually to leave the Board within a year of his election for reasons of business.

In the weeks leading up to the election both sides attacked and counter-attacked. Long called the Ratepayers candidates, '...the

pretended friends of economy...' (66), and said their real reasons [for standing in the election] were to rid the Board of the 'use and wont' party. At a meeting for the supporters of serving Board members, Professor Candlish pointed out that some Ratepayers candidates would not have been averse to lining their own pockets at the expense of the School Board, while publically professing economy;

...one of these gentlemen, a lawyer, was acting for a party who had property to sell, and after the bargain was concluded he said that had he known the School Board were the purchasers he would have raised the price (67).

Rather than being secretive and profligate, Candlish continued, the previous Board had saved ratepayers money. As far as he was concerned the new schools were not primarily a question of cost but, '...belonged to the youth of the future, and would serve for generations to come' (68).

In their bid for power, the Ratepayers party attacked the general running of the previous Boards in addition to their concentration on salaries and building costs. The previous chapter showed Collins' criticism of Mitchell's policy on attendance defaulters. By stressing economy and value for money at a time of economic anxiety, by allying themselves with the Roman Catholics who wished a restricted school building programme for their own reasons, and by, for the most part, staying clear of purely pedagogical matters, the Ratepayers candidates hoped to win the majority of seats on the Board.

In the Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland 1879-80, the following passage appeared with regard to School Board elections:

The object of many members of school boards is not

to improve education, but rather to pursue such a policy as will secure their re-election by the ratepayers. Now the experience of the last school board elections is, that in many parishes it is possible for some, if not a majority of members of the board, to procure their election by professing economy, and that in the most unintelligent way (69).

The Ratepayers party, some of whom were, '...thirsting to serve the human race and to pocket ten per cent by their philanthropic zeal...' (70), brought a different philosophy of municipal government to the School Board; it was a policy of retrenchment. William Mitchell best expressed the difference in approach. In putting himself forward again in 1879, he did not speak of economising, of cutting expense, of restricting his humane approach to problems in favour of a more rigorous business ethos. He would stand for election, quite simply, '...in the interests of the poor neglected children of the city' (71).

An Unequal Contest

When the votes were counted after the March election, it was seen that of the fifteen members of the new School Board, seven could be classed as part of the group whose more liberal views had come under attack - Connal, Aikman, Dodds, Kidston, Cuthbertson, Long and Mitchell. The remaining eight were composed of three Roman Catholic members (Munro, Cuthbert-Wood, McCloskey) and four of the Ratepayers candidates (Collins, Colquhoun, Fife, Fleming) while the final member was Martin, a town councillor who consistently voted with the Ratepayers party [Appendix 32].

Within one month of taking office the new Board set up a sub-committee, The Committee on Teachers' Emoluments, of the Teachers

and Teaching Committee, on 1st. May; four of the six members were for economy. The sub-committee remit ran as follows;

That it be laid down by this Board as a principle to be aimed at, as that on which Teachers' should be remunerated, that the aggregate Fees and Grants in the Board Schools should meet the current expenses, including the salaries of the teaching staff...' (72).

In addition to attempted savings on wages by fees/grants income, the sub-committee,

...were of opinion that the present rate of school staff in the Day Schools was excessive and recommended that the Staff should be reduced to a maximum of one Assistant, or two Pupil Teachers in addition to the Staff required by the Scotch Code...(73).

The change in the Board's approach to teachers was immediate. Where previously, letters from individual Masters/Mistresses requesting a salary increase had been remitted to the Teachers and Teaching Committee, this was no longer the case.

There was a letter from Samuel M. Murray....requesting an increase of salary. This letter was ordered to lie on the table (74).

By June, the School Board Clerk was instructed to inform all applicants for an increase in salary, '...that the Board were not prepared to entertain their applications...' (75).

From 1873, William Kidston had been the Convener of the Teachers and Teaching Committee. He now saw his policies bitterly attacked by the Ratepayers party. They determined to remove Kidston, one of their most outspoken critics, from his convenership. A strong advocate of 'use and wont', Kidston had never had very cordial relations

with the Roman Catholic group on the Board. At the beginning of September, 1879, Colquhoun gave notice that;

...at the next monthly meeting he would move that this Board shall censure Mr. Kidston for the language used by him to the Roman Catholic members, and remove him from the Convenership of the Teachers Committee (76).

At the Board meeting on 13th October, Kidston was indeed removed from his convenership by seven votes to six.

Having lost a motion to have the school rate kept at 4d in the £ and not raised to 5d, there not being enough of them present (77), the Ratepayers party continued the attack. The sub-committee drew up lists of schools in which the minimum salary of the Head Master should be £250 and £200 respectively, depending on the size of the roll [Appendix 33]. Crucially, they recommended that, '...in all Schools, the maximum should be £500...' (78), £100 less than that fixed by the previous Board. At the full meeting on 21st August, 1879, despite an amendment moved by Kidston and dissent being recorded by Connal, Dodds and Mitchell, the motion was carried by eight votes to five.

Horried by such a reduction in their salaries the Head Mastres wrote to the Board before the meeting of 15th September, enclosing a Memorial stating their case and requesting that a deputation of their number be allowed to meet with the Board [Appendix 34].

Before the deputation entered the September meeting, Aikman and Dodds put forward a motion proposing that Head Masters receive 10% of any excess over the £500 maximum when fees and grants exceeded that sum; also that the Board should consider returning to the policy of £80 + 1/3 fees + 1/3 grants. The motion was lost by eight votes to six. At the same meeting, eight amendments were put forward by members of the

former Board to soften in some respect the blow to Head Masters of the new proposed salary structure. All the amendments lost in the division.

By the beginning of October it was obvious that the new salary scheme for Head Masters of Board schools would be that recommended by the Sub-Committee on Emoluments. William Mitchell insisted that his reasons for dissenting at this time should be recorded [Appendix 35].

The new salary structure set the minimum at £200 or £250, according to the class of school, and the maximum salary at £500. The main structure consisted of a fixed salary of £100 which could be raised to £150, '...in cases where the fees are low and difficult of collection' (79). This fixed minimum was augmented by $\frac{1}{4}$ of the fees and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the grant. When the total reached £350, then only $\frac{1}{8}$ of the fees and $\frac{1}{8}$ of the grant were to be given in excess of that sum. Before the proportion of the grant was paid the Board decided that the ordinary school expenses should be deducted. They believed this expedient as, '...the Head Masters should be interested in the school being conducted with due regard to economy' (80). The expenses deducted included furniture repair, the water rate, fuel and light.

Despite their written protests to the Board in September, 1879 [Appendix 36], and a deputation to the Board in November, the Assistant Masters fared no better and found many of their members taking a drop in salary. What made it particularly difficult to accept was that the Ratepayers party, previous to the election, had spoken of the Assistant Teacher as the man who did most of the work and should, therefore, receive greater remuneration (81). In the scheme adopted in November, Assistant Masters were now to receive from a minimum of £70 to a maximum of £100 per annum with intermediate grades of £80

and £90; Mistresses were to receive from £60 to £90 with intermediate grades of £70 and £80 (82).

By January, 1882, close to the end of the third Board period of office, the General Summary of the School Board was able to state that the new salary scheme was, '...now in full operation' (83).

Changing Times

It is an undoubted fact that the introduction of a new salary structure for teachers by the third Board made a significant difference, along with other economies, to the education budget.

The annual costs of teachers' salaries had been rising since 1873 and reached a sum of £49,439 2s 11d for the year 1878-79. After the introduction of the new payments, gradual at first, this annual sum fell to £49,073 7s 9d in 1879-80 and £48,031 16s 10d in 1880-81 (84).

It has already been remarked that 1878 was a poor year for business, a situation made all the more intense in Glasgow with the collapse of the City Bank. Paradoxically, this was the year when the annual expenditure of the School Board reached its highest level to date. The total Board expenditure for 1878-79 was £182,198 6s 7d, including the costs of purchasing the Bath Street offices and the purchase and alteration of the High School building in Elmbank Street (The costs for the High School were later moved to a separate account). Over the following two years the total expenditure fell to £127,305 10s 2d and £112,453 16s 7d respectively (85); there was less purchase of sites and less alteration, enlargement and building of schools. Printing, postage and stationery use were cut as were the costs for fuel and light for schools. From 1874 till 1879, the cost per scholar of teachers' salaries had risen. After the introduction of the new pay scheme there was an immediate

reduction [Appendix 37].

The suspicion that the poor trade figures and general economic downturn were being used as a reason for restricting teachers' salaries and reducing educational expenditure in general was not lost on the Assistant Masters;

...since the Assistant Teachers did not share, to any extent, in the prosperity of the country, they fail to see why they should suffer in times of commercial depression " (86).

In general, both Head Masters and Assistant Masters, in their arguments to the Board, called attention to the detrimental effects for education in the city if salaries were to be reduced. They believed the more able of their number would move elsewhere - Liverpool and London. Assistants' salaries began at £90 and £80 respectively in those cities while Edinburgh had instituted a Second Mastership at £150. Salary and prospects for promotion were important and, '...both must be improved in the interests of education as well as of the teachers ' (87). While there were cuts in educational spending, teachers could see that the local rate imposed on the ratepayers for Police purposes, was consistently higher than the school rate from 1875 to 1882 (88). Despite their protests, the teachers could not hope to win concessions. The composition of the Glasgow School Board had altered radically.

The original visionaries were now in a minority; financial considerations and a fear of overspending now played a larger role in Board deliberations. The alliance of the new economists and the Roman Catholic members, each for their own reasons, ensured that the earlier liberal thinking would no longer apply to the same extent. The original group of members had decided that the very necessary schools, the proper teachers and the welfare of children would be to the forefront

of their thinking. For them costs were a necessary concomitant which facilitated turning their educational and social beliefs into practical reality.

After the third triennial election, the efforts of the School Board of Glasgow would never impact upon the educational life of the city with the same force and enthusiasm as between 1873 and 1879. The 'palatial schools' would continue to appear in the city but at a much slower rate (89). The age of the individual in education, of a visionary breadth to the purposes of schooling, was drawing to a close. Greater emphasis on committee decisions would supercede amateur but effective individualism; the specialist began to make an appearance.

The period after 1879 in general, was concerned with efficiency in terms of value for money; education was not left untouched. Economic factors and the politics of the time simply caught up with the Glasgow School Board. In a speech at the opening of a Board School in Glasgow, Lord Moncreiff encapsulated the change. The real question in education was now, '...where the funds were to come from ' (90).

Chapter Four - References

- (1) *The School Board of Glasgow, General Summary of Work 1873 - 1882* p14
- (2) *Ibid*
- (3) *Ibid*
- (4) *The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, Ch 62 35 & 36 Vict. Clause 55*
- (5) *The Public Schools (Scotland) Teachers Act, 1882, Ch 18 45 & 46 Vict. Clause 3*
- (6) *Ibid*
- (7) *The Education (Scotland) Act , 1872, op. cit. Clause 56*
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Chapter Five

Parallel Progress

The Idea of Progress

Our meetings resemble nothing so much as a great Educational Infirmary, where as physicians we are called upon to deal with every phase of social malady (1).

Activity in the field of educational provision was the portal through which the unsatisfactory living conditions of many children became known. The primus mobile of much intervention in social welfare was the wretched state of these children and the concern, often expressed by Mitchell, that they were being prevented by their condition from enjoying the benefits of schooling. It was a time of great social, demographic and urban change; in terms of physical structure Glasgow was developing and expanding, as was both the number and composition of the population.

The scale of the social horrors brought by rapid industrialization had been unforeseen. It had been assumed that a general rise in the level of prosperity would ensure economic growth and it was believed by many that previous levels of welfare care would be adequate to cope. Too great an emphasis on individual liberty had led to what Arnold called, '...relaxed habits of government...' (2), a reluctance to indulge in direct taxation for welfare purposes and a distaste for excessive legislation. Only slowly was it realised that such habits, brought from the rural ethos of an earlier age, were rendered impotent by the new conditions. Under such circumstances, the pragmatism of many mid and late nineteenth century men and women was crucial. They became the driving force behind much of the new legislation, especially with regard to children, in the main areas of social welfare. For example, the School Board of Glasgow lobbied hard to ensure the passing of the

Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1878 which set up Day Industrial Schools in the city. Checkland has called such participation, '...the dynamic of individual action' (3).

This chapter will look at the range of charitable and voluntary provision available in the city; by 1881 there were 274 such agencies in Glasgow (4). It will trace the parallel growth of legislative action, both national and local, and it will be seen that this was a necessary development in order to tackle the intractable problems which diffuse charitable work ultimately found overwhelming. It is from this tandem approach - voluntary and legislative - that the chapter takes its title. The gulf between philanthropic action and the ability of the municipal authority to legislate in the social field, became increasingly narrower over the latter part of the nineteenth century. Further, of immense benefit to the new municipalism of the city, in addition to being a catalyst for change, the ethos of the philanthropist continued through many individuals to promote and direct municipal action. The growing attainments of the municipality were to become a source of pride for the citizens, manifesting itself in such buildings as the new City Chambers in George Square opened in 1887. At the ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone in 1883, attended by some 60,000 people, William Young the architect, spoke of the expanding city works such as the water supply from Loch Katrine, the development of art galleries and libraries, new sanitary laws and the creation of the Clyde as a navigable river. He called the city representatives a body of men, '...honourable and capable...', who were, '...unwearied in their efforts to accomplish the prosperity of the vast community which has honoured them with its trust' (5).

This chapter will also examine the link between the Glasgow School

Board and many voluntary organisations; the Poor Children's Dinner Table Society, East Park Home and the Glasgow Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children are examples. The School Board of Glasgow was anything but aloof and isolationist as William Mitchell pointed out:

Now, although it may be said that the duties of a School Board begin and end with education, it must be apparent to any one, on a moments reflection, that children cannot attend school who are not fed and clothed, and under some degree of proper control. Hence, a widely extended influence for good has been wrought by School Boards, both in the way of stimulating agencies which exist already in the interests of poor children, and by calling into existence new agencies, formally unthought of and untried (6).

The chapter will go on to study some particular agencies and the manner in which the School Board tried to co-ordinate their work in an attempt to bring greater efficiency of approach. The Boys' Brigade and the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society, founded and based on the prevalent social norms and beliefs of the middle class, will be viewed as examples of how attempts were made to educate adolescents in specific moral and social values.

In the fields of health provision and housing the involvement of middle class women in philanthropic effort grew during this period. It became an important outlet for such women, helping to define for them a new role in society. Initially proving their ability in voluntary action, the growing legislative structure of medical provision gave women significant status and allowed them to become socially and economically independent. The chapter will look lastly, at both charitable and official

provision for health care and housing, and the greater or lesser effect which it had in either sphere.

Mitchell's educational infirmary painted a relief map of Glasgow's social problems, directing the efforts of philanthropy which, due to its example and because of its limitations, stimulated the involvement of the municipal machine, bringing greater financial weight and a central strategy to focus upon the city.

The Benefits of School Boards

Elementary education in Glasgow after 1872 under the auspices of the new School Board did several things. It provided the opportunity to acquire basic literacy and numeracy for a greater number of children than had been the case previously. Pre-1872, many institutions and teachers had charged a fee for teaching reading, another for writing (perhaps due to the resources needed, such as pens, paper, boards etc.), and yet a third amount for arithmetic. Although fees were initially charged in Board schools (compulsory by law until 1890), the payment included all subjects. In theory, poverty was no longer to be an inhibitor to the provision of elementary education; those too poor to pay fees would have them paid by the Parochial Board. Glasgow School Board was sympathetic to slow payment of fees and often put pressure on the Parochial Board in favour of parental applications (7). Many children who may have previously spent much of their time in the unhealthy closes and wynds and who were prey to exploitation of several kinds, were brought into a healthier environment for a large portion of the day. They now sat in a safe, custom-built school, in a generally caring atmosphere where they were the focus of positive attention. This was also the case for children who had attended the plethora of pre-1872

provision which proved too often to be educationally and environmentally unsound. William Mitchell saw this as an enormous benefit; the Board were now,

...stamping out of existence a large number of small, wretched, unhealthy so-called schools, of which in Glasgow, we had many notable specimens. The genus is not quite extinct with us yet, but will soon be numbered among the barbarous relics of a bygone age. Upwards of 6,000 children were in such schools when we began our work; the number is now under 1,000 (8).

The teachers employed by the School Board of Glasgow were increasingly recruited from the Training Colleges and were well trained for the period. They displaced the amateur pedagogues found in many pre-1872 schools, some of whom neither cared for, nor taught adequately, their pupils. The centralising bureaucracy created by the School Board brought a universality of provision and a stability to the system of schooling in the city.

R.D. Anderson has called Roxburgh's (9) study of the policies of the Glasgow School Board, '...the orthodox view of an enlightened school board struggling to enforce the law over the selfishness of parents and employers' (10). Anderson gives limited agreement to this view; for him there are no simple explanations as to whether the history of education was one of, '...constant progress...' or whether education had, '...to struggle for a time to overcome the challenges posed by town life, factories, and migration' (11). Two points should be made:

First, the period in which the early School Boards in Glasgow had to operate was a time in which these very challenges of urbanisation and industrialisation had reached huge proportions in the city. The early Boards did have to struggle against some parents and employers, though

certainly not a majority. The major factors with which the Boards did have to contend, were the twin evils of bad housing and the consequent poor health of many children; both of these caused problems for school attendance and prevented many from profiting satisfactorily from schooling.

Second, under William Mitchell, the policy of the Attendance Department took a humane approach for the period, attempting as far as possible to retain children within the family unit, and to use persuasion rather than the law when dealing with defaulters. Between 1873 and 1882, only 4% of the parents brought before the Attendance Committee were prosecuted (12). It may be more correct to say that *some individual members* of the Board took an enlightened approach; others did not, as was seen in the differing views of Mitchell and Collins over the treatment of defaulting parents. It is a mistake to view the early Boards as one unit; they were an amalgam of individuals with varying values, experiences and ideas.

It was through struggling against problems, such as the lack of satisfactory school accommodation, and the response of early Boards, that progress was eventually made.

Progressing Further

In 1846, the burghs of Anderston to the west, Calton to the east and the Barony of Gorbals south of the river were incorporated into the city. In terms of the physical layout and the number of inhabitants, Glasgow was entering a period of rapid growth. By the Public Parks Act of 1859, the Town Council of Glasgow was enabled to run parks and charge a rate for their upkeep. Many people from the slum districts used the parks and the City Chamberlain was able to report that on one Sunday, 2nd.

August, 1885, a total of 188,283 citizens used the four parks belonging to the city - Glasgow Green, Alexandra Park, Kelvingrove and Queen's Park (13). Transport, in the form of trains, trams and ferry crossings began to make the city and the new suburbs more accessible.

By changing the character of some city districts and by giving easier and cheap access to a more distant workplace, the growth of city railways had consequences for education and the work of the School Board.

In the national railway building boom of the 1840's, the increasingly powerful railway companies saw in Glasgow a ready and lucrative market. Such change as these companies made, for example, the destruction and clearing of crowded living areas, was not always considered positive. The **Glasgow Citizen**, lamenting the indiscriminate progress of railways amid the old central districts, spoke of the new mechanical form of transport as sweeping, '...through the faded handwriting which bygone ages have left on the earth's surface' (14). On the other hand, a Royal Commission set up in 1846 to study the feasibility of a central terminus in the city, believed it was both necessary and beneficial; these old and crowded districts would find, '...better employment as a Railway than producing cholera or typhus...' (15). By 1863, the three main railway companies with a terminus in Glasgow were carrying huge numbers of passengers; the Caledonian with 2,743,000 per annum, Glasgow and South Western 779,000 per annum and the Edinburgh and Glasgow 1,575,000 per annum (16). Within ten years, by 1873, the total number of arrivals and departures at Glasgow terminus reached 10,527,000. Mobility was becoming increasingly common for many people; in 1880, the Caledonian Company was running 173 trains per day. Space needed for railway purposes could have both positive and negative effects; for example, the purchase of the

old College ground in High Street for use as a goods yard and the subsequent removal of the University to the more salubrious setting of Gilmorehill. Conversely, Laurieston, laid out south of the river by David and James Laurie earlier in the century, suffered a destruction in character with the encroachment of the Caledonian and the Glasgow and South Western Railway Companies.

For shorter journeys within the city, Glasgow had trams. More than any other form of internal transport, the trams opened up opportunities for the citizens; going to and from work, shopping, visiting and following leisure activities. Glasgow's greatest period of progress in city transport began in 1870 with the passing of the Transport Act. This allowed Town Councils to have trams operate in the city; the Council were, importantly for later developments, to own the tramlines, maintain the roadway between the lines and eighteen inches on either side. The trams themselves were to be operated by a private company. By 1894, in concert with the growing trend of municipal involvement, the Town Council took over the running of the trams (allowed under the terms of the 1870 Act), from the Glasgow Tramway and Omnibus Company Ltd. The Council's new enterprise proved lucrative. In the first four weeks the new Corporation Tramways carried 6,114,789 passengers. By 1898, there were 37 miles of track laid and in the same year, with great foresight and a growing confidence in municipal work, the Council began the electrification of the tramways system.

Between them, the railways and tramways changed the physical face and social composition of Glasgow. How did such change and increased mobility impinge upon schooling and the work of the School Board?

Firstly, there was now less reason for many workers, more especially the skilled and semi-skilled who commanded higher wages, to

remain domiciled beside their workplace. New large-scale industries such as the Singer Works at Clydebank or the steel works in Lanarkshire required space to build and expand which could not be found in the city. These works were situated also, either close to their source of supply or a main distribution centre; for example, Clydebank offered easy access to the Clyde and world trade routes. The respectable working class, that is the skilled and semi-skilled, tended to move out of many of the older city areas; more certain employment enabled them to afford transport costs and to pay the higher rents in the new tenements being built on the edges of the city, such as those at Govanhill, '...fine red sandstone tenements in the best Glasgow style...' (17). For many of the unskilled and poor, whose wages were low and often infrequent, employment tended to be in industrial premises which were mixed in with housing; the Glasgow pend gave vehicular access through a tenement to a factory or workshop situated behind the dwelling (18). It was advantageous and necessary for the poor to be close to these, usually small concerns, in order to be available when workers were being hired. However, it should be noted that the often noxious industrial processes of these workshops did little to help the health of those living in such close proximity. The poor and unskilled would also have found it difficult, if not impossible, to pay the transport costs necessary to commute to work and, perhaps most important of all, would have been unable to pay the larger and regular rents of the new houses being built in the suburbs.

Second, the growth of transport facilitated the rapid movement of the middle class to the suburbs such as Hillhead, Crosshill, Maryhill, Pollokshields West, all added to the city in 1891. Where previously, in the early part of the nineteenth century; 'Most Glaswegians, although aware of natural differences, found themselves living in close proximity

with those in different social orders...' (19), the growing middle class used their financial power to move further from the centre, able to commute easily to their business in the city. The growth of transport in Glasgow facilitated to a huge extent the physical distancing of the social classes. City districts became more conspicuous for their social composition than for any other reason. The further from the disease ridden wynds and closes, the happier were the middle class.

We may have to go down into the City to earn our bread, but the place where we sleep and where we rear our families should be as near the outer edge as possible (20).

Third, the destruction of some of the oldest and most densely packed areas did not necessarily rid the city of that particular piece of overcrowding. Many of those displaced, through ill-health, irregular employment or sheer poverty, were, as has been seen, unable to pay the increased rents in the newer parts of the city. Those involved in crime, feeling relatively safe in the old warrens, had no desire to move. Such people simply re-located into other overcrowded areas unscheduled for demolition, making the already poor conditions worse than ever.

The class of people of whom I have been speaking cling tenaciously to their old haunts. It is wonderful how they manage to seize the nearest available space. It is this desire, and the competition which it begets for houses of small size in the heart of the city, which stimulates the process of making down houses on which I animadverted in my former paper. Those people go into cast-off houses just as they wear cast-off clothes, and the trade in the former commodity is as brisk and profitable in the centre of the city..... as trade in the latter (21).

This centrifugal movement of the middle and upper working class and the consequent increase in overcrowding in the older areas brought particular problems for the Attendance Department of William Mitchell. The greater incidence of relative poverty meant that in such districts the Attendance Officers met with the worst cases of child abuse, intemperance, malnutrition and neglect, a combination which made attention to schooling a secondary consideration:

...there are certain schools in the poorer districts which show, as might be expected, rates of attendance very low and very much in proportion to the poverty of the parents, and the social condition of the families (22).

It very often proved impossible for Attendance Officers to keep a close check on children whose address often changed two or three times in one week. The concentration of numbers also meant that School Board schools had, of necessity, to cater for large numbers.

Such demographic movement provided the basis for later criticism of the School Board, namely, that schools were being organised in a socially exclusive manner. Yet, the School Board had to contend with a changing social structure in Glasgow for which it was not responsible. Parents at this time moved house primarily for reasons of employment or status; not to send their child to a particular school, there being no catchment areas during this period. The social composition of a district preceded the construction of the school and not the reverse. The response of the early School Boards in Glasgow was conditioned by the demand for school places, not for the benefit of higher fees. (This argument will be covered in detail in the following chapter). The changing urban structure and social segregation of Glasgow, caused by progressive industrialisation, defined the geographical location, as well

as the size of building and rate of construction, of the early Board schools. William Mitchell recognised the reality; attendance and the benefits of schooling had become, '...far more a social than an educational question' (23).

Hostages to Fortune (24)

The implementation of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 and the subsequent educational inquiry conducted by the School Board of Glasgow had shown in greater detail than hitherto, the consequences for education of the wynds, closes and living conditions in which many children were reared. The inquiry helped shift a knowledge of such conditions from the edge of middle class consciousness;

...we deluded ourselves with the belief that there was comparatively little cruelty to children in our midst...(25),

to become the primary focus of their attention;

...the rescue and well-being of the children should have a foremost place in the heart and mind of every citizen (26).

Acknowledgement of such realities could no longer be denied, stimulating a growth of philanthropic agencies. The tardiness of the response was blamed by some for the magnitude of the problem;

...we are reaping the reward and the result of thirty or forty years neglect of this useful work...(27).

There had been a developing awareness earlier in the century that some form of government intervention was required, if not to completely prevent, then at least to reduce, the incidence of child exploitation in the labour market. Almost timidly, from 1833, a succession of Factory Acts attempted to legislate the working hours for children in some branches of the textile industry, the largest employer at

the time of child labour. The Act stipulated the minimum hours to be spent in education. By the 1840's this was three hours per day; however, too few inspectors to check compliance, combined with a reluctance by many employers to release young workers, meant that the Acts were often evaded.

A Children's Employment Commission of 1843 highlighted the austere and unwholesome conditions under which many children were forced to work, and there was the corresponding fact that such conditions prevented a child from taking advantage of any educational provision which might exist. John Jardine, a block printer at the calico printworks at Dalmonach, stated that, by sending his children to the mill as young as five and a half years (for economic reasons), they were, '...fatigued enough with their days labour, and [he] could not send them to night school' (28). Although Acts of 1847 and 1850 further reduced the working hours and the Children in Factories Act of 1853 stipulated the time of day when children could begin and finish work, it was with the Children's Employment Commission, beginning in 1861, that changes for the better in children's working conditions were accelerated.

Throughout the 1850's and 1860's, the agitation for greater educational provision ran parallel with the growing doctrine of social responsibility towards the less able, fuelled especially by the evangelical energy of the Free Church. Numerous men and women from the churchgoing middle class of Glasgow threw themselves enthusiastically into the field of social welfare. Their contribution in terms of both finance and organisational ability cannot be overestimated. There was, nevertheless, a strong tendency to be paternalistic and moralising, an approach perfectly consistent with their beliefs. Their own moral outlook and values, they believed, had brought them social standing and

financial security; their habits of thrift, hard work and self-help had raised them to a position from which they considered it a duty to transfer such beliefs to the working class. The aim was not simply, or even primarily, to control the working class but to give them an opportunity to better themselves. Many of the middle class believed that poverty was a direct consequence of immorality; only as the century progressed did increasing numbers come to regard poverty, unsavoury housing and poor health as the mainspring of differing moral standards.

In keeping with their own views, the middle class considered the family unit as the basis of a strong and virtuous society. Poor children were often seen as the innocent victims of uncaring and intemperate parents, and while wishing to promote the idea of the family, it was, reluctantly, sometimes,

...necessary to sever a child from its surroundings,
and to give it an opportunity of entering into a new
life quite apart from all the contaminations with
which it is encompassed (29).

By the 1870's, both legislative action and philanthropic ardour had gone some way in making life more tolerable for many children. In 1867 the Factory Act Extension Act and Hours of Labour Regulation Act, more forcefully specified and developed the provisions of earlier legislation to non-textile factories and workshops; no child could be employed who was under the age of ten years and those from eight to thirteen years were to have at least ten hours in education per week. In the same year the Agricultural Gangs Act, passed primarily for moral reasons, prohibited the employment of women and children alongside men in a field gang.

In Glasgow, philanthropic ventures began to expand. The Poor Children's Dinner Table Society started in 1868, '...to serve the double

purpose of a Feeding School and as an auxiliary to Educational Work' (30). The Society spread a table in twelve districts of the city, each table presided over by two ladies who served hot soup and bread at twelve o'clock each day. After 1873, School Board attendance officers carried a supply of tickets for the Society tables; on the reverse of each ticket was written the name and address of each child who attended, allowing the School Board to check on non-attenders and those thought to be in need of social welfare, clothing, shoes and boots also being supplied. By 1879 - 80, the Society was supplying 179,970 meals per year and by 1884 - 85 this had risen to 253,789 (31).

Children's Day Refuges were established in Glasgow in the mid 1870's at James Morrison Street and Clyde Street;

...to benefit children of school age belonging to families thrown into temporary difficulties, through the breadwinners being laid aside by sickness, want of work or some such cause (32).

The School Board were again involved; children gathered at the Refuges early each school day, were given a, '...substantial breakfast of porridge and milk...' (33), before being marched to the Board schools in their vicinity, again allowing the Attendance Department under Mitchell to investigate the home circumstances of the children. After school the children received supper and a Bible lesson before returning home. In 1880 - 81, 316 children were admitted to both the Refuges (34). In 1885, the City Chamberlain of Glasgow believed that the drop in the numbers in reformatories and restraining institutions was due to such agencies and above all, the School Board. Such a drop in the intake to certified institutions was;

...because of the active voluntary benevolence growing more and more potent, year by year.....that

inculcates in the well-to-do personal interest in the poor and those out of the way, and very specially, interest in the young, whose surroundings are more likely to give them a wrong rather than a right start in life (35).

The Report of the Select Committee on the Protection of Infant Life of 1871, looked closely at the system known as 'baby farming' in Glasgow; a procedure by which some parents hired out young children up to five years of age, for the purposes of gain. The Infant Life Protection Act which followed in 1872 allowed the local authority to inspect both the premises and the character of the person receiving the infant, if the child were to be there for more than forty-eight hours. The Act also demanded the notification of the death of infants under such circumstances, a cause of concern in the often unregulated condition of the slums. Three other pieces of legislation of the 1870's were specifically for children. The Coal Mines Act of 1873 stipulated twenty four hours of schooling in a fortnightly period; in 1875 the Chimney Sweepers Act forbade the employment of child chimney sweeps and the 1879 Children's Dangerous Performances Act stopped the employment of children under fourteen years in any performance which might endanger life and limb.

Where the Factory Acts had given prominence to children's working conditions, educational considerations being subordinate, the Education Acts of 1872, 1878 and 1883, laid a pre-eminence on the provision of schooling, increasingly tighter restrictions on child labour taking an important but secondary role. Clause 72 of the 1872 Act made employers and parents of children under thirteen years responsible for giving primacy to education rather than employment. The 1878 Act strengthened the Principal Act; great emphasis was given to the age and

the time at which children could work (36), and the Act of 1883 laid down standards under the Code which must be passed before the School Board gave any exemptions from schooling. The School Board were given increased powers, allowing officers to enter places of employment, ‘...and examine such place, and any person found therein touching the employment of any child’ (37). The Board was also permitted to grant six weeks time off school in any one year for children over eight years, ‘...for the necessary operations of husbandry and the ingathering of crops or to give assistance in the fisheries...’ (38). In the urban landscape of Glasgow such operations were not conspicuous; however, children appearing in annual pantomimes in the city theatres applied to the Board for the six week period. It was, ‘...with considerable reluctance...’ (39), that the Glasgow School Board agreed, for a time, to such requests. Moral as well as educational reasons meant that Mitchell’s Attendance Department would agree;

...only on the understanding that school attendance will not be interfered with, that special oversight will be taken of the children, that a meal will be provided, and that on no occasion will they be later in getting away than ten o’clock (40).

This meant that rehearsals and shows involving children could only be performed after school hours, a fact that did not make Mitchell popular with theatre owners and impresarios.

As more and more foul living conditions came to light so more voluntary societies appeared.

The Buchanan Institution, founded in 1859 on a £30,000 legacy left by James Buchanan, son of a blacksmith near the foot of Stockwell Street, was to allow the City of Glasgow to set up an industrial institution for the maintenance and instruction of destitute children; ‘...the sole object

of the donor was to extend the hand of charity to the helpless of every sect and denomination...' (41). Children were taught reading, writing and arithmetic, some history, geography and industrial training. In 1882, under the terms of the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act, the name was changed to the Buchanan Trust and the constitution altered, making it compulsory for the Board of Governors to contain two representatives of the School Board. Michael Connal became chairman of the Trust.

William Quarrier, a shoe-maker and self made man, as a member of Hope Street Baptist Church, had been a founder member of the Glasgow Abstainers Union in 1856. In 1864, he formed his Shoe Black Brigade to help the waifs and strays of Glasgow's streets. By 1881, he had opened (with the aid of the City Improvement Trust) a night refuge for children in part of Dovehill Church. Over the following years he began homes for both boys and girls, till in 1878 he bought farmland at Bridge of Weir where he operated his cottage homes for children. Quarrier was deeply religious and strongly of the opinion, as were most of Glasgow's philanthropists, that alcohol was behind most instances of child neglect; ' In all places where children congregate and are abused or led to crime drink is the great factor' (42). By the late 1880's, Quarrier was managing the City Orphan Home, the Children's Night Refuge, the Young Women's Shelter, the Bridge of Weir Homes and the Training Homes for Canada.

As a direct result of the School Board of Glasgow's inquiry, the Association for Visiting and Aiding the Permanently Infirm and Imbecile Children, was set up at East Park Cottage Home at Maryhill in 1874.

It is just about a year since the School Board

Educational Inquiry revealed the painful fact that there were many poor suffering little Children afflicted with incurable maladies lying uncared for in wretchedness and sorrow in the very midst of our great city (43).

William Mitchell had been relentless in persuading the more affluent citizens to subscribe to the Home. In addition to the indefatigable and ubiquitous Mitchell, Whitelaw, Connal, Campbell, Cuthbertson, Long and Aiken, present or future members of the School Board, took an active interest in the Home at various times. It became the norm for the names of any infirm children discovered by visiting attendance officers to be passed, through Mitchell, to East Park. Mitchell only stopped actively supporting the Home in 1908 due to failing health.

In 1871, the **North British Daily Mail** ran a series of articles entitled, 'The Darker Side of Glasgow'. The newspaper investigated living conditions in the slums, the housing, health, education and parental attitudes to children. From its researches the **Mail** concluded that such an upbringing for children would prove to be, '...a source of anxiety and danger for at least a generation to come' (44). Such, believed the **Mail**, was the desperate situation of many children that they were receiving, for all the wrong reasons, '...a compulsory education' (45); learning as part of their upbringing the *modus operandi* of the thief and criminal, and the moral values of the lowest drinking den and brothel. The salient question from middle class philanthropy, was how to change this form of education to one which was more acceptable; *pari passu*, how to strengthen the socially binding idea of the family when it was that very environment which was the source of the problem.

The Industrial Schools Act became law in 1866; children found begging, wandering homeless without, '...proper guardianship...'

(46), orphaned or having only a single parent who was in prison, and children who frequent, '...the company of reputed thieves...' (47), could be sent by a Magistrate to a certified Industrial School for a number of years. These schools were residential and while the child was removed from the environment, the family tie, for some such as Mitchell, was too often irrevocably severed. Consequently, pressure from the Board ensured an extra clause in the Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Repression Act of 1878; any child who had previously been eligible to be sent to a certified Industrial School under the 1866 Act, could now, '...upon the request of the School Board of the City of Glasgow...' (48), be sent to the new Day Industrial Schools. Non-residential, they combined basic industrial training and instruction in reading, spelling, writing, dictation, arithmetic, vocal music and drill. There were religious services every morning. Children arrived early and received breakfast before the day began, returning home at six o'clock in the evening [Appendix 38].

There is disagreement on the purposes of such institutions as those mentioned above. There is no doubt that the Day Industrial Schools, Industrial Schools, Reformatories and other similar institutions were seen by many of those who organised and administered these agencies, as vehicles for moral reform in addition to providing educational and industrial training. Humes has pointed out that the attitude of the Reverend Legget in the Buchanan Institute was unquestionably that of the social controller in a strictly ordered hierarchy (49). Mahood has correctly stated that, while the middle class family was principally a moral unit based on a particular culture and set of values, the working class family was essentially an economic unit;

Middle class familial ideology bore little, if any,

relation to the realities of life for the urban poor
(50).

In their pursuit of social and moral reclamation, many of the middle class either did not comprehend such a difference or assumed that the replacement of one set of moral values by another [their own] would solve the problem.

There is the further claim (51) that institutions such as those mentioned and their middle class organisers saw incarceration, removal from the family environment, as the only means of achieving change. While true in many instances, this is perhaps too severe and narrow a view. Such a position makes no allowance for those agencies and individuals who did not fit this pattern. It has already been seen that at the heart of William Mitchell's beliefs on the reformation and rescue of children, was the fact that he did not wish to break the family tie, except under exceptional circumstances and then only as a last resort. As a director of the Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Board, Mitchell believed that, '...our Day Industrial Schools give us the opportunity of retaining the family tie...' (52). He was convinced that the moral and educational influences of the Day Industrial Schools would have a positive effect, not only on the child but on the home and the family; '...such is the more natural and will in the long run be the best course' (53). Further, the strong representations of the Glasgow School Board with respect to the creation of Day Industrial Schools in the city, which was achieved with the 1878 Juvenile Delinquency Act, should be accorded more credit. Fifteen years before the rest of the country, Glasgow had legislation, of which a major purpose was to retain as far as possible the family as a unit. Too wide a view of social control as the main purpose of philanthropy dismisses too readily the genuine altruism and humanity

which played a considerable part in promoting action.

The Day Industrial Schools, the first opened was Green Street, Calton in August 1879 and a second at Rottenrow in 1882, with their format and extended hours were for Mitchell, ‘...of inestimable value to the School Board’ (54).

Some Particular Agencies

Some voluntary agencies restricted and targeted their efforts to a particular group of children. The Glasgow Institution for Orphan and Destitute Girls, necessarily residential, tended to be a little rigid, taking only those girls thought to be morally acceptable [Appendix 39]. The Institution targeted those it believed to be the deserving poor, those who through no fault of their own had fallen into dire circumstances, ‘...as so many poor women are when the breadwinner is removed’ (55). The girls were trained in housework, ‘...and thus get a practical training for the sphere of life to which they look forward’ (56). Domestic service was a large employment field at the time and it is true that, in practical terms, such training could be beneficial to young girls trying to procure a position rather than leaving them to return to the streets. With the younger girls, education was, ‘...considered of primary importance...’, and the girls, ‘...all go to a School Board school close by’ (57). Michael Connal was a member of the Gentleman’s Committee.

The Poor Children’s Fresh Air Fortnight began in 1885, ‘...to send needy poor children to the country for a fortnight’s holiday’ (58). The Glasgow Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb boasted William Mitchell and Sir John N. Cuthbertson, future Vice-Chairman and Chairman respectively of the School Board, among its members. The Glasgow Association for Day Nurseries existed, ‘...for the reception,

during the day, of children under six years of age, whose parents require to go out to work, as in the case of Widows, Widowers, or Deserted Mothers' (59). This was to, '...obviate the necessity of leaving young children alone locked in the house...' (60). Nor did the ladies of the Association wish to see infants left with an older child, '...who may thereby be prevented from attending school' (61). Children were received from as early as 5.00am till 6.30pm. Although the practical work of the Association was carried out by the efforts of middle class women, there was, '...also a Gentleman's Committee to aid and advise in special matters of business' (62).

One of the most important philanthropic societies in the field of child welfare, the Glasgow Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (G.S.P.C.C.) was founded in 1884. The idea for such a society had been brought from the United States by James Grahame. As with some other agencies, the G.S.P.C.C. wished as far as possible to leave children with their parents; if for any reason it was considered best to remove a child from the family home, great efforts were made to change the home circumstances in order that the child could be returned. The Society was emphatic that it had no desire to provide the excuse for the shedding of parental responsibility; ' Great caution is required lest we should relieve parents from the responsibilities which belong to them' (63).

Calling themselves part of, '...a Christian Community...' (64), the directors, drawn exclusively from the affluent of the city and including William Mitchell, Cuthbertson and Connal of the School Board, viewed their work as, '...a direct Christian service' (65). In addition to having full time officers, the Society emphasised the importance of co-operation with other agencies; 'A Society like this cannot stand alone. It requires

the sympathies of the School Board...' (66). By far the majority of cases investigated by the G.S.P.C.C. were those involving children begging, selling or sleeping rough [Appendix 40], and the largest cause of trouble was due to alcohol [Appendix 41]. This point was constantly reiterated, both for moral reasons, '...let me say that if drink were stopped there would be a great deal less immorality' (67), and for health reasons;

...drunkenness is unquestionably the most potent for evil of all the moral factors.....diverting the income which should provide food, clothing, education, air-space in the house, to the tills of the publican (68).

The School Board became responsible for the majority of children investigated, ensuring their regular attendance at school, with the Board officers making routine visits to the homes [Appendix 42].

The most difficult cases for the G.S.P.C.C. were the, '...darker class of cases...' (69), involving children reared to brutality and crime, '...in the den of the savage' (70). Appendix 43 gives examples of cases investigated by the Society in 1885. The Society classed such cases as belonging to the category of the undeserving and criminal elements. They [the Society] made a sharp distinction between such and those who worked honestly and accepted their responsibilities; ' I am sure the working classes of Glasgow sympathize with us as strongly as the parents whose children are comfortable in richer homes' (71). By removing the children whose family situation proved impossible of improvement, '...we are beginning a movement that will effectually reduce the ranks of crime and the unemployed' (72). Sir James King, Lord Provost of Glasgow, believed that;

...there cannot be greater economy or greater satisfaction than in securing that in our schools and institutions young children are rescued, and an

endeavour is being made to turn them into good course rather than allow them to fill our prisons (73).

He was supported by William Quarrier. If children were left on the streets, he believed, '...where the gospel of the Lord cannot guard the children...', then ultimately, '...you will have to pay for them in prison' (74). The idea was always implicit that only the adoption of middle class values and morality would both better the condition of some people and prevent their drift into crime.

Initially, there had been a worry that the Society would be yet another example of philanthropic endeavour which would duplicate the work of other agencies. Mitchell, however, called the Society a, '...connecting link...' (75), while Quarrier believed that it satisfied, '...a long-felt want in binding together the existing agencies' (76). Such was the growing status of both Mitchell and Quarrier that it was remarked;

...there are no two gentlemen in Glasgow who better know the wants and necessities of poor children (77).

Over time, however, there was a recognition that much of the charity work could be too fragmented; there was no central focus through which donations could be appropriately channelled. Glasgow had many charitable institutions, '...but these were calculated to do more evil than good unless the money went to the right quarter' (78). By giving indiscriminately it was thought that people were, '...perpetuating a system of dissipation and worthlessness on the part of husbands, and possibly of the wives' (79). The Glasgow Association for Organising Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity was formed, '...to induce the public to abandon the system of indiscriminate charity' (80). A major problem seen to be affecting charitable relief was the, '...growing

prevalence of street begging in the city...’, and, ‘...children of almost all ages, taught either to beg or to steal as opportunity may offer...’ (81). It was estimated that, ‘...a sum of over £30,000 is annually given away in the streets of Glasgow’ (82), a very considerable sum for the period. Too much of this money, it was believed, was undeserved. Such a stream of benevolence should be guided into a proper channel, where it could be utilized for, ‘...the promotion of the welfare of the poor - that is to say, the deserving poor’ (83). Mitchell, Connal and Campbell of the School Board were members of the Association which, although working with the Charity Organisation Agency, did not effectively manage to centralize the distribution of charity money. Too many individuals wished to retain an independent control of their agency funds.

Michael Connal wished to see, rather anachronistically, a return to church-based charity. For him, a better system would be one in which the giving of relief sprang from a true Christian motive, aimed at not only relieving distress but also strengthening those who had recourse to it. The Scottish Poor Law, he believed, was too harsh and indiscriminate. Basing charity on the church would re-establish the closer links which had once existed with the poor, now lost and weakened in the urban setting. For Connal, many of the problems of child neglect, crime and intemperance had a single cause: ‘...the divorce between the Church and the poor had resulted in the greatest evil’ (84). There are echoes of Thomas Chalmers’ ideas of social and Christian responsibility in Connal’s belief, and as shall be shown later, there were similar characteristics to Mitchell’s core of values. In Mitchell’s case, however, the practicalities and realities of the period left him with radical differences of view.

The notion of protecting and rescuing children from unwholesome

and immoral surroundings, substituting their own values and beliefs for those held, incorrectly it was believed, by the poor, lay at the heart of the middle class philanthropic crusade in dealing with the young. Undoubtedly, the lives of a great many children were changed for the better due to the proliferation of voluntary agencies, although to describe the period as, '...a children's golden age,,, ' (85), would be too self-congratulatory. Despite the multitude of charitable societies, the genuine enthusiasm of voluntary work in both time and organisation, the large amounts of money given, the problems remained. It was becoming clear to some that voluntarism could not in itself undertake the massive task of attacking the root causes.

Working for greater co-ordination between agencies and greater practical and financial help, William Mitchell exhorted the leading citizens of Glasgow to, '...believe that the cause of the poor is their duty' (86). Mitchell's moral obligation, however, was paralleled by his sense of realism. Having seen, and been an immense influence on, the positive results generated by the legislative power of the School Board, Mitchell was convinced that on the whole question of child welfare, '...not so much can be done by philanthropic agencies as by Government' (87).

The sheer scale of the problems demanded centralised, co-ordinated action.

Working for Youth

By the 1880's, the first generation of pupils taught wholly in School Board schools were entering their teenage years and the notion was growing that young adolescents needed some form of provision for out of work hours if they were not to drift towards intemperance,

hooliganism and ultimately, crime. As there was, as yet, no universal system of secondary schooling in Glasgow for the majority of children, many middle class observers believed that, with the moral influences of the elementary school no longer applicable, some form of extended moral education was necessary.

It was presumed that many adolescents in employment were assimilating bad and unacceptable habits of behaviour from older workmates. The great iron foundries to the north of the city were viewed as particularly bad. In response, a young woman, Mary Ann Clough, persuaded the owners to allow her the use of a room in the foundry each Sunday afternoon, this being the day which social reformers often cited as the most dangerous time for young people to become involved in socially unacceptable habits. The meetings held by Mary Ann Clough were attended by the young apprentices. When she emigrated to New Zealand in 1862, her idea was adopted and continued by four Glasgow business men and the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society was officially launched in 1865 at Cowcaddens. In the first few years the Foundry Boys' introduced drill and a cheap uniform consisting of cap, belt and haversack. This had disappeared by 1870 and the organisation (consisting now of both boys and girls) concentrated on four main spheres of life - religious, social educational and provident. By 1865, the Society had 16,000 members.

From the expanding industrial setting of Glasgow in the early 1880's, there had also emerged a growing lower middle class; clerks in greater numbers to administer the new industries, public service employees to oversee the developing municipal responsibilities and teachers leaving the colleges to work in the rising number of School Board schools. This group was to prove important when William

Smith started the first Boys' Brigade Company at the Free Church Mission Hall, North Woodside Road, in October, 1883. They became the backbone of the movement, providing the officers and N.C.O.'s, ensuring that the upwardly mobile were schooled in the correct social values (88).

Born near Thurso in 1854 and educated at the Miller Institution (later to become Thurso Academy), Smith came from a military background, both his father and grandfather having seen war service. After the death of his father in 1868, Smith moved to Glasgow, working with his uncle, Alexander Fraser, in his business of wholesale dealing in clothing and shawls. He stayed at 28 Hamilton Terrace on the edge of the prosperous Hillhead burgh.

In 1874, Smith joined the 1st. Lanark Rifle Volunteers, continuing the family tradition. Joining such an organisation was as much for social as for patriotic reasons. Volunteering was a fashion of the time for educated young men; members included lawyers, accountants, bankers, stockbrokers and clerks; Campbell-Bannerman (brother to Campbell of the Glasgow School Board), Bonar-Law and James Maxton were all members of the 1st. Lanark. For many of the growing lower middle class, the Boys' Brigade was to serve a similar function, with the added incentive that it may have been considered a mark of rising social status (89).

After attending the rallies of Moody and Sankey, the American evangelists, in Glasgow in 1874, Smith left the Established Church to join the Free Church of which his uncle was a strong supporter. Within the Free Church, which had built the North Woodside Mission Hall in response to the Moody and Sankey campaign, Smith was exposed to many of the people and ideas involved in social philanthropy; men who

had pioneered and supported such charities and organisations as the Glasgow Y.M.C.A., the Scottish Temperance League and the Band of Hope. Smith himself had joined the Y.M.C.A. in 1872 and on leaving the Church of Scotland two years later, started a Young Men's Society in the College Free Church.

The Sunday Schools, in which Smith was a teacher, were losing the support of many boys in their early teenage years. The 1872 Education Act had rendered one of the Sunday School functions redundant; there was now little need to attend for lessons in reading and writing. Many of the boys who did attend, possibly due to parental pressure, and who were already or were soon to be, independent wage earners, became a problem. Smith saw that the boys, '...too often came to amuse themselves...', and, '...would not listen for two consecutive minutes. What was to be done?' (90). Smith began the Boys' Brigade.

The idea of an organisation for boys was not new; the Foundry Boys' have already been mentioned and William Quarrier had his Working Boys' Brigades, in uniform, in the 1860's. As 10% of the population of Glasgow in 1883 was aged between 10 and 14 years (91), there was room for several organisations. The Boys' Brigade, however, had a major difference; companies had to have a church affiliation. At a time when overall church attendance was in decline, the fledgling organisation could count on strong support as churches saw a ready means of increasing membership. The area of the city in which Smith began the Boys' Brigade was not a poor one. It consisted mostly of the new tenements inhabited by the lower middle class and skilled artisans, many of whom wished to see their sons part of a church-based organisation as this displayed respectability and social standing. It was a fertile area for recruitment.

Smith has often been criticised for the military structure and internal organisation of the Boys' Brigade. Yet military bearing and dress were a normal part of his upbringing; the period itself was jingoistic, the Empire was growing and heroes like General Gordon were popular and acceptable. Greater levels of literacy after 1872 and a consequent rise in the use of Glasgow libraries [Appendix 44], gave more exposure to the stories of adventure and empire building from such as Rider Haggard, giving a feeling of empathy for uniformed organisations. The early companies had a club room where the boys could read magazines, newspapers and books. Blackie, the publishers, supplied the 1st. Glasgow Company with books on a yearly basis. Smith wanted to bring boys to Christianity by showing it to be compatible with the heroic and manly, to dissuade them that, '...there is anything effeminate or weak about Christianity...' (92).

The educational significance of the Boys' Brigade, especially in the early days, was in the continuation of a training in moral standards after the boys had left school. Early recruits had attained acceptable standards in reading, writing and arithmetic and many had also gone on to study specific subjects. Of the six Board Schools within the locale of North Woodsie Road (within a triangle bordered by Park Road, Garscube Road and Renfrew Street), four of the schools - Garnethill, Woodside, Saint George's Road and Henderson Street - were in the top 9% of city schools as measured by the number of pupils taking specific subjects (93). Interestingly, in the Bridgeton/Dennistoun area, in the part of the east end of the city where the Brigade took root in the early days of the movement, John Street and Thomson Street schools were located. These two schools came second and third respectively in the table for specific subjects taken in the 64 schools of the School Board of Glasgow

(94).

The Boys' Brigade did not, initially, flourish in the poor and overcrowded districts of the city where the drive for social respectability was often a secondary consideration, if a consideration at all. In such areas there was little time or money to become involved in such an organisation. Nor was any form of regimentation something which a great many of the youth of these districts would have accepted. It was not until other factors such as improved housing and health had made some significant difference, that the Boys' Brigade became more prominent, continuing its training in moral standards but now combined with more emphasis on practical and physical skills.

Philanthropy in Housing and Health

Areas like Bridgegate were well known to the Attendance Officers of the School Board and Mitchell pointed out the severe educational disadvantage suffered by the children;

...before a child can attend school with any advantage, it must be properly, or at all events reasonably, fed, clothed and housed (95).

Money squandered on alcohol consumption was the prime reason, some believed, for much of the poverty and begging;

...in this district [Bridgegate] there are shops where the beggars sell the bread and scraps of meat you give them, that they may procure drink with the proceeds (96).

In Bridgegate, the most overcrowded and unhealthy area of the city in the late 1870's and 1880's, death from lung disease alone accounted for more than death from all other causes in the more open, affluent and less crowded district of Blythswood. With Bridgegate, '...in the majority

of cases.....there was no medical attendant' (97). Such was the scale of destitution that the expenses for Bridgegate took a large slice of the public purse in health matters. Per head of population, there were four times as many sanitary inspections in Bridgegate in the mid 1880's than for the remainder of the city (98). A disproportionate sum from the rates and from charity donations found its way to Bridgegate. More than half the children born in the district, '...made their debut in the tragedy of their lives by the help of charity' (99).

The problems of housing for the poorer classes had assumed formidable proportions. Pressure of space produced in-filling, leaving little space, if any, between properties. The practice of 'making down' or sub-dividing property meant that many more people were packed even more tightly into the original area. Much of the housing in Glasgow was speculative, financed by small investors eager for a quick return; repairs by owners of buildings were too often makeshift and the more tenants packed in, the more was recovered in rent. Mitchell constantly condemned the situation;

...there is not much disposition on the part of the owners of such property to make the houses of the poor the bright and sanitary and cheerful abodes which they ought to be (100).

Philanthropy in the field of housing tended to be small scale. The Glasgow Kyrle Society founded in 1882, tried to promote better conditions by building better houses. Miss Marion Blackie took a prominent role in the city, using a rota system for stair-washing by the tenants and insisting rent was promptly paid weekly; thus, it was hoped, preventing the income ending up elsewhere, for failure to pay on time meant eviction. The Glasgow Kyrle Society, of which William Mitchell was, '...a leading patron...' (101), owned only three properties and

worked with those considered to be respectable working class. It was totally unable to reach the root cause of the housing problem. The Salvation Army carried out 'slum work', and was visually prominent in some of the worst areas of the city. A room was taken in;

...the poorest and vilest localities of the city, where two officers (female) are located, and thus living among the people are always ready to pray, to help and sympathise with the needy and sick (102).

Although doing commendable work with many individual cases, it was impossible to make any appreciable difference to the larger problem.

As early as 1847, seeing the growing numbers of immigrants and transients in the city, the Glasgow Association for Establishing Lodging Houses for the Working Classes was established as a profit making venture. Originally well conducted, by the mid 1860's, due to pressure of numbers, some lodging houses, especially those unlicensed and unregulated, had become a cause for concern. They became a synonym for overcrowded drinking dens and brothels, concerned with making profit to the exclusion of delivering decent conditions. The passing of the City Improvement Act of 1866 and the Public Health Act of 1867, gave the local authority power to inspect such dwellings. As swiftly as possible the authority closed down the worst offenders and began to open its own; by 1887, Glasgow Town Council owned seven lodging houses, all strictly regulated and inspected [Appendix 45]. The demolition work of the City Improvement Trust and the railway companies in the old heart of the city caused, as was shown, further problems of overcrowding and added to the scale of difficulty for philanthropy. Increasingly, the morality of those living in such conditions became as important as the conditions themselves;

Whenever you find those insanitary conditions

you may fortell that a similar investigation will disclose in proportional degree the same associated social characteristics. There you will find a people unhealthy, reckless, spendthrift of their own and the public money, contributing little or nothing to the public purse, tinged more or less with immorality and crime (103).

Charitable societies appeared to help the social casualties of these conditions. The Glasgow Magdalene Institution began in 1859, having merged with the older, and perhaps less moralising, Glasgow Magdalene Asylum - the full title continuing - for the Repression of Vice, and the Reformation of Penitent Women. The constitution read:

That it shall be the object of this Society to seek, by all competent means, the supression [Sic] of the resorts of profligacy, and the abatement of the various agencies which contribute to the prevalence of prostitution in the city, or among the community; and at the same time, to provide temporary Homes for females who have strayed from the paths of virtue, and who are willing to return to them, and similar refuge or other protection to females who may be in imminent danger of being led astray (104).

Girls entering the Institution, from 14 years upwards, were given indoor work in the laundry, helping to raise funds by fulfilling outside contracts. The inmates came from various backgrounds, though the majority were orphans or had only one surviving parent; 20% had previously been in domestic service and 25% had been employed in factories (105). Lessons in reading, writing and music were given, though as Appendix 46 shows, the majority entering in 1885 could both read and write. Twelve years after the first School Board was elected these figures give weight to the Board's success in promoting literacy and

numeracy in the general population. The directors of the Magdalene Institution, to which Kidston, Campbell and Connal of the School Board were subscribers, were partly responsible for the raising of the legal age of consent and protection of girls from 13 years to 16 years. Their representations towards the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 also allowed local authorities more power, '...to deal with improper houses' (106).

The Glasgow Home for Deserted Mothers and their Infant Children, '...mothers who have erred and strayed...' (107), paralleled the work of the Magdalene Institution. Once again, the largest category of inmates came from those in domestic service and factory work (108). The Mission Shelter in Whitevale Street, opened in 1878, was to provide for women who had been in prison, '...and desire to lead a better life' (109). The Glasgow Institution for Orphan and Destitute Girls was formed to help, '...those only who, for the first time, have been led astray, and at the same time to exercise a vigilant and kindly supervision over them...' (110). From whichever area of society an unfortunate appeared, a corresponding charity emerged to fill the gap; for example, the St. Vincent's Shelter for Newsboys and Newsgirls, the Home for Servants out of Place, the Training School for Servant Girls.

By the 1860's and 1870's, greater knowledge of the relationship between poor living conditions and poor health, stimulated some municipal involvement; for example, the appointment of a Sanitary Inspector, a Medical Officer of Health, the first municipal disinfecting and washhouses in High Street. By special order of the Privy Council, the Parliamentary Road Fever Hospital opened in 1865 under epidemic pressure (typhus); this was followed in 1870 by Belvidere Hospital to cope with the scourge of relapsing fever. The one great jewel in

Glasgow's crown was the Loch Katrine Scheme, bringing fresh water to the city; later cholera outbreaks had much less effect in Glasgow, that of 1865 - 67 resulting in only 53 deaths.

Middle class women, by the mid 1870's, were beginning to play a more conspicuous role in health matters, as they already were in teaching. The Glasgow Fever Hospital Dorcas Society helped provide clothing for those patients leaving hospital, their own having necessarily been incinerated on admission; '...operations are carried on through the means of a Female agent, whose duty it is to give attendance at the store at Belvidere...' (111). The women also visited the homes of the sick and commented that, '...sickness in any form entering the dwellings of the poor causes distress' (112). By 1886, the Society took in Belvidere, Knightswood and Govan Fever Hospitals. The Glasgow Royal Infirmary Dorcas Society was composed entirely of women, except for the honorary treasurer and secretary. The Society distributed clothing and footwear, hospital wards were given fresh flowers each week and home visits arranged to the homes of the very poor and feeble. The Ladies Samaritan Society of the Western Infirmary also distributed clothes, in addition to aiding patient's dependants. Philanthropy became a proving ground, both for themselves and for society in general, for middle class women. Usually spurred by a religious motive, they became an indispensable part of the voluntary equation. While they undoubtedly, by example and conduct, promoted middle class values to the poorer classes, it may be debatable whether they did so consciously. It would be too severe to view them simply as social disciplinarians and it would be ungenerous, and incorrect, to deny them the motives of human compassion and care.

Glasgow infirmaries were run by voluntary contributions and their

doctors considered themselves an elite. In the mid 1870's the Glasgow Royal Infirmary allowed women training for nursing to attend lectures but otherwise kept them at arms length. Nursing was still viewed with suspicion. The Glasgow Training Home for Nurses, opened in 1872, took only, '...women of high character...' (113), and the Glasgow Sick Poor and Private Nursing Association, begun in 1875, concerned itself primarily with visiting the poor and sick. The Glasgow Medical Missionary Society, formed in 1866, '...to encourage a missionary spirit among medical students...' (114), needed the support of voluntary women workers. Gradually, due to a high profile and dedicated staff, nursing came to be viewed as a necessary and professional occupation. Their cause was helped enormously by Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee of 1887. The Queen used the £80,000 raised by the Women's Jubilee Offering and set up Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses in 1889.

Generally, philanthropic activity in housing and health operated on too small a scale when compared with the increasing problems of urban growth. In what manner did this affect the work of the Glasgow School Board and in what fashion did the Board respond?

Consideration will now be given to this question.

Conclusion

It was due to the School Board of Glasgow, especially the investigations of Mitchell's Attendance Department, that many matters pertinent to the condition of children came to light.

Educationally, through its legal powers, the Board had changed for the better the system of schooling in the city. Previous chapters have shown the rate of construction of new, custom-built schools, located in the districts of most need, where the health and safety of the children in

attendance was a primary concern. The schools were well equipped for the period and were staffed by well trained teachers. The indirect element of compulsion emphasised parental duty and increased significantly the number of pupils in regular attendance. High percentage marks from inspections in reading, writing and arithmetic were a feature of Board schools. The centrally organized and administered system under the Board brought a commonality of purpose to the elementary schools of the city.

What then of the other social factors which affected education?

R.D. Anderson has said:

At a time when concepts of social reform were under intense discussion, child welfare became accepted as a field where educational and social remedies had to be combined (115).

Anderson spoke primarily of the early twentieth century. It is contended here, however, that the genesis of this approach can be seen in the conjoining of social and educational philosophies by some members of the Glasgow School Board between 1873 and 1885.

Poor and irregular attendance by a significant minority, although improved after 1872, was a constant factor during the terms of the School Boards. Some, such as Mitchell, aware of the causes, were constantly at pains to indicate that continued educational progress was consequent on progress in other social fields. As part of its strategy to counter such causes, the Board sought to have educational and other legislation amended; for example, the Board was instrumental in having clauses added (Clauses 5 to 13) to the 1878 Education Act which legislated for the hours during which children could be employed at specific times of the year and also, in the 1883 Education Act, Clauses 6, 7 and 8 defined the educational standards required before a child could leave school and

take up employment. Of further importance was the Board's success in seeing the introduction of Day Industrial Schools to the city through the 1878 Juvenile Delinquency Act.

It has been shown that the progress of improvement in housing and health matters was relatively slow and here, legislatively, the School Board could do little. Such, however, was the substance of reports from attendance officers and schools, showing the educational disabilities of many children caused by poor living conditions, that a response of a different sort came from the Board.

The School Board of Glasgow, in the persona of some members, spread tentacles to almost all the voluntary agencies concerned with children, either by direct involvement or by becoming a clearing house for many of the agencies' problems. The ubiquity of such as Mitchell, Connal, Campbell and Cuthbertson, allowed the School Board to exert influence in social fields where educational legislation did not penetrate. For example, the care of infirm children through East Park Home was helped by the rigorous investigations of the Attendance Department and the central position occupied by Mitchell in both; the relationship with the Poor Children's Dinner Table Society allowed the Board to identify those in greatest need, in this case, of nutrition and care. The close association between the School Board and the G.S.P.C.C. has already been studied.

The continuing urbanisation of Glasgow and the consequent overcrowding proved to be the area where both philanthropy and School Board involvement was weakest. Housing especially, became, '...the heartbreak of successive Glasgow philanthropists' (116). The Board were essentially restricted to the condemnation of housing conditions through the annual reports of the Attendance Department

which consistently highlighted the detrimental effects on education. On two occasions in the 1880's (as shall be seen later), Mitchell did attempt to use his position as Vice-Chairman of the Board in order to improve the sanitary condition of some dwellings. Generally, although having some small success on a limited scale through the domestic training in Day Industrial Schools, the School Board had little relative impact on the housing situation of the city. Had there been greater legislation with regard to housing, it seems likely that there would have been fewer problems with school attendance.

Philanthropic activity, however, often became a precursor of ultimate legislative action, highlighting areas of greatest need; it also provided the experience gained upon which local authority action could call. The philanthropist and the new civic leader were very often one and the same person. Of inestimable value in this respect, was the educational work of the School Board in Glasgow, demonstrating to philanthropists and others that, if given legal powers, a great deal could be accomplished.

It was in the duality of approach (as officials of the Board with legal powers and as members of charitable agencies) that the School Board did make a difference to the lives of many Glasgow children, either directly or indirectly. The Board showed that legal powers combined with the creed of social responsibility, could significantly influence change in society. A man such as William Mitchell did not change as a member of the School Board, neither his beliefs nor his commitment; he simply targeted legally many of the abuses to which voluntarism could only apply persuasion.

At the close of the nineteenth century, J.K. McDowall, in his 'People's History of Glasgow', believed that children should be taught the

most important parts of the history of the city. One of the most important features would be if children;

...learned the lesson that the city's greatness has been due to corporate endeavour inspired by, and seconding individual effort...(117).

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Chapter Six

The Glasgow School Board and Educational Finance

1882 - 1885

Introduction

William Kennedy, Clerk to the School Board of Glasgow, said of educational finance;

Upon its solution in the present generation the future of education in this country will very much depend (1).

During the administration of the fourth triennial School Board, three different but closely related circumstances occurred which called directly into question the Board's policies towards educational funding and , importantly, the reasons for the prosecution of these policies: the position adopted by the Board over the payment of school fees; the changes to the educational endowments of Glasgow; and the debate on whether school fees should in fact be abolished and elementary education made free for all.

This chapter will look at each of these issues in turn and, in particular, the response of the School Board to each. Although the debate over free education was of national dimensions, assuming greater importance when introduced as part of an election manifesto, the chapter will focus on the particular relevance for Glasgow. Each of the three issues overlapped, the arguments in one debate often being used for another.

The chapter will examine why the arguments were only superficially about finance; a hidden agenda concerning the re-location of power in education was not far beneath the surface. Should control be national or local? Was secularism a consequence of free education? Was there a possibility that the Glasgow School Board would be limited to the provision of elementary education and would the Board's declared aim of higher educational provision be administered and

controlled by other agencies? The argument over the distribution of educational finance played a role in helping either side justify its position.

It was a crucial time for the School Board of Glasgow. The initial period of rapid building and the expansion of provision had necessarily slowed as more places became available. The Board now looked towards the supply of a more advanced form of educational provision than had been available earlier.

By the early 1880's, the question of educational endowments came to the forefront of debate. It was considered by some (for example, Fife of the School Board), that a wholesale redistribution of bequests would be an ideal method of financing the growing demand for a form of secondary education. Other members of the Board argued that a redistribution of the funds away from the intention of the original bequest, would undermine the previous nine years of Board activity. The Glasgow School Board, therefore, played a prominent role in this debate, through members such as William Mitchell and Sir John N. Cuthbertson. They took such a stand for three reasons; firstly, to prevent a return to the position where a proliferation of agencies were involved in educational provision; secondly, to protect their own position as the main or sole providers of schooling in the city; and, thirdly, through a genuine belief that the bequests for poorer children were both necessary and morally justified.

The School Pence in Glasgow

From the outset of its operations, the Glasgow School Board decided that schools, through payment of fees, should contribute as much as possible to their own upkeep. Payment of school fees was not a new

idea but an accepted fact of life. Conversely, the notion of a school rate paid by ratepayers was novel and could be politically sensitive if fixed too highly. By 1884, 3 1/4d of the 5d school rate went towards paying interest on the large loans received in the initial burst of new building after 1872; payment of fees was necessary to prevent too high a rate. The Government grant by this date, earned through annual inspection and examination, was already as high as could be expected; the Board Schools in Glasgow performed well with respect to money from examinations. In the period from October, 1884 to May, 1886, 63 Board schools, were inspected by the S.E.D.; 17 schools were classified as 'Good', while the remaining 46 schools were termed 'Excellent' (2).

Glasgow differed from the normal practice of Scottish School Boards which was to set one common fee. Allowed by Clause 53 of the 1872 Act, Glasgow decided to vary the fee charged depending on the situation of the school and socio-economic group of parents therein. This, it was believed, reflected the ability of the parents to pay. In 1876, fees in Glenpark School in the Camlachie district were 2d to 4d per week, whereas in Thomson Street School they were 3s 6d to 4s 6d per month. Glenpark was situated amongst the mills clustered around a portion of the Gallowgate; Thomson Street, in the same district but further north towards Dennistoun, catered for pupils and parents of a higher income bracket, living in the new tenement flats south of Duke Street.

The Board also decided that the frequency of payment should vary. By 1884, of the 54 schools owned by the Board, 11 charged fees weekly (there was a remission of charges for absence), while in 29 schools charges were quarterly (no remission for absence). It was believed by the Board that parents who paid the smaller fees could more easily manage payment weekly; to charge them quarterly or monthly would, it

was thought, put too great a strain on the management of their domestic income.

James Caldwell, future MP (Liberal) for the city, led the criticism of the Board policy on fees. He accused the Board of charging higher fees than anyone or anywhere else; the average annual fee in England was 9s 4d, in Scotland as a whole it was 12s 8 1/2d, while in Glasgow the figure stood at 16s (3). Caldwell, looking at the schools in the city where a cheaper fee was paid, thought that they would be shunned; there were parents,

...who will keep their children at home rather than
for a cheap school fee send them to mix with the
lowest classes in the city at the cheaper schools (4).

By charging a fee less than that of the private schools and by staffing their newly built schools with trained teachers, the Board were making their provision attractive to the middle class. This, believed Caldwell, was wrong; the middle class could easily pay for private education and the money used to provide more affluent areas with Board schools should be used instead for the more deprived districts of the city. Further, Caldwell thought fees unnecessary to finance schools in Glasgow; the sums taken in fees did not amount to a great deal when viewing the total cost of education in the city. Caldwell's supporter, James Fleming, one of the Ratepayers party from the 1879 Board elections, in his evidence to the Balfour Commission of 1883, stated:

The actual outlay in Glasgow for education is about
£100,000, and we get £25,000 from the fees and
about a similar amount from the grant - the rest
being paid out of the rates (5).

The report, by the Board of Education, on the amount taken in school fees, showed that in 1879 - 80, Glasgow had collected £27,817 in fees; a

further statistic revealed that if the Glasgow school rate had been raised by 1d for that year, then the extra amount collected by the city would have been only £9,762, about a third of the fee money. To remove fees and add to the rate would have meant the unacceptable rise in the Glasgow school rate for that year, from 5d to 8d (6). As will be seen in the discussion on free education, the Glasgow School Board had reasons other than financial for imposing a school rate, although it cannot be denied that the charging of fees did help keep the school rate at a politically more acceptable level.

Did the Glasgow School Board cynically subsidise middle class education at the expense of the less affluent? Could and should the Board have charged a still higher fee in the better-off districts of the city?

Had one common fee been charged by Glasgow, as elsewhere, it would have seriously hampered the expansion and reputation of Board schools in the city. The middle and many respectable working class equated cheapness with poor education and;

...the children of the great majority of the ratepayers would be left outside the walls [of School Board schools]. They would not send their children to such schools (7).

The School Board wished to be the sole representative and provider of education in the city and used methods to ensure that it was responsible for as many of the children of Glasgow as possible.

Schools had been built to serve the population of a district rather than the reverse. The Board, by charging variable fees, was responding to a demand; that is, charging a fee which parents would consider high enough to procure a good education and to, '...supply a felt want...' (8). Schools in the higher fee bracket were in areas where there existed;

...a large mercantile class.....who require for their

children a type of education intermediate between the purely elementary schools and such schools as the High School (9).

It seems probable that many parents, due to the fee structure, helped to maintain a form of segregation. William Mitchell was realistic and admitted as much;

I am bound to say, however, that there are districts where the dwellings of certain classes of the poor are so bad and so abominably filthy, and the children coming from them so miserable in their condition, that I have not been surprised on many an occasion to find parents unwilling to send their children to associate with them in certain schools (10).

The Board as a whole was pragmatic; it did not determine, but could only reflect, the social composition of an area. A positive consequence of differing fees, and one which was deliberately sought by the Board, was that;

...the Boards have been steadily drawing within the influence of their schools a higher social class, and the idea that there is anything incompatible with gentility in having one's children at a Board School is rapidly disappearing (11).

The average annual fee per scholar in average attendance from October, 1884 to May, 1886, was 16s. This ranged from 7s 10d per scholar in Camlachie School in the east end to 38s 11d per scholar in the affluent district of Garnethill School (12). In the latter, due to the high fee, there was, '...a handsome profit to the general treasury of the Board' (13). The Board was in no doubt about its policy;

It is evident that the average of 16s is maintained by a few schools where, on account of a demand for the higher branches, a higher fee is charged, with

the effect of diminishing the burden on the School Fund (14).

The payment of a higher fee corresponded with the numbers taking specific subjects. In Garnethill for May, 1886, the total was 979 while the corresponding number for Camlachie was 63. Such a policy the Board believed to be both morally and financially acceptable; with higher fees in some schools, there was, '...no burden on the rates, but rather a help, - we make a profit by it' (15). In its defence, the Board through, for example, the approach adopted at defaulter meetings and the policy of reduced fees for large families, had always shown a concern for the depressed economic situation of poorer families:

During the time after the failure of the City Bank, when business was very dull, the fees fell into arrear, and the Board gave instructions that the teachers should not press for fees...(16).

Appendix 47 shows the numbers taking specific subjects in Camlachie and Garnethill Schools. As a comparison, the corresponding figures for John Street School are given. The fees for John Street fell approximately between the other two schools. John Street School itself was situated in the east end of the city near to Bridgeton Cross and catered for children of respectable working class and lower middle class [skilled manual, blue and white collar] from the newer tenements in the area.

Allowing for less of a number presented for examination in Camlachie due to the smaller roll, it nevertheless is plain that the school environment, the housing conditions and the socio-economic background of the population played a crucial role in determining the number taking specific subjects. By 1885 also, the Scotch Code forbade the study of specific subjects in Standard 5 to be taken before the scholar passed in Standard 4. Pupils in the Camlachie district were more

inclined to leave school earlier in search of work and to supplement the family income. Expectation of academic success followed by salaried or professional employment was greater in the more expensive housing and higher income areas like Garnethill and, to a lesser extent, John Street. Over the period, 1882 - 1885, there were no scholars from Camlachie School studying specific subjects at Standard 4, 56 studying at Standard 5 and 7 pupils at Standard 6; the figures for Garnethill were 305, 342 and 332 respectively, and for John Street the figures were 198, 310 and 220 (17). The Board noted the tendency in districts like Camlachie to have a large '...shifting population...' and the consequent result on educational attainment (18).

By its policy of discriminatory fees, the Board succeeded in attracting the growing middle class and skilled working class earners into its schools. It provided them with the education which they desired and charged a higher fee for doing so, but not to the disadvantage of schools in poorer areas. Excess money brought in from the higher fee schools went to the School Fund. Smaller schools in the more deprived areas were unable to finance themselves and had to be supplemented from the Fund. William Kennedy gave examples of the costs for schools of varying size and in different parts of the city (19). He came to the conclusion that higher fee schools, '...contributed to the school rate...', and that they were, '...attended by what may be called a respectable class of children, able to pay a fairly good fee'. It was also true, he stated, that a school, '...with low fees and attended by very poor children, is by far the most expensive piece of our educational machinery' (20).

Endowments in Glasgow

In 1880, 38 educational endowment schemes were operating in the

city, with a total annual income of £12,852 15s 6d, accumulated from a total of £249,925 in bequests (21). The stated purpose of these funds included, '...clothing and teaching poor boys and girls...', in Alexander's Charity (22), '...assisting poor children...', in Jamieson's Bequest (23), '...for clothing and educating children, the daughters of indigent but reputable parents...', in Millar and Peadies School (24), and, '...educating and clothing poor boys...', in Wilson's Charity School (25). Endowments were not always peculiar to one particular school but could be spread over several, for example, in Bell's Bequest, administered by the Town Council, a sum of £33 11s 1d per annum was distributed to each of ten sessional schools.

A further 17 endowments were for purposes partly charitable and partly educational, such as the Ferguson Bequest Fund for, '...the maintenance and promotion of religious ordinances and education...' (26), and the Glasgow Protestant Institution for Orphan and Destitute Girls (of which Michael Connal was a patron), where, '...the object of the Institution is to provide homes for orphan and destitute girls, who are fed, clothed, and educated, and trained as domestic servants' (27).

21 Bursaries came under the sole or joint patronage of Glasgow Incorporations, the Merchant's House Bursaries and Baxter's Bursaries being examples, while a further twelve school and educational endowments were about to go into operation. Such was the proliferation of awards and agencies that, with the arrival of elementary education for all, the position could no longer be tolerated.

The 1875 Commission

As early as 1875, the Endowed Schools and Hospitals (Scotland) Commission looked at the administration and use of endowments in

Scotland and in particular, at Glasgow. It found generally that, ‘...in the altered circumstances of the times...’, the conditions imposed by the original founders, ‘...tend to become discordant...’ (28). As an example, the Commission used Hutcheson’s Hospital in Glasgow. It was evident to the Commissioners that the classes mentioned in the bequest as recipients of aid in the seventeenth century were no longer relevant in the nineteenth century; ‘...it is more than doubtful whether they represent the same classes...’ (29). The Commission wondered whether the benefits of such foundations could be extended beyond the limits originally intended. Concentrating the funds on those at present most eligible for help, the Commissioners thought, ‘...could not fail to produce the most stimulating effect on the national intellect’ (30).

As Glasgow had, ‘...more funds at her disposal for educational purposes...’ (31), an extra Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Meiklejohn, was employed solely for the city. The educational endowments of Glasgow comprised the largest group of Free or Charity Schools in Scotland. This was not surprising considering that the city had social problems of unemployment, health and housing, on a scale unknown elsewhere in the country.

With the passing of the 1872 Education Act and public provision for elementary education, there were those who believed that;

...it would be no departure from the intention of the original founders.....were these funds wholly applied to higher education and that this principle should be applied without reserve to all elementary endowments (32).

The Commissioners were not won over and felt that they could not, ‘...recommend so great an interference with existing arrangements...’ (33). This proposed transfer of money to higher education became a

recurring theme in the argument over endowment funds and one which some members of the Board fought long and hard to prevent.

Mr. Meiklejohn, the Assistant Commissioner for Glasgow, studied the application of endowed funds in the city. He found that, although those administering the money gave a large amount of time in examining cases and awarding funds, they were essentially business and professional men with other, and often more pressing, commitments. Almost invariably, '...persons find their way into these free schools who could well afford to pay' (34). He noted that where free and paying schools existed side by side, they were a source of, '...demoralisation to parents of the lower and lower-middle classes' (35). Parents were unwilling to accept free education if they could afford to pay fees. Nor was the quality of existing endowed schools in the city of an acceptable standard; of 13 schools studied by the Assistant Commissioner, 4 schools were found to be efficient, 2 to be inefficient and the remaining 7 were, '...inefficient to the extent of being a gross waste of money' (36).

In their final summing up, the Commissioners tried to find a via media between those who wished a radical change and those who insisted on the status quo.

The general feeling in Glasgow, then, seems to be that the time has arrived for pushing the application of these endowments forward; and that, while we must, in compliance with the will of the founders, keep them for the use of the poor, we may also apply them as to benefit a larger mass of individuals than they benefited before, and to benefit them in a higher degree (37).

Such a recommendation simply kept the argument, as to the best use of endowment money, going.

The 1880 Report, the 1882 Act and the Board's Response

It was becoming increasingly obvious that some of the Trusts were not being efficiently administered and that Trusts in general were too diverse and fragmented to offer maximum benefit to recipients. After the 1875 Report, a circular was sent to governing bodies of Trusts and to clergymen, asking for their views on proposed legislation on educational endowments. Since the 1872 Act, fewer believed that endowments could, or should, continue as before.

In December, 1879, a meeting of interested parties was held in Glasgow;

...to consider whether some common action might not be taken with a view to the more beneficial application of the Funds of the several Educational Endowments in Glasgow (38).

A sub-committee was appointed to examine the income and capital of each Trust, the purposes of the expenditure of each Trust and the original intention of the founder. A majority of the sub-committee members were industrialists and business men, some of whom felt that industry was failing to take full advantage of the new advances in science and technology, principally due to the lack of educational provision in those fields. Such a belief lent more strength to those who argued that Educational Endowment money should be transferred wholesale, or at least in part, to secondary and technical education. As early as 1869, in his evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Scientific Instruction, Lyon Playfair had stated the importance of higher and technical education. Skills in the fields of technology and science, he believed, were becoming,

...the most important factor in industry.....Unless

you improve the sciences bearing on industries in this country we are likely to suffer...(39).

Some of the Glasgow Trusts went so far as to see themselves supplying the secondary education of the city, a circumstance which was anathema to the School Board; the Board regarded itself as the sole supplier of education in the city, whether elementary or secondary. The majority feeling of the Board members, led by Mitchell and Cuthbertson, was that any diversion of money from the original purpose of the benefactor would inevitably disadvantage the poor.

An Educational Endowments Bill, put before Parliament in 1880, was subsequently postponed on the second reading following a motion by the Glasgow School Board:

That no Act to reorganise the Educational Endowments of Scotland will be satisfactory or just that does not distinctly provide that the Founder's intentions shall be respected and secured in the interests of poor children indicated in the Founder's will as regards Elementary Education, and also their maintenance and clothing where provision for such maintenance and clothing is made (40).

Appendix 48 gives more details of the Board's position.

In August, 1882, the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act finally became law. Section 15 of the Act took note of the School Board's earlier objection and stipulated that monies originally intended specifically for the poor must not be diverted elsewhere [Appendix 49].

Three months after the passing of the Act, on 29th December, 1882, a meeting of the Representatives of Educational Institutions in Glasgow was held. A sub-committee was established and quickly reported that;

...the Educational Endowments of Glasgow falling within the scope of the Act of last session, exclusive

of those under the sole administration of the Merchant's and Trades' House, be divided into three classes according as they appear, on the whole, applicable to Education, General or Elementary, to Industrial Training or to Technical Education...(41).

However, Section 6 of the 1882 Act provided for the largest grouping of any educational trust to be comprised of elected members of the Town Council or an associated body, such as the School Board. The proposed central grouping therefore, had to be sub-divided, a group containing Trusts primarily associated with the municipal authority and a group administered by the city ministers and kirk sessions. The proposed grouping of the sub-committee of representatives were;

1. The General Educational Group (Municipal)
2. The Educational Aid Group (Non- Municipal)
3. The Industrial Group
4. The Technical Group

In group 1, the Town Council and School Board would have been allocated 14 of the 21 members (under Section 6 of the 1882 Act); in Group 2, 3 of the 15 members; in Group 3, 6 of the 14 members and in Group 4, only 5 out of 30 members. Paragraph 16 of the sub-committee report further incensed the School Board and was regarded as totally unacceptable:

It is suggested that the funds of the General Educational Group should be charged with providing any further school accommodation for the purposes of Secondary Education, *which may be required beyond what may be provided by the School Board* [emphasis added]; and that there should be entrusted to its governing body the management of such existing schools as may be continued, and of any new schools which may be

provided...(42).

Further, in paragraph 18, it is stated:

The governing body of the Industrial Group would have under their care the existing Buchanan Institute and Logan and Johnston School, which would be continued as Industrial Schools for boys and girls respectively (43).

In a reply to the sub-committee, the School Board suggested that one single managing body for all Trusts, '...would receive the favourable consideration of the Board' (44), rather than the quartet suggested by the sub-committee. The Board thought a body of 30 members would be workable, one third chosen by the Town Council, one third by the School Board and the remainder comprised of men, '...who are now taking, or may be found inclined to take an interest in special departments of work' (45). Such an arrangement would have given locally elected members (Board or Council) outright power. As to the suggestion that a General Educational Group should build and run any new schools for secondary education, the Board were forthright and adamant; 'The functions of the School Board are not limited to primary or elementary education' (46). And further, '...the Board are, therefore, the natural and proper parties to erect new schools, where these may be required, *and to manage them*' [emphasis added] (47). In January, 1883, William Mitchell penned a list of objections to the sub-committee proposals. One charge was that;

Certain prominent Trust Representatives do not disguise, as was brought out in the discussion, that they propose to charge the principal governing body [on endowments] to a large extent with the secondary education of the city, leaving the School Board to deal with elementary education alone, which is not only contrary to the Education Acts, but which would undoubtedly have the effect of

deteriorating and lowering the tone of the whole education of our ordinary schools (48).

In the same list of objections, the Board made two stipulations from which they were never to vary. Firstly, that every educational endowment scheme should, as far as possible, '...carry out the founder's intention in regard to the education, clothing and maintenance of poor children...' (49), and secondly, that any funds not required for such a purpose should be for, '...affording to boys and girls of promise, opportunities for obtaining higher education of the kind best suited to aid their advancement in life' (50). After providing for these two purposes, '...in Public Schools...' (51) [that is, schools run by the School Board], the Board believed that there should be created a large number of bursaries, granted after competition;

...to children of parents whose circumstances were ascertained to be such that without aid of this kind their children would not be likely to obtain higher education (52).

The Board made it clear that it had,

...no desire that any of the Endowment Funds should pass directly into their hands for administration. They desire to have the power of nominating and recommending poor children to the benefits...(53).

The Board was intent on remaining responsible for all education in the city, retaining control of secondary as well as elementary schools. In drafting the reply, Mitchell recognised that having the power to nominate children in reality meant having control of the disposal of city educational endowments, without the added burden of administering the accounts.

With the question of Educational Endowments unresolved, an

Educational Endowments Commission under Lord Balfour was appointed in 1883. The remit of the Commission was to examine the present position and to make recommendations based on evidence given, and on the 1882 Act. In response, Glasgow School Board established an Educational Endowments Committee in March, 1883, with William Mitchell as Convener. That same month, the Commission, which included J.A. Campbell, former Board member, friend and High School contemporary of Mitchell and Cuthbertson, and now an MP., met to take evidence on endowments in Glasgow. Mitchell, Cuthbertson, Russell and Fife were the Board representatives at the Commission.

The Balfour Commission

In their evidence to the Commission, the Glasgow School Board members continually reinforced certain points; that the bulk of the endowments in Glasgow were for the children of the poor and should be so spent, in keeping with the wishes of founders; that the School Board should be the sole determiner of how and where money was to be used; only the Board should be responsible for building new schools for secondary education and for their management; that bursaries were a more effective method of encouraging children to remain at school after 12 or 13 years of age, and that these bursaries should go, '...in the direction of the children of reputable poor than of the better classes' (54).

With his opening address to the Commission, William Mitchell stated that his main remit in the evidence given would be, '...in the interest of poor children' (55). Mitchell gave great emphasis to the work of his Attendance Department since 1873, in dealing with attendance problems and defaulting parents. He believed that the changing social

conditions had impoverished many who now, '...with difficulty maintain themselves and their families, apart altogether from the question of education' (56). As an example, he used the case of the handloom weavers of the Calton district, a trade, '...now in a very declining state...' (57), many members of which were summoned to appear before the Board to explain the non-attendance of their children at school. Such people, '...who would face toil and hardship rather than accept assistance at the hands of the Parochial Board...' (58), should be given assistance through endowments.

Using his experience of ten years of School Board default meetings, Mitchell believed that the minimum of £1 per week earned by a man with not more than two children, should be the cut-off point for endowment help. On the same wage but with a larger family, the man should be given aid (59). Mitchell was at great pains to point out that, '...something is needed beyond the mere education' (60). He explained:

My experience goes far to show that want of fees, especially fees for elementary education, is a small part of the difficulty in getting children to school. There is not only the want of clothing and books, but the want of wages which the children make (61).

Many educational endowments allowed for free clothing, for example, Lockhart's Bequest allowed for, '...shoes and stockings for the scholars' (62), or for, '...clothing for poor boys...' (63), in Wilson's Charity School. Mitchell was aware that payment of fees was only part of a greater problem. J.A. Campbell was later to say of Mitchell, '...if there was ever a man in Scotland who understood the difficulties of calling for fees from the parents of poor children, that man was Mr. Mitchell' (64). Mitchell's own work with the School Board had shown, for example,

that some schools were very depleted in severe weather, ‘...on account of the want of boots, shoes and stockings’ (65).

Due to the administration built up over the previous ten years, Mitchell believed that the School Board would be the most effective agency in deciding how endowment money should be distributed; for example, checking the legitimacy of cases and monitoring the scholars would best be done by the Board. Aware of such work from his own time on the Glasgow School Board, J.A. Campbell, in his questioning of Mitchell, helped reinforce the Board’s view.

Campbell: But it would not be difficult for you to keep a record of the assisted scholars in such a way as not to have them branded as charity scholars, but at the same time to satisfy the Board that their education was being attended to, and that the assistance given them was not abused?

Mitchell: I think it could be very easily done and with very great advantage; and I think it need never be known to other parties that they were receiving free education.

Campbell: In what you propose you have no idea of charitable funds being handed over to the School Board, but simply that the School Board’s nomination and recommendation should be regarded by the Trustees of those funds?

Mitchell: We have no desire, and I am sure I speak the mind of all my colleagues, that a single penny of the money should be administered by ourselves. We simply wish to have the power of nominating and recommending, with the security that there will be a sum set apart for giving effect to our nomination and recommendation. (66)

Mitchell wished to see more children remain at school for a longer

period, possibly for another year or two, after the age of twelve or thirteen, but not to the detriment of elementary education. On being asked by Lord Balfour whether a greater share of the endowment money should not be set aside for this purpose, Mitchell replied that the primary object of most trust money was for, '...the poor children who require elementary education...' (67).

Thomas Russell, in his evidence, told the Commission that the School Board were already building new schools in which provision was made for a secondary curriculum; John Street and St. George's Road in 1883, with Gorbals due in 1885 and Kent Road in 1886. The problem to be resolved was how to persuade parents and children of the benefits of an extra year or two at school. The money should be used to help those children, '...whose parents are not in circumstances to afford it' (68), for he considered that a large proportion of the money belonged to the poor, '...by right' (69). A second criterion, in addition to inability to pay, for an award of a bursary, should be met by a competitive examination. As a codicil, however, the city should be divided into districts for examination purposes, to ensure that children from poorer areas were not set against their more affluent peers, as those of a higher social class, '...have means of obtaining assistance and guidance in their studies which the poorer classes have not' (70). Children from the better areas who sought bursary and scholarship awards, '...should be almost excluded...' (71), or, the number of bursaries awarded in such areas should be, '...very much smaller...' (72).

It was obvious to the Board, Russell continued, that there existed a larger number of families unable to afford the increased costs of higher education (the beginnings of the secondary sector), than the numbers unable to pay for elementary schooling. In the latter there was an

element of compulsion, whereas in higher education;

...it is simply a matter of inducement, and at that age the children have become bread-winners, and it takes a greater amount [of money] to induce poor parents to keep their children at school' (73).

The example provided by Russell was of a man earning 22s per week and able to pay for elementary schooling, but even if earning 26s or 27s per week would have great difficulty in paying for higher education. Russell thought that a sum of £10 per year, roughly equivalent to the wages a boy could earn in his first year of employment, should be the sum provided.

Russell further stated that, '...all educational matters within the city should be under the School Board' (74). The bursaries awarded through endowment money should conform to Section 7 of the 1882 Endowments Act, which stated, that the Commissioners, '...have special regard to making provision for secondary or higher or technical education in public schools' (75). This view of Russell differed in part from that of Michell. While the latter believed that all money should be used for the elementary education of poor children and the wish of the founder respected, the former would have been happy to see some of the money diverted for higher education purposes. They were in agreement, however, over the monopoly of the School Board in providing schools for the city. The Board would;

...deprecate very much the creation of a second school board in the city, which would virtually arise if anyone were permitted without control to build and manage secondary schools (76).

Asked by J.A. Campbell whether such a policy would prevent new founders or donors coming forward, Russell replied that;

...founders in the future will devote their funds

more, not to the creation of institutions, but to the support of existing institutions and the funding of existing educational means...(77).

Sir John N. Cuthbertson, Chairman of the Glasgow School Board, repeated that the Board were already doing something about higher education; in 1882/83 there were, '...19,441 young persons within the city of Glasgow who were receiving higher education...' (78) [this included those attending evening classes]. Apart from the High School, Cuthbertson stated, from a total of 188 masters, 45 were either graduates or had attended a university for the period required for graduation; Glasgow had been active in grading her schools, '...so that in each district of the city there may be one or more schools giving the branches of higher education' (79). As an example, he noted that in seven shools there were 626 scholars studying above the six standards; City Boys' School, City Girls', Woodside, Garnethill, Abbotsford, John Street and Dennistoun. As to the suggestion of school building by others, Cuthbertson believed the Board had;

...the advantage of being able to borrow money to be repaid in fifty years, so that it would be ill-spared to take money from the capital fund of these endowments and spend it in erecting schools which could be more easily provided by the School Board. Taking money out of your endowments for the building of schools, we think would dissipate funds which would be more usefully employed otherwise. *It would create rival interests....*[emphasis added] (80).

For Cuthbertson, the 1882 Act was to apportion funds to needy scholars;

It is an endowment Act; it is not an Act for investing funds in stone and lime (81).

He demanded, '...the status quo, quoad [Sic] ultra the School Board' (82).

The Glasgow Endowment Schemes

In 1884, the Endowment Commissioners made their report which the Glasgow School Board thought would, '...very fairly meet the views expressed by the Board...' (83). The scheme called for the establishment of three endowment boards in the city; the Hutchesons' Trust (the richest), the Glasgow City Educational Endowments Board and the Glasgow General Educational Endowments Board. The latter two operated under similar conditions, having the same secretary in F. Lockhart Robertson and the same address in South Frederick Street for correspondence. The School Board had three representatives on all three, Mitchell being a member of each.

Scholarships were to be awarded to children of parents who,

...not being in receipt of parochial relief, are in such circumstances as to require aid for providing elementary education, and are persons who, in the opinion of the Governors, ought not to be required to apply to the Parochial Board for such aid...(84).

This satisfied the School Board, who had long argued for that class of parent just missing out on parochial relief but who did not earn enough to pay school fees without some difficulty; these were considered the deserving and respectable poor.

The separation of the poor into categories, deserving and undeserving, was common practice amongst the middle class of the period. The criterion used to make the distinction was essentially that of moral values.

The deserving [or respectable] poor were that group whom middle class observers perceived as having adopted acceptable moral standards on such matters as temperance, thrift, education, family values and, very

often, religion. A bonus for the middle class was the fact that this group, the deserving poor, although copying the habits of their social superiors, still understood their place and role in the social hierarchy. Their hardships and struggle against poverty could be attributed therefore, to unfortunate circumstances and not to an immoral life style. They were regarded as the aristocracy of the miserable and they provided no threat to social stability.

For the undeserving poor, the converse was the case; their venal and wanton life style was viewed as the cause of their poverty. To give them financial help, it was believed, would only encourage them in their dissolute habits. Their intemperance, promiscuity and violence was seen as a possible threat to social stability.

The skilled working class and lower middle class (including the growing number of clerks, shopworkers and teachers) increasingly distanced themselves from the very poor. Greater stability of employment and income allowed this group to adopt a different way of life; membership of temperance societies, church connections, stable family life and a strong belief in education as a means of social mobility and betterment, were regarded as outward signs of respectability. The growth of the suburbs and the more democratic forms of transport such as trams and trains in Glasgow during the last quarter of the nineteenth century also allowed the skilled workers to distance themselves physically from the poorer areas of the city.

Scholars under 10 years of age applying for an award did not sit an examination, but consideration would be given to, '...good conduct, attendance, and progress at school during the previous year as reported by the teacher' (85); again, values associated with respectability. For children over 10 years, awards would be determined by competition

in examination, opening up a secondary education if successfully negotiated. Eligibility for examination depended on the applicants being children, '...whose parents or guardians are in such circumstances as to require aid for giving the children a higher education' (86).

In 1886, the General Board offered 50 bursaries over two years at £5 and £7 10s respectively for each year. Twelve bursaries were awarded for Technical Education and for University. All twelve of these bursaries were won by pupils from Garnethill School. The Glasgow City Board offered seven Technical bursaries; all won by pupils from Garnethill School. With Technical bursaries, the candidates had to have previously passed in the 6th. Standard and have taken special subjects. The largest number and concentration of such pupils were found in Garnethill School.

With school bursaries, however, there was a greater spread around the city. Of the 100 school bursaries offered in 1886 by the Glasgow City Board, the highest number of awards, eighteen, went to John Street in Bridgeton and Thomson Street in Dennistoun, both areas of respectable working class and lower middle class housing. Of the 50 school bursaries awarded by the Glasgow General Board in the same year, the highest number went to Thomson Street with 11 and John Street with 6. Schools in the east end and north east, such as Rumford Street and Hozier Street, Springburn and Kennedy Street, also won their share of bursaries (87).

Although the Technical bursaries had gone to pupils from an area known for a higher than average income, there is no doubt that a growing number of children from the less affluent areas, who proved their ability in examination, were given an opportunity of secondary education. Sandford believed that, '...an educational ladder, was being

rapidly supplied' (88).

The Free Education Debate and the Glasgow School Board

In 1880, Charles Cameron MP., in a talk given to the Glasgow Liberal Workmen's Electoral Union, had first called for the abolition of school fees. The following year, 1881, he introduced in the Commons, a Free Education Bill which, however, '...fell altogether flat and lifeless upon the community, and met with little support...' (89). Not a great deal of Parliamentary time was spent on the subject until 1885, when Joseph Chamberlain included free education at elementary school in his election manifesto, thus placing the topic on a national stage. There was some resentment in Scotland against Chamberlain, as many believed the school pence had been a non-controversial subject and that;

...until an ill-informed orator from Birmingham suggested it, no average Scotsman would have supposed that in sending the Monday pence with Tam or Jeannie he was groaning under an intolerable social tyranny (90).

The arguments for and against free education dominated the newspapers and educational debates in Glasgow, where Cameron focused his renewed attack on the School Board. The variable fees charged in Glasgow, Cameron believed, meant that, '...the Glasgow Board schools are being graded socially' (91). He was ably supported by A.J. Mundella, for whom the fee system, '...promoted classes and castes' (92). Some pointed to the absence of protest against the payment of fees and argued that, '...there has been no demand or wish for it [protest]' (93). Cameron relied that the '...poor have not the means, perhaps not even the courage and ability to air their grievances before the public' (94). As was always the case, when the question of education for the poor was

discussed, the poor themselves took no part in the debate. The main spokesman for the Glasgow School Board, the majority of whom opposed the abolition of fees, was William Mitchell.

James Caldwell, MP. for Glasgow St. Rollox, joined with Cameron and A.J. Mundella in attacking the policy of the Glasgow School Board, and Mitchell in particular. Mitchell's stand on the continuation of fees was termed, '...crude views and vain imaginings...' (95). In supporting Mundella against Mitchell, the **North British Daily Mail** spoke of, '...pitting a great name against a little...', and compared their debate to, '...cracking a nut with a Naysmyth hammer' (96).

One of the principal reasons advanced for the abolition of school fees was that such a move would increase the rate of attendance. As an example, the pro-abolitionists put forward the case of schools in America and Germany, in both of which elementary education was free. Some went as far as to say that the policy in American schools was, '...the crowning measure of social and political emancipation' (97). The main thrust of the argument was based on the supposition that regular attendance would be the rule where education was free. It was further argued that abolition would be the deliverance of poor parents from the hardships and degradation of applying to parochial or local authorities for payment of fees. Mundella believed that when a man had to plead poverty before getting his child to school, it was degrading and pauperising; however, '...when free education is the rule, no man can be degraded by accepting it' (98).

In answer to Mundella's comparisons of America and Germany, Mitchell produced the American Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1884. Mitchell compared Brooklyn, with a population of 566,663 to Glasgow whose population was 543,295. In the former, the

average attendance at school was 54,894 while in Glasgow it stood at 80,703 exclusive of evening classes (99). The reasons for poor attendance given in the American report were, '...culpable indifference on the part of parents, or poor schools, and defective administration...' (100). For the Superintendent of Education in Massachusetts; 'Non-attendance is the bane of our free schools' (101). When confronted by, '...those who are driven by necessity or avarice to profit by the labour of children.....it becomes difficult to secure a high average attendance...' (102). Mitchell also dismissed the German example of the prohibitionists. Although agreeing that some German cities had larger numbers regularly at school, '...the bureaucracy and absolute control which prevail over the lives and liberties of the subject...' (103), would not, he believed, be tolerated in Scotland. The opposite was the case in America where there was, '...a freedom, almost amounting to license, in the manner in which educational affairs are managed in many of the different states' (104). Mitchell pointed to the steady growth of attendance in Glasgow schools over the previous four years [Appendix 50], and agreed with Francis Stafford who thought that; ' Parents, when they paid a reasonable fee, were, he thought, the best attendance officers' (105).

As to the supposed degradation in applying for relief;

...not many have complained to the School Board
of any special degradation or hardship connected
with their application (106).

However, Cameron's point about the reticence of the poor to complain should be borne in mind.

Mitchell remarked that half the children in Glasgow for whom the Parochial Board were paying fees belonged to families who were already receiving some other form of relief. For the other half, regular

attendance more often depended on further assistance with food and clothing. Mitchell quoted the answer received from a Glasgow teacher, on being asked whether those who had their fees paid were the most regular attenders:

Far from it. It is not the difficulty about fees which is the principal cause of non-attendance or irregular attendance, far oftener the want of home influence and control, and the urgent need for the small earnings which the children can make (107).

Mundella was accused by his opponents of ignorance with regard to the history of school fees in Scotland. Sir Francis Stafford, at a meeting in the Waterloo Rooms in Glasgow, said that Mundella and the other pro-abolitionists should refrain from referring to foreign examples and, '...inquire into the history of Scotland' (108), where he would find that school fees had always been accepted by the majority of parents. Fees, he explained, were not the problem in Scotland or Glasgow; the average fee in England was 10s 7d and the average attendance 75%; in Scotland as a whole the figures were 12s 9d and 76.2%, while Glasgow was 16s and upwards of 80% (109).

Regular attendance was, explained Mitchell, not conditioned by school fees but, '...was explicable from physical and social causes which free education would not touch' (110). Mundella's claim that, '...the abolition of fees would break down caste in our schools. It would bring all classes together...' (111), was rejected by Mitchell.

However, in responding to Cameron's claim that the Glasgow School Board maintained class distinctions through its schools, Mitchell did admit that there were districts of the city where some parents were reluctant to let their children mix with peers who might be in a filthy and verminous state. While this, he continued, was a problem

manifested in some schools, it was not a situation caused by the schools themselves. Other agencies should deal with the root problem of poverty, housing and health. The Board still thought it proper to charge differing fees according to the parents ability to pay; however, Mitchell emphasised;

„the education given in the schools where the lowest fees are charged is as efficient, and all the comforts and conveniences and appliances for the welfare and benefit of the children are as complete in the one case as in the other (112).

Social circumstances outwith the control of the School Board too often decided how beneficial schooling would prove to be for the child. Mitchell said;

...the School Board cannot prevent the existence of class distinctions in the community. There will be richer and poorer while the world lasts, but although making well-to-do parents pay higher fees and accepting lower fees in districts where higher could be ill afforded, the Board recognise the right of all to an education equally good, and to schools and teachers equally efficient and qualified (113).

[Mitchell's views on poverty will be discussed in a later chapter].

For Mundella, the abolition of fees would automatically put all classes of children together. He believed there would be great benefit, for, '...it is the tendency of children to look up to those that are better than themselves, better dressed, clean washed, and of more refined manners' (114). This was not a form of paternalism with which Mitchell found any sympathy; there was no evidence that some form of osmosis would occur which would help poorer children. Further, to emulate their betters, poor children would have to rely on a change in their immediate social background and the earning power of their

parents; both factors over which they [the children] had no control. To believe in such a transfer of values because of their proximity in schools was to ignore the fundamental question of why some children and their parents were so poor in the first place. It was, for Mitchell, an unrealistic attitude.

Free education implied a greater control of funds, and consequently the policies applied in schools, by the State. For some, one certain effect of the adoption of free education would be, '...to exclude all religious teaching from the schools...' (115). A call for secular education had come from the **Educational News** in 1882, which saw the growth of secularism as inevitable; 'The tendencies of the age point directly to this as a condition of the future...' (116). Schools should not have their time taken up with religious instruction, a task which should be left to the ministers. The school, '...exists for secular purposes.....its own distinctive work is quite sufficient to keep it fully employed' (117). For Sir Charles Tennant, '...the taking away of the fees from the Board schools would be the destruction of the Roman Catholic, Episcopalian and all other schools in the city' (118).

Mitchell, because of the fear of secularisation, was strongly supported in his fight against free education by the Roman Catholic community in Glasgow:

Mr. Mitchell being a man not only of much ability,
but of great practical experience in education, is
entitled to considerations for his opinions...(119).

The Roman Catholic Church was vehemently opposed to free education, seeing the move as a deliberate attack on religious teaching. For them the real object of the pro-abolitionists was, '...not the spread of education, no matter how much they may preach it, but the prohibition of religious teaching' (120). Having remained outwith the School Board

system to protect their own religious instruction, paying the rate but not gaining the benefit, they did not wish all public schools free and religious instruction non-existent. A leading Roman Catholic, the Bishop of Salford, had stated unequivocally that; ' No system of elementary education can be accepted which does not give the first place to the Catholic religion...' (121). In 1879, the Roman Catholic Church had stood against those like Mitchell who wished to continue spending and increase school accommodation; six years later they backed Mitchell as a defender of religion in schools.

Mitchell remarked that while in denominational schools a deep interest was taken in religious instruction, in public [Board] schools there was, under the 1872 and 1878 Education Acts, no obligation to give religious teaching; there was simply the statement in the Preamble to the 1872 Act that those in charge of public schools, '...were at liberty to continue the said custom...' (use and wont). Free education meant secular education and greater control by the State, anathema to Mitchell

The firmer the hold that the State gets on education and the schools, the greater the certainty that secularism pure and simple will prevail. An education cut adrift from the Bible will be no longer the education which has made Scotland pre-eminent for three hundred years (122).

The advent of free education would have meant a change in the method of school finance. Was it to be a national system of finance or was it to remain a local responsibility? Lord Balfour thought, '...if they did away with paying fees, the burden would fall upon the ratepayers if the money were taken from local rates...' (123). For the E.I.S.; ' Free education is a fine sounding name, but it is not free. It must be paid for by fees, rates, central taxation' (124).

Chamberlain had called school fees, '...an odious and abominable tax...' (125). Sandford remarked that, '...all taxes were odious...' (126), and free education simply meant, '...the substitution of one tax for another...' (127). Sir Charles Tennant said that in Glasgow, '...in the poorer parts of the city they [fees] were as low as 1 1/2d per week...', and that while the present school rate in Glasgow was 6d in the £, if rates had to pay for free education it would mean, '...making the rate 1s 3d' (128). Both Chamberlain and Mundella had suggested that the money to finance free education could come from the Consolidated Fund, intended primarily for the payment of the National Debt which in 1885 stood at £750 million. For Mitchell, money extracted from the Consolidated Fund would, of necessity, have to be replaced. Anyone who wished the State to pay for free education in whatever manner, would find, '...his educational liberty would at the same time be restrained, and his taxation increased as well' (129). Chamberlain's suggestion that the endowments of the Established Church in Scotland could replace fee money was dismissed out of hand as it, '...would be altogether inadequate for the purpose...', and that, '...any link of connection between endowments and the purpose for which they have hitherto existed, is at once severed' (130). Chamberlain quickly dropped the idea; the Church of Scotland may well have been weaker than previously, but there is the strong suspicion that it would have fought tooth and claw before allowing a Parliament in London to interfere with its finances.

It was suspected that greater State control would reduce the standards being set in schools. Sandford used the example of the London School Board to illustrate the point. Economists had been drafted in, '...sent there to reduce education below that high standard

which many of the people in London had been aiming at...' (131). A tax, therefore, rather than a school fee, would mean that;

...the State, under pressure of the taxpayer, would be forced to reduce education to the lowest possible minimum, and in the end limit public education to the absolute essentials... (132).

Mitchell remarked that, '...in the proposed free education it is only contemplated to deal with elementary education' (133). Such a move would be counter to the beliefs of the Glasgow School Board, in whose schools, '...there is no separation between elementary and higher subjects...' (134). The *Glasgow Herald* stated that such a policy would simply be, '...a State limit on the prospects of children of promise in the future' (135); if some parents already found difficulty in paying fees at the earlier stage, how much more difficult would it be for the later stages? The need for extra wages from children who were now old enough to work would become compelling. Higher education would therefore be, to a greater extent, the preserve of the middle and upper classes.

Advocates of fees believed that paying for education was a moral obligation on the part of parents. Fees made education a valuable commodity and a parent, '...while paying the accustomed fee, cannot but realise the well-understood maxim and look for good value in return' (136). Free education was viewed by some commentators as a, '...doctrine which strikes at the root of the obligations which rest upon individuals...' (137). The idea of parental responsibility in education had historical significance in Scotland; re-emphasised in the 1872 Act, it was the position adopted by the Glasgow School Board;

...whatever the State may think fit to contribute towards education as a common interest, its

arrangements ought not to ignore the special relationship of parents to the matter, but should continue to enlist the powerful motives of direct parental duty and personal interest for the furtherance of its ends (138).

This echoed J.S. Mill, writing earlier in the century:

Hardly anyone, indeed, will deny that it is one of the most sacred duties of the parents....., after summoning a human being into the world, to give to that being an education fitting him to perform his part well in life towards others and towards himself (139).

Only if a parent did not perform this duty, which Mill saw as a moral crime against both the child and against society, should the State make educational provision. Like the Glasgow School Board, Mill saw parental involvement as a counter-balance to a system run completely by the State; something which he believed would not only reduce the responsibility of parents but would be an attack on individualism:

A general State education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another; and as the mould in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the government,.....it establishes a despotism over the mind... (140).

S.S. Laurie would have agreed with Mill but also saw another danger in the reduction of parental responsibility, a weakening of family values which for many of the middle class were the bedrock of social cohesion.

Let them abolish fees, and the child becomes more and more the child of the State, and less and less the child of its own father and mother, and to that extent a moral blow was struck at the foundation of the social fabric (141).

The fear of social and moral degeneration as a consequence of free education was strong amongst the advocates of the status quo:

The family is an institution as old as the world, and existed long before there was a State formed for its direction and control; and to deprive the Family of its duty and break up its authority, is a certain forerunner of the degeneracy, the depravity, and the downfall of the State (142)

Mitchell concluded:

Perfection in all respects is not claimed for the present system - but the work accomplished by it, the excellent manner in which it has been organised, and the general satisfaction which prevails with its administration, are considerations which might well make wise men pause before raising animosities and provoking discussions concerning which no one can foretell the issue (143).

Conclusion

By the opening of 1882, the School Board of Glasgow had responsibility for 44 day schools, primarily for the provision of elementary education, and was beginning to consider the most effective method of supplying secondary education for the city. The awarding of bursaries, with money re-allocated from endowment funds was thought to be the best method; it was also believed that open competition through examination [although districts were kept separate] would ensure a more equitable distribution of awards throughout the city. Initially, the Board had to face a challenge from Trust managers and supporters anxious to retain some control of endowments. As far as the Board was concerned, the 1872 Act gave it responsibility for schooling

beyond the elementary stage. The possibility that various agencies could administer higher education in the city was unacceptable to the Board. It argued the case strongly and, with the general help of the Balfour Commission, succeeded in retaining control of school provision in the city. The Glasgow School Board suffered no rivals.

The Board supported the retention of school fees. Abolition of fees would have meant a large increase in the School Rate; in paying a higher rate, ratepayers may well have scrutinized more closely the costs of education for the city. Politically, it may have been more difficult for the Board to justify continued costs.

In replying to criticism of its policy of charging differing fees, the Board put forward two reasons to vindicate its position. First, the Board wished to encourage the middle class into Board schools; not to have done so would have left rivals to provide for the needs of middle class children. The Board intended to be the universal provider of education for Glasgow, regardless of social class. It contended that the higher fees charged in areas where they could be afforded, were payment for the provision of extra and special subjects. In doing so, the Board believed, it was responding to a demand and providing the service which many middle class parents wished. Second, the Board believed that it made a profit by such a policy. Excess money brought in by schools such as Garnethill, once the school costs were defrayed, went to the general School Fund. This in turn could be distributed to areas of need. As Kennedy has shown, schools in poor districts were expensive, were not self-supporting and required extra help. This prompts the question as to whether all schools administered by the Board were of the same standard.

As far as the material resources, standard of building, safety, hygiene

and qualified staff supplied to schools by the Board, the answer would be yes. With regard to the environment, housing conditions and home circumstances of the pupils, the answer would be an unequivocal, no. Such a difference was not the product of the school; the school could only reflect the environment in which it was situated. Further, it was seen that some parents kept their children from some schools because of the dirty and ill-kempt condition of their peers and not because the standard of education of the school itself was considered inferior. As has been seen, and will be shown in greater detail in the following chapter, some individual members of the School Board were very much aware of this situation and worked long and hard to have the root causes of social deprivation addressed.

Free education challenged the social and religious beliefs of the majority of Board members. Secularism, the perceived partner of free schooling, struck at the heart of family values and was seen to be threatening the structure of the society in which the Board operated. Such views produced shifting alliances on the Board, such as that between Mitchell and the Roman Catholics. Cataclysmic warnings were pronounced on the dangers of free education; parental responsibility would disappear and it was thought that the State would have the power and potential to mould generations to its will. If schooling was a means of social control, why then was full control by the State viewed as dangerous? Could it be that the middle class groups who ran education through school boards wished to be the primary arbitrators of any social control exerted by schools? In a similar context, the abolition of fees was viewed as a means of transferring from local and accountable control to a more impersonal and national dimension, leaving the Board emasculated.

Once the dust of debate had settled, the Board was, in general, satisfied with the outcome. It had spent three years defending its own position on fees, differing fees and the use of endowment funds. By 1885 - 86, the School Board of Glasgow could survey an empire more stable and more extensive than it had done three years earlier.

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Chapter Seven

William Mitchell - ' A School Board Member'

Introduction

Throughout the thesis, William Mitchell has figured prominently in the work of the School Board of Glasgow. As Chairman of the Attendance Committee from 1873 to 1903, he was central to most of the policies, deliberations and enactments of the Board. His involvement in the debate on teachers' salaries has been viewed as have his reasons for supporting the continuation of school fees. His participation in the administration and development of voluntary welfare agencies, for example the G.S.P.C.C., has been studied as has the significant role which he played concerning the changes to educational endowments for Glasgow. [A biography of William Mitchell is included in the Appendices at Appendix 56].

This chapter will look closely at William Mitchell and will examine his educational philosophy, his integrative approach to social reform and the position accorded to schooling in such change. The absence of demarcation lines will be seen as a feature of Mitchell's approach; the action of agencies, both official and charitable, overlapped. Ubiquity of involvement characterized Mitchell and he viewed this attribute as an essential condition for maximising the effectiveness of voluntary and official action. The overarching presence of the School Board of Glasgow will be seen as a constant in all Mitchell's activities; his position on the Board became the centre for for a network of information and control which enabled him to play a considerable role in determining the development of agencies concerned with child welfare.

The chapter will examine his dealings with the Glasgow Town Council Health Committee as an example of his intervention on behalf of children; it was his attempts to promote action for better standard housing and living conditions which became the focal point for much of

his work. The chapter will study the manner in which Mitchell was instrumental in the foundation of East Park Home for Infirm Children; his involvement with pantomime children will also be studied, both the official role assigned to him by the Board and the practical initiative which he accorded himself in improving their physical and moral condition. There is a look at the Evening Schools of the Board and the essential part played by Mitchell over the first six years of their operation.

The chapter will show the central role played by William Mitchell in the cause of child welfare in Glasgow - officially, semi-officially and unofficially.

The Rhetoric of Social Reform

Education is the leading spirit of the age, but education is not food; education is not clothing; education cannot take the place of home comforts, home training, home influences. Children must have the natural and material wants of the body supplied ere the benefits and blessings of education can be either received or valued (1).

The educational philosophy of William Mitchell embraced much more than the basic elementary schooling of a child. His reasoning encompassed a programme of social reform, the objective of which was to improve the living conditions and welfare of the poor and working classes, in order that their children would profit from the new system of schooling. It had been the assumption and expectation of many that the new schools, trained teachers and the removal of poverty as a barrier to attendance, would impart knowledge and instil an acceptable moral code; Anderson has said of the social problems brought by urbanisation, '...education was seen as a key to their solution' (2). With respect to

large numbers of poor children, however, William Mitchell regarded their schooling and their social condition to be in antibiosis; he believed an effective and enduring education was consequent upon the successful application of remedies to these social problems. The education of a child, he insisted, demanded first and foremost, the answers to;

Questions of housing, questions of employment,
questions of food and clothing, questions of
intemperance and misconduct (3).

For Mitchell, the proper nourishment of both mind and body was an essential ingredient for the success of schooling. Moral training he viewed as a necessary part of the educative process but such a training he thought was being hindered. In concert with most middle class Victorian philanthropists, Mitchell believed in a transfer of middle class moral standards to those lower down the social scale; such was thought to be a prerequisite for improving the life style of the poor, for example, the adoption of temperance and while not advocating chastity , at least the reduction of promiscuity.

Mitchell's views on the chronology of social reform, however, were different from those of most philanthropists and voluntarists. While education for Mitchell was an important arena for fostering social change, instilling good habits and Christian values, it took second place in his hierarchy of social transition. Until the living conditions of the poor were transformed, he believed, the transfer of acceptable values would be less than successful. Only when the undesirable responses of the poor to their present circumstances were made redundant would they be in a position to contemplate such change. Mitchell questioned how schools were expected to teach different moral values and standards to the children reared in the overcrowded and unhealthy districts of Glasgow; children who came from, '...conditions which render a healthy moral life

all but an impossibility' (4). He disagreed strongly with those who believed that schooling would, '...bring them round all right' (5). Critical analysis, he insisted, should not only be directed at the poor but at the root causes of poverty and its consequences for the daily lives and in especial the home circumstances experienced by many children. For,

...domestic influences and impulses must occupy a leading position in all social reformation (6).

The school was not, Mitchell argued, a *deus ex machina* for social problems. He asserted that the complex interplay of environment and moral values should be the fulcrum of the debate. Physical conditions, home environment, the quality of life experienced, he believed, had the greatest effect on the character, views, prejudices and beliefs of everyone; the morality of the poor was fashioned by their living conditions and not the reverse. Immorality was not an inherent quality but was learned;

...the wretched state of the dwellings and their woeful character breed temptations which *involuntarily* [emphasis added] drive weak and sensitive natures to intemperance and despair; temptations which need have little place in the circumstances of the comfortably housed and well-to-do (7).

It was the poor housing especially which caused the conditions so detrimental for the education of many children.

It is my conviction that much of the fruit of education, and many of its benefits, are being blighted and lost owing to the wretched social condition in which so many of our poorer and working classes are compelled to live (8).

The often condescending and overly paternalistic attitude of the middle class community angered Mitchell. Their insistence that immorality

caused poverty was a view which he too often met;

I will be told as I have been told a thousand times,
that the people living in these insanitary dwellings
have themselves to blame (9).

Such an attitude, cautioned Mitchell, was dangerous; the recipe for social disorder was brewed in the slums. The harbingers of anarchy, he warned - crime, civil unrest, unemployment - were nourished by bad housing conditions. The rising generations, more functionally literate than their parents and more questioning of the social hierarchy, would find little attraction in overcrowded homes. If action was not taken for improvement, Mitchell believed, then a continuence of these conditions;

...will develop phases of social disorder and give
rise some day to that revolutionary spirit which
seems the only means of awakening nations to a
sense of past neglect and present duty (10).

Mirroring a trend of the period, especially in Glasgow, Mitchell called for swift and effective official action, accompanied by, '...individual zeal and determination...' (11).

I would like to see our leading and distinguished
statesmen leaving new educational legislation
alone, and rather turning their energy and talents
in the direction of social legislation, having respect
to the dwellings and domestic condition and
circumstances of the poor (12).

Conceding that there were necessary financial costs involved in a wide programme of social reform, Mitchell reminded the more affluent that they were already paying for their neglect;

...remember the heavy burdens lying on the
community in respect to prison rates, misconduct,
intemperance, vice, which are chiefly owing to the

present miserable social condition of so large a number (13).

Mitchell's visits to poor localities and the reports of his attendance officers forcefully indicated the sharp contrast between the pace of progress in science and technology with their consequent benefits such as electricity and better sanitation, and the continuing unwholesome, neglected condition of the poor. Mitchell had no argument with scientific progress per se; it was the maldistribution of the benefits which he found unacceptable:

Science and art have done much to change the face of the world; they have done but little to transform the social aspect of our great cities. The very refuse of past ages is yielding light and heat and beauty under the magic wand of chemistry, but the desolate wastes of humanity lie dark and dormant still (14).

Scientific progress, argued Mitchell, need be no Faustian bargain. Such progress was not only applicable to industry and manufacture, indeed it was a necessary application; but science should have as a primary concern the material improvement of the human condition. To use the new discoveries of science solely for profit, he believed, was not a matter for boastfulness but, '...rather much cause for shame and humiliation' (15). To view the God-given benefits of science exclusively for industrial purposes, Mitchell preached, and place this before compassion and responsibility to the poor, was morally wrong.

The raw material of youth and childhood is always precious and of more value than our products of coal and iron (16).

Where Thomas Chalmers had believed church extension and schooling to be the best hope, '...for the redemption of industrial society from

moral and political disaster' (17), Mitchell saw improved housing, health and family life as the antecedents of a cultural change which would be reinforced and prosecuted by education. The foundation upon which Mitchell wished to base the rescue of children and the regeneration of the poorer classes, was the family unit and home life.

Home in its truest and best sense is the sheet-anchor of the nation's greatness, of its peace and prosperity (18).

R.D. Anderson has characterized one view of Scottish educational history in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as being a celebration of progress:

Every year there were more children in school, higher attendances, better qualified teachers, a fuller and more flexible curriculum, wider educational opportunities (19).

Anderson, however, does not qualify the statement with reference to the views, anxieties and work of individuals, such as Mitchell.

By the 1880's (20) and into the 1890's (21), Mitchell concluded, that although a whole generation had been educated in Board schools since 1873, the Board had been successful, '...only to a limited extent...' (22). A great deal more, he believed, could have been accomplished, '...had their social condition received so much attention as their education' (23). Although conceding that better and more regular attendance had shown consistent improvement each year, schooling, for Mitchell, had not proved to be the panacea that some had believed. He was, somewhat disappointedly, to say;

...experience has taught me that the number of additional heads at school is in itself a faint indication of the influences which must be brought to bear...(24).

While the School Board had the legal power to put children to school, it could only indirectly influence their lives in other ways, by highlighting areas of concern and by working with and through voluntary and some official agencies. William Mitchell viewed society as a whole, with an understanding of the often complex relationships between the various parts. Education for him was not a separate commodity with a separate function, but the culminating element in a strategy which he believed would change society for the better. A major problem, as Mitchell saw it, was the inability of other agencies, especially some with official powers, to work effectively for the necessary promotion of social reform. The legislative power of the School Board needed collaborators in order to achieve maximum potential; Mitchell firmly believed that,

...School Board dealing and School Board efforts,
should be largely supplemented from without (25).

The Action of Social Reform

In 1883, Mitchell reported that, '...there has been a progressive annual advance in Children attending School since 1873' (26), and that, '...the Board are quite entitled to take credit for some share in the increased and increasing number of Children at School' (27). From the position of having no pupils at the beginning of 1873, the Board were accommodating 48,785 pupils by 1883; average attendance in city schools in 1873 was 81.5% and by 1883 stood at 84.89% in Board schools (28).

This having been said, Mitchell admitted that he, '...often felt disheartened...' (29), at the number of defaulters and resolved to use every opportunity to highlight the conditions which he largely held responsible for absence and irregular attendance. As an addition to the

School Board attendance Report of 1883, he included some remarks of his own aimed at housing standards in the poorer areas of Glasgow. He pointed out that of the 114,759 families in the city, 40,820 lived in houses of a single room, with rents varying from 7s to 9s per month (30). Furthermore, there was a constant movement of tenants between many of these houses which enabled the occupants, '...to thwart the School Board Officers at every turn' (31). Lack of sanitary conveniences and space, where, '...grown up boys and girls, and even young men and women, lodge together in the same apartment' (32), Mitchell believed to be, '...the problem of the day' (33).

Mitchell's comments were discussed by the Health Committee of the Town Council (as he knew they would) who requested a list of the properties to which Mitchell alluded. Little came from his remarks and his call for action; the Health Committee believed that, '...some of his statements are evidently made without full knowledge of our present legal position...' (34). [Town Councils could not arbitrarily close insanitary properties without resorting to, often extended, court action. Not until the Public Health (Scotland) Act of 1897 and the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act of 1892, could local authorities make building and sanitary by-laws and set up machinery with which to enforce them]. Mitchell's belief that poor housing was responsible for crime and immorality was discounted by the Health Committee who took the more common view:

We must just go on, however, taking the people with their habits and surroundings as they are, and doing our best to have the filth cleaned up after them (35).

In 1887, Mitchell was given another opportunity to use his position on the School Board for a renewal of the attack on insanitary conditions. The Health Committee requested that the School Board open

playgrounds, outwith school hours, for the use of children resident in the district of the school, in an attempt to encourage children from the closes and wynds. The Board refused the request on the grounds that, '...the clean sanitary playgrounds and offices [lavatories]...', kept in good condition by the Board janitors would be open to the, '...unrestricted incursion...' (36), of the whole population of the district. For Mitchell, this request, however, afforded,

...a good opportunity for bringing prominently forward some of the causes which lead to there being so many neglected children, and so much irregular attendance in our schools (37).

Moreover, he continued:

I have been realizing for a long time that too much has been expected from mere educational measures. I have seen very well during these last fifteen years how far education is likely to go, and what it will accomplish (38).

The Health Committee, quite naturally, did not accept, '...the accuracy of the terrible picture...' (39), painted by the School Board, and requested supplementary information on the localities where such conditions were alleged to exist. Unsurprisingly, it was Mitchell, '...the most thorough going statistician on the Board...' (40), who was to collect and collate the facts before sending the information to the Health Committee. True to his method of working, Mitchell visited some of the worst districts of the city. Single room dwellings, synonymous with overcrowding, were of particular concern for, '...in all the twelve districts [educational districts] of the School Board there is not one district where they are not found' (41).

Appendix 51 gives examples of the localities deemed by Mitchell to require urgent attention, a list of which he sent to the Health

Committee, reminding them that, '...there are many other localities as filthy and insanitary as those referred to...' (42). It was obvious, certainly as far as Mitchell was concerned, that, '...something radical is required for the improvement of the dwellings of the poor' (43).

W.R.W. Smith, Convener of the Health Committee, replied to express sympathy and thought such conditions, '...a disgrace to a professedly Christian country...' (44). Mitchell and Smith knew one another personally; complaints on housing conditions and their effects on education had been made at various times by Mitchell, and he pointed out that the earlier responses from Smith had been sympathetic but similar:

Yes, yes, Mitchell! all true and all shocking; but what can we do? The landlord interest, the landlord opposition ties our hands and blocks the way (45).

As proof, Smith furnished Mitchell with a timetable of one particular case [Appendix 52], and spoke of a man, '...in a fine West-End house...', who himself had excellent sanitary accommodation yet, '...the same man is an owner of some of these vile properties...' (46).

Mitchell laid much of the blame for slum conditions on landlords, whom he termed, '...those croakers...' (47). He believed they, '...might be ashamed to draw rents from property in such a condition' (48). Mitchell was not against the ownership of property, indeed it was a necessary part of the capitalist structure; it was the neglect of that property to the detriment of the physical and moral health of tenants which angered Mitchell. To neglect the condition of those for whom you were responsible was, claimed Mitchell, morally wrong. Too many property owners, he believed, acted for, '...their own selfish aggrandisement' (49). Nor was his condemnation of the misuse of property and privilege restricted to the urban slums. Seeing the

wretched state of some rural conditions in Arran many years earlier, he inquired, somewhat facetiously of the Ducal owner:

Might some portion of his princely income not be devoted to giving his tenants houses which, if not as handsome as his dog kennels, might at least be comfortable and respectable? (50)

Of most concern to Mitchell was that a great many children were reared in poor standard housing; he constantly emphasised, especially to those who laid blame at the door of the tenants, that, '...the children born into the world under these wretched conditions are not to blame' (51). Mitchell despaired of the fact that while legislation existed to regulate the construction of schools, for example, sufficient cubic footage per pupil, ventilation and lavatories, no corresponding legislation [apart from ticketed houses] was in force to regulate the home conditions of children. If parents, rightly, were responsible for the education of their children, asked Mitchell, should they not also be made legally responsible for their child's physical condition? He called for parliamentary action (52); he believed it possible to draft a Bill similar in tone to the 1872 Education Act, and to substitute lodging and home circumstances for education. He considered it;

...strange that Government, through one of its Departments, should be insisting so strongly upon the provisions in our Public Schools regarding the health and well being of the children.....and yet Government seems to pay no regard to the manner [Sic] the children are lodged in their parents dwellings (53).

A sanitary inspector, Peter Fyfe, visited the properties which Mitchell had catalogued. Not unnaturally, he wished to present the Health Committee in the best light; some of Mitchell's claims he refuted:

‘ No filth of any kind was accumulated in the small area beside the stairs, as alleged by Mr. Mitchell’ (54). It should be noted, however, that prior to Fyfe’s visit, sanitary workers did work at the sites of which Mitchell complained (55). Mitchell’s interference may have stimulated some action by the Health Committee, carried out before the official inspection. While conceding that some blame could be attributed to building regulations (or lack of them), Fyfe insisted that many of the inhabitants were of, ‘...the prostitute class...’ (56), and that such unwholesome conditions were due to, ‘...the nature of filthy people’ (57). Summing up the official position, Fyfe stated: ‘ The moral filth is worse than the material...’ (58).

Mitchell was concerned with the children living in such conditions and, by extension, the future of society; schools were not only attempting to produce literate citizens, he believed, but citizens with proper and acceptable values. He asked:

Is it to be wondered at that children so lodged and growing up in the midst of such [Sic] environment should be irregular in their attendance at school and should not make that progress in manners and conduct that is so desirable? (59)

A great many children, believed Mitchell, tried to escape their environment by moving into lodgings when they became employed, by involving themselves in crime, and for some, simply living in the street was preferable. This compounded the problem of the loss of family values. For Mitchell, only official action could make any impact on living conditions, such was the scale of the problem. He returned to the contrast between new school buildings and slum conditions. Call for change in society comes most often, not when the mass of the poor are totally ignorant, but when they are shown a glimpse, as with new

schools, of what might be.

Why are we so treated? Why should we be compelled to come day by day into such order and comfort, and then be driven home to squalor and misery? Can the same kind of Government which does so much for us during the day not do something of a similar kind for us during the night? If not, why not? (60)

Mitchell, '...on behalf of my colleagues and myself...' (61), pledged the support of the School Board in any attempt by the Health Committee to better sanitary conditions in the slums. The form of ownership and factoring in Glasgow, however, and the absence of appropriate legal action meant that little of consequence was achieved. Too many small investors, including many from the artisan and respectable working class, did not wish official involvement to any great extent on the question of housing; such involvement would have meant either a reduction or a complete loss of income from property ownership. By 1898, somewhat frustratedly, Mitchell was to conclude;

...the Health Committee have really more to do with the curing of default than has the School Attendance Committee (62).

Mitchell, the Board and East Park Home

It is just about a year since the School Board Educational Inquiry revealed the painful fact that there were many poor suffering little children afflicted with incurable maladies lying uncared for in wretchedness and sorrow in the very midst of our great city (63).

The School Board of Glasgow and its Vice-Chairman, William Mitchell, were instrumental in founding East Park Cottage Home for

infirm children. The Educational Inquiry revealed a, ‘...large number of very distressing cases...’ (64), of children suffering from crippling disease. Surveying the wide range of charitable institutions within Glasgow, Mitchell concluded that:

Having regard, however, to all the benevolent and philanthropic agencies in the City, it was still found that a numerous class of infirm children remained for whom no suitable or adequate provision existed (65).

Almost immediately after the early findings of the Inquiry were known, Mitchell made an appeal [Appendix 53], ‘...to the wives and daughters of the merchant City...’ (66). Through his close involvement with the attendance officers, Mitchell had a sound knowledge of housing conditions in the poorer areas of the city. Coupled with his increasingly prominent position on the School Board, it placed him in an ideal situation to promote the cause of infirm children. A meeting was held in the Religious Institution Rooms on 10th February, 1874. Long and Connal of the School Board attended, as did many of the wives and daughters of some of the most notable business men in the city.

In 1874, the School Board were commencing on a programme of supplying Glasgow with school accommodation. To include infirm children at this time in Board schools, Mitchell believed, could not be considered a priority, ‘...owing to the difficulty of grouping sufficient numbers in any one ordinary school...’ (67). Mitchell made his appeal, therefore, for voluntary help. The meeting decided to begin a group, calling itself the Association for Visiting and Aiding Permanently Infirm and Imbecile Children. It was not the intention, initially, to provide any form of residential care but to consider what form of aid could be given domestically.

It was hoped that much of the practical work would be carried out by a Ladies Committee, largely consisting of the wives of the prime movers, for example, Mitchell and Connal. In parallel with both the official and unofficial trends of the time, great stress was laid on the involvement of women; attending to young children, especially if suffering from physical or other maladies, was viewed primarily as women's work. It was believed too, that ladies visiting homes would gain a more sympathetic ear, perhaps seeming less official than a man; and most of the visiting would be in daytime when most of the husbands were likely to be preoccupied by business.

Within two weeks of the inaugural meeting of the Association, Mitchell himself had prepared a large number of cards by hand in order to begin the visiting scheme as quickly as possible. These cards contained the names and addresses of infirm children who had been identified by visiting school board officers during the Inquiry. Keeping some cards for himself, Mitchell distributed the remainder amongst the lady visitors; he was the one male member of the Association who also visited the homes.

The houses viewed were for the most part in slum or poor districts. Pondering on the reasons for this high correlation between various forms of infirmity and economic status and social background, Mitchell concluded:

There is no doubt that the greater number of the diseases and physical infirmities of these poor children arise from careless treatment, from bad or insufficient food, from insanitary and squalid surroundings, and in a great many cases from the intemperate habits and misconduct of the parents (68).

As soon as possible after the initial visit, it was decided by Mitchell that ladies should report on four themes:

1. the condition of the dwelling in which the child lived.
2. the condition of the parents; whether they were poor or not, and whether they were receiving any other form of aid such as that from the Parochial Board.
3. the condition of the child and the nature of the injury.
4. to investigate whether beneficial aid could be given at home or not.

(69)

Major emphasis was given by Mitchell to home circumstances, living conditions and parental attitudes.

The Calton and High Church districts were the first two areas visited by the Association (these had been the two districts first covered by the Board Educational Inquiry). Mitchell, ever impatient on matters concerning child welfare, prepared visiting cards from the Inquiry findings - before the Inquiry itself was completed!

It rapidly became obvious that some infirm children needed almost constant medical attention, improved diet and more professional care; there were cases, often in the very poorest homes, where this was clearly impossible. It was decided that for these children efforts would be made to have them admitted to an institution; others, it was believed, would benefit with some aid given at home.

At first, children with all manner of disabilities were brought to the notice of the Association. It was decided that blind, deaf and dumb children, suffering from no other infirmities, would be dealt with by more relevant institutions (the Asylum for the Blind and the Deaf and Dumb Institute). Already, by late October, 1874, 6 blind and 19 deaf and dumb children had been identified by school board officers. Mitchell

knew that the influence of the School Board in such cases was crucial:

It only needed representations by the School Board regarding the circumstances of such children to call forth active and sympathetic co-operation on the part of the respective managers, and the most pressing cases were at once admitted to the institutions suitable to their circumstances (70).

Mitchell often praised the Deaf and Dumb Institute, of which he was a Director, for its educational work with deaf mutes at Crosshill.

Such were the numbers of infirm children discovered by the school board officers, children in, '...circumstances distressing and painful...' (71), and so obviously in need of residential care, that Mitchell decided that,

...a cottage home would require to be provided for a number of incurable and permanently infirm children for whom no suitable institution existed...' (72).

East Park Cottage Home in Maryhill Road was purchased for £1450 in 1874. A public appeal raised £1300 15s 3d; ladies collecting cards [by the Ladies Committee] raised £160 19s 0d, and the pupils of Chalmers and Dick's School a further £100. The money was used to lay a deposit on the cottage and to furnish the interior.

A female superintendant was swiftly appointed in addition to a visiting medical officer; a teacher, Miss Thomson, was appointed to teach in the Home for three hours each day. Mitchell emphasised the importance of education for East Park Home; despite infirmities it was considered essential that each child should be educated appropriate to his or her needs and physical ability. Early annual reports of the Home, Minutes and comments by visitors are liberally sprinkled with references to education; for example, of the 24 illiterate children

admitted in 1878, by the following year 10 could read well while the others were said to be making good progress. Mitchell remarked on this with satisfaction, reminding the supporters of the Home that there were handicaps to be overcome and that with lessons, ‘...the interruptions from sickness are frequent...’ (73). Such handicaps should, believed Mitchell, be taken into account when potential contributors looked at the Home; they must recognise that,

...ordinary maintenance is not applicable to such children - medicine, surgical appliances, special dietary, and constant medical attendance being necessary, and along with this such education as they are capable of receiving (74).

It was estimated in 1875 that £900 per annum was needed to run the Home efficiently. By that date, over 200 children had been aided by the Association, either through residential care, home visits or reference to other agencies [Appendix 54]. Mitchell, an arch enemy of apathy, reminded subscribers:

About one third of the city has still to be gone over [by the Educational Inquiry], which will add probably another hundred children to the permanently infirm list (75).

In his report for November, 1874, Alexander Whitelaw, Chairman of the Glasgow School Board and first Chairman of the Association, had commented that the Home was for, ‘...improving their [children’s] health both physically and morally...’ (76). Undoubtedly, there was a strong moral dimension to the work of East Park Home. Mitchell had called it a, ‘...Christian institution...’ (77), and spoke of his, ‘...thankfulness to God...’ (78), that the work of the Home had been largely successful. For Mitchell, the Home proved,

...what good food, careful nursing, kind treatment,

Christian care, and fresh air could do in the way of improving the health of the children (79).

Infirm children were, for Mitchell, another manifestation of the social problems of poor housing, unhealthy life-style and parental intemperance.

In his dealings and activities with East Park Home, can be seen one of the character traits which sustained Mitchell throughout his work; his utter conviction of a Christian belief in an afterlife. In all of his writings and speeches, Mitchell steadfastly refuses to speak of death. It was for Mitchell a transitional stage; the saving grace for Mitchell is that death was viewed as a release. In his poem, " Soliloquy to a Neglected Infirm Child " (before removal to East Park Home), he gives these words to the child:

One night, not long since, as I suffering lay
A kind voice told me of a Home above,

Where sickness, pain, and sorrow never come; (80).

The idea that this life, with its sufferings, was simply a temporary existence before something better, sustained Mitchell throughout his life. He applied this belief not only in his dealings with children but in everyday matters and family affairs. This notion of future hope may well have been psychologically necessary to Mitchell in his dealings with the poor. It gave purpose to his actions.

Lady visitors to East Park Home often sat with the children, recounting stories from the Bible (as did Mitchell himself) and of a heaven where infirmities were unknown. Inevitably, some of the children admitted to the Home were terminal cases and it must remain a matter of debate whether the stories of a better afterlife lent succour to the short lives of some children or whether such action lent strength to the Christian carers.

Mitchell played a leading role in East Park Home till October, 1909, when, '...owing to advancing years [he was 84 years old] he asked to be relieved of his duties' (81). East Park Home had been a prominent part of Mitchell's life. His friend, Thomas Wharrie, speaking in 1910 after Mitchell's death, said that, '...in his [Mitchell's] family and private devotions East Park Home was never absent from his thoughts' (82). The Directors of the Home believed that Mitchell, '...was inseparable from that of East Park Home, and the Institution as it stands to-day is a fitting monument to his untiring energy and devotion' (83). In his will, Mitchell left instructions for the sum of £50 to be paid to the Home (84).

A satisfaction for Mitchell in the manner in which East Park Home came to be founded was, '...that not much can now remain hidden' (85). Mitchell displayed a practical Christianity (something for which he often preached) in the founding of the Home; not only was the Christian message preached, but there can be no doubt that the lives of many children were made better over both the long and the short term. The numbers treated in the Home (many more were visited) is not the most important factor in judging its success. The real importance lay in the idea of a separate institution for the infirm, receiving specialized medical and educational help. In this respect, William Mitchell must be considered a pioneer, for, '...powers to provide for crippled, epileptic and defective children...' (86), were not given until 1906.

Although not directly involved in educating infirm children, the Glasgow School Board, through Mitchell, played a crucial role in their welfare.

Mitchell and Pantomime Children

In dealing with children engaged by theatres for performance in seasonal pantomime in Glasgow, Mitchell unashamedly judged matters on moral grounds. The 1878 Education Act contained clauses stipulating specific times and ages for the employment of children; theatre managers who wished to use children in Christmas pantomime had to apply to the School Board for permission. Between 1878 and September, 1884, the Glasgow School Board had agreed, '...with considerable reluctance...' (87), to grant such applications, but;

...only on the understanding that school attendance will not be interfered with, that special oversight will be taken of the children, that a meal will be provided, and that on no occasion will they be later in getting away than ten o'clock... (88).

The reasons given by parents in allowing their children to act in pantomime were economic. Unemployment, the need for extra clothing, illness in the family, meant that, '...the three shillings and sixpence per week earned by the children is the main consideration' (89). As the employment of children was involved, Mitchell decided to make it, '...a subject of personal investigation throughout one entire season' (90). Having visited the theatres during both rehearsals and performances, spoken to the children and other professional performers; having noted that one or more female assistants were always present with children and having been received with courtesy by theatre managers - Mitchell admitted to still having misgivings which, '...proceeded from the conviction that the atmosphere which they [children] were breathing was impure and the associations immoral' (91).

He found the costumes of both children and adult performers, '...in

many cases immodest...' (92), and the tone of the entertainment, '...extremely frivolous' (93). This attitude was a recurring one with Mitchell. Unless he could see some educative value in an activity he considered that activity worthless, and often, immoral. Even on holiday he preferred healthy activity and quite exercise to the busier promenades opening up on the Clyde coast with their, '...brass bands, fairy costumes and dawdling flirtations' (94). His comment that he realises, '...the importance, nay, the necessity of innocent recreation' (95), sounds a little grudging. Innocent recreation for Mitchell would have been restricted to a censorious and Christian setting where the parameters of pleasure would have been carefully drawn and much inhibited. Mitchell lacked the ability, whether consciously or not, to compromise on moral questions, especially those concerning children. His logic was very simple and practical; remove the possible causes of immorality, as he demanded in the case of poor housing. Similarly, he thought, children working in a theatre could be exposed to immorality; therefore, by removing the children from the theatre the problem would be solved.

A further cause of concern for Mitchell and one which made him antagonistic to theatre managers, was the manner in which some were evading the spirit of the 1878 Education Act. The Act stated that a period not exceeding six weeks exemption from the employment restrictions of the Act could be granted by the School Board, '...between the first day of January and the thirty first day of December in any year' [Clause 6 and 7, 1878 Education Act]. Most managers, therefore, applied for six weeks at the end and six weeks at the beginning of subsequent years, a period which fitted perfectly the pantomime season. For Mitchell, this meant that children were being employed for twelve

weeks rather than the six allowed by the Act.

In his investigations, Mitchell saw what he believed to be, ‘...temptations connected with such employment particularly hazardous in the case of young girls’ (96). A large proportion of the children involved in pantomime were, ‘...girls from twelve to fourteen, which is just the most impressionable age’ (97). He believed that the theatre environment, the music, the costumes and the applause would, ‘...turn the heads of young children in a manner and in a direction not favourable to their moral and educational well-being’ (98).

On further investigation, however, Mitchell was forced to concede that;

...on inquiry at the homes of the children [employed in pantomime] and their respective schools at the close of the pantomime season, I failed to elicit many reports of evil habits contracted or of irregular attendance at school (99).

Mitchell should not have been surprised with such a finding. Most of the children who turned up for theatre auditions were from, ‘...the families of decent tradesman...’ (100), and were for the most part neatly and, ‘...nicely-dressed...’ (101). Families such as these would have ensured for themselves that school attendance did not suffer; it may also be the case that, if attendance did suffer, there was a possibility that the School Board would withdraw permission for exemption and the weekly 3s 6d would be lost.

Mitchell’s investigations took place over the festive season of late 1883 and early 1884. By 24th January of the latter year he had brought the matter to the attention of the Attendance Committee for discussion. By September, a minute by Mitchell was laid before the full School Board, outlining the position and recommending a tightening of the

regulations pertaining to theatre children [Appendix 55].

The actions of Mitchell in respect to pantomime children tend to show him as the rather narrow-minded, unbending stereotypical Victorian. Despite knowing that no serious effect was had on attendance, he still found it difficult to accept children working in the theatre, even for a relatively short period of time. In a sense, his other work and beliefs with regard to the welfare of children influenced him to too great an extent; brief experience of theatre life demanded a very different set of values to those applied to the slums. The children who worked in pantomime tended to come from families who had already adopted most of the social beliefs which Mitchell preached and it seems likely that parental surveillance would ensure that their children did not acquire bad habits. Part of Mitchell's problem in this particular instance was his inability to compromise, a characteristic for which he was well known. **The Bailie** said of him:

Ever tenacious of his opinions, there is at times no power in the tongue of man to alter him from any project he has taken in hand (102).

In his defence it can be said without qualification that his beliefs and opinions were sincerely held. If he was, as he believed himself to be, '...charged with the guardianship of youth...' (103), then his actions are entirely logical and unsurprising. Although Mitchell saw very little evidence of abuse or exploitation of children in his dealings with theatres, there is no reason to believe that such did not exist. It is possible that the high profile which Mitchell, through the School Board, gave to pantomime children, produced a better and more acceptable response from theatre managers that would have been the case without Mitchell's investigations and keen eye.

Mitchell and Evening Schools

On the subject of evening schools, the Argyll Commission had pointed out, '...the importance, and indeed the necessity, for such schools...' (104). William Mitchell was appointed Convener of a School Board Committee on evening schools for Glasgow in 1873, a position which he occupied for the next six years. Almost inevitably, with Mitchell in control, evening schools henceforth became, '...a dominant feature in School Board operations...' (105). In 1874, the Board had 10 evening schools in operation with a roll of 1899 scholars and received a government grant of £204 10s, restricted to scholars under 18 years of age until 1886, toward the costs. By the following year the number of evening schools had doubled and it was decided that the Teachers' and Teaching Committee would take over the organisation and administration of the schools. Mitchell was added to the Committee as he, '...had taken a leading part in urging the Board to give special attention to the subject' (106).

Prior to 1872, such organisations as the Foundry Boys' Religious Society and Mission Sunday Schools had held weekly evening classes, staffed by Society monitors and Sunday School teachers respectively. The 1872 Act had rendered one function of these classes, the teaching of reading and sometimes writing, redundant. Sensing an opportunity for greater Board involvement, Mitchell suggested to both agencies that;

...the School Board might relieve them entirely of the burden of education and thus give them more time to devote to the moral and religious side of their work (107).

As has already been shown, the School Board of Glasgow wished to be, as far as possible, the sole suppliers of education in the city. On receiving Mitchell's suggestion, both societies, '...willingly accepted the proposal...'

(108).

By 1875, with the numbers enrolling in evening schools growing, it was realised that there was a shortage of trained teachers. Teaching staff working in Day Schools did not show any great enthusiasm for teaching again at night and, initially, the Board had to employ university students and, ‘...appointed one Day School Head Master in each district to superintend the Evening Schools’ (109). In an effort to attract trained teachers, the Board decided that two thirds of the fees and the whole of the government grant should go toward teachers’ salaries. This move, however, backfired; because of the salary arrangement Headmasters wished to work with as small a staff as possible in order to have larger individual payments, with the consequent result that evening schools remained understaffed.

It was a situation which Mitchell refused to tolerate, and in 1876, ‘...the question of improving the staff was carefully considered’ (110). The Board now employed five male and nine female teachers to teach for one half day in Day School and the remaining half of their time in Evening Schools. Checks were first made with Sir Francis Sandford, Head of the Education Department in London, who gave his permission and these teachers were employed under the same conditions of full-time Day School teachers (111). However, some Head Masters in Day Schools complained of the disruption to some classes which would be served by one teacher in the morning and a different teacher in the afternoon. It was further found that these classes were not performing as well as their peers who were taught by one teacher. No blame was attached to the class or the teacher and the scheme was abandoned.

By 1877, the Board decided to group evening classes by ability, a move which was found to help with discipline. In addition to reading,

writing and arithmetic, classes were now offered in mathematics, chemistry, physiology, magnetism, electricity, music, drawing and cookery. That same year the Board also decided to run summer evening classes during the school holidays, specifically Mitchell said, for two purposes; ‘...to encourage diligent students...’, and, ‘...to give an opportunity to backward scholars to make up their deficiencies’ (112). A comment by Mitchell on these classes displayed his attitude toward the tight restrictions of the Scotch Code and the necessity of high pass rates for examination purposes;

...as no examination by H.M. Inspectors had to be faced, each scholar received instruction in the branches in which he was most deficient (113).

Further, in these summer evening schools, Mitchell decided that in order to,

...secure for the scholars every advantage the number in each class was fixed at 30 for a Master and 20 for a Mistress (114).

Such a pupil/teacher ratio in ordinary day elementary schools would have been impossible; the number of children attending was too great and such a policy would have required a great deal of extra accommodation.

Due to demand, the normal evening classes in 1878 offered special subjects in French, German, Greek and Bookkeeping for those who had passed in Standard 6 and specially qualified staff were employed for the purpose. By 1880, a falling-off of those (aged 20 years and under) attending evening classes for basic literacy and numeracy skills was detected. A delighted Mitchell believed this trend, ‘...may be accounted for by fewer illiterates...’ (115). The effects of seven years of universal elementary education in Glasgow were beginning to filter through. Of

further satisfaction to Mitchell was the fact that many older men (given as 21 years and over), whose school days had been prior to 1872, enrolled for the elementary classes. Classes for these men were formed and taught in separate rooms. It is, perhaps, an indication that working class people in Glasgow held the School Board in high regard, returning under Board tuition to improve their education.

With the overall need for elementary classes reduced, the Board gave greater emphasis to special subjects. Although no grant could yet be earned,

...the Board did not hesitate to make full provision
for the efficient instruction of all scholars...(116).

Taking special subjects tended to be dependent upon two factors; first, the area of the city in which the person lived and whether there was a convenient Day School which was able to offer such subjects. With this in mind, Mitchell tried to ensure that evening schools, '...were situated in various districts of the city, so as to provide an evening school, within easy access of all scholars' (117). Second, there were only a limited number of bursaries available through the educational endowments schemes in Glasgow. Evening classes, however, did provide opportunities for larger numbers than previously and led Mitchell to believe, '...that such classes were urgently required and that the community were receiving the benefits...' (118).

In 1880, Mitchell decided to stand down from his position on the Evening Schools Committee, his other commitments becoming, '...increasingly heavy' (119). Although Mitchell gives no specific reason for standing down, it may be that after 1879 he decided to expend greater effort on attendance and accommodation matters; this was also just after the arrival of the Ratepayers party on the Board and when a growing

interest was being shown by various parties in possible changes to Glasgow's educational endowments. At the time Mitchell withdrew, evening schools run by the Board were well established in the city; lads and men accounted for 4,440 , girls 1,484 , a total of 5,924 scholars. The grant earned by those under 18 years of age was £1,253 1s 6d and the cost to the rates was £684 6s 4d (120).

Conclusion

It was the firm belief of William Mitchell that bad housing and insanitary conditions were the cause of the immorality, promiscuity, child exploitation and intemperance found amongst the poorer classes of Glasgow. These conditions, he believed, had to be changed before the poor could countenance a shift in their moral outlook. Smout has said of the sufferings in the slums of late Victorian Scotland that they were believed to be, '...due to the moral failings of their inhabitants, a belief that remained ingrained in the Scottish middle-class mind until the 20th century' (121). While generally true, such a statement makes no allowance for those like Mitchell who believed such reasoning false; the perceived moral failings of the poorer classes, he believed, was a consequence of their lack of decent social conditions.

If Mitchell did apportion culpability it was to implicate those of the middle (and artisan) class, whose investment in housing stock and desire for profit, he believed to be a strong factor in perpetuating the unacceptable living standards of many. Landlordism at its worst, for Mitchell, was morally wrong. The contrast between the newly constructed Board schools and the unwholesome dwellings in various areas of the city had, he thought, a double purpose. First, it proved in a highly visible manner what could be accomplished given proper

legislation in the way of higher building standards and healthy conditions. Second, it provided Mitchell with ammunition to deliver a warning; in the increasingly secular society (of which he disapproved) the historic acceptance of their social position by the underprivileged may not be unlimited.

Yearly improvements in average percentage attendance at Board schools - it stood at 88.75% in 1898 (122), the highest to date - was a credit to the work of the School Board. However, as was shown, such figures Mitchell believed, did not reflect a true and complete picture. He believed that too many children were attending school carrying the disadvantage of poor and dislocated home circumstances; before schooling could be fully liberating (especially in a moral sense), the home environment of some children would need to change. The necessary moral training given in Board schools, Mitchell stated, was being hindered by the fact that such values were alien to many slum children.

Mitchell and the Glasgow School Board were the focal point for an information and statistical network concerned with the welfare of children. Mitchell used his position on the School Board to further the cause of children's well-being through numerous agencies, making redundant the demarcation lines which had previously existed. Within this network Mitchell blended voluntary and official responses to maximum effect. In effect, the School Board became a social welfare as well as an educational agency; such work led by example to future legislation in addition to the immediate effect it had on the lives of children.

It was shown that Mitchell and the School Board were instrumental in the foundation of East Park Home. The schooling given to children

in the Home was appropriate to their needs and ability; the Home also provided comfort and compassion in the lives of terminally ill children. Mitchell's ideas on the education and treatment of infirm children helped pave the way for the official action of 1906.

As an ardent supporter of the Free Church, Mitchell believed the social hierarchy to be of divine origin. He did not seek a change in the social order but an amelioration of the often brutalizing condition of the poor. He believed in the godly commonwealth preached by Thomas Chalmers earlier in the century and the creed of social responsibility. Mitchell's means, however, were different. While Chalmers would have relied almost solely on philanthropic aid for the poor (although believing the State should finance church extension), the pragmatic Mitchell realised the inadequacy of voluntarism and called increasingly for government intervention as the only possible solution to many social problems. Mitchell hoped for the peaceful progress of society through his social reformation; a reformation based on the practical improvement of the living conditions of the poorer classes, which would in turn lead to a changed life-style and the consequent regeneration of family and Christian values. It was only then, he believed, that poor children would be enabled to benefit fully from schooling which would ensure the continuation of acceptable moral standards through successive generations.

In the person of William Mitchell and his wide-ranging work with the Glasgow School Board, can be viewed in microcosm the interrelationship between the individual drive and zeal of voluntarism, and the growing acceptance that all areas of social life were equally important, and that legislation was a necessary financial, and morally justifiable, response to the problems brought by urbanisation. Mitchell's

ubiquitous involvement and unwearying devotion in the cause of child welfare and improved housing and sanitation for the poorer classes, earned him the unstinting praise of the **Educational News**:

It is such men as he is that must enter, and who will risk themselves in entering, those plague-spots where ignorance and every kind of vice are rampant, and flourishing over the moral ruins of their miserable victims. To our way of thinking, Mr. Mitchell is the real model of what a School Board member ought to be (123).

Chapter Seven - Reference

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Chapter Eight

A Responsive School Board

Introduction

The purpose of this concluding chapter is to draw together aspects of the work of the School Board of Glasgow over the specified period and to present an overall interpretation of its achievements. The chapter will remind the reader of the problems which met the Glasgow Board in 1873; the response by the Board to these conditions determined the shape of educational provision in the city and it is in these responses that the distinctiveness of the School Board of Glasgow can be recognised.

The Problems

Too rapid and uncontrolled advances in population and urbanisation due to the ever-increasing pace of industrialization had swamped the existing system of parochial and voluntary schools which had provided education in Glasgow prior to 1872. Despite commendable attempts by the main Protestant Churches to meet the spiralling costs of both church and school building, the system of schooling was unable to keep pace with the growing numbers. This was particularly true of those near to the bottom of the social scale. Such trends shattered the old parochial idea and highlighted the need for a form of schooling more likely to be universal in nature. Some Scottish parliamentarians and the E.I.S., for over a decade had been calling for such a system.

Educational reports such as those of the Argyll Commission and earlier, that of Robert Somers, had demonstrated the inadequate nature of schooling for many; unsuitable and bad (pedagogically and environmentally) schools, too little accommodation, irregular attendance, attendance over too short a period or no association at all with schools, were the principal reasons. The qualifications made in the

study to the Argyll Commissioners figures (see Chapter One) should, however, be remembered; although educational deprivation stood at an unacceptable level, it was not as widespread as the Commissioners believed.

Problems of attendance were caused by, and compounded by, the consummately bad living conditions experienced by a significant number of Glasgow children; conditions which gave the city unenviable mortality rates from diseases attributed directly to poor housing and poor sanitation, for example, typhus and respiratory disease like tuberculosis.

On being established in March, 1873, the School Board of Glasgow thus faced a plethora of problems. Educationally, the main area of concern was twofold; attendance and the provision of suitable accommodation. In dealing with attendance the Board was aided by the element of indirect compulsion contained in the 1872 Education Act; the Scottish tradition of parental responsibility for education was continued in the Act but was now given legal force. This was of great significance in the industrial setting of Glasgow where manufacturing processes often required the employment of young children. The problem of child labour was compounded by the desire, and the need, of many families to enhance domestic income by the addition of child wages.

Religious affiliation played its most prominent role in the voting trends of "Orange" and Roman Catholic supporters during School Board elections. It did not greatly affect the day to day work of the School Board; with the cumulative system of voting in operation, the number of members returned by the "Orange" and Roman Catholic vote was limited. The majority of early Glasgow School Board members, and certainly the most influential, were strong supporters of the Established

and Free Churches. This ensured that it was their view which predominated although, as was shown, shifting alliances between groups and denominations played crucial roles at critical times. Such a majority of members allied to the Protestant Churches, however, meant that although deprived of legal power, those same Churches were a prominent force in School Board matters and may have been one reason (apart from rising costs) why they were willing to surrender their schools to Board control. The Established and Free Churches also had a continuing role in the training of teachers; teacher training colleges were not touched by the 1872 Act. Church-trained teachers predominated in Glasgow School Board schools.

Consideration will now be given to the responses of the School Board to the problems it faced.

Some Responses

From the outset, the School Board of Glasgow determined to build new schools specifically designed as educational institutions with the most effective educational and environmental provision for children in mind. With their modern equipment, sanitation and ventilation and staffed by trained teachers, these schools brought a uniformity to the educational structure of the city; they established a minimum standard of schooling in Glasgow below which neither the Board nor the population would consider falling. A secondary but very deliberate effect of this policy was the inevitable disappearance of unsuitable schools from the city. Where the provision of city schooling was concerned, the Glasgow School Board displayed a desire for complete control. It constantly fought for a monopoly of elementary and later secondary education in Glasgow. Such a policy gave to Glasgow

children a commonality of experience not enjoyed by their parents and began the process of integrating many of the diverse backgrounds in the population.

The Glasgow School Board largely met its initial target of providing 22,000 places in some 30 schools over the first 10 years of its working life. This must be considered a substantial achievement when put beside the fact that the Board had also to deal with the premature closure of many schools and the continuing rise in the city population. The Board placed the early schools in areas of greatest need; the identification of sites, the applications for planning and for loans, and the construction of the first 30 schools were all put into operation between 1873 and 1879.

In its decision to employ only trained teachers (apart from those whose tenure was protected by the 1872 Act) the School Board attempted to introduce and promote some equality and effectiveness into schools; the percentage pass rate for H.M.I. inspections in Glasgow schools continued to rise above the national average. The policy of employing trained teachers produced a general rise in the literacy of the city.

Although hotly disputed at the time, the Board imposed a salary structure on its teaching profession, partly for political and economic reasons. A universal salary structure, however, was a necessary condition of the growing bureaucracy, itself an inevitable consequence of the expanding and increasingly centralised system.

Finance and Poor Children

In its approach to the questions of school fees, educational endowments and free education, the Glasgow School Board displayed two consistent characteristics; its determination to remain the sole

arbiter of education in Glasgow and its policy of positive discrimination toward the poorer sections of the community.

All of the debates surrounding these issues, had they ended differently, would have seriously weakened the Board's power base in the city. Mitchell's argument, helped by the presence of Campbell on the Balfour Committee, that endowments should be retained primarily for poorer children rather than employed to allow other agencies to provide secondary schooling, enabled later Boards to adopt a longer term approach to the different education sectors. The success of this argument ensured the retention of adequate funds for the poor and prevented the introduction of rivals to the School Board.

The decision to charge different fees in different city schools was an example of School Board pragmatism; it was a policy which benefited both the Board and the city. Charging different fees brought a surplus to the School Fund, a surplus which could be re-located to areas of need; areas which were costly to run and were unable to be self-supporting. Further, by charging higher fees in predominately middle class districts the Board was providing the type of education demanded by those parents who wished a range of specific subjects made available. Although the fees charged in these Board schools were generally less than those in the private sector, they were by no means a form of subsidy; they were a means of encouraging middle class children into Board schools and giving them [Board schools] an air of respectability. The Board did not wish its schools to be regarded solely as educational establishments for the poor and less able.

The School Board of Glasgow was not responsible for, but could only react to, the physical social divisions of the city. Prior to 1872, effective schooling had depended very often on parental income, the

area of the city in which the child lived and whether there were efficient schools in the neighbourhood. In providing schools considered of equal quality, the Board attempted to lessen the effect of the physical division of the city into socially exclusive areas which Glasgow was experiencing. Again, there was a strong element of self-interest in the Board's policy for it ensured a Board monopoly of city schooling and left little scope for competitors. The Board reacted in a manner which effectively suited its own purposes, strengthened its own position and gave extra educational funding to areas of need. It was a policy of self-interest allied to public good.

The Attendance Department

The study has looked particularly at the work of the Attendance Department under its long-serving Chairman, William Mitchell. The significant contribution made by this Department in furthering the cause of educational and child welfare development cannot be overestimated.

The Attendance Department of the Glasgow School Board was at the forefront of the struggle for better school attendance and was instrumental in bringing the social condition of many children to greater public awareness. The reports of the constantly vigilant attendance officers consistently emphasised the raw facts of both social and educational deprivation. The Department demonstrated that the effects of poverty on a child's schooling were insidious; lack of proper clothing, ill-health, poor housing, intemperance and ill-nourishment had greater effects on educational opportunity and were more often than not responsible for irregular attendance than the lack of the school pence.

The School Board Attendance Department placed schooling, for the

first time, in a proper social context. In future, other social conditions for which neither children nor schools were directly responsible, would require to undergo change before education could become properly and more equitably effective.

The system of checks and counter-checks used by the Attendance Department necessarily became more bureaucratic as the education system of the city expanded. The system of checks, however, was effective and was to endure for many decades.

The Network

The School Board of Glasgow became a network for co-ordinating many of the official and unofficial moves towards the development and improvement of children's welfare in late nineteenth century Glasgow. The Board was largely responsible for combining social and educational thinking and action into a more coherent and effective concept for the treatment of children. The policy stemmed from Mitchell's Attendance Department. Officers began working closely with other agencies, such as the G.S.P.C.C. and the Poor Children's Dinner Table Society, either to identify problems or to supplement the work of the agency or Board in the treatment of children. The humane approach adopted by Mitchell in particular at defaulters meetings and the appropriateness of the treatment given, often in association with other agencies, was a recognition both of the breadth of the problem and the necessity for a more inclusive policy on child welfare and education.

As the links between multiple deprivation and schooling became more pronounced, the Board recognised the superfluity of the former demarcation lines between voluntary and official provision. Such a policy inevitably led to a greater bureaucratization and

institutionalization of educational and welfare services. Such methods also tended to expand School Board influence and control outwith the original remit of the 1872 Act. As the century progressed, the growth of welfare and educational systems and the consequent growth of their bureaucracies, meant that organisational structures gained in importance. It was, paradoxically, the pioneering work of individuals which produced a need for an expansion of central and bureaucratic control, an institutionalization of the services which itself diminished the role of individuals in the future structures.

In viewing problems in broad terms the School Board argued for greater legislative involvement resulting in, for example, the inclusion of significant clauses concerning child employment in the 1878 Education Act and the passing of the 1878 Juvenile Delinquency Act, peculiar to Glasgow and preceeding the remainder of the country which did not receive similar legislation until 1908. By the effective and pragmatic use of its own legal powers, the Board demonstrated the necessity for some legal compulsion in certain areas of social life and argued that such legislation was not only needed but was morally desirable. The Board became an example of what legislation combined with philanthropic zeal could achieve.

Across the wide field in which it chose to operate, the School Board raised the level of public consciousness with regard to the condition of children in late nineteenth century Glasgow. It instituted a new integrative approach to education and child welfare. Here was the genesis of a system which would be accorded legal backing in later years; school meals and medical inspection in 1908 and provision for crippled and infirm children in 1906. The School Board of Glasgow led by example.

Views of Childhood

The School Board of Glasgow helped change the prevailing attitude to, and conception of, childhood. For example, infirm and imbecile children prior to 1872 tended to be a taboo subject; such children were for the most part incarcerated in institutions or left ignored and forgotten at home. The School Board Educational Inquiry of 1873/74 brought to the fore the plight of such children. The establishment of East Park Home, primarily through Mitchell, was a direct response of the Board to the Inquiry and while East Park remained a voluntary institution, it worked closely with, and largely prospered through, the Glasgow School Board.

Children, during the period, were increasingly being viewed as victims of circumstances over which they had no control. Legal pressure came to be directed primarily at parents and employers, as in the 1872, 1878 and 1883 Education Acts; children were to be rescued from unsuitable conditions rather than be punished for their actions. The School Board worked closely with the growing number of children's agencies appearing during the period, such as the G.S.P.C.C. and Quarrier's Homes, in promoting the interests of children and demonstrating that the causes of poor child health and education lay not with the child, but with the environment. William Mitchell especially, although using very emotive language directed at the sympathy rather than the intellect of the middle class, bears a large measure of credit for this change in attitude towards children; from being viewed as small adults, irrevocably lost like their parents, to passive victims awaiting rescue.

The Philanthropists

William Mitchell was the cutting edge of the Glasgow School Board,

not only in matters educational but in all areas pertaining to the well-being of children. It was due to his ubiquity, his energy and his commitment that a substantial amount of progress was accomplished in educational and welfare affairs. It is principally because of this that he has been used to display some aspects of Victorian philanthropy and the way in which it aided the School Board. The momentum and vitality given to School Board actions by individual members, the pragmatism and elasticity of approach in the search for solutions to problems, were crucial.

As the urban and industrial structure of Glasgow grew and changed so too did the *modus operandi* of many philanthropists. As new difficulties presented new barriers, philanthropy very often responded with an evolving belief in the necessity and authority of legislation as a supplement to its own zeal and energy. Combining their original purpose with a legal framework, many mid and late Victorian philanthropists transformed themselves into the new civic leaders. Again, in working for the public good such men retained positions of power within the city and it is arguable that with legislative backing, that power was greater than before. Such a duality lay at the heart of School Board success.

By its response to the various problems and the action of individual members, the School Board of Glasgow moved educational provision and child welfare from the sincere but inadequate sphere of voluntarism into the more structured and effective domain of legislative and democratic control.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Murdoch's Charity School

James Murdoch bequeathed a sum of money for educational purposes:

I hereby leave £5, 000 to be laid out in lands, for the maintenance of a school for boys, for reading and writing and arithmetic, to be under the management of the magistrates and ministers of the Established Church.

[The school was built on the south side of Rottenrow Street and cost around £3, 500. It could accommodate approximately 400 children.]

The boys will occupy part of their time in the ordinary branches of education, while another portion of it will be devoted to the acquiring of some particular occupation or other; industrial workrooms being provided beside the classroom. The schools are to be heated and ventilated on proper principles, and are to be fitted up in the most convenient and economical manner. There are also large play-grounds attached. In short, the whole arrangements do the parties entrusted with the charge of the funds devoted for the erection of the schools the highest credit, as everything has been carefully studied with a view to the comfort and education of these poor and destitute children who crowd the streets of our city.

Source: *Glasgow, Past and Present* (1851) Volume 1, p51

(Reminiscences and communications of Senex)

Glasgow: David Robertson & Co.

Appendix 2

Day Schools in Glasgow in 1857

<u>Number</u>	<u>Type of School</u>	<u>Scholars</u>
42	Sessional	6, 868
21	Free Church	3, 540
25	Congregational Mission	2, 960
22	Public or Subscription	2, 414
44	Private Higher Class	3, 099
23	Private Working Class	1, 595
13	Roman Catholic	2, 405
7	Free or Charity	1, 165
3	Reformatory	707
8	Factory, Pauper	1, 010
3	Upper or Classical	1, 400
2	Normal Schools	1, 300
{1 C of S, 1 F.C.}		

213		28, 463

61 of the above schools came under Government inspection and therefore received a grant from the Privy Council.

Source: Somers, R. (1857) *Results of an inquiry into the State of Schools and Education in Glasgow*, Glasgow: Richard Griffin & Co.

Appendix 3

Extracts from the First Book of Discipline, May, 1560.

Of necessitie, therefore, we judge it, that every several kirke have one schoolmaister appointed, such a one at least as is able to teach grammer and the Latine tongue....

....take care of the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in the first rudiments especially in the Catechisme.....by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed: As also provision for those that be poore, and not able by themselves nor by their friends to be sustained at letters,.....first, the youth-head and tender children shall be nourished and brought up in vertue, in presence of their friends.....Secondly, the exercise of children in every kirke shall be great instruction to the aged. Last, the great schooles called the universities, shall be replenished with those that shall be apt to learning, for this must be carefully provided that no father, of what estate or condition that ever he may be, use his children at his own fantasie, especially in their youth-head; but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and vertue.

Extract from Act for Settling of Schools, 1696

That there shall be a School settled and established, and a Schoolmaster appointed in every Parish not already provided, by Advice of the Heritors and Minister of the Parish; and for that Effect, that the Heritors in every Parish meet, and provide a commodious House for a School and settle and modify a Sallary[Sic] to a Schoolmaster.....

Appendix 4

Extract of figures from Religious Census of 1851 -

(a) Attendance on Census Sunday

	<u>No. of Churches</u>	<u>Sittings</u>	<u>a.m.</u>	<u>p.m.</u>	<u>Evenings</u>
C. of S.	1183	767 080	351 454	184 192	30,763
Free Ch.	889	495 335	292 308	198 583	64, 811
U.P. Ch.	465	288 108	159 191	146 411	30, 810
Others	858	284 282	140 998	90 677	62, 490

(b) Percentage of attenders against total population -

	<u>Morning</u>	<u>Afternoon</u>	<u>Evening</u>
C. of S.	12.2	6.4	1.1
Free Ch.	10.1	6.9	2.2
U.P. Ch.	5.5	5.1	1.1
Others	<u>4.9</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>2.1</u>
Total	<u>32.7</u>	<u>21.5</u>	<u>6.5</u>

Source: Evans, Eric J. (1983) *The Forging of the Modern State 1783 - 1870*, London: Longman Group U.K. Ltd.

Appendix 5

Letter to the **Glasgow Herald**, 12th August, 1872.

Sir, - Now that the Scotch Education Bill is un fait accompli, would it not be well that all the teachers throughout Scotland should throw aside their jealousies and petty differences and unite to obtain a proper Code! If we do set about this very soon, we are sure to have the English payment-by-result system in its entirety thrown upon us. I do not hesitate to call this a most unfair and unjust system; for good, earnest, conscientious work is not paid for at all, and mere mechanical drudgery alone is remunerated. I do not need at present to prove this; it is conceded on all hands by those who know anything about true education. Let us band ourselves together, and demand from Government to be paid for training and educating the minds and morals of the children, and not merely for cramming them so as to enable them to pass. I simply make mention of the necessity for immediate action of some kind, leaving it with some one who has more influence and ability to devise what ought to be done.

I am ----

Appendix 6

Glasgow School Board Election Results, March 1873.

<u>Name of Candidate</u>	<u>No. of Votes</u>
1. Harry Alfred Long	108 264
2. Rev. Alexander Munro	50 331
3. Rev. Valentine Chisholm	49 558
4. Francis Kerr	46 225
5. J.A. Campbell	45 730
6. Rev. Robert Buchanan	45 590
7. Alexander Whitelaw	39 776
8. William Kidston	38 735
9. Rev, Robert Jamieson	25 484
10. Rev. Alexander MacEwan	23 216
11. Rev, John Page Hopps	21 141
12. Rev. Dr. P. Hately Waddell	18 858
13. Michael Connal	18 308
14. Rev. Dr. W.C. Smith	16 126
15. William Mitchell	16 017

Source: *The Glasgow Herald*, March, 1873.

Appendix 7

Voting figures for Glasgow School Board Elections 1873 - 1900

<u>Year</u>	<u>Electors on Roll</u>	<u>No. who Voted</u>
1873	101 871	52 804
1876	112 897	44 304
1879	119 741	35 621
1882	130 710	56 651
1885	136 075	58 798
1888	135 513	No Contest
1891	141 152	50 558
1894	145 193	36 457
1897	150 852	30 734
1900	157 523	33 127

Source: *Wrinkles Magazine*, July, 1900 2nd. Edition

Appendix 8

Schools opened by the School Board and details of schools for which application for Building Grant had been made to the Scotch Education Department by the end of December, 1873.

	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>Expected Accom. 1874</u>
Schools completed and opened.		
(Dobbies Loan, Rose Street, both adapted)	2	1211
Schools in course of erection	11	9675
Schools, plans for which lodged with		
Scotch Education Dept. for approval	2	1732
School plans in various stages of preparation	5	3240
School sites acquired	4	2900
Proposed sites - not yet acquired	<u>6</u>	<u>3900</u>
	30	22 658

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow*, Report of Progress in the Preparations for Providing New Public Schools, 2nd. Report, November, 1874

Appendix 9

Loans received by the School Board of Glasgow from Public Work Loan Commissioner for period ending May, 1873 to period ending May, 1881.

<u>Loan No.</u>	<u>Instalment</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Received</u>	<u>Percent Interest</u>	<u>No. of equal instalments repayable</u>
1	1st.	£50 000	12/10/1874	3.5	50 annual
"	2nd	50 000	8/ 3/1875	"	"
"	3rd.	40 000	12/ 6/1876	"	"
2	1 payment	40 000	13/ 9/1875	"	"
3 *	"	20 800	13/12/1875	"	25 annual
4	1st	70 000	23/ 4/1877	"	50 annual
"	2nd	30 000	14/ 1/1878	"	"
5	1st	34 000	10/ 7/1878	"	100 half yearly
"	2nd	47 000	14/10/1878	"	"
6	1 payment	20 000	13/10/1879	"	"
7 **	1st	15 000	11/10/1880	3.75	60 half yearly
Total loans received		<u>£416, 800</u>			

Note * Loan number 3 was obtained for work in altering and enlarging schools purchased by or transferred to the School Board.

** This loan was given after the 1879 change in interest rate. 3.75 was the new rate if payable between 20 and 30 years.

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, General Summary of Work 1873 -1882* p2

Appendix 10

Scotch Education Department,

Whitehall, London, S.W.

31st March, 1874.

Sir,

I am directed to inform you, in reply to your letter of the 28th instant, addressed to the Lord President, that my Lords, having had under consideration the statements made by the Deputation which recently waited upon them at this office, and the proposal which, in accordance with the Duke of Richmond's suggestion, you have, as Chairman of the Deputation, submitted to the Scotch Education Department, agree -

(1) that the regulations in regard to the width of school rooms, of which the area exceeds 500 square feet, be altered to give liberty to School Boards to adopt any width up to 32 feet; and (2) that, in the case of all schools, the School Boards be left free in regard to the arrangements of the furniture - I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant.

(signed)F.R.Sandford

A. Whitelaw Esq.

20 Grovener Gardens, S.W.

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, General Summary of Work 1873 - 1882* p5

Appendix 11

Schools under the jurisdiction of the School Board of Glasgow,
1873- 1881

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>	<u>Accommodation</u>
1873 (March)	0	0
1874	26	8,786
1875	38	19,407
1876	46	25,602
1877	45	28,224
[Old Wynd, a transferred school was sold to a Railway Coy.]		
1878	46	31,132
1879	43	32,054
[A reduction in number of schools but an increase in accommodation, larger schools - Parkhead, Campbellfield, Mathieson st, Abbotsford - replaced much smaller schools]		
1880	44	32,911
1881	44	33,800

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, General Summary of Work*
1873 - 1882 p8

Appendix 12

New schools built and opened by School Board October 1874 - December 1879

<u>School</u>	<u>Accommodation</u>	<u>Total Cost (site and building)</u>	<u>Date of Opening</u>
1. Barrowfield	742	£7,770 - 15 - 10	August 1875
2. Camlachie	812	£11,459 - 0 - 9	February 1878
3. Camden St	1,020	£13,565 - 19 - 9	August 1876
4. Crookston St	1,135	£16,182 - 6 - 4	August 1875
5. Greenside St	830	£12,306 - 15 - 3	August 1876
6. Henderson St	985	£10,627 - 12 - 8	August 1876
7. Kennedy St	840	£10,317 - 10 - 2	August 1875
8. Mathieson St	900	£13,235 - 14 - 5	August 1879
9. Oatlands	1,286	£14,860 - 13 - 3	August 1875
10. Rockvilla	926	£11,860 - 5 - 4	November 1876
11. Rose St (altered building)	820	£7,183 - 5 - 4	October 1874
12. Rumford St	711	£8,747 - 19 - 7	January 1876
13. Sister St	775	£11,414 - 14 - 1	August 1875

Appendix 12 (contd)

14. Springburn	850	£8,844 - 18 - 8	August 1875
15. Thomson St	886	£10,892 - 10 - 11	August 1875
16. Centre St	843	£14,390 - 3 - 9	January 1876
17. Dovehill	1,066	£17,697 - 8 - 9	May 1877
18. Tureen St	785	£12,122 - 3 - 2	August 1876
19. Bishop St	1,410	£31,884 - 12 - 3	August 1877
20. Garnethill	1,003	£20,638 - 18 - 0	August 1878
21. Milton	1,140	£27,025 - 19 - 3	April 1878
22. Oakbank	930	£17,373 - 15 - 10	August 1878
23. Overnewton	975	£12,664 - 8 - 0	August 1877
24. Campbellfield	876	£13,819 - 1 - 5	August 1879
25. Keppochhill	584	£11,050 - 11 - 1	August 1878
26. Parkhead	1,037	£9,795 - 4 - 11	January 1879
27. Abbotsford	<u>1,100</u> 25,267	<u>£20,733 - 7 - 6</u> £378,510 - 16 - 0	December 1879

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, General Summary of Work 1873 - 1882* p9

Appendix 13

Pre - 1872 schools discontinued by the end of November, 1874

<u>Class of School</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>	<u>Accomod.</u>
Private Schools	17	2467
Undenominational	2	411
Established Church	3	633
Free Church	9	2093
United Presbyterian	9	1533
Congregational	<u>3</u>	<u>198</u>
	43	7335

Note - Accommodation should not be equated with the actual numbers in attendance.

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow*, Report of Progress in the Preparations for Providing New Public Schools, 2nd. Report, November, 1874

Appendix 14

Every School [supplied by voluntary effort] abandoned makes necessary the erection of additional School buildings, and so adds to the rates. This subject of discontinuance and abandonment has been dwelt upon at various of our monthly meetings, and managers of Schools have been appealed to not to close them except after long notice. No doubt it is felt by many to be hard to pay rates and also to contribute privately to maintain Schools; but it is not to be forgotten that they have undertaken so far the educational work of the city, and, whether they favoured or opposed the passing of the present Education Act, it does not seem unreasonable that those who had undertaken to provide education should continue to do so, at least until the system introduced by the Act has had sufficient time and opportunity to provide, first, for the education of those for whom no provision had been made, and after that, for any new shortcoming in the supply of the means of education, to be created by the withdrawal of their Schools by those who had undertaken and have been satisfactorily carrying on the existing educational work. There are, probably, many who will for various reasons continue to supply Schools by voluntary effort - some because they regard it as the preferable mode, and others because they desire deliberately to test the worth, in their eyes, of the new system before abandoning the position they now occupy.

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow*, Report of Progress in the Preparations for Providing New Public Schools, 1st. Report, January, 1874

Appendix 15

Schools discontinued and Places lost between June, 1873 and January, 1882

<u>Schools</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>Places</u>
Established Ch	22	5,677
Free Ch	15	2,788
United Presbyterian Ch	14	2,439
Episcopalian Ch	1	224
Congregational Ch	2	142
Reformed Presbyterian Ch	2	818
Old Scotch Independent Ch	1	36
Undenominational	8	1,090
Charitable Schools	3	220
Industrial Schools	1	359
Private Schools	57	8,788
Works' Schools	5	433
Board Schools	1	530

Accommodation lost by reduction
in size of schools, from 1873 to
January, 1882.

Boards Schools (transferred, purchased, or carried on by lease),	.....	438
Free Church Schools	.....	816
Roman Catholic Schools	.....	167
Private Schools	<u>.....</u>	<u>315</u>
	132	25,280

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, General Summary of Work
1873 - 1882*, p7

Appendix 16

Schools opened between June, 1873 and January, 1882 and number of Places available

<u>Schools</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Places</u>
Roman Catholic Ch	6	3,856
Industrial School	1	150
Charitable School	1	78
Private Schools	30	4,101
Accommodation in existing		
Schools increased, from 1873 to		
January,1882		
Sessional Schools	.....	161
Episcopalian School	.....	184
Roman Catholic Schools	.....	1,580
Charitable Schools	.....	170
Private Schools	<u>.....</u>	<u>2,087</u>
	38	12,367

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, General Summary of Work 1873 - 1882* p7

Inspected School.

Appendix 17A

SCHOOL BOARD OF GLASGOW.

Bridgeton DISTRICT.POPULATION IN 1871-60.628
1872. 61,305

1872 61303

QUERIES.

ANSWERS.

Designation of School, - - -
Address of School, - - -
Church or other connection of School, if any,
Number of School Rooms, - - -
Dimensions of School Rooms, - - -

Mixed
Gatton Parish Sessional School
Queen Mary Street, London Road
Established Church of Scotland
Six

				Area	Cubic Contents
32.2	29.6	15.2	948.11	14391.11	
29.6	14.8	15.2	432.8	6562.1	
15.6	11.8	15.2	180.10	2742.8	
31.9	29.4	14.8	939.3	13446.0	
29.4	15.0	14.8	434.9	6431.10	
2.0	2.3	8.6			
11.9	13.0	14.9	148.3	2214.10	
2.0	2.3	8.6			
			3084.8		

Deduct presses — { 2ea
Deduct press — {

Total Area in square feet, -

Total Cubic Contents, -

Area of open Play-Ground, -

Area of covered Sheds, if any, -

Area of other Offices, - - -

Condition of School Buildings, and of
School Furniture, - - -

Ventilation of Rooms, - - -

Light, - - -

Condition of Offices for Boys, -

Condition of Offices for Girls, -

Sanitary arrangements (or condition) of Offices

Distance from nearest School, -

Opinion as to School Buildings and Accommodation, - - -

Remarks, - - -

25.55 Sq Yards

44.5 Sq Yards

23.5 Sq Yards
323

Excellent

By Side Windows & Ventilators at top of Walls
Also Ventilators round Ceiling. Excellent

By Side Windows

Office 12'6" x 6'4" with Strong Closet with 5
Water Closet seats & Urinal for 6 persons.

Office 12'6" x 6'3" with Strong Closet with
5 Water Closet seats.

Good

310 Yards

Excellent

Very suitable for School purposes
Being a modern erection.

341

STATISTICS OF SCHOOL-BUILDINGS.

Inspected School:

Appendix 17B

SCHOOL BOARD OF GLASGOW.

Bridgeton DISTRICT.

POPULATION IN 1871-60.628
1872 61395

QUERIES.	ANSWERS.																																				
Designation of School,	Bridgeton Public School Mixed																																				
Address of School,	96 Main Street, Bridgeton																																				
Church or other connection of School, if any,	Bridgeton Association for Religious & Intellectual Improvement																																				
Number of School Rooms,	Four																																				
Dimensions of School Rooms,	<table><tr><th>B</th><th>H</th><th>Area</th><th>Cube Contents</th></tr><tr><td>38.0</td><td>28.0</td><td>11.0</td><td>1064.0</td></tr><tr><td>31.0</td><td>18.2</td><td>11.9</td><td>563.2</td></tr><tr><td>24.3</td><td>15.0</td><td>11.0</td><td>408.9</td></tr><tr><td>24.3</td><td>22.6</td><td>11.0</td><td>613.2</td></tr><tr><td colspan="4"></td></tr><tr><td colspan="3"></td><td>÷6 441</td></tr><tr><td colspan="3"></td><td>÷8 331</td></tr><tr><td colspan="3"></td><td>295620 ÷80 369</td></tr></table>	B	H	Area	Cube Contents	38.0	28.0	11.0	1064.0	31.0	18.2	11.9	563.2	24.3	15.0	11.0	408.9	24.3	22.6	11.0	613.2								÷6 441				÷8 331				295620 ÷80 369
B	H	Area	Cube Contents																																		
38.0	28.0	11.0	1064.0																																		
31.0	18.2	11.9	563.2																																		
24.3	15.0	11.0	408.9																																		
24.3	22.6	11.0	613.2																																		
			÷6 441																																		
			÷8 331																																		
			295620 ÷80 369																																		
Total Area in square feet,	2649.1																																				
Total Cubic Contents,	295620																																				
Area of open Play-Ground,	101 ³ / ₄ Sqrs Yards																																				
Area of covered Sheds, if any,	62 ¹ / ₄ Sqrs Yards																																				
Area of other Offices,	4 ¹ / ₂ Sqrs Yards																																				
Condition of School Buildings, and of School Furniture,	Good																																				
Ventilation of Rooms,	By Side Windows & Ventilators in Ceilings																																				
Light,	By Side Windows																																				
Condition of Offices for Boys,	2 Offices each with 4 Water Closet Seats and 1 Urinal																																				
Condition of Offices for Girls,	2 Offices each with 1 Water Closet Seat																																				
Sanitary arrangements (or condition) of Offices	Good																																				
Distance from nearest School,	320 Yards																																				
Opinion as to School Buildings and Accommodation,	Excellent School and quite suitable for School purposes.																																				
Remarks,																																					

342

Inspected by } School.
Factory Act }

Appendix 17C

SCHOOL BOARD OF GLASGOW.

Bridgeton DISTRICT.

POPULATION IN 1871-60 628
1872 613 1/2

QUERIES.	ANSWERS.
Designation of School, - - -	Springfield Work School & Mixed
Address of School, - - -	Springfield Works Dalnarnock
Church or other connection of School, if any,	Private
Number of School Rooms, - - -	One
Dimensions of School Rooms, - - -	<div> <div>26.1</div> <div>20.1</div> <div>9.9</div> <div>area</div> <div>523.10</div> <div>cubic contents</div> <div>510 1/2</div> </div>
Total Area in square feet, - - -	<div> <div>523.10</div> <div>÷ 6</div> <div>87</div> </div>
Total Cubic Contents, - - -	<div> <div>510 1/2</div> <div>÷ 8</div> <div>66</div> </div>
Area of open Play-Ground, - - -	None
Area of covered Sheds, if any, - - -	None
Area of other Offices, - - -	None
Condition of School Buildings, and of School Furniture, - - -	Indifferent
Ventilation of Rooms, - - -	By side Windows
Light, - - -	By side Windows
Condition of Offices for Boys, - - -	None
Condition of Offices for Girls, - - -	None
Sanitary arrangements (or condition) of Offices	None
Distance from nearest School, - - -	870 Yards
Opinion as to School Buildings and Accommodation, - - -	Unsuitable for school purposes being a waiting room at Gate House and a stove being always lighted in centre of room.
Remarks, - - -	

Uninspected School.

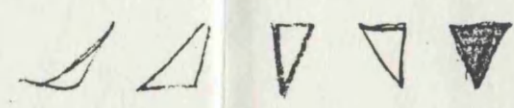
Appendix 17D

SCHOOL BOARD OF GLASGOW.

Bridgeton DISTRICT.

POPULATION IN 1871-60.628.

1872 61,245

QUERIES.	ANSWERS.
Designation of School,	Dale Street School, Mixed
Address of School, - - -	42 Dale Street, Bridgeton
Church or other connection of School, if any,	Private
Number of School Rooms, - - -	One
Dimensions of School Rooms, - - -	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">23.1</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">18.4</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">8.1</div> <div style="margin: 0 10px;">Area. Cubic contents</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">423.2</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">3420.10</div> </div>
Total Area in square feet, - - -	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">423.2</div> <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> $\div 6$ 70 $\div 8$ 53 </div> </div>
Total Cubic Contents, - - -	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">3420.10</div> <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> $\div 80$ 43 </div> </div>
Area of open Play-Ground, - - -	None
Area of covered Sheds, if any, - - -	None
Area of other Offices, - - -	None 
Condition of School Buildings, and of School Furniture, - - -	Bad
Ventilation of Rooms, - - -	By Ventilator over front door Bad
Light, - - -	By Side Windows Bad
Condition of Offices for Boys, - - -	None
Condition of Offices for Girls, - - -	None
Sanitary arrangements (or condition) of Offices	None
Distance from nearest School, - - -	230 Yards
Opinion as to School Buildings and Accommodation, - - -	Unsuitable for school purposes being crowded and much too low in ceiling and bad in every way.
Remarks, - - -	

Uninspected School.

Appendix 17E

SCHOOL BOARD OF GLASGOW.

Bridgeton

DISTRICT.

POPULATION IN 1871-60,628
1872 61,305

QUERIES.	ANSWERS.				
Designation of School,	Liberal Mixed				
Address of School,	15 Marlborough Street				
Church or other connection of School, if any,	Private				
Number of School Rooms, -	One				
Dimensions of School Rooms,	18.7	12.2	7.9	Area 226.1	Cubic Contents 1452.3
Total Area in square feet, -				226.1	<div>÷ 6 38</div> <div>÷ 8 28</div>
Total Cubic Contents,				1452.3	÷ 80 22
Area of open Play-Ground,	None				
Area of covered Sheds, if any,	None				
Area of other Offices,	None				
Condition of School Buildings, and of School Furniture,-	Very Bad				
Ventilation of Rooms,	By Side Windows				
Light,	By Side Windows				
Condition of Offices for Boys,	None				
Condition of Offices for Girls,	None				
Sanitary arrangements (or condition) of Offices	None				
Distance from nearest School,	150 Yards				
Opinion as to School Buildings and Accommodation, -	Extremely bad being in the ground flat of a ruinous back tenement having earthen floor & bare ceiling (no lath or plaster) otherwise in a wretched state. No Play-ground or offices.				
Remarks, -					

345

Appendix 18

Schools and accommodation 1873 to 1881.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total No of Schools (1)</u>	<u>Board Schools</u>	<u>Total Accom.</u>	<u>Accom. in Board Sch.</u>
1873	228	-	57,290	-
1874	217	26	59,556	8786
1875	226	38	69,177	19,407
1876	217	46	73,551	25,602
1877	203	45	75,743	28,224
1878	189	46	76,481	31,132
1879	181	43	76,346	32,054
1880	174	44	75,308	32,911
1881	166	44	73,150	33,800

(1) Includes schools of any type or denomination

Note: Board Schools includes new schools, temporary and transferred schools.

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, General Summary of Work 1873 - 1882* p8

Appendix 19

Numbers on School Rolls and Numbers in average monthly attendance

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total City Roll</u>	<u>Total Monthly Ave Attendance</u>	<u>School Board Rolls</u>	<u>Monthly Sch Bd Ave Attend</u>
1873	52,664	42,655	-	-
1874	61,211	48,193	10,552	8,084
1875	65,447	52,657	19,891	16,254
1876	64,787	53,407	24,225	20,720
1877	66,388	55,973	28,966	24,790
1878	68,356	56,900	32,250	27,381
1879	68,680	57,879	33,745	28,859
1880	68,535	57,169	35,237	30,067
1881	70,056	58,908	37,263	31,821

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, General Summary of Work 1873 - 1882*, p8

Appendix 20

Declaration signed by teachers:

I do solemnly and sincerely, in the Presence of God, profess, testify, and declare,

That, as Schoolmaster of the Parochial School at - in the Parish of - ,

and in the Discharge of the said Office, I will never endeavour, directly or indirectly, to teach or inculcate any Opinions opposed to the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures, or to the Doctrines contained in the Shorter Catechism agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland , in the year One thousand six hundred and forty-eight; and that I will faithfully conform thereto in my teaching of the said School, and that I will not exercise the Functions of the said Office to the Prejudice or Subversion of the Church of Scotland as by Law established, or the Doctrines and Privileges thereof.

Source: *The Parochial and Burgh Schoolmasters (Scotland) Act, 1861*, Ch. 107 24th & 25th Vict.

Appendix 21

The Education (Scotland) Act 1872

Section 69

It shall be the duty of every parent to provide elementary education in reading, writing, and arithmetic for his children, between five and thirteen years of age, and if unable from poverty to pay therefor, to apply to the parochial board of the parish or burgh in which he resides, and it shall be the duty of the said board to pay out of the poor fund the ordinary and reasonable fees for the elementary education of every such child, or such part of such fees as the parent shall be unable to pay, in the event of such board being satisfied of the inability of the parent to pay such fees, and the provisions of this clause shall apply to the education of blind children, but no such payment shall be made or refused on condition of the child attending any school in receipt of the parliamentary grant other than such as may be selected by the parent.

Section 70

It shall be the duty of every school board to appoint an officer to ascertain and report to the school board what parents, resident within the parish or burgh, have failed and omitted, and are failing and omitting, to perform the duty of providing for their children such elementary education as aforesaid, and it shall be the duty of such officer to keep the school board constantly informed of the names and designations of all such parents; and the clerk of the school board or some other appointed by the school board for that duty, shall keep, and from time to time revise, add to, and correct a list of all such parents and their children who have not received

Appendix 21 (contd)

and are not in course of receiving such elementary education as aforesaid; and the school board is hereby authorised to summon any such parent to appear before the school board at any meeting thereof, and to require from him every information and explanation respecting his failure of duty with respect to the education of his child or children; and if he shall either fail to appear or on his appearance to satisfy the school board that he has not failed in such duty without reasonable excuse for such failure, and shall not undertake to the satisfaction of the school board to perform such duty by forthwith providing such elementary education as aforesaid for his children, it shall be lawful to and shall be the duty of the school board to certify in writing that he has been and is grossly and without reasonable excuse failing to discharge the duty of providing elementary education for his child or children, and on such certificate being transmitted to the procurator fiscal of the county or district of the county in which the parent resides, or other person appointed by the school board, he shall prosecute such parent before the sheriff of the county for such failure of duty as is in the certificate specified, and on conviction the parent shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding twenty shillings, or to imprisonment not exceeding fourteen days; and such procedure as aforesaid may be repeated against the same parent, and in respect of a continuance of the same failure of duty, at intervals of not less than three months. All fines recovered under this clause shall be paid into the school fund.

Source: *The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872* Ch 62 35 & 36 Vict.

Appendix 22

The twelve educational districts of Glasgow

- (1) Anderston
- (2) Milton
- (3) St. Rollox
- (4) Dennistoun
- (5) Blythswood
- (6) Central
- (7) Calton
- (8) Camlachie
- (9) Bridgeton
- (10) Tradeston
- (11) Gorbals
- (12) Hutchesontown

Appendix 23

Scheme for Board meetings with Defaulting Parents

<u>District</u>	<u>Time of Year</u>
Bridgeton	
Central and Calton }	January and August
Milton	
Anderston and Blythswood }	February and September
Tradeston and Gorbals	
Hutchesontown }	March and October
St. Rollox and Denniston (northern portions)	
Milton }	April and November
Camlachie	
St. Rollox and Denniston (southern portions) }	May and December

Appendix 24

Here comes a little hunchback child with a bright, intelligent face, led by her mother, whose only child she is. The mother is most anxious that the child should attend school, and the girl greatly disappointed that she is not there every day. The father has deserted them. He has behaved so ill that his wife will not allow him to come in at the door again if she can help it. A long story of injury and wrong is narrated.

Chairman [in this case it was Connal] - Come here, my wee lassie. Do you like the school?

Yes, I would like to be there every day.

Chairman - Let me hear you read.

She reads well, and can write and count a little.

Chairman - Will you send her regularly if your husband pays the fees?

Yes, gladly. (the mother)

The principal officer is instructed to communicate with the father, and if necessary summon him before the Sheriff for payment of the fees, and meantime a card is given to the girl admitting her to school, pending this arrangement being carried out.

Source: Extract taken from Mitchell, William (1885) *Rescue the Children (or Twelve Years Dealing with Neglected Girls and Boys)*
London: Wm Isbister Ltd. pp 13/32

Appendix 25

"Here , for example, comes a pleasant - looking well-dressed mother, with three nice children. Her husband is related to a well-known and highly esteemed citizen long deceased [Mitchell does not give the name], but the man is of dissolute habits, and has fallen very low. He has appealed to those who would gladly aid him, and gets occasional work as a clerk, but he is untruthful and deceives his wife, and she cannot without difficulty clothe her children, far less pay fees. Promises are accepted and a fresh start is made by a member [of the School Board] giving one month's fees.

Source: Extract taken from Mitchell, William (1885) *Rescue the Children (or Twelve Years Dealing with Neglected Girls and Boys)*
London: Wm Isbister Ltd. p33

Appendix 26

Numbers in Schools from 1873 to 1881

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number on roll(City</u>	<u>Board Schools roll</u>	<u>Number in Ave.Atten.</u>	<u>Board Schools Ave Atten</u>	<u>City Ave %</u>
1873	53 796	Nil	43 803	Nil	81.5
1875	66 598	19 891	53 805	16 254	80.75
1876	65 287	24 227	54 112	20 721	83.0
1877	67 869	28 968	57 423	24 792	84.5
1878	70 202	32 250	58 660	27 381	83.5
1879	70 943	33 745	59 968	28 859	84.25
1880	70 702	35 237	59 148	30 067	83.75
1881	72 358	37 263	61 012	31 821	84.33

Note: Differences between the above figures and those in Appendix 19 are explained by the fact that, in the above, the numbers attending Industrial and Reformatory Schools are included. This was normal practice with the Attendance Committee. The figures in Appendix 19 are from the School Board Summary in which Industrial and Reformatory Schools are not included. Some small allowance was also made by the Attendance Committee for children living outside the City boundary but attending schools within the Board area.

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, Attendance Committee Report, 8th December, 1881*

Appendix 27

Collins' Comparisons

<u>1879</u>	<u>Est. Pop</u>	<u>1/6 Children</u>	<u>Ave attendance at all schools</u>	<u>% of pop in average attendance</u>	<u>Rate</u>
Glasgow	558,000	93,000	56,632	10.149	5d
Liverpool	530,000	93,000	62,448	11.782	2d
Manchester	350,000	58,000	39,436	11.267	2d
Birmingham	385,000	64,160	46,030	11.956	5d

Source: Collins, A.G. (1879) *Policy and Operations of the Glasgow School Board : with results on school attendance*, p3

Appendix 28

Example of default case brought to prosecution stage -

No. 69 Catherine -----, 11; Mary, 10; William, 8; Father a Labourer.

Oct. 1876 - All found not at school

Feb. 1877 - Pled poverty to officer

June 1878 - Form No. 10 served (warning notice)

April 1878 - Inside house but will not open door - saw mother through window

May 1878 - Inside house but will not open door - saw mother through window

Aug. 1878 - Father appeared and promised to send to school

Oct. 1878 - Inside but will not open door

Feb. 1879 - William came to window and said his mother was out and had key with her - saw mother sitting up in bed

Feb. 1879 - Served summons for Board meeting - threatened prosecution

May 1879 - Failed to appear at Board meeting

June 1879 - Won't open door

Aug. 1879 - Fined 15s. and 15s. costs

Source: Extract taken from Collins, A.G. (1879) *Policy and Operations of the Glasgow School Board*

Appendix 29

Basic Salaries (1879) of Male / Female Assistant Teachers in Board Schools

<u>Amount £'s per annum</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
70	2	-
75	3	49
80	11	18
85	31	35
90	31	19
95	6	1
100	8	12
105	1	-
110	3	-
115	-	-
120	7	-
150	7	-
170	1	-

Note - The annual salary of some female teachers was less than £70.

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, Annual Reports of schools, 1879*

Appendix 30

Female Teacher Salaries in Board Schools When Payment For Pupil-Teacher Mentoring is included

<u>Amount £'s per annum</u>	<u>Teacher</u>
70	5
75	32
80	18
85	31
90	14
95	8
100	17
105	6
110	1
115	6

Note - When compared to Appendix 29, it can be seen that in addition to women earning larger sums in salary - a total of 5 women have entered the £70 plus range, these teachers fell below that level before mentoring was included.

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow*, Annual Reports of schools, 1879

Appendix 31

Fees / Grant Income and Teacher Salaries 1875 - 1881

<u>1875</u>	<u>Fees / Grants</u>		
	£8997	} £4,400	fees
		£4,597	grants

Teachers Salaries - £9,570

Average Attendance - 7,998

1875 salary excess over fees/grants = £573

<u>1876</u>	£18,621	} £9,488	fees
		£9,133	grants

Teachers Salaries - £20,555

Average Attendance - 14,236

1876 salary excess over fees/grants = £1,934

<u>1877</u>	£27,480	} £13,406	fees
		£14,074	grants

Teachers Salaries - £32,257

Average Attendance - 18,561

1877 salary excess over fees/grants = £4,777

<u>1878</u>	£30,957	} £12,306	fees
		£18,651	grants

Teachers Salaries - £41,046

Average Attendance - 22,382

1878 salary excess over fees/grants = £10,089

Appendix 31 (contd)

<u>1879</u>	£38,142	} £17,557 fees
		£20,585 grants

Teachers Salaries - £46,759

Average Attendance - 23,639

1879 salary excess over fees/grants = £8,617

<u>1880</u>	£43,582	} £20,921	fees
		£22,661	grants

Teachers Salaries - £46,576

Average Attendance - 25,535

1880 salary excess over fees/grants = £2,994

<u>1881</u>	£45,657	} £22,330	fees
		£23,327	grants

Teachers Salaries - £45,786

Average Attendance - 25,801

1881 salary excess over fees/grants = £129

Note - any discrepancy between total teachers salaries given above and figures used in the present chapter for total teachers salaries , is explained by the fact that in the latter, the sum for night school teachers is included

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, Finance Committee Report,*
General Summary of Work 1873 - 1882 p18

Appendix 32

Results of the Glasgow School Board Elections 1879

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Number of Votes</u>
Rev. Dr. Munro	45,698
James McCloskey	42,738
Rev. Cuthbert Wood	42,561
Harry A. Long	39,782
James Martin	33,221
Michael Connal	28,975
William Kidston	26,118
William Mitchell	25,310
A. Glen Collins	23,818
Rev. J. Logan Aikman	23,134
J. N. Cuthbertson	20,938
James Colquhoun	20,292
Rev. James Dodds	19,925
W. Fife	18,846
James Fleming	18,359

Appendix 33

Minutes of the Committee on Teachers' Emoluments

1st. That in the Schools, in the list marked 1, the minimum salary should be £250.

2nd. That in the list marked 2, the minimum salary should be £200.

3rd. That in all Schools, the maximum salary should be £500.

From this, the third recommendation, Mr. Connal dissented.

List 1

- | | | |
|-----|------------------|--------|
| 1. | Bishop Street | School |
| 2. | Overnewton | " |
| 3. | Anderson [Sic] | " |
| 4. | Henderson Street | " |
| 5. | Rockvilla | " |
| 6. | Milton | " |
| 7. | Garnethill | " |
| 8. | Kennedy Street | " |
| 9. | Springburn | " |
| 10. | St. Rollox | " |
| 11. | Dovehill | " |
| 12. | Tureen Street | " |
| 13. | Thomson Street | " |
| 14. | Barrowfield | " |
| 15. | Sister Street | " |
| 16. | Camlachie | " |

Appendix 33 (contd)

17. Rumford Street	School
18. Centre Street	"
19. Crookston Street	"
20. Greenside Street	"
21. Rose Street	"
22. Camden Street	"
23. Oatlands	"
24. Oakbank	"
25. Parkhead	"
26. Finnieston	"
27. Dobbies Loan	"
28. Keppochhill	"
29. Hozier Street	"

List 2

1. Freeland	School
2. Bridgeton	"
3. Martyrs'	"

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow*, Minutes of the Committee on Teachers' Emoluments, June, 1879

Appendix 34

Memorial from Head Masters,
To the School Board of Glasgow.

City Public School,
Glasgow, 15th.Sept., 1879

Gentlemen,

At a meeting of the Headmasters under your Board, held on Friday evening, the 12th. curr. [Sic] to consider the proposal now before you for the reduction of our salaries, it was unanimously resolved, most respectfully to submit the following statements for your consideration: -

1. We would desire, at the outset, to express our sympathy with every effort to reduce the expenditure of the Board, consistent with the efficient management of the Schools. At the same time, we think that a reduction of salaries on the lines, and to the extent, contemplated, will be neither fair to us, nor satisfactory in its ultimate results to the cause of education.
2. In the scheme proposed no adequate notice is taken of the differences existing between Schools in respect of locality and date of Inspection, both of which exercise an important influence in determining the income of a School.
3. While the scheme proposed fixes the maximum salary at £500, it offers little likelihood [Sic] of this sum being ever realized; and, as the average attendance ought never to reach the limit of accommodation, it makes it impossible for a teacher to earn the maximum fixed for his School. The average salary, in the present

Appendix 34 (contd)

circumstances of the Schools, would be £200 less than the maximum indicated; and, in view of the responsibilities and necessary qualifications of a Head Master, the proposed minimum is unduly low.

4. In any scheme that may be adopted it is not desirable that our salaries should be affected by such indefinite and variable deductions as cleaning, repairs, school requisites, etc.

5. While, of late years, there has been an increase in the Teachers' salaries, it must be borne in mind that this has risen mainly from an increase in the Government Grant, and not from local sources.

6. In Glasgow the attained salaries in other professions are, as a rule, larger than elsewhere in Scotland; and it is not unreasonable to expect that the same should hold in the case of Teachers.

7. Several of our number had higher salaries under their former management than are paid them now.

8. We understand that higher salaries are at present earned in Glasgow in state-aided Schools [non-Board schools], with attendances similar to our own, than are attainable under the scheme proposed.

9. We would be sorry if any proposal to limit Assistant - Teachers' Salaries to £100 were approved by the Board, as the natural results would be that the less efficient would remain in your service, while the more active and aspiring would seek appointments elsewhere. We would also regret the adoption of any proposal to reduce the payments to Female Pupil Teachers - a most deserving class.

10. After the work of organizing Schools of the size and character of those under the Board, and after having gradually secured, by long and earnest application to labour of a somewhat heavy and complicated

Appendix 34 (contd)

nature, a generous recognition of our services at your hands, we cannot conceal the fact that such an abrupt and serious reduction of our salaries as is at present contemplated, would have a most depressing effect on the minds and activities of the whole of your teaching staff.

11. In a matter so deeply affecting not only our personal interest, but the efficiency of so large a number of Schools, we have respectfully to aske that the Board, before coming to a final decision on any scheme, will be pleased to allow us the opportunity, through a deputation of our number, of laying before them a full statement of our views.

Signed in name and by appointment of the Meeting,

Alex. F. McBean,

Chairman

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow*, Minutes of the Board in Committee, Vol. 3, September, 1879

Appendix 35

Reasons for Dissent Against New Salary Scheme - Given by William Mitchell, October, 1879.

1. Because the scheme of payment proposed in this Report will have the effect of reducing the Head Masters' salaries in an excessive, ill-adjusted, and arbitrary manner, by amounts ranging from 20 to 40 per cent.
2. Because, while all the Head Masters' salaries are thus excessively reduced, this scheme will enable certain teachers to earn salaries far in excess of other teachers, whose schools are as large and where the work is more arduous, and the talent and ability required equally great - no account being taken in this scheme of the varied and varying conditions and circumstances of the different schools as regards locality, accommodation, scale of fees, and character of scholars, while the salary of the teacher will be largely affected by such considerations.
3. Because the power left with the Board to grant an additional sum, not exceeding £50, to certain teachers in exceptional circumstances (and which concession was only made on the urgent representations of the dissenting minority) does not represent an equivalent for the forsaidd inequalities in the conditions and circumstances of the Schools.
4. Because this scheme, for the above and other reasons, will tend to dishearten the men upon whom mainly depend the success and prosperity of all the educational operations of the School Board.
5. Because this scheme will assuredly diminish the interest of the teachers in that class of poor neglected children whom the Board have

Appendix 35 (contd)

been striving, not unsuccessfully, to get into their schools. Such children will add little to the teachers' salary, and may be taking the places of those who would be to him [the teacher] more lucrative, and more necessary for making up his reduced and restricted income.

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow*, Minutes of the Board in Committee, Vol. 3, 13th October, 1879

Appendix 36

Religious Institution Rooms,
Glasgow, 26th. September, 1879.

To the School Board of Glasgow

Gentlemen,

At a meeting of the Assistant Masters under your Board, held in the Religious Institution Rooms, on the evening of Friday, 26th ultimo, to consider the new Scale of Salaries as proposed at your last Monthly Meeting, it was resolved most respectfully, to submit the following Statements for your consideration: -

1. As the quality of the instruction imparted to the children attending the Public Schools of Glasgow depends, to a very large extent, on the ability and qualifications of the Assistant Teachers, we are of opinion that any Reduction of their Salaries will be most injurious to the cause of education in this City.
2. Unless some inducement be held out to the Assistants, whereby they may be encouraged to remain in the Board's service, the result will be that the more efficient will accept appointments elsewhere; thus causing a constant change of teachers, a circumstance likely to prove detrimental to the progress of the Scholars.
3. Since the passing of the Education Act (1872), larger Schools have been erected, and consequently fewer Head Masters are now required; and as the Second Master and First Assistant of such Schools occupy positions as responsible as those of Head Masters in smaller Schools, they should therefore be as highly remunerated.

Appendix 36 (contd)

4. We would urge upon the Board the necessity of framing a definite Scheme, by which Assistants could gradually rise to the position of First Assistant or Second Master.
5. In large Schools, especially, where the work is heavy and the responsibility great, we would suggest that Second Masterships, at a Salary of at least half that of the Head Masters, be instituted; and also that midway between this and the rank of ordinary Assistant, there be the grade of First Assistant, at a proportionate Salary.
6. In the case of the older Assistants under your Board, a scheme of this nature has long been looked forward to; and in the hope of seeing it soon carried into effect, not a few of them have refused more remunerative appointments under other Boards.
7. Considering the lengthened period spent in preparing for the profession of Teacher, and the laborious and irksome nature of the work engaged in, we consider that the proposed minimum Salary of £70 is too low.
8. Regarding the proposal to employ Ex-Pupil Teachers as Assistants, we would observe, that while they may be suited for certain kinds of School-Work, the employment of them to any great extent will encourage young Teachers to be satisfied with meagre qualifications for their office, and thus injure the cause of education.
9. In a matter of such importance to the Teaching Staff in your Schools, we have respectfully to ask, that the Board, before coming to any final decision, will be pleased to allow us an opportunity through a deputation of our number, of laying before them a full statement of our

Appendix 36 (contd)

views.

Signed in name and by appointment of the Meeting,

Thomas McVie, Chairman.

Source: Collins, A.G. (1879) *Policy and Operations of the Glasgow School Board : with results on school attendance* p3

Appendix 37

Cost Per Scholar of Teachers' Salaries in Board Schools, 1873 - 1881.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Average Attendance</u>	<u>Cost per Scholar</u> (in Teachers' Salaries)
1874 -75	7,998	£1 - 3 - 11d
1875 - 76	14,236	£1 - 8 - 10d
1876 - 77	18,561	£1 - 12 - 1d
1877 - 78	22,382	£1 - 15 - 5d
1878 - 79	23,639	£1 - 17 - 11d
1879 - 80	25,535	£1 - 16 - 3d
1880 - 81	25,801	£1 - 15 - 8d

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, Finance Committee Report,*
General Summary of Work 1873 - 1882 p18

Appendix 38

Green Street Day Industrial Schools - Meals

	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Sunday	-	Hot meat, Potatoes,Bread	Tea,coffee or Cocoa,Bread, Butter,Dripping or Treacle
Monday	Porridge,Sweet Buttermilk or Treacle	Soup,Peas, Barley,Bread	" "
Tuesday	"	Cheese,Bread Milk	"
Wednesday	"	Pea Soup, Bread	"
Thursday	"	Hot Meat,Irish Stew,Potatoes, Bread	"
Friday	"	Broth,Soup Bread	"
Saturday	"	Rice ,Milk Bread,Suet Pudding	"

Source:Extract taken from *Green Street Day Industrial School* - Annual Report, 1880.

Appendix 38 (Continued)

Green Street Day Industrial School - Timetable

6.00 to 8.00 a.m.	Assembling - Baths - Lavatory
8.00 to 8.30	Recreation
8.30 to 8.45	Breakfast
8.45 to 9.00	Prayers in hall. Boys and girls together
9.00 to 9.30	Religious instruction in hall. Boys and girls
9.30 to 12.30 p.m.	School. Boys and girls in separate class rooms. Instruction in Standards 1 to 5, according to proficiency of scholars
12.30 to 12.45	Dinner. On Sundays at 1.00p.m.
12.45 to 1.30	Recreation
1.30 to 4.30	Industrial work
4.30 to 5.00	Recreation
5.00 to 5.30	Preparation of lessons
5.30 to 5.45	Tea. On Sundays at 4.30 p.m.
5.45 to 6.00	Prayers
6.00 p.m.	Dismissal. On Saturdays at 5.00 p.m.

Source: Extract taken from *Green Street Day Industrial School* -
Annual Report, 1880.

Appendix 39

The Glasgow Institution for Orphan and Destitute Girls - Rules

1. No girl of known bad or immoral habits or character shall be admitted to the Institution, it not being intended to be a Reformatory, but to fit well disposed girls for usefulness in Household Service, or other occupation suitable to their station in life.
2. No girl shall be admitted to the Institution without the sanction of the Ladies Committee; and before admission each applicant must be examined by the Doctor in attendance on the Institution.
3. The Ladies Committee shall have a discretionary power in special cases to admit Orphan Girls free of charge, the number of free cases to be regulated by the state of the funds.
4. The Girls shall attend Public Worship at the Church appointed by the Ladies Committee, the Matrons accompanying them.
5. No Girl shall be engaged as a servant without the knowledge and approbation of the Ladies Committee.
6. One of the Ladies shall visit each Home every week, to see to health, cleanliness, and progress of the girls.
7. The Ladies shall meet in Committee.....when a Clergyman or Christian Friend shall be requested to be present to address and examine the girls.

Source: Extract of Rules taken from *The Glasgow Institution for Orphan and Destitute Girls* - Annual Report, 1883.

Appendix 40

Category of cases investigated by the G.S.P.C.C. - 1886

Violence

Assault	6
Excessive beating	4

Cruel Neglect

General	370
Starvation	76

Begging, Vagrancy and Exposure

Begging by day	495
" night	118
Selling by night and day	162
Exposure	105
Sleeping out at night	249
Overloading	6

Immorality

Juvenile depravity	71
Living in brothels	21
Dangerous surroundings	70

Total 1753

Source: Extract taken from *Glasgow Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children* - Annual Report, 1886.

Appendix 41

Apparent causes of Children's Cases investigated by G.S.P.C.C. - 1886

Father dead	146
Mother dead	135
Both parents dead	24
Deserted by parents	57
Parents in prison	18
Parents blind	8
Parents grasping, sent out to Sell or Beg	158
Mother neglectful	53
Unkind step-parents	33
Illegitimate	18
Drink and its consequences	332
Poverty	33
Willfulness of children	246
Parents living apart	53
Want of proper care	359
Parent immorality	80
<u>Total</u>	<u>1753</u>

Source: Extract taken from *Glasgow Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children* - Annual Report, 1886

Appendix 42

How cases dealt with

Committed to Day Industrial Schools	51
Committed to Certified Reformatories, Industrial Schools	179
Under the Supervision of the School Board	656
Placed in Day Schools	455
" " Poorhouse	80
" " Mr. Quarrier's Home	9
" " Training Homes	2
" " Lady Breadalbane's Boys' Home	1
" " Other Private Homes	4
" With Relations	21
" " Domestic Service	41
" " Hospital	7
Medical examination insisted on	3
Pending Decision	1
Removed, whereabouts unknown	28
Left with Parents subject to Visitation	215
	<u>Total 1753</u>

Source: Figures taken from *Glasgow Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children* - Annual Report, 1886

Appendix 43

Specimen Cases Investigated by G.S.P.C.C. - 1886

Case One

A little girl, ten years of age, was severely assaulted by her supposed step-mother, who threatened to take her life on several occasions. The girl was sent to the Shelter of the Police, and the mother apprehended. From the evidence brought before the Court, it was proved that the girl was an orphan, and had been subjected to most inhuman treatment by this woman. She was convicted and fined £2 2/-, or suffer 30 days imprisonment.

Case Two

Three children, aged eight, six, and four years respectively, were found singing and begging with their father and mother on a very cold and stormy night. The parents had on several occasions been warned for exposing their children to the inclemency of the weather, but without effect, and refused to go away. They were charged to the Northern Police Office, and the children brought to the Shelter. Both parents were brought before the Court, charged with cruel and un-natural [Sic] treatment of their children, in exposing them to the inclemency of the weather, for the purpose of exciting compassion from the Public. They also being under the influence of drink at the time. The father said he could make money by having the children with him.

Appendix 43 (contd)

Case Three

Agnes Alcorn, nine years of age, was found by the Police, begging in Buchanan Street, on a stormy night. She was sitting on a small box placed near the kerbstone, and hanging from her neck was the following appeal, painted on tin, 'kind christians, I am deprived of the use of my limbs through trouble and rheumatic pains, which leaves me [Sic] unable to do for myself. I hope you will bestow a little of your charity on me.' - A.A. A short distance from the girl stood the mother, who watched her success, and occasionally stepped forward to get the money, with which she retired to a Public House. The mother was apprehended and found to be under the influence of drink. The girl, who was in good health and could use her legs well, was ultimately caught and brought to the Shelter, The mother was charged with imposition, and allowing her child to beg. She was sent to prison for 30 days.

Source: Extracts taken from *Glasgow Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children* - Annual Report, 1886

Appendix 44

Library use in Glasgow - November/ December, 1878, 1880, 1886

<u>December 1878</u>	<u>Week Ending</u>	<u>No. Vol. Issued</u>
	23. 11. 1878	6,725
	30. 11. 1878	6,860
	7. 12. 1878	6,573
	14. 12. 1878	<u>5,240</u>
		<u>25,398</u>
<u>December 1880</u>	27. 11. 1880	9,228
	4. 12. 1880	9,376
	11. 12. 1880	9,593
	18. 12. 1880	<u>8,304</u>
		<u>36,501</u>
<u>December 1886</u>	27. 11. 1886	10,028
	4. 12. 1886	10,336
	11. 12. 1886	10,372
	18. 12. 1886	<u>9,720</u>
		<u>40,456</u>

Source: *The Town Council of Glasgow* - Minutes of Libraries Committee, 1878 to 1886.

Appendix 45

Lodging Houses owned by Glasgow Town Council, December, 1887

<u>Situation</u>	<u>Total Accom.</u>	<u>Aver. No. Inmates</u>
Drygate	287	284
Greendyke Street	284	277
Portugal Street	308	299
Clyde Street	324	319
North Woodside Road	312	308
Hydepark Street	354	314
East Russell Street	94	94

Source: *The Town Council of Glasgow*, Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Lodging Houses, 2nd December, 1887

Appendix 46

Educational standard of girls admitted to Glasgow Magdalene Institution, 1886

Could read	159
Unable to read	30
Not ascertained	<u>6</u>
	195
Could write	119
Unable to write	56
Not ascertained	<u>20</u>
	195

Total admitted to Institution in 1886 - 195 girls

Source: *The Glasgow Magdalene Institution* - Annual Report, 1886

Appendix 47

Comparison of Specific Subjects, Fees in 3 Schools 1885/86.

Garnethill Annual fee per scholar 38/11d Roll, 1284

	<u>No. Studying</u>	<u>No. Presented</u>	<u>No. Passed</u>
Mathematics	49	47	46
English Lit.	348	340	306
Latin	130	120	102
Greek	19	13	13
French	97	88	83
German	29	26	25
Light & Heat	87	78	59
Domestic Econ.	180	175	158

Amount of grant for Specific Subjects 1885/86 - £152 0s. 0d.

Camlachie Annual fee per scholar 7/10d Roll, 901

English Lit.	46	31	12
Physical Geog.	25	13	9
Domestic Econ.	26	18	16

Amount of grant for Specific Subjects 1885/86 - £6 14s 0d

John Street Annual fee per scholar 21/2d Roll, 1254

Mathematics	32	19	15
English Lit.	344	286	220
Latin	95	61	39
French	35	19	12
Physical Geog.	56	31	28
Domestic Econ.	161	131	88

Amount of grant for Specific Subjects £86 4s 0d

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, Teachers and Teaching Committee Report, 1884 to 1886* pp. 4/5

Appendix 48

Memorandum by the School Board of Glasgow on their opposition to the Endowment Bill.

While there were many of the provisions of this new Bill highly satisfactory to the Board, and while they saw their way to petition in its favour, they were of opinion that its tendency was somewhat in the direction of diverting to secondary education, Endowments specially bequeathed in the interests of the education, and for the clothing and feeding of poor children; and accordingly this view was brought before Her Majesty's Government by a deputation introduced by Mr. Middleton, M.P., a former member of this Board. The Board ultimately succeeded in securing its acceptance by Her Majesty's Government.

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow, General Summary of Work 1873*
- 1882 p23

Appendix 49

The Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act 1882 45 & 46 Vict

Section 15

In framing schemes it shall be the duty of the Commissioners, with respect alike to the constitution of the governing body and to educational provisions, to have regard to the spirit of founders' intentions, and in every scheme which abolishes or modifies any privileges or educational advantages to which a particular class of persons is entitled, whether as inhabitants of a particular area or as belonging to a particular class in life or otherwise, they shall have regard to the educational interests of such class of persons: Provided always, that where the founder of any educational endowment has expressly provided for the education of children belonging to the poorer classes, either generally or within a particular area, or otherwise for their benefit, such endowment for such education or otherwise for their benefit shall continue, so far as requisite, to be applied for the benefit of such children.

Source: *The Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act, 1882* 45 & 46 Vict.

Appendix 50

Numbers on the Roll in School Board Schools, Roman Catholic Schools and others, 1882 - 1885.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Board Schools</u>	<u>R.C. Schools</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
1882	42, 140	14, 527	17, 357	74, 024
1883	48, 785	14, 873	13, 949	77, 607
1884	53, 402	14, 824	12, 477	80, 703
1885	55, 403	14, 735	12, 388	82, 285

Year Attendance -

1882	36, 334 (84.39%)	10, 671	15, 462	62, 467
1883	42, 204 (84.89%)	11, 053	12, 630	65, 887
1884	46, 097 (84.63%)	10, 859	11, 343	68, 299
1885	48, 068 (86.14%)	11, 355	11, 462	70, 885

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow*, Attendance Committee Report, 1886

Appendix 51

Extract from list of properties requiring attention. Sent by Mitchell to the Health Committee in his letter of 14th November, 1887.

One of the worst places will be found at 25 and 31 New Wynd, where there are dwelling houses for about 30 families having no privy accommodation, and where the outer aspect of the premises is in a most filthy state. The court, and ashpit common to the two houses, and the roof of a house in the rear are coated with an accumulation of filth.

...the premises situated at 118 Bridgegate, consisting of about 33 dwellings of one and two appartments, with an ashpit and privy at the back, but it is often in a very filthy state. The tenants throw their filth over the windows to save them going down stairs.

...the premises situated at 43 Bridgegate, consisting of about 30 dwellings, with only one ashpit and privy, and on roof of adjoining house at back very dirty and filthy with matter thrown from staircase window.

In 83 High Street where there is a Common Lodging House for Women - in an open area of ground about 10 feet square, alongside an outside stair there is accumulated a disgusting mass of filth of every description. An informant says that the place has not been cleaned for two months.

In McPherson Street the stair and sink are most filthy - no water- closet in the whole land [close]. Inhabitants require to go out of their own premises on to the street, and pass an intervening frontage to find privy convenience in another property.

Source: *Insanitary Dwellings*, Title given to correspondence between the School Board of Glasgow and the Health Committee

Appendix 52

Timetable of case brought against landlord of St. Margaret's Place and Jail Square property. Sent by Health Committee to William Mitchell, November, 1887.

1886

March 1. Sanitary Inspector submitted block plan and report to Health Committee. Sub-Committee appointed to report.

March 10. Sub-Committee visited the property.

March 15. Clerk submitted Report to Health Committee.

April 12. Clerk submitted his report on legal aspects.

June 16. Committee recommended that proceedings be adopted under the Public Health Act.

June 30. Entered for prosecution.

July 13. Defenders written by Mr Lang [Clerk].

July 22. First petition presented to Sheriff.

November 19. Amended petition presented to Sheriff.

November 26. Sheriff heard case for both parties and continued till 8th December.

December 8. Plans submitted and report thereon by Dr Russell [MOH]. Sherifff arranged to visit properties.

December 31. Plans considered, and amended plans to be made - case continued.

1887

January 12. Amended plans considered, and defenders to execute operations according to same.

February 23. Plans passed Dean of Guild Court who ordered work to be

Appendix 52 (contd)

executed according thereto (Gourlay, one of the defenders, at this time had the work done - case of Graham - the other continued).

May 23. No appearance of defender. Work not completed. Continued case to 23rd June.

June 23. Work reported completed by the defenders, Graham and others.

Source: *Insanitary Dwellings*, Title given to correspondence between the School Board of Glasgow and the Health Committee, 1887

Appendix 53

Extract from appeal made by William Mitchell for aid in establishing an Association for infirm children, given at a meeting in the Religious Institution Rooms, Glasgow, on 10th February, 1874.

If I could summon to plead before you these little suffering children who have none to plead for them.....if I could set before you these little patient faces, on many of which pain and sorrow have already stamped such care and sadness.....if I could tell you, on their behalf, that in addition to their poignant bodily sufferings they suffer for want of proper food, for want of wholesome air, for want of a soft pillow, for want of medical advice, for want of kind gentle words.....if I could tell you these things as they might be told, I know how many willing hands and willing hearts would volunteer for their relief.

Source: *The Glasgow Herald*, 11th February, 1874

Appendix 54

Details regarding the work of the Association for Visiting and Aiding Permanently Infirm and Imbecile Children [commonly referred to as East Park Home], up until and including February, 1875.

Blind

Ill as well as blind and being visited	7
In East Park Home	2
In Blind Asylum or to be sent	8
Dead	1 <u>Total 18</u>

Deaf and Dumb

Cared for by parents at home	13
Ill as well as deaf and dumb and being visited	5
In Deaf and Dumb Institution or to be sent	9
Dead	1 <u>Total 28</u>

Imbecile

Cared for by parents at home	21
Ill as well as imbecile and being visited	10
Healthy and suitable for Larbert Institution	17
Removed, left no address	3
Dead	4 <u>Total 55</u>

Permanently Infirm, Cripple, Diseased Etc.

Cared for by parents at home	34
Being visited	18
In East Park Home	27
Recovering and soon fit for school	26

Appendix 54 (contd)

In Infirmary, Removed or in Poorhouse	9
Dead	11 <u>Total 125</u>

Source: *East Park Home*, Minutes 25th. February, 1875

Appendix 55

Minute by William Mitchell on the subject of Pantomime Children.

In accordance with a resolution of the Board in Committee on 24th January last, the Convener stated that the time had come for taking the subject into consideration. The position of matters he stated to be as follows: According to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1878, the School Board may by a writing under the hand of the Clerk, exempt from the prohibitions of the Act any child or number of children for a period not exceeding on the whole, six weeks in any one year. The attention of Managers of Theatres was drawn to the provisions of the Act in 1878. They accordingly have been in the habit of making application to the School Board for exemption from the prohibitions of the Act for such Children as they may wish to employ during the pantomime season, and their applications, after the cases have been investigated, have, as a rule, been hitherto granted. It may be remembered that they do not ask exemption from regular School Attendance, but from the provisions which require that no child under 10 years of age shall be engaged in any casual employment, and that no child between 10 and 14 years of age can be engaged in casual employment after seven o'clock in winter and nine o'clock in summer.....The Convener [Mitchell] suggested that, previous to any application to the School Board for exemption from the prohibitions of the Education Act, a circular be sent to the Managers of Theatres.....and that such exemptions will not be granted in future without some understanding being come to with the School Board, as to the regulations under which the children will be so employed.

Source: *The School Board of Glasgow*, Public Minutes, 8. 9. 1884

Appendix 56

Who was William Mitchell and why did he become so heavily involved in the cause of child welfare in later nineteenth century Glasgow? What influences shaped his beliefs and actions? Did his early life play an important role? What manner of man was he in personality, in private thought and private life?

This Appendix has been included to give the reader a greater understanding of Mitchell as a person, rather than as a member of the School Board. Using the extant material [characterized by its paucity], it is intended to give a broader picture of Mitchell as an individual whose early life and experiences shaped the man who later became such a force for improvement in children's conditions.

Early Life and Influences

William Mitchell was born in Glasgow on 22nd November, 1825 (1), the second child and eldest son in a family of eight children. His father, Alexander, was a jeweller and his mother, Jane, the daughter of William Simpson, a respected manufacturer in the city. The family enjoyed a comfortable life-style and were members of the Established Church, within which Alexander Mitchell had sympathies for the Evangelical Party. As a member of a business community seeking greater political power, Alexander celebrated the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, which gave the franchise to more of the middle class. William Mitchell recalls it being, '...a period during which politics ran very high in the city' (2). He recollects attending with his father, the

torchlit parade held in Glasgow after the passing of the Bill. The house from which he viewed the spectacle may well have been owned by the Campbell or Cuthbertson families; both had sons, contemporaries of Mitchell, who would be former High School pupils and future members of the Glasgow School Board (3). The commercial community of Glasgow at this time was small enough to allow it to be relatively close-knit and many of the early relationships formed continued till later in the century. Many of the philanthropic and municipal endeavours of mid to late Victorian Glasgow were characterized by a similarity of participants and connections from an earlier era.

After two or three years elementary education at a school in Ingram Street (the English School of Mr Angus?), William Mitchell was enrolled in the High School of Glasgow in 1834. He was, however, removed before the close of his first session and, '...sent to a boarding school in the country...' (4). The reason for this must be speculative but two possibilities suggest themselves. First, there arose in the early 1830's a dispute over the form and content of the High School curriculum, between the advocates of a classically based training and those who wished the inclusion of a more business-orientated course of studies (5). Withrington has stated that the move towards newer subjects on the curriculum of 'secondary' schools began at least as early as the eighteenth century (6); it may well be that the High School of Glasgow was tardy and antagonistic to change, retaining the Latin/Greek/Hebrew formula for those entering the Church or government, to the exclusion of the, '...geography, history, navigation, mensuration and the like...' (7), sought by merchants and traders for the education of their sons. Alexander Mitchell may not have agreed with the content of the High School curriculum at this time. Second, there were periodic and serious

outbreaks of cholera in Glasgow during the 1830's; sending William to boarding school may have been a means of removing the eldest son from possible contagion. Whatever the reason, William Mitchell finally returned to the High School in 1839 for a second term.

By this time the school had an established Commercial Department, offering studies in mathematics, arithmetic and geography. Charges for this Department in 1840, demonstrate that only those who were financially successful and secure could send their sons to the school; tuition in mathematics cost 15/- per quarter, arithmetic 10/6d for 1 hour and 12/6d for 2 hours, geography was 7/6d in the Junior Department and 10/6d per quarter in the Senior. The Commercial Department itself was under the direction of the celebrated Dr James Connell, '...a first rate mathematician who was able at the same time to communicate with his young pupils' (8). Mitchell found his second period of study at the High School, where he was a classmate of J.A.Campbell and Robert Rainy, very productive. He became immensely interested in mathematics;

A pleasant part of each day was occupied in solving problems drawn upon the board by our preceptor illustrating our Euclid lessons (9).

Mathematics for Mitchell, '...became the ruling principle of all my future intellectual life' (10); it has previously been remarked that he was respected for his statistical exactness in School Board work. He considered mathematics, with its logic, rigour and precision as, '...an aid to reason, whereby the problems of life might be better understood' (11). Mathematics proved for Mitchell, the existence, '...on a basis intelligible, demonstrable...' (12), of a creator who had shaped the universe in a concise and ordered manner. Written retrospectively some sixty years later, it may be that the religious significance of mathematics came with

maturity and experience rather than to a fifteen year old school boy. Nevertheless, this should not lessen the impact which early interest in the subject had for the older Mitchell, intellectually, practically and spiritually.

In 1841, aged sixteen, Mitchell left the High School and went into business with James Black & Company, calico printers and owner of Dalmonach Printworks near Alexandria, ‘...the senior partner of which was his uncle by marriage’ (13).

Mitchell at Dalmonach

The Vale of Leven in which Dalmonach Printworks was situated, with its plentiful supply of water, was in an ideal position to take full advantage of the demand for Turkey Red Dye products. In the mid to late nineteenth century this area had virtually a monopoly in world markets.

In his ten years at Dalmonach, Mitchell was exposed to two main factors which would have had an influence in later life. First, the high profile increasingly given to education by James Black & Company (14), especially from the mid 1840’s and second, paradoxically, the conditions for child labour at the printworks as highlighted by evidence to the Children’s Employment Commission of 1843.

Dalmonach Public Works School, which stood beside one of the printworks gates, was not solely for the children of employees. Pupils from the surrounding district attended and of James Black & Company (especially James Scott, Glasgow born manufacturer and later City Treasurer, who was a partner at the time) it was remarked that the school was, ‘...liberally supported by that firm’ (15), and that, ‘...the best teachers were appointed and the fees charged very low’ (16). The school

built a reputation and some believed it, '...became one of the best in the country' (17). Former pupils included Thomas Menzies, future rector of Hutchieson's Grammar in Glasgow, William Bilsland, baker and future Lord Provost of Glasgow, Donald McFarlane, assistant to Lord Kelvin at Gilmorehill and James Freeburn, a future headmaster of a School Board school in the city. Dalmonach School also had one of the earliest Sunday Schools at Bonhill (the parish in which Dalmonach stood). It became the nursery for the Vale of Leven Mechanics Institute and Library. Although closed after the 1872 Act, the Company retained the premises as a Reading and Club Room for the instruction, amusement and recreation of their workers.

Mitchell would have been well aware of Dalmonach Public Works School and its reputation. When he became manager of the printworks in 1846 at the age of 21 years (probably appointed by James Scott), Mitchell would almost certainly have had some responsibility towards the school. It may not be too much of a speculation to assume that this would have had some influence on Mitchell's educational thinking; perhaps association with the school fuelled his later enthusiasm for education, or perhaps it was at Dalmonach where his interest was born.

During his time at Dalmonach, especially in the early 1840's when in his teens, Mitchell would have been very familiar with the condition of children employed in the printworks. An earlier chapter gave extracts of evidence presented to the Children's Employment Commission in 1843; working conditions at Dalmonach were neither worse than similar printworks nor were they particularly enlightened for the period. Whether Mitchell thought, at the time, such conditions were over harsh or not is unknown. When he became manager,

Mitchell would have been responsible for employing workers; a few years earlier children had been employed for the tedious tasks used in the works from as young as, ‘...five years and six months...’ (18). There is no extant evidence to show whether children’s conditions altered in any way during Mitchell’s managership. Perhaps such conditions caused him to promote improvement, or perhaps, as shall be discussed later, these conditions worked on his conscience for the remainder of his life. All that can be said with certainty is that the William Mitchell of School Board years would have condemned utterly such practices and would have involved himself in the cause of improvement.

Church and Marriage

At the Disruption of 1843, Dr James Henderson and many of his congregation, including the Mitchells, left the Church of Scotland and erected a temporary church in Waterloo Street to be called Free St. Enoch. Like most of the new Free Church congregations, Free St. Enoch took an active interest in education. The church ran a Sabbath School Society of which William Kidston, future member of the Glasgow School Board and close friend of Mitchell, was Secretary in the 1840’s (19). The Society began a Free Reading Club to promote and teach literacy in which Mitchell’s younger brother, Alexander, played a role from 1847 (20).

A study by Hillis (21) of the social composition of some urban congregations for the period 1844 -1856, shows that, using baptisms as a measure, the largest proportion of the congregation of Free St. Enoch was composed of working class people (given in the study as skilled and unskilled). It is likely that some, aspiring to move up the social ladder, would have used the Reading Club either for themselves or to

supplement what schooling they could provide for their children.

Although at Dalmonach during the 1840's, it is very likely that Mitchell would have retained some connection with his family church; he would at least, through family and friends, have been aware of church activities. By the later 1840's when he became manager, it would seem that his association with Free St. Enoch grew more frequent. For it was through the church that Mitchell met his wife, Jane Turner.

The Turner family were members of Free St. Enoch and seem to have been on close terms with the Mitchells (22). Duncan Turner, Jane's father, was a well known lawyer in Glasgow. It is likely that Mitchell knew Jane from an early age and in later life he gave the tantalising hint that in his late teens his eye had already alighted romantically on the young Miss Turner (she was born in 1829);

...the psalms and hymns dear from thy youth,
Which faintly rose from trembling lips and low... (23).

The impression conveyed is of a quiet and perhaps self-conscious young woman at her devotions.

Their relationship, which was to last for over fifty years, prospered. Three years after becoming manager at Dalmonach, Mitchell felt secure enough financially and on 15th January, 1850, he and Jane were married at Hillside, Partick, by Dr Henderson of Free St. Enoch (24). They stayed at Dalmonach House, the property occupied by printwork managers, with Anne Turner, Jane's widowed mother who had an income from an annuity (25).

Mitchell in Business

By 1852, Mitchell had left his position at Dalmonach and struck out on his own as a calico printer. He had moved to 4 Maule

Terrace in Partick, ‘...a series of well-built houses...’ (26), at that time still well to the west of Glasgow. In partnership with Thomas Guthrie who owned the Ferryfield Printfields close to Dalmonach, Mitchell built a reputation as a calico printer and manufacturer. For the next thirteen years Mitchell remained in Partick, consolidating his interests and opening a Glasgow office for the distribution of his product in the mid 1850’s (27). The Burgh Assessment Rolls for the period show that, in general, Mitchell was a successful business man; he paid a rent on Maule Terrace from £35 annually in 1852 rising to £42 annually in 1862 (28). By the later date he employed 9 men and 6 boys in a print warehouse in Maule Terrace (29). In 1861, he paid a sewers assessment of 7/-; perhaps he knew early the advantages of proper sanitation, the lack of which in slum areas he was later to condemn. There were times, however, when trade fluctuated and he later acknowledged his debt to Jane;

...hand in hand, we met, with fortitude,
The storms of life, the buffets and the blows...(30).

Being a shrewd business man Mitchell looked towards the future; he took out two large insurance covers in 1850 and again in 1855, in addition to buying shares in infant companies, something which he did in both Scotland and England over the next few decades [transport, cotton and oil were the main areas of his investment] (31). About 1865, Mitchell moved to Shaftesbury Terrace in Glasgow for a short spell. The apogee of his business life, however, came in 1869/70 when he moved into 18 Kew Terrace, a line of ashlar fronted houses. As yet outside the municipal boundary of Glasgow, Kew Terrace was part of the Dowanhill/Kelvinside area, providing high amenity housing for the growing middle class between the late 1850’s and 1880’s. Mitchell employed two servants, a mother and daughter, both Gaelic speakers; the

mother, Agnes Scott having been with the Mitchells in Partick. In census returns for Kew Terrace between 1871 and 1891, Janet McFarlane appears as a visitor but was obviously a long term resident. It would seem from research that she was a sister -in-law to an elder sister of Jane Mitchell, but counted by Mitchell as a family member, not unusual when his ideas on family life are viewed (32).

It was at this point in his life that William Mitchell, while retaining his business interests at a reduced level, decided to give most of his time, energy and intellect to the cause of child welfare in Glasgow. From the moment he was elected to the School Board of Glasgow in March, 1873, Mitchell began a personal crusade to improve the living conditions and educational prospects of the children of his native city.

Consideration will now be given to possible reasons for Mitchell's heavy involvement in voluntary and official work.

The Storm in Mitchell's Life

There are three reasons which may account for Mitchell's commitment to charitable and welfare endeavour; his religious conviction, the fact that he and Jane had no children of their own, the energy and the enthusiasm of the convert. Simple compassion and altruism would be a fourth reason and should not be wholly discounted.

Religious duty, manifested in the creed of social responsibility to the less fortunate, was a potent and primary force in Mitchell's life. His form of Christianity was practical; faith was demonstrated by action. In a sense his religion was simplistic, not the result of sophisticated theological debate. His language displayed, perhaps, a child-like acceptance of biblical text; he did not speak of death, but of a '...home above...' (33). He took solace from the death of his

brother Alexander in 1895 by believing he had, '...fell asleep in Jesus...'
(34). Alexander had gone, believed Mitchell,

To sweet repose where peace triumphant reigns (35).

Mitchell's language suggests, at times, a belief in a geographical rather than a spiritual location. Yet the simplicity of his belief was in many senses its strength.

Life, he divided into good and evil, right and wrong, moral opposites which for Mitchell knew no *via media*; it was shown in his dealing with pantomime children how difficult he found compromise. He believed the early message of Christianity was being lost and a matter of sadness to him was what he saw as the slow but inexorable drift towards secularism where commitment and belief were too often ostentatious but superficial; 'The principles of early Christianity are certainly not applied and exhibited as they ought to be' (36). To lose such principles, he believed, was costly to the individual and to society; '...selfishness and covetousness have too widely and too rudely.....separated the classes and the masses' (37).

Psychologically, religious conviction and belief must rank high in any list of reasons for his voluntary and official work.

William and Jane Mitchell had no children of their own. This they believed to have been due to divine intervention;

No child has blessed our union...(38).

Although accepted as God's will,

...we have no regrets, no bitterness (39),

may be a rationalisation on the Mitchells' part. Having no family, they may have relocated their compassion and affection to children in general, helping to fill the void of lost expectation. By a process of justification they may have viewed the situation as divinely inspired,

seeing themselves as being chosen to work with neglected children:

He gave them to us *by a tie more dear*, [emphasis added]

More sacred than an earthly parents claim (40).

Throughout the remainder of his life, William Mitchell acknowledged his belief that his work with children was of divine inspiration and for which he could take no credit:

We heard the Master's voice, and at His word
We sought them, loved them, led them by the
hand...(41).

In his way, Mitchell saw Christ not only as a safe harbour to be found in times of trouble, but as a storm which constantly blew and directed his every action.

A Wayward Youth?

Mitchell's tremendous energy and commitment is similar to the unbending and often unaccommodating view of the convert. There are indications that Mitchell, if not one of the converted, may well have been one of the reclaimed.

No extant material exists of Mitchell's period at Dalmonach from 1841 to 1850 (the year he married). Is it possible that this period, perhaps till shortly before his marriage, was one in which Mitchell's later conviction lay dormant? Away from the close control of church and family did the young Mitchell decide to experience aspects of life other than religious?

Once far from thee in wayward youth,
By many a sin defiled.
Arrested by thy word of truth,
And made a blood-brought child (42).

Mitchell, writing these autobiographical lines at a distance of almost 60

years was doing so at a time when his moral standards were formed and rigid. The sins to which he alludes may well be relative - their degree of opprobrium may be determined by Mitchell's values at the time of writing; there is no way of knowing for certain. One possible explanation may be that, in recalling the working conditions for children at Dalmonach during the early 1840's, Mitchell may well be indulging in some retrospective self-blame. From the changed circumstances (morally and materially) of the late nineteenth century, the practices of the 1840's would appear brutal and, for Mitchell, unchristian. Was his crusade for improved child welfare a means of;

Quenching Satan's spiteful rage,
Paying down sin's dreadful wage,
Blotting out guilt's crimson page, (43),

from an earlier time?

What sins Mitchell believed himself to have committed is in itself less important than the fact that Mitchell believed unequivocally that he had sinned. Whether he experienced some form of Damascene conversion is unknown, but it would appear likely that his return to the fold came shortly before his marriage. It was about this time that Duncan Turner, Jane's elder brother, died prematurely in his mid-twenties. Mitchell called him a, '...much-esteemed relative...' (44), whom he had known through the church and as another former pupil of the High School. The only clue which Mitchell gives to his spiritual reclamation is to say that he was,

Led homeward by a wounded hand (45).

It is possible that the wounded hand belonged to Duncan Turner.

The concept of temptation (he published an essay on the temptations of Christ), of the constant struggle between good and evil, seems to have been a frequent companion for Mitchell and to have left

him, privately, at times pessimistic and doubtful. Commitment to religious duty, he believed, would be constantly tested; the road to salvation was not an easy one. At times he questioned his spiritual strength and ability to withstand temptation; he had a fear of spiritual weakness which might lead him to seek a less difficult route to Grace;

The wicked spirits, swarming from the deep,
Who find a lurking place, and lie concealed,
In thy too pampered nature; fond of ease... (46)

Such a fear may well have encouraged his great energy in charitable and official work, a physical proof to himself that had conquered temptation. He rationalised that temptations were of divine purpose; in their passing he would find his way to salvation. He was able to use such rationale when personal attacks came, over policies such as free education:

Oh Welcome, then Adversity! I bow
And plead for patience, resignation, faith;
Fulfil Thy gracious purpose in me, Lord
And fashion me according to Thy Will (47).

Mitchell and Domesticity

The importance which Mitchell attached to home and family life has already been noted. Based on the principle of a sound and happy marriage, home life for Mitchell should be a stabilizing factor both individually and socially. Families, he believed, should be close-knit and not, '...as aliens to one another...' (48). Every member of the household should enjoy this togetherness. Servants too should be a part of the family; too often, Mitchell said, this was not the case and, '...domestics and dependants so often pine in the cold shade of indifference and neglect' (49). The lower social status of domestic servants, he preached, was no reason or excuse for harsh treatment, for,

...they are hired to serve, they are not hired to slave.....service towards them is as much their due as service from them (50).

True to his belief in mathematics and order, Mitchell believed that, '...the methodical arrangement of the entire day has a most beneficial influence on character' (51). A home too, should be systematically managed; for example, bookshelves should always be tidy and in the correct order, as should desks be kept tidy; drawers should be designated to hold certain articles of clothing and there should be no deviation from the rule. Following such principles for Mitchell, meant that no time was wasted; time was a gift from God and should always be used positively and constructively. Even leisure time, such as that on holiday, should be used for a purpose. Mitchell, for example, spent one holiday night out with the crew of a fishing boat at Tignabruaich and found it a positive, recreative learning experience (52).

Reading material, his own favourites were biographies, when not related to a specific purpose, that is for too frivolous a purpose, should be carefully selected, for:

Well selected novels are alike useful and entertaining. One must, however, carefully guard against the habit of constant indulgence in fiction, and especially avoid that class of fiction in which immoral and poisonous elements so largely prevail (53).

For Mitchell, the mind was a receptacle for good; the danger came when there was little to stimulate and guide it towards the adoption of true Christian values. A mind, he believed, should not be left to the dangerous luxury of its own unbridled thoughts.

Mitchell gives the impression of a man who perhaps took his idea of order to neurotic extremes. Censorship of reading material would also have been high on his list of priorities.

Narrow-minded as he could often be, especially on moral matters, Mitchell was a well educated and cultured man, '...a man of fine taste' (54). He was widely read and spoke Latin and Greek; lines from Anacreon, he said, '...still recur occasionally when memory is stirred' (55). He was a painter in oils of no little repute; eleven of his paintings, mostly of scenic views of Scotland, were displayed by the Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts between 1880 and 1903 (56). A painting of his wife, a favourite work, hung in their bedroom at Kew Terrace. He left it in his will to a nephew (57).

Last Days

Of constant strength to Mitchell throughout his life was his relationship with his wife.

Twin hearts, where pity dwells and sympathy
For human sorrow and the orphan's tear... (58).

Jane and William Mitchell were inseparable. They held the same religious beliefs, the same interest in children and the same view of life. She was the bedrock of his family life, his companion in charitable work and his sympathetic ear. Many dedications to Jane preceed his pamphlets and essays; for example, in 'House and Home' (1896) his dedication is wholesome and sincere - 'To one who has been the light and joy of the Author's House and Home through many changing years...' (59). Jane Mitchell was the quintessential Victorian wife, never to the forefront but always there as a support for her husband, while involvement with him in East Park Home allowed her an outlet for

voluntary work.

Mitchell suffered the most crushing blow of his life when Jane died in December, 1903; it was a blow from which he did not recover. His voluntary work continued but at a much reduced level and he consoled himself with the belief that Jane's death was but a transition;

Why should I weep when all they tears are shed?
To fall asleep in Christ is not to die (60).

Privately, he became more pessimistic and doubtful; his belief in the divine purpose of his life became ever more fragile;

But when my dreaming spirit sang of joy,
Dark shadows fell, my gleeful notes were hushed (61).

By 1906, Mitchell had largely withdrawn from active involvement although he remained Secretary to the Marshall Trust till 1907. It was no longer the Mitchell of a decade earlier. The pride he had taken in the work of the School Board seemed blunted and faded; in a section of his will written in 1906 he left letters and School Board papers to a nephew, '...who can either burn them or keep such of them as he pleases at his own discretion' (62). After the death of his wife, Mitchell gradually became a man going through the motions, holding tenaciously to his simple faith and waiting;

Till the day dawn and deaths dark shadows flee,
When we shall meet beyond the sands of time
In sweet re-union on the happy shore,
Together and forever with the Lord (63).

William Mitchell died on 12th August, 1910, during a prolonged holiday at Moffat. He was 84 years old.

Appendix 56 - References

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(1825)
- (2) *Glasgow High School Magazine, 1903 p4*
- (3) Somerville, Thomas (1896) - *George Square, Glasgow*, Glasgow: McCallum & Co. The house stood on ground to the north side of George Square. J.A.Campbell was born there in 1825 and Sir John C. Cuthbertson, '...was born in the same compartment of the Square in 1829'
p12
- (4) *Magazine op. cit. p5*
- (5) Ashmall, H.A. (1976) - *The High School of Glasgow*, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press Ltd 1976 p87
- (6) Withrington, Donald J. (1996) - 'Education and Society in the Eighteenth Century' p174 in Phillipson, N.T. and Mitchison (eds) *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- (7) *Ibid*
- (8) Ashmall (1976) *op. cit. p87*
- (9) *Magazine op. cit. p7*
- (10) *Ibid p7*
- (11) *Ibid p7*
- (12) *Ibid p7*
- (13) *Ibid p22* It has proved difficult to establish the exact relationship involved. However, James Black, senior partner in 1841, married Margaret Simpson in 1836. This may well have been a sister to Jane Simpson, Mitchell's mother. [I am grateful to Graham Hopner, Local Studies and Geneology Section, Dumbarton Library for help with this

possibility]

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(15) *Ibid* p46

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(18) *Second Report of the Commissioners,, Children's Employment Commission* , (Trades and Manufactures) 1843 No. 34 para 35

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(20) *Ibid*

(21) Hillis, P.L.M. (1993) 'The Sociology of the Disruption' in Brown, S.J. and Fry, Michael (eds) *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press p53/54

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(24) OPR 493/3 (1850)

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(26) Greenhorne, W. (1928) *History of Partick*, published privately p132

(27) *Glasgow Post Office Directory*, 1856

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- (30) Mitchell, William (1899) 'Our Wedding Day' from *Autumn Leaves*, a collection of his poems presented to his nieces and nephews as a gift, January, 1899
- (31) *Will of William Mitchell and Inventory of William Mitchell*, SRO Sc36/51/153 p320 - 333 [Will] SC36/48/225 p651 - 653 [Inventory]
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Tables

Table 1

Growth in Population of Glasgow 1801 - 1871

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
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

Table 2

Physical Growth of Glasgow 1801 - 1871

<u>Year</u>	<u>Acreage of City</u>	<u>Persons per Acre</u>
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.

Table 3

Development of Quays and Docks, Glasgow Harbour 1840 - 1900

<u>Year</u>	<u>Yardage</u>
1840	1973
1844	2322
1849	3019
1850	3391
1851	3591
1852	3624
1860	4376
1870	5604
1880	7464
1890	10 956
1900	15 109

Source: Cunnison, J. and Gilfillan, J.B.S. (1958) *The City of Glasgow* -
The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, Glasgow: Wm. Collins &
Company Ltd

Table 4

Ships Launched on the Clyde 1864 - 1871

<u>Year</u>	<u>Sail</u>	<u>Steam</u>	<u>Total</u>
1864	47 527	130 978	178 505
1865	31 457	122 475	153 932
1866	31 164	93 349	124 513
1867	43 926	63 418	107 344
1868	76 103	92 983	169 086
1869	76 482	115 828	192 310
1870	31 569	148 832	180 401
1871	9 233	186 996	196 229

Source: Cunison, J. and Gilfillan, J.B.S. (1958) *The City of Glasgow - The Third Statistical Account of Scotland*, Glasgow: Wm. Collins & Company Ltd

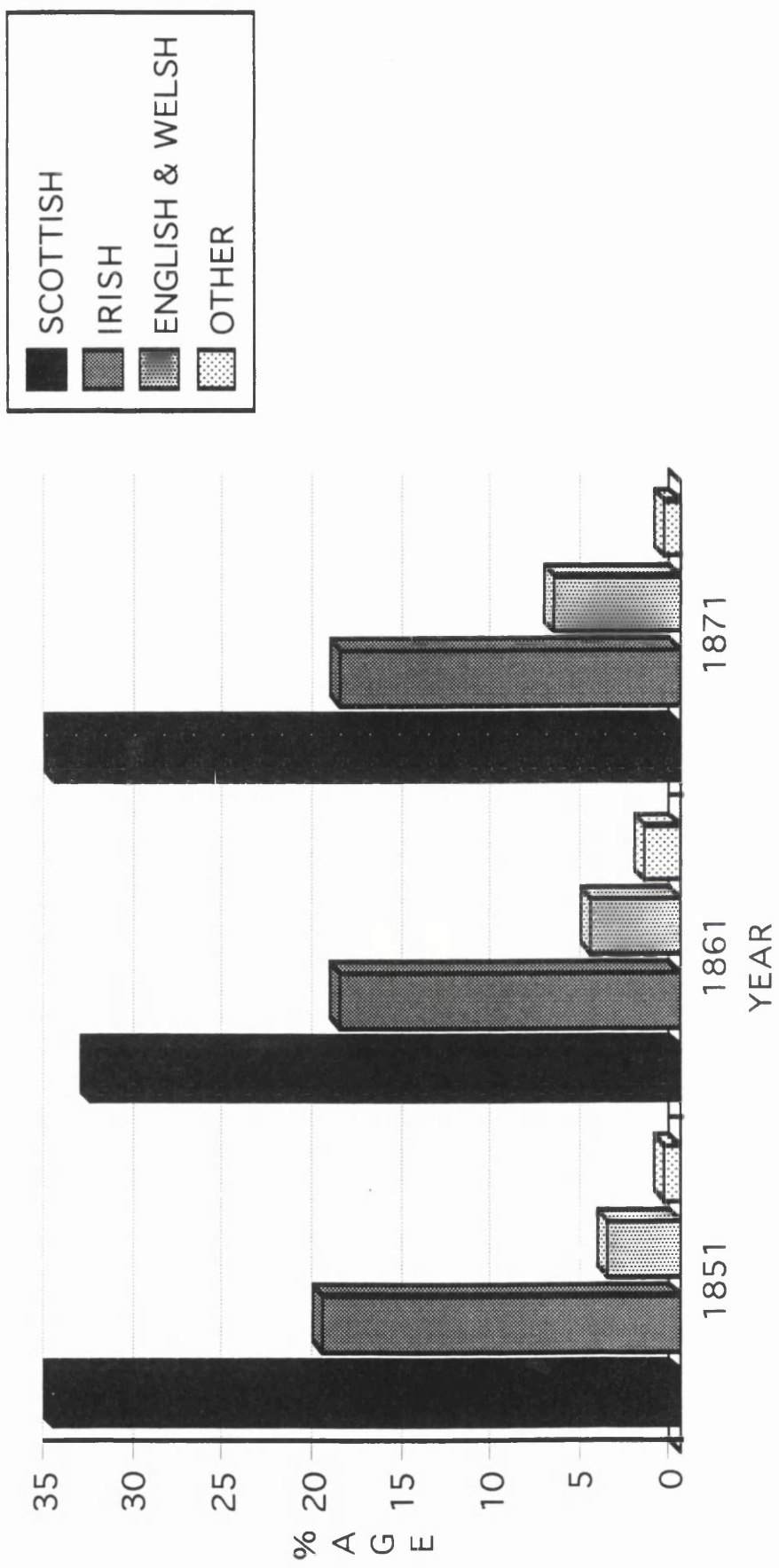
Table 5

Annual Tonnage of Goods Imported and Exported at Glasgow Harbour
1861-1870

<u>Year</u>	<u>Imports '000 tons</u>	<u>Exports '000 tons</u>	<u>Total</u>
1861	613	754	1366
1862	626	754	1380
1863	661	777	1437
1864	647	835	1483
1865	615	836	1451
1866	648	839	1487
1867	668	928	1596
1868	771	948	1719
1869	746	965	1710
1870	860	1 062	1921

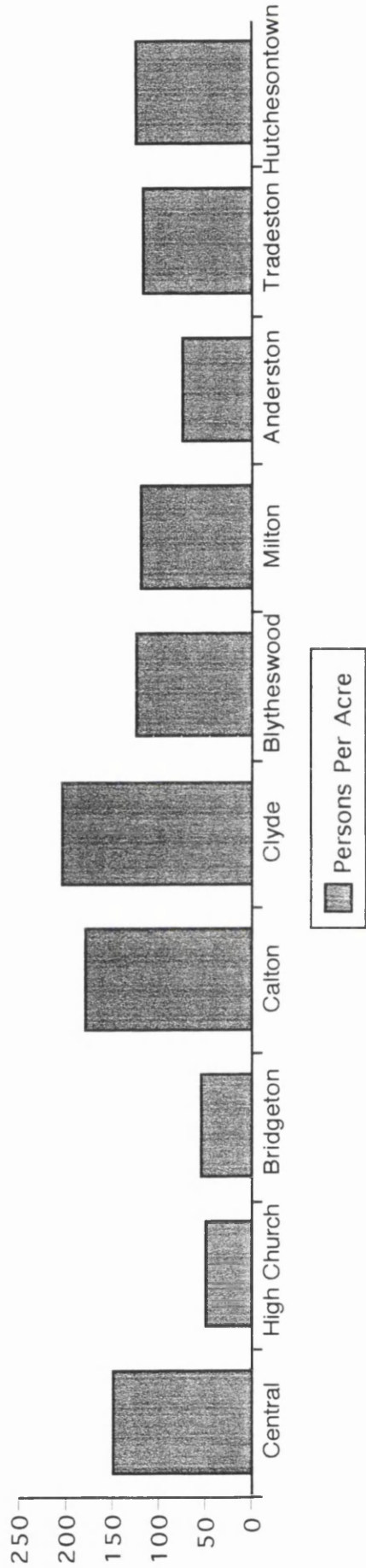
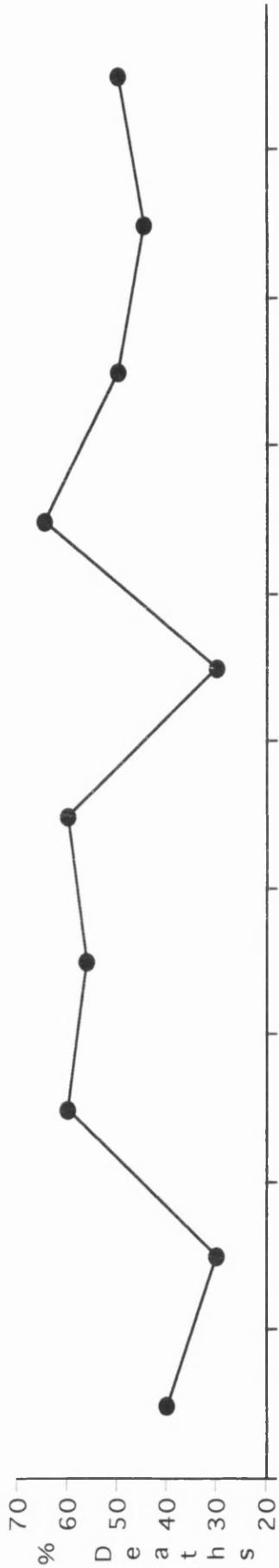
Source: Cunison, J. and Gilfillan, J.B.S. (1958) *The City of Glasgow* -
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Table 6: IMMIGRANTS IN GLASGOW - % OF CITY POPULATION



Source: Census Returns, 1851, 1861, 1871 Enumeration Abstracts 646(2)

Table 7: PERSONS PER ACRE AND MORTALITY RATE FOR CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS, 1871



Source: *Vital Social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow, 1871*

Table 8

Infant Mortality Arranged by Registration Districts 1871

<u>District</u>	<u>Under 1yr.</u>	<u>1 to 2yr.</u>	<u>2 to 5yr.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of all deaths</u>
Central	502	296	273	1071	40.21
High Church	459	287	249	995	30.50
Bridgeton	454	284	276	1014	58.71
Calton	332	182	205	719	53.03
Clyde	229	132	130	491	57.43
Blythswood	147	62	84	293	30.00
Milton	361	220	184	765	63.04
Anderston	364	226	218	808	50.15
Tradeston	313	160	144	617	44.23
Hutchesontown	456	233	187	876	46.10

Source: *Vital Social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow, 1871*, Nicol, J.

Glasgow: James McNab

Table 9

Deaths from Respiratory Disease (T.B. , bronchitis, pneumonia) and Fevers for the period 1862 - 1869 (against all deaths from age and other causes)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Respir.Disease (a)</u>	<u>Fevers (b)</u>	<u>Total (a) +(b)</u>	<u>Total Deaths</u>
1862	4602	2533	7135	11 569
1863	4530	4225	8755	13 327
1864	5047	3742	8789	13 674
1865	5033	4080	9113	13 912
1866	4992	2381	7373	12 826
1867	5105	2694	7799	12 578
1868	5141	3753	8894	13 825
1869	6130	4232	10 362	15 640

Source : *Vital Social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow, 1861 - 1869*,
Glasgow: James McNab

Table 10

1861 Figures used by Argyll Commissioners in calculating School
Children in various Districts of Glasgow

<u>District</u>	<u>Pop. 1861</u>	<u>Childn.3-15yrs.</u>	<u>No. on Roll</u>	<u>No. Daily Attd.</u>
Central	49 678	12 145	6 990	5 954
H. Church	48 119	12 427	4 918	4 329
Bridgeton	45 485	12 496	3 693	3 136
Calton	36 625	9 009	4 095	3 592
Clyde	29 975	6 844	2 644	2 177
Blythswood	28 697	6 177	4 341	4 012
Milton	33 360	8 668	4 099	3 403
Anderston	40 945	10 120	3 999	3 309
Tradeston	38 600	9 708	2 912	2 491
Hutch/ton	44 019	11 173	3 557	3 162
	395 503	98 767	41 248	35 565

Source: *The Argyll Commission (1867), XXV, Report on the State of
Education in Glasgow,* Greig, J. and Harvey, T.

Maps

CITY PARISH

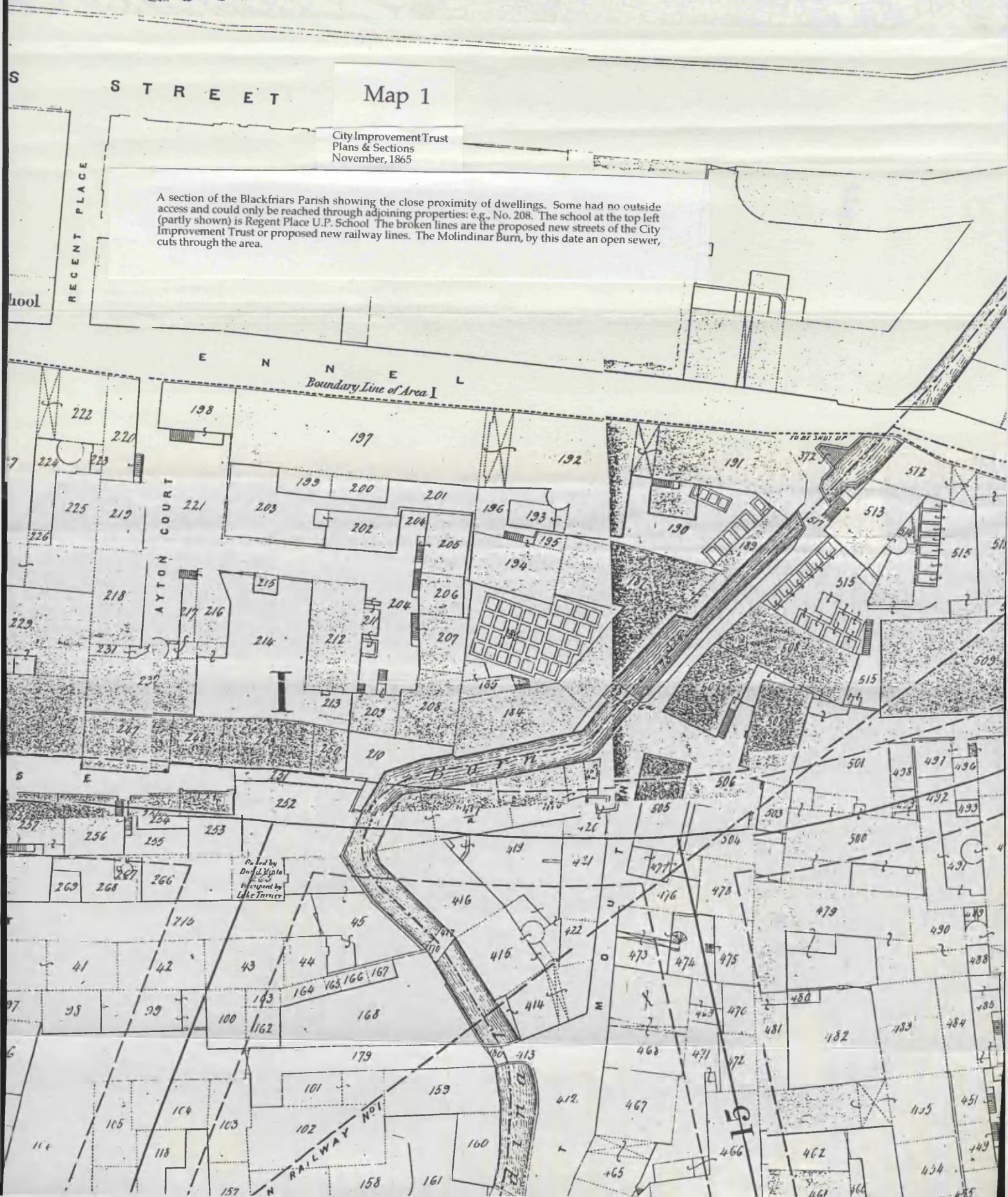
QUOAD SACRA PARISH OF BLACKFRIARS & ROYAL BURGH OF GLASGOW

S T R E E T

Map 1

City Improvement Trust
Plans & Sections
November, 1865

A section of the Blackfriars Parish showing the close proximity of dwellings. Some had no outside access and could only be reached through adjoining properties: e.g., No. 208. The school at the top left (partly shown) is Regent Place U.P. School. The broken lines are the proposed new streets of the City Improvement Trust or proposed new railway lines. The Molindinar Burn, by this date an open sewer, cuts through the area.



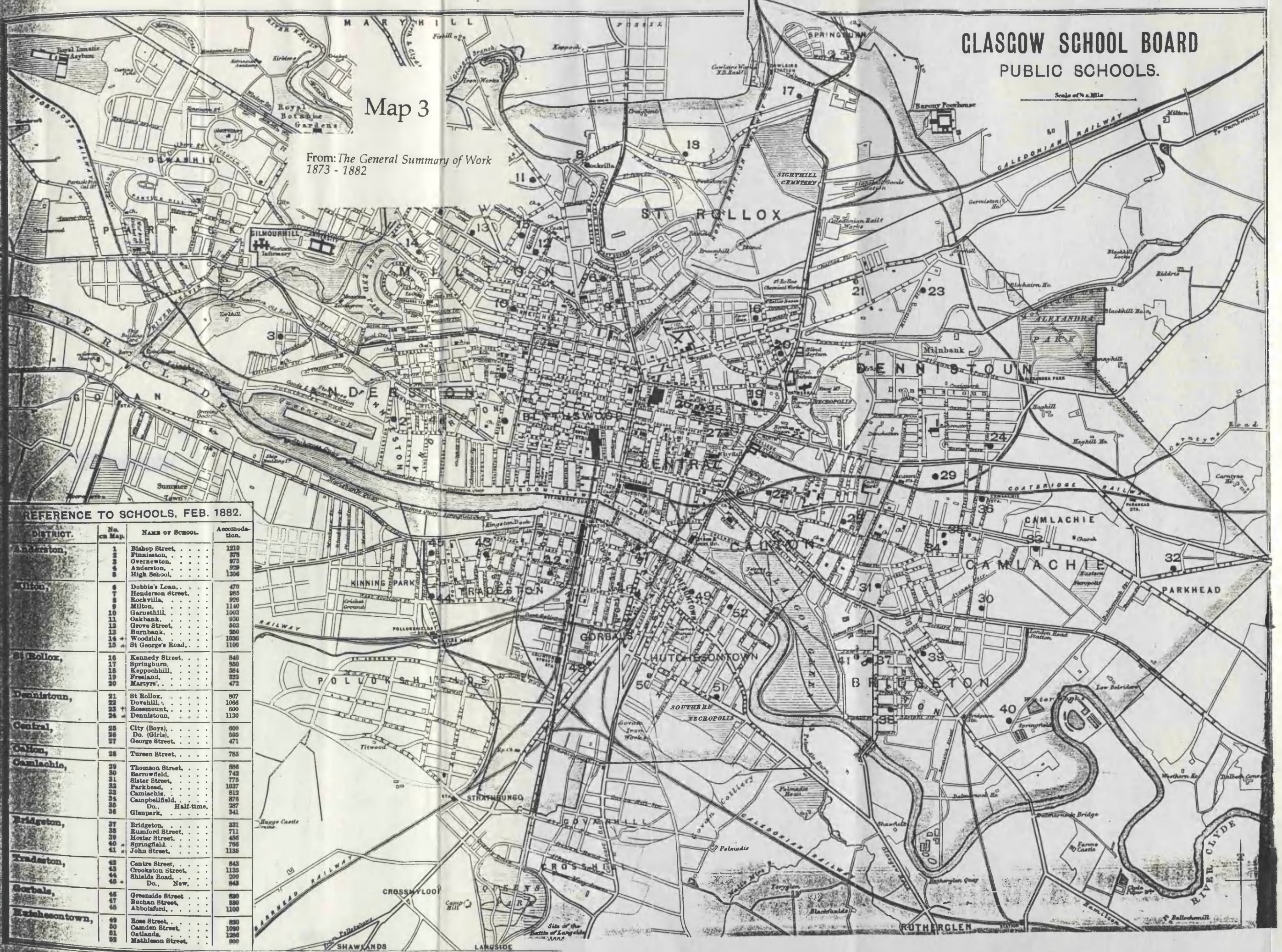
From: Gibb, Andrew (1983)
The Making of a city



GLASGOW SCHOOL BOARD
PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Map 3

From: The General Summary of Work
1873 - 1882



REFERENCE TO SCHOOLS, FEB. 1882.

DISTRICT.	No. on Map.	NAME OF SCHOOL.	Accommodation.
Anderston,	1	Bishop Street.	1210
	2	Finnieston.	876
	3	Overnewton.	973
	4	Anderston High School.	1356
Milton,	5	Dobbie's Loan.	470
	6	Renderson Street.	985
	7	Rockhill.	925
	8	Milton.	1140
	10	Garnethill.	1003
	11	Oakbank.	930
	12	Grove Street.	803
St. Rollox,	13	Burnbank.	260
	14	Woodside.	1030
	15	St. George's Road.	1100
Dennistoun,	16	Kennedy Street.	840
	17	Springburn.	850
	18	Keppochhill.	584
	19	Freeland.	332
Central,	20	Martyrs.	472
	21	St. Rollox.	807
Dennistoun,	22	Dovehill.	1066
	23	Rosemount.	600
	24	Dennistoun.	1130
Central,	25	City (Boys).	600
	26	Do. (Girls).	595
Calm,	27	George Street.	471
Camlachie,	28	Turron Street.	785
	29	Thomson Street.	886
	30	Barrowfield.	742
	31	Slater Street.	775
	32	Parkhead.	1037
	33	Camlachie.	812
	34	Campbellfield.	876
Bridgeton,	35	Do., Half-time.	287
	36	Glenpark.	341
Bridgeton,	37	Bridgeton.	331
	38	Rumford Street.	711
	39	Hoyle Street.	426
	40	Springfield.	766
Tradeston,	41	John Street.	1135
	42	Centre Street.	843
Gorbals,	43	Crookston Street.	1135
	44	Shields Road.	200
	45	Do., New.	843
Hutchesontown,	46	Grenada Street.	830
	47	Buchan Street.	830
	48	Abbotsford.	1100
Hutchesontown,	49	Rose Street.	830
	50	Camden Street.	1020
	51	Oatlands.	1296
	52	Matheson Street.	999

* In Progress.

† Site acquired.

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